

Greek Cypriot Wedding Music and Customs: Revival and Identity

Submitted by: EFI IOANNIDOU

Supervisors: DR. ANDREW KILLICK, DR. SIMON KEEGAN-PHIPPS

THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

PhD in Music

21st March 2017

ABSTRACT

In many cultures, weddings are the most important event in people's lives. Greek Cypriots use weddings as a means of expressing their identity and linking themselves to their roots, with the conscious aim of preservation of their musical tradition and customs. As a result, weddings are especially important in their musical culture because of the threats to their identity posed by the island's long history of foreign rule and colonisation. However, an upheaval has occurred in the folk music and customs of Greek Cypriot wedding ceremonies over the last ten years, creating an urgent need for a study of these customs in relation to social, historical and cultural developments in Cyprus. This study has revealed a movement towards music revival that links contemporary practice with the 'living memory' of the mid-twentieth century.

The thesis is structured in two parts, progressing from the directly observable wedding practices of contemporary Greek Cypriots to the remembered and reconstructed forms of the Greek Cypriot wedding that is now regarded as 'traditional'. Part One analyses contemporary wedding ceremonies and the choices that newlyweds make in the customs and music of their weddings. Part Two attempts to reconstruct in detail the music and customs of Greek Cypriot wedding ceremonies of the mid-twentieth century from the testimonies of veteran folk musicians and from documentary sources. Besides documenting a tradition that is little known and fast transforming, the study contributes to current discussions in ethnomusicology on themes such as 'music revivals' and 'tradition and identity'.

Contents

List of Figures.....	7
Acknowledgments.....	11
List of Music Examples.....	12
DVD Contents.....	15
Chapter One: Introduction.....	21
1.1 The geographical, historical and sociological context of the period.....	24
1.2 The aims of the thesis.....	29
1.3 Theoretical issues: transforming tradition, musical revivals and identity. Literature review.....	32
1.4 Methodology of the study.....	38
1.5 Note on textual and musical transcriptions.....	41
1.6 Overview of the thesis.....	42
PART ONE: Presentation and analysis of the customs and music of five contemporary wedding ceremonies.....	44
Chapter Two: Current wedding practices, customs and music.....	50
2.1 The first Phase: <i>Allaman</i> [adornment] and the procession to the church.....	51
2.1.1 The shaving of the groom.....	52
2.1.2 The Dowry dance.....	56
2.1.3 The dressing of the groom.....	57
2.1.4 The smoking of the groom.....	60
2.1.5 The adornment of the groom.....	61
2.1.6 The adornment of the bride.....	62
2.1.7 The dowry dance of the bride.....	65
2.1.8 Dressing the bride and the custom of writing on the bridal shoes.....	66
2.1.9 The smoking of the bride.....	70
2.1.10 The 'surrounding' with a kerchief of the bride.....	71
2.1.11 The procession to the church for the main event of the wedding.....	71
2.1.12 Observations about the first phase of the wedding.....	73

2.2 The Second Phase: The wedding service, the <i>gamos</i>	74
2.2.1 The custom to determine who is the ‘strongest’ of the couple.....	75
2.2.2 Customs during the ‘Isaiah Dance’.....	76
2.2.3 Customs as the couple leave the church.....	76
2.3 The Third Phase: the cocktail reception and the wedding banquet.....	78
2.3.1 Music chosen for the cocktail reception.....	78
2.3.2 Music chosen for the wedding banquet.....	80
2.3.3 Reasons why the newlyweds prefer disc jockeys.....	81
2.3.4 The choice of music when the new couple enters the room.....	83
2.3.5 The new couple’s dance.....	85
2.3.6 Music chosen to make the guests have fun.....	86
Conclusions.....	89
Chapter Three: A contemporary wedding ceremony reviving mid-twentieth-century practices.....	93
3.1 The ‘imagined’ wedding of the mid-twentieth century.....	93
3.1.1 The invitation.....	93
3.1.2 Customs before the wedding service.....	97
3.1.2.1 The adornment.....	98
3.1.2.2 The procession to the church.....	102
3.1.3 The wedding service.....	104
3.1.4 After the wedding service.....	104
3.1.5 The wedding banquet.....	106
3.1.5.1 The sewing of the bed.....	106
3.1.5.2 The music during the banquet.....	108
3.1.6 The <i>antigamos</i> [another wedding party one week after the wedding].....	108
3.1.6.1 The custom of collecting chickens for the banquet.....	109
3.2 A discussion with the couple.....	110
Discussion.....	111

PART TWO: A reconstruction of the wedding ceremony of the mid-twentieth century and its music.....120

Chapter Four: General background to wedding ceremonies of the mid-twentieth century and their music.....124

4.1 Weddings during the post war period, 1974 – 2010.....124

4.2 Effects of outside influences on the evolution of the wedding ceremony.....125

4.3 Biographies of the folk musicians.....127

4.4 General points about performance.....135

Chapter Five: Phase One - Customs and music before the wedding..... 138

5.1 The first preparations before the wedding143

5.1.1 Washing the wool144

5.1.2 Washing the dowry.....146

5.1.3 Blending the breads and invitations to the wedding.....146

5.1.4 Preparing the resin.....148

5.1.5 Bathing the bride.....151

5.1.6 Decorating the *Manatsan* and the bridal bed.....153

5.1.7 Filling, and sewing crosses on, the bridal bed.....155

Chapter Six: Phase Two- Customs and music of the wedding day.....158

6.1 Invitations to the wedding161

6.2 The groom’s ceremony.....166

6.2.1 The shaving of the groom.....167

6.2.2 Dancing with the dowry.....168

6.2.3 Dressing the groom.....168

6.2.4 Smoking the groom169

6.2.5 The ‘surrounding’ with a kerchief of the groom184

6.3 The bride’s ceremony177

6.3.1 The adornment of the bride.....177

6.3.2 Smoking of the bride.....182

6.3.3 The ‘surrounding’ with a kerchief of the bride.....184

6.4 Songs performed after the adornment of the bride and the groom.....186

6.5 The procession of the bride and the groom to the church.....192

Chapter Seven: Phase Three - the *gamos*, the wedding.....203

7.1 The custom of the ‘stronger’	203
7.2 The ‘ <i>Isaiah horeve</i> ’, the Isaiah Dance	203
7.3 Throwing rose leaves and seeds	204
7.4 The <i>ploumisman</i> [payment] of the musicians	204
Chapter Eight: Phase Four- customs and music after the wedding.....	209
8.1 The procession of the newlyweds.....	209
8.2 Breaking a pomegranate and sprinkling rosewater.....	209
8.3 The banquet and the music performed.....	209
8.4 The male <i>Kartzilamades</i> dances.....	210
8.5 The female <i>Kartzilamades</i> dances.....	219
8.6 <i>Ploumisma tou antroinou</i> – pinning money on the newlyweds’ clothes.....	227
8.7 Other folk tunes and songs presented during the wedding banquet.....	230
8.8 The period after the wedding.....	241
8.8.1 Monday, after the wedding.....	241
8.8.2 Tuesday, after the weding.....	242
8.8.3 <i>Antigamos</i> [second wedding]	243
Chapter Nine: General observations about wedding songs and ceremonies.....	244
9.1 Changes in wedding ceremonies and their music since the mid-twentieth century.....	247
Chapter Ten: General discussion about weddings of the mid-twentieth century.....	251
Chapter Eleven: Conclusions.....	257
11.1 wedding practices and music as a means of expressing and preserving identity.....	258
11.2 The functions of wedding music and songs in the community of the mid-twentieth century.....	263
11.3 Music revival in Cyprus through contemporary wedding practices.....	266
11.4 Reasons for reviving and preserving tradition of Greek Cypriot culture during the decade 2005-2015.....	269
11.5 Suggestions for further research.....	270
APPENDICES	274
Appendix 1: The wedding song.....	274
Appendix 2: The main wedding song.....	279
INTERVIEWS	284
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	286

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Location of Cyprus.....	25
Figure 1.2. Towns and villages of Cyprus	28
Figure 2.1. The groom is ready to be adorned	53
Figure 2.2. The best man shaves the groom to the accompaniment of the main wedding song....	57
Figure 2.3 The Dowry dance.....	58
Figure 2.4 The best man dresses the groom in the shirt.....	59
Figure 2.5 The best man puts the watch on the groom.....	59
Figure 2.6 The best man places the groom’s shoes on his feet.....	60
Figure 2.7 The best man fastens the groom’s tie.....	60
Figure 2.8. The groom is smoked by his father.....	61
Figure 2.9. The mother of the groom performs the <i>zwman</i>	62
Figure 2.10. The bride’s mother tells the names of the relatives who will perform the customs..	63
Figure 2.11. Decorated table at the bride’s house.....	64
Figure 2.12.The <i>tseston</i> with the bride’s ‘dowry’	64
Figure 2.13. Nicole’s <i>tseston</i> , spread with white rose petals.....	64
Figure 2.14. The Dowry dance is performed.....	65
Figure 2.15 The Dowry dance.....	65
Figure 2.16. The bride writes the names of her single friends on her bridal shoes	66
Figure 2.17 The chief bridesmaid puts on the bride’s shoes.....	68

Figure 2.18 The chief bridesmaid puts on the bride's earrings.....	68
Figure 2.19 The chief bridesmaid puts the ring on the bride.....	69
Figure 2.20 The smoking of the bride.....	69
Figure 2.21 The smoking of the bride by her mother.....	70
Figure 2.22 The <i>zwman</i> of the bride by her father.....	71
Figure 2.23 The bride processes a short distance to the church.....	72
Figure 2.24 The 'Isaiah Dance'.....	76
Figure 2.25 The newlyweds are showered by confetti, rice and rose petals.....	77
Figure 2.26 The newlyweds are showered by rice, white rose petals and confetti.....	77
Figure 2.27 Food is ready to be offered to the guests at the cocktail reception.....	79
Figure 2.28 Live music was performed at this cocktail reception.....	80
Figure 2.29 The two disc jockeys are ready for the entertainment for the wedding feast.....	83
Figure 2.30 Wedding cake and champagne for the newlyweds.....	84
Figure 2.31 Nicole and Demetris have just cut their wedding cake and are ready for their dance, while their disc jockey is preparing the song.....	84
Figure 2.32 The <i>Zeimbekiko dance</i>	87
Figure 2.33 The newlyweds (Nicole and Demetris) and the guests dance circle dances.....	88
Figure 3.1 The front cover of the invitation for George's and Georgia's wedding, drawn by Athinodwros. May 2012, Nicosia.....	94
Figure 3.2. The poem (<i>tsiattisto</i>) written by George and Georgia, printed inside the invitation to their wedding.....	95

Figure 3.3 George, the young lutenist who is a friend of the groom George, wears breeches during the shaving of the groom.....	98
Figure 3.4 The Dowry dance. The boots, skirt and traditional embroidered jerkin are placed in the <i>tseston</i> to be danced with by the guests. A young child is also dressed in traditional Cypriot clothes.....	99
Figure 3.5 The groom is now ready, dressed in his breeches.....	99
Figure 3.6 The best man puts on the boots to complete the traditional dress	100
Figure 3.7 The groom's father puts on the red kerchief	100
Figure 3.8 The groom's mother makes the cross three times to smoke him and give him her greetings.....	101
Figure 3.9 Athinodwros, wearing traditional dress, is holding the pumpkin which he painted and the bread he made.....	101
Figure 3.10 The procession to church.....	102
Figure 3.11 The bride goes to the church in a carriage.....	103
Figure 3.12 The bride and the groom are sprinkled with rosewater.	103
Figure 3.13 The decorated bread which was offered to the guests after the wedding service....	104
Figure 3.14 Athinodwros offers the bread and some wine to a guest outside the church.....	105
Figure 3.15 Just married, the newlyweds leave the church in a carriage.....	106
Figure 3.16 The bridesmaids prepare the bridal bed.....	107
Figure 3.17 The bridal bed is ready, settled with the red and white kerchief in the middle.....	107
Figure 3.18 An acoustic guitar player accompanies the violinist, instead of a lutenist.....	113

Figure 3.19 Young folk musicians advertise on their Facebook page. This traditional Cypriot group performs at weddings.....	117
Figure 3.20 Athinodwros advertises his traditional radio programme on his Facebook page.....	114
Figure 3.21 A performance at the Cyprus Rialto World Music Festival: the Lingua Franca Ensemble performs folk music, 10th July 2014.....	118
Figure 4.1 Vyrwnis Georgiou playing his lute with his eagle plectrum.....	128
Figure 4.2 Kiriakos Theodwrou performs with his violin in his house in the Zakaki area of Limassol.....	128
Figure 4.3 The violinist, Zavros and the lutenist Vyrwnis perform wedding songs for the present research, at Vyrwnis' house in Trachoni village.....	128
Figure 4.4 Fylaktou Anthoulla performs wedding songs for the present research, at her house in Koilani village.	129
Figure 4.5 Pericles Iordanou playing his violin in his house at Pachna village.....	130
Figure 4.6 Pericles being interviewed in his back yard of his house.....	130
Figure 4.7 Nikolatzis in his house in Koilani village.....	131
Figure 4.8 Nakis Iordanou performs with his violin at his father's house in Pachna village.....	131
Figure 4.9 Katina singing, at Linopetra district of Limassol.....	132
Figure 4.10. Kosta Panais playing his lute at his house in Agia Fyla village of Limassol.....	132
Figure 4.11 Kosta in his house, showing the violins and lutes he repairs. His <i>tamboutsia</i> is placed in the middle of his lutes.....	133
Figure 4.12 Nikos Charalambous, violinist, and Andreas Charalambous, lutenist.	133
Figure 4.13 Xatzimichael performing on his lute at his house in Frenaros village.....	134
Figure 5.1 A dowry settlement from the groom's parents. From Eythimios Ioannou at Giolou village, Paphos.	140

Figure 5.2 A dowry settlement from the bride's parents. From Eythimios Ioannou at Giolou village, Paphos.....	142
Figure 6.1 A procession of the bride at Koilani village in August, 1970.....	192
Figure 6.2 Procession of the bride, her parents, relatives and musicians to the church for the wedding liturgy.....	193
Figure 8.1 The newlyweds dancing for the <i>ploumisman</i>	227
Figure 10.1 An invitation for a wedding on Facebook: a modern way to invite people in contemporary Cyprus.....	253

Acknowledgments

There are a number of people who were instrumental in producing this work and to whom I am extremely grateful. Particular thanks go to my main supervisor Dr Andrew Killick and also to Dr Simon Keegan-Phipps, who approved the idea of studying Greek Cypriot weddings, for their advice and assistance in my research and their helpful comments to complete this project. I also wish to express my gratitude to the many folk musicians for taking the time to share their reminiscences of the wedding ceremonies of the mid-twentieth century with me. I thank the newlyweds who were so willing to share with me the sacred moments of their marriage and also to provide their ideas on wedding customs and music of contemporary Cyprus.

Lastly, the greatest debt of gratitude is owed to my family - to my children, Andrea and Michalis, for their unfailing encouragement and support during the endless hours of studying and their help with video recording while doing my fieldwork. It is to them that this work is dedicated, with much love.

List of Music Examples

All transcriptions have been made by the author

Example 5.1. The 'Wool, Bed and Dowry dance' tune.....	145
Example 5.2. The 'Pulverising and the Washing of the Wheat Song'.....	149
Example 5.3. 'Bathing Song', recorded in Koilani village.....	152
Example 5.4. The ' <i>Manatsas</i> Song'.....	154
Example 5.5. The 'Sewing of the Crosses on the Bridal Bed Song'.....	157
Example 5.6. My 'Thin Basil' Song. <i>Syrtos</i> Dance.....	159
Example 6.1. The melody of the 'Wedding Song' from Katina	162
Example 6.2. The 'Wedding Song' of Koilani village performed by Nikolatzis.	162
Example 6.3. A 'Wedding Song' performed by Charalambous Nicola and Andreas, at the wedding ceremony at Germasogeia village 20 th of August, 2011.....	164
Example 6.4. The 'Song of the Groom'. The history of Zacharous.....	170
Example 6.5 The main 'Wedding Song'. Recorded by R.I.K. in 1961.....	179
Example 6.6. Praising the bride. 'Song for the bride'.....	181
Example 6.7. The song ' <i>I Pertika</i> '.....	186
Example 6.8. The song of 'Kallistheni', recorded at Koilani village.....	187
Example 6.9.A 'Comic Song' from Anthoulla who loved an old man.....	189
Example 6.10. 'The crying woman' from Avgorou village.....	191

Example 6.11. The ' <i>Zanpashis</i> ' wedding march, which was performed during the procession to the church.....	194
Example 6.12. 'Black is the Night' tune.....	195
Example 6.13. A tune used during the processions.....	197
Example 6.14. 'Wedding march'.....	198
Example 6.15. ' <i>O Morogiannos</i> '.....	199
Example 7.1. The song for the newlyweds ' <i>To traoudin tou antroinou</i> '.	205
Example 7.2. A 'Wedding Song' from Frenaros village.	208
Example 8.1. First male ' <i>Kartzilamas</i> ' dance.	211
Example 8.2. The second and third <i>Kartzilamas</i> dance.	214
Example 8.3. The ' <i>tsiattisto</i> ' song inserted between the third and fourth kartzilama Dance.....	216
Example 8.4. The fourth male ' <i>Kartzilamas</i> ' dance.	219
Example 8.5. The first female ' <i>Kartzilamas</i> ' [singular form of <i>Kartzilamades</i> which is the plural form] dance.....	220
Example 8.6. The second female ' <i>Kartzilamas</i> ' dance.....	222
Example 8.7. The third female ' <i>Kartzilamas</i> ' dance.....	224
Example 8.8 The fourth female ' <i>Kartzilamas</i> ' dance.....	225
Example 8.9. The song of the ' <i>Ploumisman tou Antroinou</i> '	228
Example 8.10. The 'Cypriot <i>Zeimbekiko</i> '.....	234
Example 8.11. The 'Fox' tune.....	234
Example 8.12. 'Eleni-Elenara <i>mou</i> '.	235

Example 8.13. 'Saint Philip's' song.....	235
Example 8.14. 'I told you to comb your hair'.....	236
Example 8.15. <i>Kalamatianos</i> dance. ' <i>Agapisa tin pou karkias</i> ' [I loved her deep in my heart].	237
Example 8.16. 'The <i>Mantra -Pologiastos</i> ' tune.	238
Example 8.17. The song for 'Preparing the Spaghetti'.....	240

DVD 2016 Contents

All recordings have been made by the author unless cited differently.

- Track 1. 'Wedding Song for Smoking' the groom and *zwman*. Iordanou Nakis, violinist and singer, Fragialoudakis Giannis lutenist, Limassol, 5 June 2012. 19.00
- Track 2. The 'Wool, Bed and Dowry dance'. Vouzounis Aimilios, folk violinist, Vouzounis Andreas, lutenist, both singers, Germasogeia village, 26 May 2012. 1.24
- Track 3. The 'Adornment of the Groom' (shoes, smoking *zwman*). Limnatitis Elias, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Zakaki village, 5 June 2012 1.23
- Track 4. The Dowry dance of the bride. Limnatitis Elias, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Zakaki village, 5 June 2012 2.04
- Track 5. The custom of writing on the bridal shoes. Limnatitis Elias, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Zakaki village, 5 June 2012 10.53
- Track 6. The newlyweds entrance. '*Den s' allazw*'. Anna Vissi, popular Greek singer performed by the Disc Jockey. The DJ used youtube.com <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qBHKbIHFz24>. Accessed 28th October, 2014.
- Track 7. The dance of the couple Greek slow song. The belly dance show. youtube.com
- Track 9. The 'Zanpashis' tune. Klouvatos Demetris, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Ipsonas village, 2 September, 2012 0.51
- Track 10. The 'Washing of the Wheat'. Klouvatos Demetris, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Ipsonas village, 2 September, 2012 4.13
- Track 11. The 'Pulverising the Wheat'. Klouvatos Demetris, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Ipsonas village 2 September, 2012 0.33
- Track 12. The 'Adorning of the Groom'. Klouvatos Demetris, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Ipsonas village 2 September, 2012 14.40

- Track 13. 'Sowing the crosses'. Klouvatos Demetris, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Ipsonas village 2 September, 2012 4.57
- Track 14. The 'Making, Smoking of the Bed, Roll a child'. Klouvatos Demetris, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Ipsonas village, 2 September, 2012 3.28
- Track 15. The 'Song to Collect Chickens'. Klouvatos Demetris, folk violinist, Parashos Andreas, lutenist, Ipsonas village 2 September, 2012 2.22
- Track 16. The 'Pulverising the Wheat Song', second version. Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist and folk singer, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Limassol, 10 July 2011 4.29
- Track 17. 'Wedding Song' of Koilani village. Fylaktou Anthoulla. Folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 1.08
- Track 18. '*Manatsas* Song'. Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist and folk singer, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Limassol, 10 July 2011 2.03
- Track 19. The 'Newlywed's Bed Dance'. Theodwrou Kyriakos, folk violinist, Zakaki distinct, Limassol, 1 November 2011 2.23
- Track 20. The 'Sowing of the Bed'. Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist and folk singer, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Ipsonas village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 3.46
- Track 21. 'My Thin Basil'. Folk singer Olga Potamitou, violinist Kosta Panais, Limassol, 9 September 2010 3.05
- Track 22. A variation of 'Wedding Song'. Andreou, Katina folk singer, Linopetra, Limassol, 4 June, 2009 0.23
- Track 23. A variation of 'Wedding Song'. 'Shaving'. Nikolatzis folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 0.21
- Track 24. The whole wedding ceremony of the 'Adornment'. Charalambous Nicola folk singer and violinist and Charalambous Andreas folk singer and lutenist, wedding ceremony at Germasogeia village, 20 August, 2011 3.42

- Track 25. The smoking, the *zwman* song. Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist and folk singer, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Trahwni village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 4.05
- Track 26. The 'History of Zacharous/song for the Groom'. Nikolatzis, folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 6.14
- Track 27. The main 'Wedding Song', 1961. Lutenist: Liontaris Xenis, violinist: Kiamillos George, singer Konstantinou Vasos. Tamboutsia player: Xrysovergis Xristos, Recorded in 1961 by R.I.K. in Nicosia. 4.3
- Track 28. The 'Adornment' of the bride. Fylakou Anthoulla, folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 1.57
- Track 29. 'Song for the Bride'. Nikolatzis, folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 0.23
- Track 30. Song to 'Praise the Bride'. Nikolatzis, folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 0.51
- Track 31. '*I pertika*' Song for the bride. Xatzimichael Michalis, folk singer and researcher of Cypriot folk music, Frenaros village, 17 August 2011 1.05
- Track 32. 'Kallistheni' song. Fylakou Anthoulla, folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 2.56
- Track 33. The 'Comic Song'. Fylakou Anthoulla, folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 1.23
- Track 34. '*Nekalisti Avgoritissa*'. Xatzimichael Michalis, folk singer and researcher of Cypriot folk music, Frenaros village, 17 August 2011 0.50
- Track 35. 'Black is the night' tune. Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Limassol, 19 May 2012 0.37
- Track 36. Tune for the procession towards the church. Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Limassol, 19 May 2012 2.49

- Track 37. Tune for the procession, wedding march. Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Limassol, 19 May 2012 1.02
- Track 38. Mwrogiannos. Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Limassol, 19 May 2012 2.51
- Track 39. 'Song for the newlyweds'. Charalambous, Nikos, folk violinist and singer. Charalambous, Andreas, folk lutenist and singer, Hantria village, Limassol, 19 August 2011 2.01
- Track 40. 'Wedding song' of Frenaros. Xatzimichael Michalis, folk singer and researcher of Cypriot folk music. Andreas Tsokkos, folk violinist, Frenaros, 17 August 2011 2.19
- Track 41. 'Male Kartzilamas Dances' (1, 2, 3, 4). Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist and folk singer, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Limassol, 10 July 2011 3.38
- Track 42. The 'Fourth Male Kartzilamas' dance. Theodwrou Kyriakos, folk violinist, Zakaki distinct, Limassol, 1 November 2011 1.55
- Track 43. The 'Female Kartzilamas Dance'. Vyrwnis Georgiou, lutenist and folk singer, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Trahwini village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 5.09
- Track 44. 'Dance, bride'. Iordanou Nakis, folk violinist and singer, Pahna, 13 May 2012 3.08
- Track 45. '*Kypriako Zeimbekiko*'. Charalambous, Nikos, folk violinist and Charalambous Andreas, folk lutenist, Hantria village, Limassol, 19 August 2011 1.18
- Track 46. 'The fox' tune. Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Trahwini village, Limassol, 10 July 2011. 1.16
- Track 47. 'Eleni Elenara *mou*'. Xatzimichael Michalis, folk singer, lutenist and researcher of Cypriot folk music, Frenaros, 17 August 2011 0.57
- Track 48. 'Saint Philip's Song'. Xatzimichael Michalis, folk singer, lutenist and researcher of Cypriot folk music, Frenaros, 17 August 2011 1.29

- Track 49. 'I told you to comb your hair' song. Xatzimichael Michalis, folk singer, lutenist and researcher of Cypriot folk music, Frenaros, 17 August 2011 1.11
- Track 50. 'The waves of the Danube' of Iosif Ivanovici. Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Trahwni village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 1.16
- Track 51. 'Misherlou Tango'. Theodwrou Kyriakos, folk violinist, Zakaki distinct, Limassol, 1 November 2011 0.47
- Track 52. '*Besame Mucho* Tango'. Theodwrou Kyriakos, folk violinist, Zakaki distinct, Limassol, 1 November 2011 1.12
- Track 53. '*Agapisa tin pou karkias*' [I loved her deep in my heart]. Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Trahwni village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 3.19
- Track 54. '*Mantra-Pologiastos*'. Theodwrou Kyriakos, folk violinist, Zakaki distinct, Limassol, 1 November 2011 1.16
- Track 55. The 'Song for the spaghetti'. Theodwrou Kyriakos, folk violinist, Zakaki distinct, Limassol, 1 November 2011 2.22
- Track 56. Kozam mars. Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Trahwni village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 0.40
- Track 57. '*Zanpashis*'. Iordanou Nakis, folk violinist, Pahna, 13 May 2012 1.41
- Track 58. *Tamboutsia* performance of 'Kartzilamas Dance'. Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Trahwni village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 3.36
- Track 59. The '*Tyllirkwtissa* Song'. Vyrwnis Georgiou lutenist, Zavros Giannis, folk violinist, Trahwni village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 2.37
- Track 60. *Pithkiavlin* performance. Kyriakou Andreas, folk pithniavlin player, Mathkiatis village, Nicosia, 14 July 2011 0.54

- Track 61. *Pithkiavlin* and singing performance. Christakkos Andreas, Paralimni village, Ammochwstos, 6 September 2.20
- Track 62. Snake leather *pithkiavlin* and old instruments, Frenaros, 19 August, 2011. 0.36
- Track 63. Ttasos adorning the brides tune with two *pithkiavlin*. Performed by Vasos Ttasou, at Xylophagou village, Larnaca, during the 1960s. v 1.53
- Track 64. 'Sewing the crosses on the bed'. Fylakou Anthoulla, Folk singer, Koilani village, Limassol, 10 September 2011 0.36
- Track 65. Song performed out of the church. Charalambous Nicola, folk singer and violinist, Charalambous Andreas, folk singer and lutenist, wedding ceremony at Germasogeia village, 20 August, 2011 2.01
- Track 66. '*To tertin tis kartoullas mou*'. Singer and lutenist: the author. Trahwini village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 0.34
- Track 67. '*Thalassaki*' with *pithkiavlin*. Kyriakou Andreas, folk *pithniavlin* player, Mathkiatis village, Nicosia, 14 July, 2011 1.11
- Track 68. '*Tris kaloiroi Kritikoi*' [Three Cretan monks]. Charalambous, Nikos, folk violinist and Charalambous Andreas, folk lutenist, Hantria village, Limassol, 19 August 2011 1.42
- Track 69. 'Erwtokritos'. Folk singer Onisiforou Lakis. Koilani village, Limassol, 10 May 2011 2.47
- Track 70. 'Kalamatianos Dance'. Folk singer and violinist Zavros Giannis, lutenist, the author, Trahwini village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 0.45
- Track 71. The main 'Wedding Song'. Violinist Zavros Giannis, singer and lutenist the author Trahwini village, Limassol, 10 July 2011 2.04

Chapter One: Introduction

‘Only when we feel ourselves losing the old ways do we begin to think about preserving and reviving them’ (Dunaway and Beer, 2012, p.1). As we will see later in the thesis, many factors seem to have contributed to a feeling amongst Greek Cypriots that they are losing the old ways, being driven away from their roots. Thus, a need to revive them in the sense of preserving them was created. Weddings have become a vehicle by which to preserve and revive these old ways and the old customs and music, so that the participants feel that they are close to their roots again.

Tzimithou kori mou akrivi,
 tzie men eshis tin ennia,
 tzie pou Defteras erkete,
 o vasilias proxenia.

Sleep my precious daughter,
 and don't care about anything,
 next Monday the King is coming,
 to ask you to be his wife, through a matchmaker.

These are the lyrics of a lullaby that my grandmother used to sing to me when I was a child. They belong to a traditional lullaby and I still remember her whispering and explaining the lyrics to my ears: ‘You don't have to stress yourself anymore, my child, the matchmaker will come next Monday, in order to announce the proposal of the king to marry you’. Similarly, some Greek Cypriot apothegms, which are used daily in Cypriot life, appeal to children and are also related to marriage:

‘If you don't eat all your food and leave some on your plate, you will marry an ugly man/woman when you grow up.’

‘Don't eat food from the cooking pot my child, because it will rain on your wedding day’.

‘Don't sit at the corner of the table, because when you grow up you will marry the son/daughter of the priest.’

An apothegm in Greek Cypriot dialect with rhymed endings is worth giving in the original language:

Essis korin is tin sousan, ta proitzia is tin sentoukan.

This means, 'If you have a daughter at the age of using a cradle, you should have already prepared her dowry in the hope chest', because she will be of marriageable age in a short time (Anthoulla, interview, September 2011). Anthoulla, who is a folk singer in her village, also added that during the mid-twentieth century mothers taught their daughters how to weave on a drawloom at a very early age, around eight years old, with the aim of preparing their dowry which would include bed sheets, bedcovers, tablecloths and so on, all hand made by the girls.

A conclusion from the above lyrics and apothegms could be that parents, especially mothers and grandmothers, directed the thoughts of their children towards marriage from an early stage of life. An ethnographic study of Greek Cypriot wedding customs by Prwtopapa (2005, p.17) agrees, and refers to the planning and the preparation of the child for his/her marriage and family restitution from his/her birth. Then, when he/she grows up and has his/her own children, he/she would follow the same procedure with his/her own children. Thus, the role of Cypriots concerning the way they regard marriage differs depending on age: in youth the mind is directed towards marriage by parents, and in adulthood he/she is the one to direct the minds of his/her children.

Regarding the importance of wedding music and songs in Greek Cypriot wedding rituals, one could say that it could not be a wedding without music and songs, and that by hearing the particular wedding music one could understand that a Greek Cypriot wedding was taking place. The wedding music and songs highlight the importance of marriage among Greek Cypriots as the main social event of their lives. It is through the music and songs that the customs are performed and the roles of the participants are given, thus giving coherence to the sequence. Moreover, it is through the music and songs that feelings of all kinds are evoked in order for the guests and all at the wedding to participate with body and soul.

In my MA studies, culminating in my dissertation in 2009, while exploring the various factors which had affected Greek Cypriot folk music I found that a study of Greek Cypriot wedding music would be an interesting subject, as the folk musicians who were recorded and interviewed for the dissertation often mentioned weddings and the music and customs which were no longer present in contemporary wedding ceremonies. Most of them were so concerned about the music which was being abandoned that I considered it as a debt I owed them to make a further study out of respect for them and for my culture. In addition, I was curious to find out why the traditional

wedding ceremony is again surfacing, how the wedding ceremony was conducted during the mid-twentieth century. Combining this with the lack of literature on Greek Cypriot folk music, which I revealed while I was doing my MA, I decided to undertake the present study.

During my MA dissertation studies, my respected tutor had also encouraged me to do more research on Cypriot folk music. I reflect back on how my interest in wedding music came about as a result of the combination of academic curiosity, personal experience with participatory music making and also as a music teacher who teaches traditional songs. As a folk singer, flautist, guitarist, and mandolin player I have very often performed as a soloist in a variety of traditional music ensembles, including performing Cypriot folk music with the municipal band of my town. I have also had the luck to be a member of a folklore dancing group of my town where we learned how to perform Cypriot folk dances and Greek traditional dances. During the shows and rehearsals the music was performed live by folk musicians, such as Gewrgiou Vyrwnis, Zavros Giannis, and Charalambous Andreas. I was also asked by the administration of the folklore group to organize a children's choir to sing the folk songs while the dancers performed. Thus, my involvement in folk music is not just an interest at the theoretical level, but has also been expressed through practical activities. These attitudes and emotions resonated strongly with the experiences of participatory music making and stimulated my interest in doing the present research.

Some more questions formed in my mind: What customs and music did newlyweds use during their weddings? Why do contemporary couples want to use elements from traditional weddings? Why do they select some specific customs with their music and reject others? Why do they want to use weddings so show their identity? Is it characteristic of other societies to revive customs in weddings? Are there analogies with Sugarman's (1997) study of Prespa Albanian wedding songs? How does that relate to existing literature and general ideas in ethnomusicology?

Could the phenomenon of reviving 'old practices' from the mid-twentieth century be called a 'resurgence', as Keegan-Phipps and Winter (2013) define it, or a 'revival' as defined by Livingston (1999)? I decided to use the term 'revival' for the case of Cypriot music and customs for a number of reasons. The main reason is that the need for 'rescue' was obvious in all the case studies of the wedding ceremonies and was also mentioned by the newlyweds during their interviews. All the interviewees were concerned about the danger of annihilation of their musical tradition and

wedding customs. I return to the distinction between ‘resurgence’ and ‘revival’ in the Conclusion under subheading 11.3.

Comparing the customs and music in contemporary weddings with those performed in the mid-twentieth century, I was intrigued by striking similarities in activities, customs and use of music during the ceremonies. Thus, I started recording wedding ceremonies and analysed five case studies of contemporary wedding practices. I tried to determine whether this trend to revive the past century’s practices could be called a music revival, or a means to express identity in relation to the historical and sociological background of Cyprus.

In this study, I make my own contribution to knowledge on the specific subject of wedding music revival and identity of the isle of Cyprus and also on the more general ethnomusicological theme of revivals in post-colonial and post-war countries. I also try to show how the preservation of customs and music may assist the preservation of national identity, especially for post-war countries.

1.1 The geographical, historical, and sociological context of the period

The musical culture of Cyprus has been shaped by a history in which it has been occupied by many conquerors since ancient times because of its important geographical position. Cyprus is located in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, 113km south of Turkey, and around 120km west of the Syrian coast. Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Israel and Egypt surround it. It has a strategic location in the Mediterranean neighbouring with the major continents of Asia, Africa and Europe.



Figure 1.1: Location of Cyprus.

<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/europe/cy.htm>. Accessed 6th of April 2014.

The geographical position of the island played a crucial role in the historical background of the country.

As Behague claims, researching a country's performance practice, without being informed of its historical background and its culture, would be self-defeating (Behague, 1985, p.383). The period selected for this study of past practice, for comparison with the contemporary period, is the years 1930-1970. This is the period for which I could obtain the most solid testimonies from the oldest folk musicians who had experienced and performed in wedding sequences of the past century. An account of the past before the examined period is important to learn the background and the circumstances under which Greek Cypriot folk songs were created and performed.

The history of Cyprus reveals that since antiquity Cyprus has been ruled by several conquerors. Archaeological remains and plenty of epigraphic records attest that ancient Cyprus was multicultural and multilingual. However, 650 texts can be confirmed to be written in Greek Cypriot language, in around the late fourth century (Steele, 2013, p.105). Steele (2013, p.5) also

refers to the 'Cypriot Syllabary', the script of writing Greek and Eteocypriot (meaning one or more unknown languages) documented since the eighteenth century B.C. in Cypriot epigraphs. However, we cannot be precise about the date as there are texts which are of unknown date. From ancient times, Cyprus had many conquerors that left traces of their ancient civilisations on the island culture. Due to its geographical position and its strategic importance, being at the intersection of the three continents, Cyprus has been under the rule of many empires and dynasties including the Achaeans, Phoenicians, Mycenaeans, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Macedonians of the Hellenistic period, Romans, Byzantines, Franks, Venetians, Turks and British. Since then, Cyprus has been an important centre of Greek culture and life despite other influences and foreign occupations (Georgiou, 2005, p.113).

The Byzantine Period, which includes the years of 330-1191, is divided in three sub-periods: the Early Byzantine (330-649), the Arab raids (649-965) and the Main Byzantine Period (965-119). The flourishing monastic culture of this period was an important feature of cultural life, affecting art, church architecture and painting, and socio-political institutions (Kyrris, 1996, p.206). After the Byzantine period, many other colonists followed including the Franks (1192-1489), Venetians (1489-1571), Ottomans (1571-1878) and British (1878-1960) (Graikos, 1980, p.190) who as invaders provided Cypriots with many aspects of their civilization. From 1489, a prosperous period followed for Cypriots under the Venetian rule and some valuable works in poetry and literature appear. Folk songs from this period include many love songs which refer to a woman's beautiful black eyes, long black hair, and red lips and cheeks, comparing her with partridges and other beautiful birds, just as we find in many of the wedding songs which will be examined in this study (Zarmas, 1993, p.4).

As concerns the nearest historical past, I will refer to Cyprus which was a part of the Ottoman Empire for 307 years (1571-1878). Those years were very difficult for Cypriots who suffered from heavy taxation and the maltreatment and pressure of the Turks' administration of the island. In 1878, after a secret agreement between Sultan Lala Moustafa and the prime minister of Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire ended and Cyprus became a part of the British Empire, under military occupation until 1925. Then with the Treaty of Lausanne it became a Crown colony from 1925-1960 (Katsonis, 1994, p.164).

During the years of British Empire, Cyprus desired union with Greece. Many Cypriots cooperated and fought with the British army in the two World Wars because they wanted to show goodwill towards the UK in order to gain freedom for Cyprus. Through these years, the Cypriots' dream was to gain freedom for their country and they did not lose an opportunity to express their national feelings with actions. In October 1930 Cypriots rose against their bondage and set fire to the Municipal Hall of the capital and to several police stations of the country. After that, the British Government imposed restrictions on Greek Cypriots such as a curfew, meaning that the Cypriots were not allowed to leave their houses between sunset and sunrise. Another restriction was the control of all the telegraphs Cypriots sent abroad. The freedom of press was forbidden, as well as all meetings with friends or relatives. More than a thousand Cypriots were imprisoned or banished. The teaching of Greek history was also forbidden in school, as well as the singing of the Greek anthem. That was a difficult period for the country. In 1955-59 a strong campaign by the Greek Cypriot group EOKA freed Cyprus from Britain. The Treaty of Zurich gave the country its independence in 1960 and announced the first Republic of Cyprus, with a Greek Cypriot president for first time in Cypriot history (Polydorou, 1994, pp.106-107).

The sociological context of Greek Cypriot society of 1930-1970 defines the father of the family as the main authority and the head of the household who dominated in the private realm of the home. 'The father was the one who had to assure the living of the whole family' (Iordanou Pericles, May 2012) while 'women had the responsibilities of raising the children and doing the housework' (Anthoula, September, 2011). It was a patriarchal society that was reflected in folk music in general and specifically in wedding tunes, which were performed by instrument players who were always men. Only on rare occasions did women sing the wedding songs, and that was only allowed when there were no musicians in the community where the wedding took place or the adjacent communities.

The period from 1970 to 2010 is largely unexplored in this study as the Turkish invasion of 1974 led to a hiatus in traditional wedding practices and music during this period. The invasion produced all the dramatic results of war, leaving orphans and refugees, and all aspects of life generally as well as wedding sequences were so profoundly affected by the Turkish invasion that it would be wise to undertake a separate study for this period.

Concerning contemporary Cyprus, the country is still occupied by the Turks, but Greek Cypriots feel the hope of a peaceful solution of living together. Many meetings of politicians are taking place to resolve the ethnic problem. Also, thousands of immigrants from several neighbouring countries, but also from Vietnam, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Syria have been living in Cyprus for many years. Thus, Cyprus is mostly an amalgamation of several cultures. In addition to that, the financial crisis of the last two years has affected Cypriot people's life and their way of thinking. Such is the background and the environment in which the newlyweds live. It is important to keep this in mind as it affects the way of thinking, in making choices and acting, in people's daily lives, but also the most crucial event of their lives, their wedding.

It is important to describe the area of Cyprus that my research covered. I tried to explore the area of Greek Cyprus which is free and where I can easily access the villages. I tried to cover all corners of Cyprus where I could find living folk musicians. The villages I visited for my fieldwork are marked in yellow on the map of Cyprus below.



Figure 1.2. Towns and villages of Cyprus.

<http://www.cyperus-maps.com/>. Accessed 2nd June 2014.

1.2. The aims of the thesis

Since the tradition of Greek Cypriot wedding music is a largely uncharted area of study, there were many directions in which I could have taken my research. With this study, I aim to examine and analyse contemporary wedding practices in comparison to mid-twentieth century wedding practices. I analyse the reasons for the trend to revive 'old' practices and try to find the reasons why some customs and music are no longer performed in wedding ceremonies. The rationale of this research is based on the general view that the traditional music of any country forms an important component of the culture, civilisation and national identity of that country. Music revivals, which aim to restore and preserve a musical tradition that is believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past, are social movements which concern many ethnomusicologists (Livingston, 1999, p.68). A secondary aim was to fill gaps that I perceived in the existing literature and to expand the general theoretical discourse on music revivals, tradition and identity in a post-colonial yet still occupied country. These issues have clearly been an area of interest in many corners of the world, but Cyprus has not so far been fortunate enough to be included in these studies. The history of Cyprus as a frequently conquered country might have influenced the way its people have negotiated a balance between holding tight to the roots of their musical tradition and following the international trends of contemporary times, which could be of interest to ethnomusicologists and other scholars as a new subject of research.

However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations which have been described and to state that there is a need for refinement which may come from further studies and subsequent methodological debates. It is also necessary to list the concepts and areas which this project will not address. There will be no analysis of Greek wedding music, as it is very different from Greek Cypriot music. Neither will there be a comparison with contemporary Greek customs and music, as my attempts to study Greek wedding music were fruitless: there appear to be no ethnomusicological or other studies on contemporary Greek weddings. I have been to Megaro Library, to the National Archaeological Museum and Library, and to the Ethnomusicological Museum of Anoyianakis in Athens in search of such literature, but to no avail. Neither do I refer to musical traditions of any other ethnic groups who live permanently in Cyprus. The long Ottoman period left some influences on Greek Cypriot music, such as similarities of tunes in marches like Kozam March and Zanpashis (DVD 2016, TRACK 9) which also have Turkish names and

probably Turkish derivation. A study of other ethnic groups, especially the Ottoman influence, would be too broad for this project and calls for a separate study in itself.

To sum up, I aim to contribute to the general ethnomusicological understanding of music revivals and expression of identity through wedding songs and customs in an occupied country with many previous conquerors in its history.

I have observed a tendency among new couples in the last decade to revive some of the wedding practices of the past during their wedding sequences. All the newlyweds I spoke to wanted to preserve customs and music as a means of preserving tradition, but not all the customs and songs of the wedding ceremonies. For instance, they may choose to perform only the first phase of the adornment and the procession to the church. I refer to their actions with terms I have invented, ‘selective preservation’ of tradition and ‘selective music revival’. The reasons for this selectivity will be analysed later in Part Two. Only in one of my five case studies did the newlyweds try to revive all the customs and accompany them with music and songs as they appeared during the last century.

Besides the academic contribution of the present research, I also aim to help this music revival wave practically in two ways. Firstly, my research makes available a detailed reconstruction of a wedding ceremony of the mid-twentieth century and I wish to edit this work eventually into a book in Greek, so that generations who no longer have veteran folk musicians to perform the customs and music can find information on past practices. I also intend, with the suggestion and advice of my supervisors and examiners, to edit my thesis into a book in English, for other scholars, ethnomusicologists or even English-speaking couples (perhaps of Greek descent) who would like to learn about Greek Cypriot wedding ceremonies. Secondly, I will teach the wedding songs from the video recordings of folk musicians to children at the schools where I teach. Although this does not directly form part of the present thesis, I consider it important for a scholar to act practically rather than only at a theoretical level of discussion. In this respect, my work is related to the recent growth of ‘applied ethnomusicology’. Being a music teacher at a government school, I have the opportunity to have contact with children from six to twelve years old. I teach 330 children weekly and try to propagate and encourage them to love and respect the Greek Cypriot music tradition and also folk songs and games from other cultures and countries.

A new cultural revival, a movement to restore and preserve both the customs and the music of weddings, has been revealed with this study of Greek Cypriot culture. The efforts to revive the ceremony of the mid-twentieth century in contemporary weddings form a conscious movement by youth to ‘rescue’ the Greek Cypriot tradition. There have been other efforts to ‘rescue’ the Greek Cypriot tradition and wedding songs by Greek Cypriot musicologists like Apostolides in 1910, Kallinikos in 1951, Ioannides in 1960 and others after them, but these were only collectors who transcribed and edited folk songs, including some wedding songs. Their editions were anthologies which included the songs they had collected and transcribed. There were no focused research questions or discussion on issues in Greek Cypriot folk music, such as the relationship between folk songs and Byzantine music, the effects of the several conquerors on Greek Cypriot music, the importance of wedding music for the wedding procedure, or the development of the wedding music and dances of the twentieth century. Although the above literature does not include any discussion about Greek Cypriot folk songs as the present thesis provides, the efforts of the musicologists who collected folk songs are of great importance. They provide a field for further study, comparing these notations with the transcriptions of the present study to see the evolution of the folk music and wedding songs over time. The above books will therefore be discussed in the literature review below.

My research also reveals how some of the past century’s wedding practices have changed their forms in order to be transmitted and renewed, or adapted to new circumstances of life. Some of these, especially the instrumentation and the repertory used in the cocktail reception and the wedding banquet, are closer to Central European weddings. Thus, we observe a trend for modernisation of wedding practices and a tendency to be more ‘Europeanised’ is clear in contemporary Greek Cyprus. I will refer here only to the custom of pinning money to the newlyweds (explained in Part Two). This custom was loved by the newlyweds and all who were present at the banquet in the past century, as a matter of showing off and competition as to who could pin the most money to the new couple, but interviews for this study showed that nowadays newlyweds feel too shy to perform it. Nicole said, ‘I wouldn’t feel comfortable putting my relatives or friends in a difficult situation, in discomfort, to show their present in front of all the other guests, the night of the wedding.... This action would demean me and my husband...’ (Nicole, interview, September, 2013). Thus, tradition is changing in relation to social conditions, and customs are culled according to new modern social and ethical values.

A wedding has always been one of the most significant events for the entire community and the life of each individual, especially in peasant cultures based on agrarian forms of livelihood and dependent on land and family procreation. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002, p.24) studied weddings as ‘texts’ meaning that they should be analysed as particular types of behaviour which should be interpreted with as many potential readings as there are readers. The wedding ceremony, as a rite of passage, contains certain forms and meanings which vary from one culture to another. The traditional Greek Cypriot ceremony developed as a complex cultural act that embodied aspects of social reality, Greek Cypriot idiosyncrasy and rules of human coexistence necessary for the normal functioning of the community. Wedding songs and music play an indispensable part in this multifaceted event. The wedding sequence of contemporary Cyprus is examined and its symbolic meanings analysed. To do this, we must explore contemporary wedding ceremonies, then go to the nearest past and examine wedding ceremonies as described by the veteran musicians who lived through and experienced them. The potency of music and its power as a human commodity remind us of the place of music and its social and symbolic value. Taken as a whole, I hope that this study will contribute to the history of the music of the world’s peoples.

1.3 Theoretical issues: transforming tradition, musical revivals and identity.

Literature review

As soon as I decided the focus of my work, I began to lay the scholarly groundwork by searching for ethnographic writings on Greek Cypriot wedding music and on the general theoretical issues of music revivals, identity and music. In recent years, much has been written about transforming traditions, music and identity and music revivals especially in America and the United Kingdom, while in Cyprus there have been several attempts to rescue the tradition by collecting and transcribing Greek Cypriot folk songs, including wedding music and customs. Participants in this music revival movement, were musicians, newlyweds and musicologists who collected Greek Cypriot folk songs though they hardly reached a unified understanding of the subject.

Concerning the literature referring to Greek Cypriot folk songs, there have been attempts to document this tradition by some Greek Cypriot musicologists who collected and transcribed Greek

Cypriot songs. Christos Apostolides first promoted these early efforts in 1910. He was the first to transcribe some folk songs and the main wedding song, but he was a musicologist who wrote the transcriptions with the accompaniment of a piano. I found his unique manuscripts in Solonas Michaelides Museum in Limassol, wrapped in a paper box where they had been enclosed for almost a century. This material does not exist in any other literature and no other scholar had looked it for some time, so I considered it wise to include the wedding song that the study deals with in my appendices as a tribute to the first documentation of Greek Cypriot folk music.

Another remarkable work to rescue the main wedding song was done in 1960 by Solonas Michaelides, a musicologist to whom the museum where I studied the Apostolides manuscripts is dedicated. Michaelides transcribed the melodic line of the main wedding song and harmonised it for a vocal quartet. I found the manuscripts stored in a wooden box at the museum. The manuscripts are not discussed or presented in any other literature so I considered it fruitful for this research to include them in the Appendices as documents of historical value and to enable analysis by other scholars (Appendix 2). In addition to that, Solonas Michaelides' collection of Greek Cypriot folk songs is entitled *Asmata kai Horoi Kipriakoi: 21 temahia di' asma kai kleidokimvalon* [Cyprus Songs and Dances: 21 Pieces for Voice and Piano]. In his introduction, the author expresses his desire to safeguard his tradition as a heritage of ancient Byzantine Greek music. He also admires the rhythmic and melodic motives of Greek Cypriot folk music, and he adds that each tune that is documented is only a variation of the piece but he made his best attempt to transcribe the melody and the rhythm as he heard it (Apostolides, 1910, p.ii). The source or the folk musician who had sung it is not mentioned (Appendix 1). This is not a representative sample or attempt to transcribe traditional Cypriot folk music because Cypriot folk music is normally performed by violin, lute, *tampoutsia* (percussion like a frame drum) and *pithkiavlin* (a kind of recorder made of reed that performed shepherd's music). However, as Apostolides mentions in his introduction, it is an attempt to rescue the tradition.

Another effort to 'rescue' the musical tradition was made by Theodoulos Kallinikos, a famous Byzantine chanter, who transcribed some folk songs and wrote them in Byzantine notation. In his book *Kipriaki Laiki Mousa* [The Cypriot Popular Muse] (1951), Kallinikos mostly transcribed

many of the *phones*¹ of Cyprus, as Demetriou would later do (2008), as well as some folk songs. The main wedding song of the adornment of the newlyweds is also transcribed.

Another attempt to collect and transcribe Greek Cypriot folk songs, including the main wedding song and some others from the ceremony, took place in 1987. Representative ethnographers from the Athens Academy came to Cyprus and started an ethnographic research project into villages in Cyprus. Kostas Ioannides, a musicologist, cooperated with them and transcribed the music data they collected. Much ethnographic data had been collected but as it is still not in digital form it is not easily accessible by scholars. Ioannides, with the redaction of Menelaos Christodoulou, edited the *Kipriaka Demode Asmata* [Cypriot Popular Songs] which is a large collection of several kinds of Greek Cypriot songs with their lyrics (Ioannides, 1987). It is a volume of 1003 pages but only has the main wedding song transcribed on one page (ibid, p.826).

In addition to that, Foivos Anoyanakis, who was a member of the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation in Greece, with the help of Alekos Iakovides, a Cypriot ethnographer, had collected folk songs and other ethnographic material and edited the book *Kypros-Demotike Mousiki* [Cyprus Popular Music] in 1999. The book includes seven CDs with a duration of more than six hours. The lyrics of the songs are presented but no transcriptions appear in the content. There also is one page dedicated to the Cypriot wedding and its customs. More editions followed with attempts to transcribe the *phones* of Cyprus and a collection of Greek Cypriot folk songs.

Gewrgios Averof (1986) in his ethnographic study ‘The Cypriot Wedding’ also refers to the customs of the wedding ceremony and mentions lyrics of some of the songs. His book is also a simple description of the customs without any transcriptions of music or discussion about any subject related to wedding ceremonies. Averof (2001) admittedly has also transcribed some dance tunes and songs of Cyprus and there are some transcriptions of *phones*, but he only gives a very small text for each without any discussion of the topic. Swzos Tombolis (2002) collected and transcribed many folk songs and some of their variations in Western and Byzantine notation in

¹ Each rural district usually had its particular melody, to which the poets fitted lyrics appropriate for the occasion at which they would sing. These melodies were named according to the area they derived from. For example, *Lemesiani phoni*, literally means ‘the voice which is sung in Limassol’.

two books (volume I and II). He also analyzed the rhythm of each song, comparing it with the Byzantine modes.

Thus, we observe that some other attempts have been done to rescue the musical tradition of Greek Cypriots but were only attempts to transcribe the music and songs, without any other discussion about Greek Cypriot wedding ceremonies. I would not refer to the above efforts at documenting the tradition as music revivals because they were isolated attempts from musicologists who felt the need to rescue the musical tradition by themselves, in different chronological periods. What I try to describe and reveal in my study is a movement of several components including folk musicians, newlyweds, television programmes, the annual Rialto cultural festivals organised by the government in recent years, and so on, all with the explicit or implicit aim to revive and rescue the musical traditions of the country. The wedding is a preferred medium for pursuing this aim because it provides customs and music which are important to the participants, strengthening their sense of identity as they are deeply connected to their past and their roots.

A study about weddings in Cyprus, though only in an anthropological and cultural context, was made by Vassos Argyrou (1996). He mentions some customs about the wedding ceremony but there is no reference to the music. He views the procedure of the marriage from a sociological perspective, distinguishing two types of weddings in Greek Cyprus: 'village weddings' and 'champagne weddings'. There is no discussion about a wave or a movement for revival. He deals mostly with the financial side and the costs of a wedding, though he does provide documentation of some wedding customs from the twentieth century. Another ethnographic study on wedding ceremonies in Cyprus has been made by Kalliopi Prwtopapa (2005, Volumes I and II). This work was the one that stimulated my interest to uncover the songs that had been used in each occasion of the wedding ceremony in Cyprus. Many interesting customs are described there, from the time the guests were invited to the wedding ceremony and after.

Nicoletta Demetriou (2008) researched the subject of *phones* discourse, ideology and practice in Greek Cypriot folk music. This is a remarkable work for Greek Cypriot folk music tradition in the sense of documenting and exploring ideas about the effect of ideology, primarily nationalism, on Greek Cypriot music discourse, as well as on the way that performers discuss, perform and experience music. She examined how in the mid 1960s a group of songs called 'phones' was

reintroduced in music literature as a specific musical genre with its own characteristics originating in Cyprus's distant past, the ancient Greek and Byzantine culture.

Thus, we observe that there have been some attempts from scholars for documentation and discussion about Greek Cypriot music and customs in recent years which I would include in the general movement or wave to 'rescue' the tradition through the recent wave of what I call 'music revival' in postwar Greek Cyprus. Yet the literature provides no other theoretical background related to my subject of wedding music and customs as a means of expressing identity and forming a movement of 'music revival' in the Greek Cypriot context.

I therefore turned to relevant literature about other countries in search of paradigms for the present work. Leeds and Hurwitz's work demonstrating the notion that all have an identity and a role to play, and that in weddings participants construct identities for public display and are called upon to show their identity (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, pp.130-131), was a notion that I share in my study. The authors explain and develop the complexity of revivals in an analytical, way that is helpful for my study, though their focus is on two villages in America and Canada in the post war period after 1945. Their study concludes that revivals form particular relationships with the places in which they develop, and explores many facets of the music revival and its legacy in relation to national identity.

Mitchell (2007) in his study 'The North American Folk Music Revival: Nation and Identity' aims to describe the movement of folk music revivals, and he analyses and conceptualizes national identity and the nation not only in the United States but also in English-speaking Canada in the post-1945 era. He examines in detail the changes in the nations and gives explanations why ideas of revival alter over time. This provides a useful model for considering contemporary Cypriot weddings as a significant site for the construction of Cypriot identities. The long and troubled history of the country cultivated the feeling and the need to preserve Greek Cypriot identity. As Part One of this study shows, it is due to the historical, sociological and cultural position of Cyprus that wedding music and customs developed as a mixture of the 'old' and the 'new' cultures. The wedding music and songs act as a cultural mediator of identity, which remains the key to understanding post-colonial and post-war Greek Cyprus's trend for 'music revival'.

Bithell and Hill (2014) edited the *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival* containing several essays by different authors on acts of revival, giving a wealth of information with various theories, definitions and concepts relevant to the present study. Also, the book refers to a variety of methods for transmitting the revived music, such as promotion through festivals, competitions, government policies and so on (2014, p.4), which is related to the present study in the way that multiple components act together in a country's music revivals. Particularly relevant are Part IV of the book, which discusses national issues of postcolonial countries, and Part V, which discusses recovery from war and other disasters in relation to cultural devastation.

Another useful general study of revivals is that of Livingston (1999, p.66), who defines music revivals as middle class phenomena which aim firstly to formulate and maintain the identity of subgroups of people who are dissatisfied by several aspects of modern life, and also to revive musical systems which are in danger of annihilation in modern society. Lind, on the other hand, claims that revival is based on how the revivalists imagined the music in the past and how it expressed and incorporated particular values in the modern musical practice (2012, p.27). Both studies helped shape my view of the subject for the Greek Cyprus revival examined in this study.

Regarding studies of wedding music in other cultures, Jane Sugarman (1997) has done important work in analysing the customs and songs of Prespa Albanian weddings. Sugarman also analyses the wedding songs as social customs and as expressing feelings and situations that could not be mentioned in speech but only through singing. Some of the customs she describes are similar to those I examine below, and although the wedding songs have different melodies and lyrics, some of them have a similar purpose in the wedding process, such as the lyrics praising the bride.

Stuart Kevin (1992) also studied weddings and in his article 'Minhe Mangghuer Wedding Songs: Musical characteristics', he compares the songs and their musical features. Anne Rasmussen's study of Arab people in Michigan (2008, p.345) refers to the Palestinian and Lebanese women singers of wedding ceremonies who improvise verses to the bride and the groom in a high-pitched declamatory voice. These little poems, half-shouted, half-sung, 'are generally punctuated with zagareet, the high pitched trilling cries that proclaim excitement' (Rasmussen quoted in Titon 2009, p.345). This study seems to have similarities with the present one in its references to

recitative singing, improvising and the high-pitched voice the women use for the wedding songs, and it suggests that wedding songs have similar types in neighboring countries too.

As we observe, there are previous studies on wedding music and customs and on music revivals, but there is no in-depth study of Greek Cypriot wedding music and customs. It is hoped that this study on music revivals and identity in a postwar and postcolonial country will shed light on important social, cultural and musical questions, not only for the Greek Cypriot case but also for any other country that has undergone similar conditions and history.

1.4 Methodology of the study

Methodologies for this research draw predominantly on ethnographic techniques of participant observation, interview, audio and video recordings and analysis. My study consists of two kinds of work: fieldwork and deskwork. Nettl (1990, p.29) claims that the best results in ethnomusicology are from studies in which the same person does the fieldwork and also the analysis, the deskwork. Grant (2012, p.41) reinforces this notion by claiming that researchers need to be active members of the community they study and not just ‘silent observers’. I live in Cyprus, the place of my research, and investigate my own culture is what Nettl calls ‘ethnomusicology at home’ (2005, p.186). This may be a complex concept in societies like America where one has multiple roots and provenances. For a Greek Cypriot ethnomusicologist of my age, born in the 1970s, it is not difficult to decide his/her identity of a Greek Cypriot. However, things may be more complex in the research itself, especially of the recent century, when people from Europe and other countries found shelter in Cyprus.

At this point, I should introduce myself a little and say something about my own relationship with Greek Cypriot tradition. I was raised by a grandmother who was a folk singer and passionate about the Greek Cypriot tradition. She would never lose an opportunity to sing for us. She was always ‘with a song in her mouth’ as we could translate from Cypriot dialect into English, meaning that she would sing to express herself instead of talking. For example, she would sing for me to welcome me to her house. She would sing in order to feed me when I was still a child, and she would sing to say goodbye. She also performed many folk songs at each feast we organised in

family events. Many times she would also improvise songs based on a Greek Cypriot folk song but with her own lyrics to fit for the occasion or what she wanted to tell us. This formed a strong background for me to absorb the tradition and the main melodies of Greek Cypriot folk songs. Thus, growing up with a folk singer in my family, in my own house and having daily contact with the Greek Cypriot tradition, helped me to love, respect and have a deeper understanding of the musical tradition of Greek Cyprus. It also gave me a fuller understanding of the Greek Cypriot dialect which has mostly been abandoned nowadays in the colloquial daily language, and also enabled me to have an intuitive understanding of the scales and digest the melodies. In general, I believe that I could understand several aspects of Greek Cypriot tradition more than a foreigner or an 'outsider', having grown up beside a folk singer. While being an 'insider' or an 'outsider' to a tradition is a matter of degree, not just one or the other, I can reasonably say that I am more of an 'insider' than an ethnomusicologist who did not live or grow up in Cyprus or experience the particular tradition.

Being a member of a folk dancing group and performing in festivals in Cyprus and abroad many times, not only with dancing but also by singing the traditional Greek Cypriot songs, I had the honour to perform with other folk musicians and dancers. I also visited the several traditional festivals that were organised by the Government, and after the performances of the folk musicians I would go backstage to congratulate them and explain that I am researcher and I needed them to give me information about the Greek Cypriot folk music tradition. Panais, a folk dancer and the *tamboutsia* player, was one I recorded. I found the rest of the musicians I recorded and interviewed by calling the information centre and asking for the telephone numbers of the committees of the various communities I researched around Cyprus. Wanting to cover all the edges of Greek Cypriot Cyprus, I visited the various villages accompanied by my young son who helped with the recordings while I was concentrating on interviews and fieldwork. If I could not find the information I wanted on folk musicians from my calls to the Mayors of the communities, my son and I would go to the central square of the communities where men usually gathered in coffee shops and ask there for information about where we could find any folk musicians in their village. If this was not possible I would ask if they knew anyone in a neighbouring village who could help. People were usually very willing to help me and many times took us from house to house to visit the folk musicians of their village. Many of them seemed proud that someone would record a musician from their village and make it part of the musical history of Greek Cyprus.

As for the way I gathered information during interviews, I had already planned some questions beforehand. I wanted the newlyweds and the folk musicians to talk freely and give their ideas and knowledge about the wedding ceremonies, the customs and the music used in the past and in the present. The 'wh' questions of what and why were of precious interest for the particular research. Thus, my primary sources were veteran folk musicians who gave me information, recording comments on their experiences and views about the wedding ceremonies at which they had performed in the mid-twentieth century.

The contemporary couples that I examined gave me representative samples of today's weddings. I was already a friend with their families, or the newlyweds had been students of mine during their student years, so they felt the need to invite me to their weddings. When they came to visit me to give me their invitation, I found the opportunity to share our news. As always, being excited and enthusiastic about my research, I would never lose the opportunity to talk about it and ask them if they wanted to participate by letting me interview them and record their wedding. I explained that I would record them from the start of their ceremony till the end, taking a place between the guests and asking to treat me as one of their guests and not to change anything for me. Sometimes, I found difficulty with the 'official' camera operator who recorded the whole event, who also wanted to take a central position opposite the newlyweds, and many times he was recording in front of me. I tried to be patient with him while trying also not to interrupt my recording and lose any moments from the whole ceremony. The newlyweds many times smiled at me while I was recording or taking photos of them, showing me their approval for this special study. I never felt that they changed any custom for my study, I only felt that their participation in the study made them feel good about being part of the ethnomusicological studies of their country.

Thus, the few folk musicians who had performed during the mid-twentieth century and remained alive, and the contemporary couples who tried to revive the old customs and music, made an ideal combination to absorb the 'old' and the 'new' information and develop a discussion about the Greek Cypriot wedding ceremonies. The interaction with them helped me to arrive at the conclusions of the present study.

I include a DVD and analyse the recordings of five wedding ceremonies and comments from the new couples on how they had decided to use these special kinds of music during the several stages

of their wedding. There are also many detailed transcriptions included in the thesis, because I want to show the details of performances as well as the basic structure of the melody the folk musicians performed. As will be discussed in the next section, it is important to recognise that Western classical notation does not represent the exact pitch of Cypriot folk music. When it is used, it merely approximates the required sounds. Therefore, the use of video and audio recordings, photographs of folk musicians, and interviews are necessary to support the transcriptions.

To sum up, reading existing literature about Greek Cypriot folk music generally, weddings in other cultures, and ethnomusicological theories, in combination with fieldwork, participant observation methods, audio and video recordings, interviews, analysis of data, visits to museums in Cyprus and Athens, and collecting photos and information from literature on ancient Greek wedding scenes have all contributed to the construction of this research.

1.5 Notes on selected musical terms, textual and musical transcriptions

To begin with, one of the many questions I had to ask myself before writing my project, was which terms I had to use. This was particularly a problem where there was more than one noun for the same thing, as with ‘violin’ or ‘fiddle’ and by extension ‘violinist’ or ‘fiddler’. Both words apply to the same instrument, made from the same materials and shaped in the same way. According to Berthoud (2011, p.27) and Duncan (2010, p.5), the fiddle player (fiddler) performs folk music while the violin player (violinist) performs classical music. Berthoud adds, however, that he had heard some classical players calling their instrument a fiddle and also some folk players calling their instrument a violin. He also claims that the construction of the instrument might differ. For example, a folk musician would like to have a flatter bridge than a classical violinist who would prefer a more arched one. Duncan also claims that fiddlers use steel strings and often use microphones in their performances while violinists use gut strings and would consider their sounds through microphones ‘nasal or pinched’ especially if the microphone was placed colosed to the instrument (ibid, 2010, p. 5). The reason I finally decided to use the word violin and violinist in the thesis is that the word violin, in Greek, which is the original language of the folk musicians, is almost the same as the English word: *violi*. The main difference is in pronunciation, where the

two letters ‘*io*’ are joined in one syllabus so the word consists of two syllables and is pronounced *vio-li*. Thus, I tried to stay as close as I could to the original language of my interviewees who were calling the instrument ‘*violi*’ rather than fiddle.

Greek Cypriots speak a Greek dialect that is related to the ancient Greek language. All quotations from interviewees and all songs texts have been rendered in the Greek Cypriot dialect, mostly in Romanisation. Very few texts, mostly those of historical value like the dowry settlements, which do not exist in other literature, have been provided first in their original language, then in Romanisation and then in translation. The use of some Greek words is considered essential to this study, because it will maintain the authenticity of the work and because they do not have an exact equivalent meaning in English.

It is important to mention that any translation of folk songs into another language makes them lose their grace. I use the Romanisation system for Greek terms and texts in order to show the rhymes in the lyrics. The folk singers blend the lyrics in a clever way, which the listeners do not expect, and mostly show a good sense of humour. Thus, using Romanisation system and transliteration I have tried to make readers understand at least how the rhymes sound. Next to the lyrics I give their meaning.

In addition, a number of conventions have been used in transcribing the texts of the songs. For each song the List of Music Examples gives details of the performers, their real names (with permission), and the location and date of the recording. Transcriptions have been made by the author, who chose to document the introduction of the song, a sample of a stanza and a refrain. Each time the folk musicians sang or performed a tune for me, they performed in a slightly different way, adding or culling out ornaments and so on. Thus, representative samples of their performances have been transcribed. Concerning the tempo and rhythm, most of the songs had a degree of freedom, thus tempo markings are approximate and may change during the course of the song. Renditions that were performed in a strict metre have been notated with solid bar lines. Those in an elastic meter have been transcribed without any barlines in the score.

1.6 Overview of the Thesis

As a whole, the study presents an analysis of contemporary Greek Cypriot wedding practices as a means of revival and expressing identity together with a detailed reconstruction of wedding practices and music in the period 1930-1970. The first part examines and analyses contemporary practices represented by five case studies and discusses the reasons why certain traditional elements were included but not others, the relation of this to their sense of identity, and the efforts for 'revival' by all the newlyweds, especially those who tried to make their wedding more like those in the past. This part also discusses one case where the newlyweds wanted to revive the whole wedding ceremony of the mid-twentieth century. What were the reasons that led this couple to make an effort to revive it as it might have been in the last century? Was that in fact a revival?

Part Two is an attempt to reconstruct the Greek Cypriot wedding ceremony of the mid-twentieth century. This study contains a description of customs accompanied by the relevant songs, from the veteran folk musicians who experienced and performed during the decades of 1930-70. Only in the case of the blending of breads was it impossible for the author to find and transcribe the particular song. This custom is also presented for the first time in literature, as are the custom of bathing the bride, the custom and the transcription of the song of the Manatsa and the three different melodies of the main wedding song met in different places in Cyprus. Forming in a sense the 'core' of the thesis, this part presents the first detailed account of the mid-twentieth century Greek Cypriot wedding and its music, thus potentially aiding further efforts at revival as well as scholarly understanding.

Thus, the whole study examines wedding ceremonies as a mediator for expressing Greek Cypriot identity and also as a means to revive customs and folk music. An examination of the literature and historical sources shows that this movement is the first 'music revival' of the country through wedding ceremonies. The previous efforts of the several musicologists which were presented in the Literature Review were individual efforts. In the contemporary Cyprus of the decade 2005-2015, newlyweds, folk musicians and other organisations seem to have made an aggregated effort to revive and rescue Greek Cypriot tradition. The present study forms a part of this 'music revival' in a post-colonial and occupied country.

PART ONE: Presentation and analysis of the customs and music of five contemporary wedding ceremonies

‘Not at our christening, our earliest birthdays, or even at our burial, will we have the opportunity to choose how the event will take place and what music we would like to be heard. The only event we can consciously organise, according to our tastes and desires, is our wedding’ (Nicole, interview, September 2013). Since my childhood, the wedding day was considered as the day that the typical Greek Cypriot girl dreams of from her early years of life. For her, it is the most significant day of her life, thus she wants to prepare everything so that it will be perfect, as she dreamed it, on that day. Many scenes of her wedding day and ceremony are imagined beforehand. The second most important factor addressed by the couple, following the selection of a well-designed and expensive bridal dress, is the music which will be heard during the wedding.

This raised a number of questions for me: What kinds of music do couples choose for their wedding in modern Cyprus? What customs accompanied by folk musicians are presented at wedding ceremonies today, and how and why do the newlyweds choose them? Why are some wedding tunes neglected and abandoned? How is the old or the traditional adjusted or presented in combination with the new, if included at all? Is the old rendered compatible with the new? Does the phrase ‘tradition versus modernity’ apply to the typical aesthetic of the wedding of a young couple today? Does the wedding as it happens today demonstrate a transition from a ritual event of the past century to a commercialized occasion in modern Cyprus? Is there a movement of musical revival in contemporary Cyprus? How do the wedding songs function during weddings?

Part one of this study is a presentation of the wedding practices of five couples who recently married. Chapter Two describes the four similar case studies I recorded and describes the wedding ceremony of a couple who tried to revive customs as they were performed during the mid-twentieth century. I give a description of the customs that all the newlyweds performed. I try to explain, through the discussion I had with them at the time of their wedding and some days before the wedding day, why they chose to include particular customs in their wedding procedure, and I end with a general discussion of these.

For each case study, I met the newlyweds in their homes some days before their wedding day. My purpose then was to introduce my research and ask their permission to record their wedding. In order to accept me as a participant observer at their wedding, I considered it wise and ethically correct to explain to them in detail what I was doing, what was my purpose, what media I would use during their ceremonies and anything they needed to know concerning my research.

As a guest at their weddings, having known the couples since they were children, I was a member of the whole procedure. Explaining the purpose of the study and being friendly with the people encouraged the musicians and the newlyweds and guests to be themselves, act as if I were not there and behave naturally. This enabled me to gain a better understanding of the procedure. Taking notes, making audio and video recordings, and taking pictures in order to analyse the data later after the ceremony, in combination with the interviews I conducted after the wedding, was the method I used to reach the conclusions of the study. Thus, using the method of participant observation, I was directly connected with the human experiences during the weddings, discovering the whys and hows of the behaviours in the wedding context.

The discussion I had with the newlyweds after their wedding day was not only enjoyable but very informative for the present study. Rewatching the video recordings of the ceremony in order to observe more details which we could not see at the time of the event, I gained more discussion and explanations of the 'what' and 'why' questions which led me to some of the more fruitful results of the present study. The camera could only describe the scene and the behaviours of people but could not provide the reasons behind them, for which I relied on interviews.

I tried to lead the conversation with questions like: Were they acquainted with the customs of the past century? What customs did they choose to perform during their wedding ceremony? Why did they not want to perform the traditional customs before the wedding day? Why did they not want to perform the custom for the pulverising of the *resin*? Why did they not want to perform the dance of the *ploumisman*? Why did they want to include a part of their tradition in their wedding? Why did they not follow a more simple modernised or Europeanised wedding? Why did they want to perform some traditional customs and not just simply go to the church for the wedding service? Did they know the wedding tunes which accompanied each custom during their ceremony? What was their idea of what a traditional wedding means? Were they happy with the whole procedure

of their ceremony? Would they have liked to change anything after the wedding was over? Did they regret having used any particular customs? Was it the wedding they had dreamed of?

Thus, the interaction with the newlyweds as a guest and an active member of the ceremony, including my extended visits to the newlyweds' houses to discuss with them what and why they did in their weddings, helped me to have a deeper understanding of their behaviour. For example, the discussion with the newlyweds about why they decided to avoid the dance of *ploumisma* was important for the study of why some customs are gradually being rejected by contemporary couples. It was also useful to watch the interactions of the musicians and the newlyweds with the rest of the participants at the ceremony. The applause of the guests and their participation in singing and clapping was a clear means of participation in the customs that were being performed.

The technique I used of participant observation helps the researcher to gain insights into the wedding customs and music and contextual understanding for wedding ceremonies of today and the past. Being an invited guest helped me to have a deeper understanding of the customs and the whole procedure of the wedding. For example, I had to go and give them my wishes during the *zwmán* ['surrounding' with a kerchief] and smoking and I sang during the wedding song and applauded with the other guests too. Thus, participating like all the other guests gave me a better understanding of the customs and helped me to find the reasons why some customs had been rejected by the contemporary couples and some not.

Of the five wedding ceremonies that I examined as case studies for the present research, four had many features in common, so these ceremonies will be presented and discussed together first. The fifth case study was an attempt to revive the wedding ceremony from the past century, and will be considered separately as a special case. The couples who participated in my research were Demetris and Nicole Achilleos, George and Zina Georgiou, Paul and Maria Xenofontos, Antonis and Pavlina Antoniou and, lastly, the couple who wanted a wedding ceremony in the style typical of the previous century, George and Georgia Diogenous. According to Leeds-Hurwitz, newlyweds have the opportunity to choose between several elements, creating a new, individually shaped wedding to stand as one synthesis of the various options available. Each couple is free to make their own choices among the several customs of their country and form the ceremony as they desire. These choices contribute to the ongoing pattern of weddings of their particular culture, at a

particular time. Thus, the wedding provides a place where individuals are able to participate in shaping the culture at large. Very few people are artists and writers with the opportunity to share their knowledge of their culture, but most of them participate in the design of a wedding at some point during their lives (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 180).

Rather than impose my own concept of 'tradition', it was important for me to understand what the newlyweds themselves regarded as traditional. Several opinions were expressed to me, most of them referring to tradition [*paradosi*] as something old, used in the past, from their forefathers, and that is related to their identity as Greeks. They all feel that it is their duty to continue it and pass it on to their descendants. 'Tradition is the customs which our parents and grandparents performed in particular occasions. It is everything, which is related with our roots' (Pavlina, interview, September 2013). Paul added 'Tradition is what has been done for many years and shows how Greek Cypriots react on particular occasions' (Paul, interview, December 2013). Antonis endorsed this notion by adding that 'Tradition is what people who speak the same language with each other used to do for many years, in a particular community, in a specific geographical space' (Antonis, interview, September 2013). Maria added that 'Tradition is what we do to distinguish ourselves from other people and other customs. Traditional features in combination with our language is what kept Cyprus alive for so many years, under the occupation of so many conquerors' (Demetris, interview, September 2013). Nicole identified tradition with what they did in the first phase of their wedding. She mentioned 'Tradition is what we did on our wedding day: while adorning, we hired musicians and we performed the customs that our mothers performed at their wedding ritual' (Nicole, interview, September 2013). George and Zina agreed that 'Tradition is a credit to our civilization, it is what was preserved through the years till now, it is what shows us the habits of our ancestors and that is our treasure' (Zina, interview, September 2012). Zina added, 'It would be easier to answer maybe what is not tradition. I could easily refer to modernity and what was not happening at the past... what is modern and new. However, a tradition includes everything which forms our civilisation: our customs, music, language, our idiosyncrasy' (Zina, interview, September 2012). For George and Georgia, who wanted to represent the past century's wedding, 'Tradition is the customs that our parents performed and that are sacred for us. We just want to keep them and give them to our son as a heritage from them. It is our duty to preserve the customs. We owe it to our ancestors, if we want to be called Greek

Cypriots. Our customs, our music is what kept us tied with our Greek identity' (George Diogenous, interview, December 2012).

In relation to these concepts of 'tradition', one must consider how scholars and theorists regard tradition in the modern world. According to Gross (2009, p.9) and Eliot (quoted by Assmann Aleida, 2007, p.13) the word 'tradition' stems from the Latin verb *tradere* which means transmit, give up or give over, the word *tradition* refers to the process by which something is transmitted from hand to hand. Gross (2009, p.10) also defines authentic tradition as containing three aspects. Firstly, the tradition must join together at least three generations. Secondly, a tradition is transferring a sense of the past into the present. Lastly, a tradition must provide a continuity of the past into the present. Nettl (2005, p.291) separates tradition into categories, as recorded, printed, written, oral and aural transmissions, and discusses the importance of each. He also discusses the units that are transmitted, like songs, pieces and compositions (ibid, 2005, 295). Giddens (1990, p.50), in his writing about universal patterns of the consequences of modernity, points out that the awareness of alien practices and beliefs in a culture stimulates people to begin to value their customs as things to be cherished and preserved. Gross adds that this awareness and import of foreign practices also makes people desire the propagation of their own traditions to the next generations so as not to be lost under the influence of foreign traditions (2009, p.13). I would certainly agree with Gross and add that the more and the greater the foreign influences are in a culture, the more difficult it will be for the people to preserve the local tradition, but the greater will be their desire to preserve it. That is what my study showed, with the tendency of the new couples over the last decade, when foreign influences were increasing in Cyprus, to preserve their wedding customs. This increase of performing Greek Cypriot wedding music in the last decade was also witnessed by the folk musicians, who are called to play in weddings more often than two decades ago (Theodwrou, interviewed 1 November 2011, Zavros, interviewed 10 July 2011). Gross (2009, p.12) points out that customs bring the past into the present and provide a continuity that can endure for a long time.

Let us consider some probable reasons which led new couples to desire the preservation of their customs. During recent years, the states of Greek Cyprus have faced tough challenges, from the Turkish invasion and occupation of almost half of the country to the migration of foreign people to the island to find a better life and a better income. Meanwhile, the access of Cypriot students to

other countries' universities, mostly in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, brought new horizons to Greek Cypriot culture. The looming questions of 'Who are we?' and 'Who do we want to be?' raised new developments and changes in language and people's mentality. The large number of migrated people, the unsafe feeling of having almost the half the country occupied, and the threat that the Turkish troops will occupy the whole country together with the financial crisis of the recent years caused a tendency to return to their ancestors' roots. These phenomena had reflections in culture as people tried to find their identity, to discover themselves and find out who they are. In addition to that, weddings are the means for Greek Cypriots who migrated to foreign countries after the Turkish invasion of 1974 to keep in touch with their relatives who live in Cyprus.

The form of the typical wedding I will describe below reflects both the modern, foreign influences mentioned above and the desire to maintain at least some local traditions. To consider the modern influences first, in all the first four case studies, the first phase of the wedding ceremony began on the day of the wedding (Saturday or Sunday). No customs were performed before that day. All the newlyweds were marrying for love. The invitations to the wedding were sent by electronic forms, via email or even posted on their Facebook timeline and mail. A new habit of recent decades was added: the hen night and the stag night, which has been imported with European influences. In some years these may be embodied in the Cypriot tradition and considered as a Cypriot wedding custom. On the other hand, the traditional *allaman* [adorning] of the groom and the bride was the first phase of the wedding ceremony. In all four weddings, the adorning was common, with the addition or the culling out of some associated customs. All the newlyweds chose to hire folk musicians to accompany the customs of shaving the groom, dressing him, adorning the bride, performing the custom of the smoking of the bride and the groom and the *zwman* [passing a red kerchief round the middle of the bride and the groom]. The procession to the church was performed only on one occasion and only in part.

In describing the first phase of the wedding, a sample from the four case studies will be given for each custom as representative of the other cases, which were very similar. The interpretation of the customs is closely based on my interactions with the newlyweds in the course of this ethnographic research.

Chapter Two: Current wedding practices, customs and music

Chapter Two is a description of the three phases of a typical contemporary Greek Cypriot wedding. The first phase is the adornment of the bride and groom and the procession to the church. The second phase is the wedding service itself, and the third phase is the cocktail reception and wedding banquet. At the end of the chapter I discuss the music used for the cocktail reception and wedding banquet and the reasons newlyweds prefer to hire disc jockeys.

2.1 The First Phase: *Allaman* [adornment] and the procession to the church

During the past century, the bride and the groom slept separately, in their parents' houses, and were only allowed to sleep together on their wedding night. Among my informants, only Paul and Maria slept separately the night before the wedding, just to revive the old custom (Paul and Maria, interviewed by the author 2 December 2013). The ceremony starts separately at the groom's parents' house and the bride's parents' house. It includes the customs of the adorning of the groom and the bride. The newlyweds are kept apart for their ceremonies, each at their parents' house. I shall describe the groom's ceremony first.

The term '*allaman*' includes the customs that follow. The house of the groom's parents, where the adornment of the groom is to be performed, is decorated and freshly painted. The guests are excited, dressed formally, waiting for the music to start and the groom to take his seat. The groom's family, his parents and his sister, are standing behind his chair. The guests, who are mainly relatives of the groom and his family, are around to watch the ceremony and also to be ready to participate. The best man, hierarchically having the second most important role in the ceremony after the groom, stands between the groom's chair and the musicians in order to hear the musicians' instructions during the ritual. The musicians start playing the introduction of the main wedding song and the groom enters the room and takes his seat next to the musicians. The ceremony starts. The groom is dressed in a white vest (Figure 2.1). The ceremony starts when the musicians perform the main wedding song (DVD 2016, Track 1). The singer performs some verses of the wedding song and then the best man prepares the clothes for the shaving which is the first custom, starting the ceremony. All the customs are performed with the accompaniment of the violinist or the lutenist, who give instructions through the lyrics of the song. The ceremony starts.



Figure 2.1. The groom is ready to be adorned.

2.1.1 The shaving of the groom

The first custom that is performed is the shaving of the groom. The best man puts a white towel round the neck of the groom and starts shaving him. In the past century, the musicians informed me that the barber of the village was called to shave the groom and not the best man (Zavros, interview, July 2011, Xatzimichael interview, August 2011, Georgiou, interview, December 2010). The musicians always start performing the wedding song with the stanza:

<i>Oran kalin tzi ora agathin,</i>	Have a good and nice time,
<i>tzi oran evloimenin,</i>	and blessed,
<i>touti douleia p' akepsamen,</i>	this task we have begun,
<i>na vgei stereomeni.</i>	to be held strongly.

This stanza was an introduction to the ceremony and no other custom was performed with it. According to Zavros, Xatzimichael, and Georgiou (Zavros, interview, July 2011, Xatzimichael interview, August 2011, Georgiou, interview, December 2010) this stanza was used during the past century for the beginning of any new job, for example when planting wheat, harvesting or mowing. Nowadays when one receives an invitation for the wedding, his/her typical reply is always '*Oran kalin*' ['have a good time', an expression used to greet to someone in Greek Cypriot dialect], having in mind that the couple make a new start, for a new life. The main wedding song

starts with this greeting to the new couple because the musicians have a very important role during the ceremony, so they are the first to give their greetings. As we will observe from the whole ceremony, the poetic content is one of its most important features. The instrumental music has a secondary role in this phase of the wedding. The lyrics sung are those of the wedding song, which will stimulate the guests and the couple to experience a variety of feelings. The tempo and the rhythm of the wedding song might change during the performance because the musicians are self-taught and are not performing from written scores. The wedding song has many couplets and refrains with different lyrics, which are repeated several times until all the customs are performed. The tuning also is not the same from one musician to the other because they tune the strings by ear.

However, the music is the vehicle to carry the lyrics of the songs, which are important for the whole ceremony. After my discussion with the folk musicians I concluded that the form that the wedding songs are in, and the melodies they have, help the singers to add as many couplets as are needed to complete the ceremony. Each time they perform the song with new musical features because they improvise. A violinist and a lutenist play their instruments and also sing. The main wedding song has a simple melody in order to be performed easily or repeated by the guests of the couple. It is in a major key, in spite of the fact that most of the lyrics have the goal of making the people who participate in the ceremony emotional. The melody can be performed with many trills and other ornaments according to the abilities of the violinist or the singer. The whole ceremony and the customs are a mass participation and expression of the relatives and friends. That is also reflected in the music. The musician sings and the guests clap the rhythm and repeat the lyrics. The couplets and the refrains are never performed twice the same way during the repetitions, sometimes on purpose by the performers to add variation, sometimes because they forget how they performed it before, sometimes they add ornaments to show their abilities and also to provide variations.

The main wedding song lasts as long as it takes for all the relatives present to perform the customs. The introduction of the song is inserted between the stanzas and the refrain in order to give the musicians, or the singers, time to rest and also to improvise the lyrics of the next stanzas. The accompaniment of the lutenist is also very simple, playing a 2/4 beat while usually holding the tonic chord of the song. Among the folk musicians who were recorded, only Xatzimichael, who is

also a guitar player, changed chords during his performance. The Cypriot wedding song is different from the main wedding song performed in Greece and is titled '*Simera Gamos Ginete*'². I watched two weddings in Athens and Crete, but as the customs and music are different, I will not be referring to Greek weddings. In Athens the wedding was more 'Europeanised' and in Crete they performed different customs like shooting guns and so on. A procession was common as with Cypriot weddings of the past century, but this does not seem to be important for the study as it is also common in countries far away from Greece and Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot wedding song is only performed in Cyprus. However, the lute and the violin are also used as the main instruments in the Aegean islands. The scales which are used in these islands are also the same as those in Cypriot folk songs. Some folk musicians performed the wedding song titled '*Simera gamos ginetai*' [Today a wedding is happening] for the entrance of the groom or the bride in the bridal room where he/she would be adorned. The folk musicians I recorded in these five case studies did not perform it.

The present research uncovered three different melodies (see Chapter Five, Six, Examples 5.3, 5.4, 6.2) as concerns the main wedding song in Cyprus, and not just one as referred to by other publications (e.g. Tombolis, 2002, vol.1 p.423, Averof, 2001, p. 28, Zarmas, 1993, p.146). These melodies are met with in several villages and are sung by the villagers who live there. The lyrics of the main wedding song of each area were very similar and were adjusted to those melodies. In addition, the wedding songs had a monophonic structure. They had repetitions to enable the villagers to participate in the ceremony. The melody consisted of eight syllable-notes followed by twelve syllable-notes in all melodic types I found, thus the lyrics could easily fit in all. The range was narrow, again probably for reasons of participation of the guests who included older generations. The accompanying instruments were the lute, *tamboutsia*³ and the violin, but later for financial reasons the *tamboutsia* was replaced by the lute which could also beat the rhythm accompanying the violin. The types of the melodic lines in all forms could allow repetitions of the same line or addition of more stanzas to serve the customs of the ceremony. It was also up to the

² The Greek main wedding song is titled '*Simera Gamos Ginete*' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lpMpYRvMxR4>. Accessed 21 September 2015.

³A *tamboutsia* is a frame drum, usually made of sheep leather attached to a sieve frame.

musician to decide if the customs would be presented continuously or separately, by ceasing the music and starting again when the next custom was presented.

Watching the video recording with the newlyweds some days after the wedding I had useful discussion which provided me, as a researcher, a deeper understanding mostly of questions ‘why’. Why they performed that particular custom and why they omitted the customs before the wedding day and so on. Concerning the adorning of the groom, Demetris and Antonis did not want to perform this in the traditional way. They both wanted to dress themselves as usual and be present at the church directly for the wedding service. Demetris mentioned that he is not a ‘traditional’ type of man but he did it to please his mother first and then for his wife to have a nice DVD to show after their wedding (Demetris, interview, September 2013). Antonis performed the adorning only to please his wife and his parents. He added that ‘the adorning will be preserved by women, it is a touching procedure which is not for men, I don’t want to make the others emotional’ (Antonis, interview, September 2013).

In George’s ceremony, the best man shaved the groom (Figure 2.2) with the accompaniment of the main wedding song and made some jokes to make the groom and the guests laugh. He put foam on the groom’s entire face, in order to cause an agreeable atmosphere among the groom and his guests. Everybody was clapping and many of the guests were loudly singing the wedding song in order to participate and express their love to the groom and his family.



Figure 2.2. The best man shaves the groom to the accompaniment of the main wedding song.

2.1.2 The Dowry dance

This custom comes after the shaving of the groom. The music, which accompanies this custom, is different from the main wedding song. It has a faster tempo and is a dance tune performed only by instruments. The time signature of 7/8 usually gives the sense and the mood of a *kalamatianos* dance, which it is the national dance of all Greeks. The first quaver of most of the bars of the Dowry dance tune is dotted, performed with accent and emphasis by the violinists in order to give to the dancer the sense to keep their foothold strongly. The 2/4 time signature of the previous main wedding song and the lyrics (Example 5.4) which mostly make the people who are present to the ceremony emotional, do not give the impulse to dance as the Dowry dance does. The melody of the Dowry dance, also gives the performers the opportunity of repetition and addition of as many stanzas or couplet and refrains are needed, until all the relatives perform the particular custom, for which the tune is performed. This is a common characteristic of most Cypriot wedding songs. The groom's clothes, shoes, the belt of the groom and the cosmetics which will be used by the best man for the adorning of the groom are placed in the *tseston* [a handmade basket] before the ceremony starts. The dance is called the *horos twn proitziwn* [Dowry dance]. The basket is raised high by the dancer to show it off (DVD 2016, Track 2). The best man (Figure 2.3), the groom's mother, grandmother, godmother and close relatives perform this dance. 'Na horepsoun ta rouha prota', [the clothes must be danced with, before the bride and the groom wear them, Georgiou, interview, December 2010].



Figure 2.3 The Dowry dance

When I interviewed the newlyweds, one couple mentioned that they did not know this custom (Antonis and Pavlina, interview, September 2013). Another couple mentioned that it was performed at the villages of their parents but they did not like it as ‘it did not suit with the style of the wedding ... it was rustic’ (Paul, interview 2nd December 2013). George and Zina and Demetris and Nicole knew this custom from their parents and some of their friends performed it at their weddings. Thus, they wanted to perform it, in order to have more customs in their ceremony and also to please their parents who introduced it to them (George and Zina, interview September 2012, Demetris and Nicole, interview, September 2013).

2.1.3 The dressing of the groom

After the Dowry dance the dressing of the groom begins. The violinist again changes the melody and performs the main wedding song as before the Dowry dance. He sings the lyrics, instructing the best man in what to do: to dress the groom in his shirt, his watch, his shoes and his tie (Figures 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, DVD 2016, Track 3). The singer sings the particular lyrics with the melody of the main wedding song, during the adorning of the groom, except for the Dowry dance tune which is a more vivid tune with different melody (DVD 2016, Track 4, Example 5.1).



Figure 2.4 The best man dresses the groom in the shirt.



Figure 2.5 The best man puts the watch on the groom.



Figure 2.6 The best man places the groom's shoes on his feet.



Figure 2.7 The best man fastens the groom's tie.

2.1.4 The smoking of the groom

When the dressing of the groom is complete, the violinist calls the groom's parents, grandparents and godparents to smoke him, in order to bless him and his new life (Figure 2.8). The olive leaves which had been blessed by the priest before the wedding are ignited and the one who smokes the groom or the bride has to make the sign of the cross three times over his/her head (DVD 2016,

Tracks 1, 3). The number three in wedding ceremonies is dictated by religion and always symbolises the Holy Trinity.



Figure 2.8. The groom is smoked by his father.

These religious features were always involved in every activity of Greek Cypriot life, and could not be omitted from the wedding ceremony. Many lyrics of the main wedding song call on the Virgin Mary and Saint Andrew to bless the wedding and the new couple (DVD 2016, Track 14) According to Emilianides, the Orthodox Church has had a primary role in the preservation of faith, identity and traditions of Cypriots, since the Ottoman rule began in 1571 A.D. (Emilianides, 2011, p.41).

2.1.5 The adornment of the groom

The *zwman* of the groom is the custom when a red kerchief is passed round the middle of the groom or the bride three times (Figures 1.9, 1.22). The red kerchief symbolises the purity and the virginity of the bride and the groom (Zavros, interview, July 2011, Kosta, interview, April 2011, Charalampous, interview, August 2011, Hatzimichael interview, August 2011).



Figure 2.9. The mother of the groom performs the *zwmán*.

The traditional ceremony for the groom ends here. The musicians always perform first at the adornment of the groom as he has to be present at the church to await the bride. When they finished the groom's adornment, they went to the bride's parents' house to adorn the bride. Thus, as soon as the musicians finished, I followed their car to the house where the bride's ceremony would take place.

2.1.6 The adornment of the bride

At this stage, all were ready and anxious to see the musicians arrive, because this meant the beginning of the ceremony. I prepared my devices for audio and video recording and I was offered a place almost opposite the bride, who later remarked she felt proud to be used in my research, as a means of studying the tradition of her country (Nicole, Zina, interview, 2011).

The bride's ceremony is similar to the groom's described above. The scene is prepared at the bride's parents' house. Before the ritual starts, the mother of the bride gives instructions to the musicians about who will call during their performance and what names he will call to smoke and beset the bride. The violinist, who is always the leader of the musicians, takes notes (Figure 2.10).



Figure 2.10. The bride's mother tells the names of the relatives who will perform the customs.

The bride sits on a white pillow on a chair facing the guests and the musicians next to her all shape the bridal scene. The musicians start singing the main wedding song, trying to elicit emotion in those who are present at the ceremony.

The bridal house hosts the relatives and the close friends of the family and is more decorated than the groom's house. A decoration of the table next to the central door of the house consists of sweets, garlands, the *kapnistomerreha* [silver bowls that will be used later for the smoking of the bride], and another silver bowl with a particular kind of bonbon wrapped with red ribbons (Figure 2.11). The bonbons are a specific kind containing an almond, wrapped with white sugar and vanilla. The almond and the nuts generally are symbolic of fertility and have been used in wedding ceremonies as the fruit of the earth since antiquity (Hersch, 2010, p.141). These bonbons would be offered to the single ladies after the wedding service, and for three nights they would put them under their pillow. There is a superstition that the man who appears in their dreams will be the one to marry them. Next to the table, the *tseston*, wrapped with a white cloth, which will be used in the Dowry dance, is ready (Figure 2.12). It contains the bridal shoes, earrings and necklace which the chief bridesmaid will put on the bride, her bag, and the red kerchief which will be used for the custom of *zwman*. Nicole's *tseston* contained the lipstick and other articles to be used for her makeup, her earrings and necklace. White rose petals were spread upon them (Figure 2.13).



Figure 2.11. Decorated table at the bride's house



Figure 2.12. The *tseston* with the bride's 'dowry'



Figure 2.13. Nicole's *tseston*, spread with white rose petals

2.1.7 The Dowry dance of the bride

The Dowry dance was the first custom I observed that was performed at the bride's ceremony, and the head bridesmaid danced with the *tseston* first. Everybody applauded and a pleasant atmosphere was created with the music and the dance (Figures 2.14, 2.15).



Figure 2.14. The Dowry dance is performed



Figure 2.15 The Dowry dance

The dowry dance could be considered as an introduction to the ritual which will follow. The particularly vivid music, in combination with the lively rounds of the basket which the dancer performs, causes a good mood in the people who are present. The tempo is moderate with a crotchet beat of around 100 per minute, while during the main wedding song the tempo is around 66 beats per minute. Everybody claps during the dance, some shouting ‘bravo’ and some whistling (DVD 2016, Track 4).

2.1.8 Dressing the bride and the custom of writing on the bridal shoes

As soon as the custom of finishes the violinist performs the melody of the main wedding song. During Zina’s, Pavlina’s and Nicole’s wedding ceremonies I witnessed a newly added custom which was performed during the *allaman* of the bride. The bridal shoes were placed in the dowry basket and danced with during the Dowry dance. The chief bridesmaid gave the shoes to the bride together with a felt pen. The bride wrote the names of her single friends (girls) on the bottom of her shoes (Figure 2.16).



Figure 2.16. The bride writes the names of her single friends on her bridal shoes

I noticed that the number of the girls, as in all customs during the ceremony, must be odd. When they were interviewed, they referred to this custom as a very old one, performed since the early twentieth century. They believed that the name that was worn off first would be the next girl to get

married (Giannoulla, interview, September 2013, Katina interview, June, 2012, Anthoulla, interview, September 2011). The brides saw this custom during friends' wedding ceremonies and they liked it, thus they wanted to perform it as well. The custom, when it is performed, causes anticipation in the bridesmaids, that it will be fun to see their name worn away first (Nicole, interview, September 2013).

The violinist adjusted the lyrics of the first stanza of the wedding song for the performance of this custom. He was probably unprepared to sing a special stanza for that custom which has been neglected for some decades but has recently been revived. However, he sang the relevant stanza to instruct the main bridesmaid to put the shoes on the bride. He glorifies the Virgin Mary, to help with the new life of the bride and her marriage, and then he calls the main bridesmaid to put on the bride's shoes (DVD 2016, Track 5). At Zina's wedding, the lady probably did not hear the lyrics of the singer as the time used for the *allaman* gives the opportunity for guests to gather with people who they have not met for long time. Thus, the bride put on her shoes by herself.

<i>O, Panagia Despoina,</i>	Oh, Virgin Mary,
<i>doxazw t' onoma Sou</i>	I glorify Your name,
<i>kamia douleia en ginete,</i>	no job can be done,
<i>diha to thelima sou.</i>	without your desire.
<i>Foriste ta papoutsia tis,</i>	Put the bridal shoes,
<i>tisMarkaritarenis,</i>	to the Pearl-lady,
<i>apou tin eshieii mana tis,</i>	whom her mother hides,
<i>mes ta grousahosmenin.</i>	in the gold.

The instruction for putting on the shoes of the bride would follow anyway, as it was the first step for the dressing of the bride (Figure 2.17). In Nicole's wedding the violinist just sang the first stanza and then proceeded to the next act, which was the putting on of the shoes, and then the fitting of the earrings by the main bridesmaid. The adorning of the bride starts with the putting on of the earrings by the other (of the two) main bridesmaids (Figure 2.18). The musicians continue to play and sing, now for the bride putting on her ring (Figure 2.19).

The chief bridesmaid has the main role during the adorning of the bride. She is the one to take care of the bride during the wedding day, of how she looks and how she feels.



Figure 2.17 The chief bridesmaid puts on the bride's shoes



Figure 2.18 The chief bridesmaid puts on the bride's earrings



Figure 2.19 The chief bridesmaid puts the ring on the bride



Figure 2.20 The smoking of the bride.

2.1.9 The smoking of the bride

When the procedure of preparing the bride with her earrings, ring, necklace, lipstick and so on finishes, the musician continues to perform the melody of the main wedding song in order to perform the customs of smoking the bride and the *zwman* (Figures 2.20, 2.21, 2.22)

The bride makes her cross three times upon the smoke of the leaves which had previously been blessed in church. The musician sings the special lyrics for the smoking:

*Fwnaxete tis manas tis,
Narti na tin kapnisei,
tziaina tis dwsei tin eftzin,
Hronia polla na zisei.*

Please call her mother,
to come and smoke her,
and give her, her blessings,
Many years to live.

*Fwnaxete ton tzirin tis,
Nartei na tin kapnisei,
Tzjai na tis dwsei tin eftzin,
Hronia polla na zisei.*

Please call her father,
to come and smoke her,
and to give he, his blessings,
many years to live.



Figure 2.21 The smoking of the bride by her mother

The smoking of the bride is performed only by close relatives, i.e. her family, grandparents and godfathers. This custom is certainly related to religion. The three leaves which are placed in the smoking pot, previously blessed by a priest, shows the close relation of the performers on these sacred moments of the ceremony. In addition, the bride make her cross above the smoke to show that she accepts the blessing of God. The religious and personal identity of Greek Cypriots is also obvious with this custom.

2.1.10 The 'surrounding' with a kerchief of the bride

During the *zwman* ['surrounding' with a kerchief], everyone who is there can participate after the musician calls his/her name. Thus, all people who are present at the ceremony participate in this custom giving their wish by crossing the bride three times, symbolising the Holy Trinity, so religion is again present. The red kerchief symbolises the fertility of the couple. Thus, personal and religious identity are combined, as in almost every step of the ritual. With the custom of the *zwman* the adornment of the bride and groom finishes and the musicians leave.



Figure 2.22 The *zwman* of the bride by her father

2.1.11 The procession to the church for the main event of the wedding

Only in the case of Demetris and Nicole's wedding did the musicians, who were a violinist and an acoustic guitar player (instead of the lutenist and a violinist who form a folk musicians' group),

perform for a short distance in the bride's procession to the church (Figure 2.23). The limousine, seen behind the bride, transferred the bride to the church and left her a short distance away. The goal was to perform the custom and walk with the accompaniment of music to represent the procession as it used to be in the past century. The musicians performed the '*ZanPashis*' tune (DVD 2016, Track 57, Example 6.11) which was one of the tunes used for the procession of the bride in the past century.



Figure 2.23 The bride processes a short distance to the church

The long distance between the houses where the newlyweds are adorned and the church is the main reason why this custom has been abandoned. Nicole knew this custom from being a child and she liked it, so she wanted to revive it for her wedding ceremony, as she mentioned. It also caused her touchiness and she wanted to perform at least a part of it, as much as the circumstances allowed. The long distance between the church and her house made it difficult for her to go on foot with the accompaniment of the musicians. Thus, she instructed her brother, who was driving the bridal car, to leave her a short distance away from the church to perform the procession. Nicole added that it is impossible to perform some customs as they were in the past century, because the circumstances have changed. People used to go to church on foot in the past century, as the distances in the village were short and all the people who went to the *allaman* formed the procession, with the musicians leading it, going to the church for the wedding service. Now things have changed (Nicole,

interview, September 2013). Pavlina knew this custom but, as she mentioned at her interview, she did not want to perform it even though her house was near to the church where she would get married. ‘It is much better to go with a luxury car, with air-conditioning, to keep you fresh for your wedding instead of walking in the high temperature of June and the sun of the summer. The Swarovski decorated heels of my bridal shoes and the makeup and painting which the beautician did, would be damaged by the walking and sun’ (Pavlina, interview, September, 2013). Paul added that the luxury cars that transferred the bride and the groom to the church had replaced the custom: ‘What is done nowadays is to rent or ask a relative with a luxury car to lend you his car. Sometimes when you perform a custom, it is like you go against the society’ (Paul, interview, December 2013). Maria added, ‘Now we rent expensive luxury cars, it is needless to bring the musicians again..., that would cost more money... they have just performed their part... no need for more’ (Maria, interview, December 2013). When George and Zina were asked to discuss the custom of the procession of the bride to the church, they answered, ‘Of course we performed the custom. We left from our parents’ houses and all the guests who were at the *allaman* formed a procession with their cars behind us. That happened to both of us, but the musicians did not come to the church. They had played already, there was no need to play again’ (Zina, interview, September 2012). They did not view the procession as it was performed in the past century, but considered the procession to be the line of cars which formed behind them. Certainly, this is a different kind of procession which the new circumstances demand. They considered that the custom had been performed. Sometimes the customs change their form for practical reasons. I would call this phenomenon as a ‘transmutation’ of the tradition.

2.1.12 Observations about the first phase of the wedding

During the first phase of the wedding, all the newlyweds performed the wedding customs of the wedding day in a way similar to how they were performed during the past century. They chose to leave out the customs which used to be performed on the days preceding the wedding. They did not perform the custom of washing the wool, the making of the bed, or the washing and pulverising of the wheat to prepare the special wedding delight called *resin*. They seem to revive only the customs of the wedding day and the customs, which are more convenient, or more ‘luxury’ for them. None of the couples wanted to prepare their bridal bed as there are so many good quality beds available. None of the couples wanted to represent the customs of preparing the *resin*, as the

catering service would bring it ready for them. These customs were accompanied by special tunes with particular lyrics. Unless the customs are performed these songs are destined to be lost.

However, the newlyweds desired the revival of some customs of the past century at their wedding. In addition to that, there was a revival of a very old custom which seems to be propagated from one wedding to another: the custom of writing the bridesmaids' names under the bridal shoe. My attempts to find a bridal shoe with names written on it from the past century were not fruitful, probably because the brides wore the shoes after their wedding so the names were worn off. Nevertheless Theodwrou, Zavros, Georgiou, Hatzimichael (interviews) all witnessed this custom in Cyprus during the years 1930-1960.

The first phase of the wedding ceremony was full of customs and songs that served to reinforce the participants' sense of identity. The most striking characteristic of the ceremony is the mass willingness to assist in the happenings of the community. Guests actively participate in the dressing of the groom and the bride and the singing of the wedding song. The customs also express religious identity, with the first strophe of the song saying 'let's all wish that this task we are starting now [meaning the wedding] will be blessed' (*touti douleia p arkepsamen, na' nai evloimeni*). The ceremony is full of customs for protection and welfare of the newlyweds and also for luck to bring them fertility.

2.2 The Second Phase: The wedding service, the *gamos*

The second phase of the wedding ceremony is the *gamos* [wedding service] or the *stefanomata* [the crowning] as it is called in Cypriot dialect. I shall give only a general description of the wedding service and just mention that the priest chants the liturgy for engagement: firstly, some Byzantine hymns and prayers for the new couple, and then three joyful motets. There is a lack of particular hymnographies as concerns the wedding liturgy (Priest Michalis Voskou, interview 7th July 2014). I shall refer to only two customs which are related to the Cypriot tradition and are inserted during the priest's chanting. They are only performed during the wedding liturgy: in one the groom tries to step on the bride's foot, and the other is the 'Isaiah Dance' when the groom is struck by the best man. It is important to note also that the wedding service itself has not changed

from that of the past century, except that a very few rich newlyweds add a choir to chant some of the hymns with the priest to ‘enrich’ the mystery (Priest Michalis Voskou, interview, July 2014). In the present case studies none of the newlyweds rented a choir for the wedding service.

The scene at the church is set by the relatives and friends standing outside the church waiting for the bride’s arrival. The groom already stands at the stairs outside of the church, holding the bridal bouquet, waiting for the bride. The bride is taken by her father to be given to the groom. This is a crucial moment of the whole ceremony because it is the moment the bride is given from her family to the groom to start their new life. The groom kisses the bride and offers the bouquet. The couple, holding hands, enter the church. Some relatives and friends have already taken their seats for the liturgy. The bride stands on the left side of the groom and faces the picture of St Mary opposite her place. The groom on the right side faces the picture of Christ.

2.2.1 The custom to determine who is the ‘stronger’ of the couple

The priest starts chanting the Byzantine hymns. When the priest chants the last phrase from the Apostle Paul reading, the ‘*gini na foveitai ton antra...*’ [the woman must be afraid of her husband...], there used to be a custom in Cyprus that the one of the couple who steps on the other’s feet will be the stronger who will command during their married life. Everyone in the church is anxious to see who will be the winner: the bride or the groom. It was amusing to see all guests changing places as they tried to see the feet of the newlyweds. However, during the wedding services that have been examined, the groom kissed the bride instead of stepping on her feet. Watching the scene afterwards from the video recording I made during the wedding service, I was surprised to be informed by the newlyweds that the priests advised them to kiss one each other rather than step on the other’s feet. On the contrary, kissing at that time would provide the equality and the respect of each other, as a couple should have for their entire life. Therefore, one conclusion that one might take is that principles of the society have changed and customs, being in continuous flux as a living body, could not be unaffected. Such actions of the newlyweds could not have been explained just by analysing the data from the video recordings without the explanations that the newlyweds gave me during the interviews after the wedding day.

2.2.2 Customs during the ‘Isaiah Dance’

The second custom which is met during the wedding is that when the priest chants the ‘Isaiah dance’ hymn, the groom is struck strongly by the best man and the guests. When the priest starts chanting the psalm he joins the hands of the newlyweds while he holds the Gospel with his other hand. The priests proceed at the front and the newlyweds follow walking three times round the table on which the crowns are placed. The groom has to receive the strong blows without falling, because they symbolise the difficulties the family will face during married life.



Figure 2.24 The ‘Isaiah Dance’

All the newlyweds mentioned during their interviews that this was the tradition and they wanted to follow. Also the Isaiah dance was performed without throwing coins and grains at the newlyweds (Figure 2.24). The priests forbade that because they cause a mess in the church.

2.2.3 Customs as the couple leave the church

During the newlyweds’ exit of the church, the custom of throwing grains like rice and rose petals is performed. The addition of impressive ‘surprise bombs’ which shoot colourful sprinkles and confetti causing an ear-splitting noise revealed the real intention of performing the custom. It was probably added to the ceremony as another feature that would impress the guests, or as another

habit 'in fashion' which could be fun for the guests. I would agree with Baker (1977, p.10) who characterises all these customs as 'pleasing wedding customs' (Figures 2.25, 2.26).



Figure 2.25 The newlyweds are showered by confetti, rice and rose petals



Figure 2.26 The newlyweds are showered by rice, white rose petals and confetti

When Nicole was interviewed as to why the bridesmaids threw rice, rose petals and confetti, she said that the older people believe that the rice, [*rizi* in Greek] is symbolic, it is thrown in order to ‘*rizwsei o gamos*’ [literally the verb from the noun *rizi*, metaphorically to put down strong roots for new married life] (Nicole, interview, September, 2013). Maria mentioned that the rose petals are believed by the old people also to be symbolic, in order that married life should be “a bed of roses”, metaphorically, to have a smooth life without any problems (Maria, interview, December 2013). Pavlina and Zina added that rice has symbolized fertility from ancient times (Pavlina, interview, September 2013, Zina, interview, September 2012).

This phase of the wedding ends with the bride throwing her bridal bouquet to her single friends. The one who catches it will be the next to get married.

2.3 The Third Phase: the cocktail reception and the wedding banquet

This is the last phase of the wedding where people greet the newlyweds and the day finishes with a banquet, as almost all the manifestations of Greek Cypriots, like baptism, birthdays and so on, include a feast with lots of eating, singing and dancing.

2.3.1 Music chosen for the cocktail reception

In the three of the four case studies I examined, the cocktail reception, the start of the third phase of the wedding ceremony, took place in a luxury hotel. During the cocktail reception a piece from the fruited wedding cake, pre-wrapped or placed in white nuptial box, was offered to the guests.

Regarding the music which was heard during the greetings, Antonis, Pavlina, Paul and Maria did not choose the music themselves. ‘The hotel manager had a compact disc which is always used in weddings and that’s all.... It was fine, relaxing, instrumental music, the usual wedding marches and so on, nice for people to gather while having their drinks and food’ (Figure 2.27) (Antonis, Pavlina, interview, September 2013, Paul and Maria, interview, December 2013). In addition, Paul said that ‘a copy of the CD which was played at our cocktail reception was given to us as a memento of those moments’ (Paul, interview, December 2013).



Figure 2.27 Food is ready to be offered to the guests at the cocktail reception

Zina and George held their *heretisi*, greetings and the wedding feast, at a huge restaurant and not at a hotel as the other couples had done. The agreement the couple had with the disc jockey before the wedding was to be there early and put on music for the greetings, too. ‘He put on soft instrumental music, Greek and foreign pop music and that was fine because the guests were having their dinner and the music had to be mild not to annoy them’ (George Gewrgiou, interview, September 2012). George and Zina mentioned they trusted their disc jockey so they let him decide what music would be heard during the greetings.

Nicole and Demetris preferred to have live music, two musicians, a saxophone and a keyboard player, who also sang some songs. The hotelier who was responsible for the weddings suggested this group to them. They were also working at a famous youth club of the newlyweds’ town, where their friends used to go. ‘We visited this club to hear their performance and we liked them. We also had the opportunity to choose the instruments, so we chose saxophone and keyboards.... to give the special atmosphere the saxophone gives performing jazz music to our wedding’ (Nicole, interview, September, 2013, Figure 2.28).



Figure 2.28 Live music was performed at this cocktail reception

It seems that the newlyweds did not want to have any input as to what music would be heard, at this part of their wedding, except for Demetris and Nicole. They gave emphasis to the first phase of the ceremony where they wanted to keep their tradition and to the last one, the wedding feast. Also financial reasons played a role in this part of the wedding. All of them wanted to have classical or Greek pop instrumental music to accompany the greetings because it was the time for the guests to gather. Newlyweds chose the music for their wedding according to their tastes, thus showing their personal music identity which is certainly combined with their personal identity.

2.3.2 Music chosen for the wedding banquet

The last phase of the wedding is the night party. It is the more joyful phase when the bride and groom are formally announced as a couple. All who are invited to this phase must have fun, eat and dance. The beginning of the dance opens with the ‘dance of the newlyweds’. There has been a fashion in the last few years for the future newlyweds to attend dancing lessons to ‘show off’ during their dance. The song for this dance is chosen by the dance teacher and the future newlyweds.

The wedding feast in three of the case studies took place in hotels and the only guests were the close friends and relatives of the two families. Only Zina and George invited all their guests to the wedding feast, as in the past century when all the people of the village were invited. Thus, they

needed an especially large venue for the three thousand people who were invited. That was what the parents of the couple wanted, because this was what they did during the past century. They invited almost all the people they knew, as the newlyweds mentioned during their interview (George and Zina, interview, September 2012).

2.3.3 Reasons why the newlyweds prefer disc jockeys

All the newlyweds hired a disc jockey or two for this phase of the wedding (Figure 2.29), chosen according to their price and the quality of entertainment offered to the newlyweds and the guests. The newlyweds' main motivation in choosing their disc jockey and music during their wedding feast, was firstly, to please themselves and their guests. Secondly, they wanted to cover all their musical tastes and those of their guests who were of different ages (Antonis and Pavlina, interview, September 2013, Demetris and Nicole, interview, September 2013, Paul Maria, interview, December 2013, George and Zina, interview, September 2012, George and Georgia, interview, December 2012).

Interviewing the newlyweds, they all concluded that they wanted a disc jockey at their wedding for several reasons. Firstly, he could cover all the musical tastes and needs of their guests. Antonis mentioned that 'a live orchestra, maybe the best which is available in Cyprus, cannot perform all the kind of songs we wanted with a good quality of performance' (Antonis, interview, September 2013). Paul and Maria would like to have had live classical music for their cocktail reception. Paul, who works as a financial manager of a company and thinks financially, mentioned that the price of having a DJ was four hundred euros in total, including the reception and the wedding feast. But to hire two musicians, 'a saxophone and a fiddler we wanted', would be one thousand euros, to perform only during the cocktail reception (Paul, interview, December 2013). Also, with a compact disc, there is no break to turn the pages of their scores, Antonis added. Pavlina endorsed Antonis' view, saying that there is no break between the pieces as when the musicians get tired (Antonis, Pavlina, interview, September 2013). Nicole claimed that 'It is impossible for an orchestra to perform so well as the original song that will be heard from the D.J. For me, it is better to use the first version of each song, as our guests have it in their minds... otherwise they will not enjoy it... we just want to please them, the night of our wedding, we do all we can to have fun' (Nicole, interview, September 2013). Pavlina added that they wanted the music to be heard like in the clubs

where the youth use to go, where the disc jockey puts a variety of songs, foreign pop music and Greek songs, *laika* [zeimpekika and *tsiftetelia*], and also songs of the 1970s and 1980s including the Twist and rock and roll. ‘This is the way we and our friends have fun when we go out at weekends and that’s what we wanted for our wedding music’ (Pavlina, interview, September 2013).

Paul added that having a disc jockey was financially better and now with the financial recession in our country this has to be taken into account, ‘as we do not know if we will have our jobs tomorrow’. ‘Maria was already pregnant at our wedding. Otherwise, when we go out a disc jockey performs everywhere.... People are used to that and they have fun with that, nowhere in a night club is Cypriot folk music performed’ (Paul, interview, December 2013). Maria added:

Having music heard off a disc jockey’s machine is spiritless, because a machine is performing, but the orchestra has soul because people are performing. Thus, they might stimulate the human feelings and propagate the feelings of the song in a better way to the audience, through their performance. However, having people performing live is not always positive because they get tired, they might not perform in a good mood, they need a break, they are human with so many weaknesses. Instead, the music of the disc jockey is always perfect’ (Maria, interview, December 2013).

Demetris added:

...the disc jockey has the flexibility to immediately change styles of the music heard or to stay longer and keep putting the same style of songs on because he watches the reactions of the guests. The opportunity to use the internet any time was great. The orchestra might not know so many songs of the same kind or style when the guests are in the mood to dance more during the party. Our disc jockey was a professional and could observe what song to play next depending on the mood of those moments... (Demetris, interview, September 2013).

Zina told me that the disc jockey chose the music he played during the greetings. ‘We just trusted him because he knew better what to put on than we did, this is his job’ (Zina, interview, September 2012).



Figure 2.29 The two disc jockeys are ready for the entertainment for the wedding feast

2.3.4 The choice of music when the new couple enters the room

All the couples chose the piece which would be heard when they entered the room. They all wanted a cheerful song that would animate their guests, who stand up and applaud while watching the newlyweds entering. The newlyweds proceed to the stage where a table with the wedding cake and the tray with the champagne and two high glasses is ready (Figure 2.30).

Antonis and Pavlina chose a song sung by Anna Vissi called ‘*Den s’ allazw*⁴ [I will never change you for anyone else] (DVD 2016, Track 6). The lyrics of the song were important to them and they also chose the music because of its disco rhythm (Antonis, Pavlina, interview, September 2013). With the song they chose to enter the room, they cut the wedding cake and were ready for the couple’s dance.

⁴ *Den s’ Allazw*’ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qBHKbIHFz24>. Accessed 13 December 2014.



Figure 2.30 Wedding cake and champagne for the newlyweds.

The DJ is seen at the back of the stage.



Figure 2.31 Nicole and Demetris have just cut their wedding cake and are ready for their dance, while their disc jockey is preparing the song.

Paul and Maria chose a song sung by Antonis Remos, ‘*Mehri to telos tou kosmou*’ [Until the end of the World], which has a special meaning for them.⁵

Zina chose the song ‘*Afto to vradi tha’ ne diko mas*’ [This night will be for us]⁶. It is a cheerful song, which would cause a good mood in the guests, and its lyrics were important for them (George and Zina, interview, September 2012).

Demetris and Nicole entered the room to Mendelssohn’s Wedding March. They wanted this because it is a triumphal tune which used to be heard in weddings and it gives a ‘dignified and stately atmosphere for the wedding feast. That piece suited with the style we chose to give to our wedding’ (Demetris and Nicole, interview, September, 2013). Nicole was one of my students in classical studies of piano and singing, so her background has much to do with the classical pieces, which she liked and had performed.

The song for the entrance of the newlyweds is prepared by the disc jockey, the newlyweds proceed to the stage, and cut the wedding cake holding hands. The one feeds the other and the best man opens the champagne.

The songs used at this point were totally chosen by the newlyweds, according to their taste or precious experiences. I would certainly combine it with their musical and personal identity.

2.3.5 The new couple’s dance

The second piece, which is heard during the wedding feast, is the *horos tou zevgariou* [the couple’s song], to which the newlyweds dance. George and Zina chose the song ‘*Na me proseheis*’ [Take care of me] because it is a romantic, slow dance, with lyrics which had a nice meaning (George and Zina, interview, September 2012). Demetris and Nicole chose the song ‘*O vithos sou*’⁷ [The bottom of the sea] because it is a slow romantic dance tune which has a special meaning for them, as it reminded them the night they met each other and danced it together. Antonis and Pavlina

⁵ ‘*Mehri to Telos tou Kosmou*’ [Until the end of the World], which has a special meaning for them]. (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K7vTJeS2f7I>). Accessed 22 December 2015.

⁶ ‘*Afto to Vradi tha’ ne Diko mas*’ [This night will be for us]. (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKOgGROAhr0>). Accessed 21 September 2016.

⁷ ‘*O Vithos sou*’ [The bottom of the sea belongs to you] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9jPM5oq58Jl>. Accessed 2 January 2014.

chose a slow Greek song to dance '*I agapi afti*'⁸ [This love] because they liked the music and the lyrics of the song praising their love, as so special and so important for the two of them (DVD 2016, Track 7). Paul and Maria wanted something to impress their guests. They secretly attended private tango lessons in order to dance at their wedding. They paid a thousand Euros to the dance teacher to dance 'El Tango de Roxanne'.⁹ Their guests and relatives knew the newlyweds as a couple who had never danced before, so they wanted something very dynamic to impress them and surprise them (Maria, interview, December 2013). The tune was suggested by their dance teacher and was chosen together from other European dances.

One might conclude that each couple chose their own piece of music at this phase of their wedding according to their idiosyncrasy and taste. This phase of the wedding seems to give to the new couples more freedom to choose their own music, compared to the previous phases where particular tunes and songs were connected with the particular customs. The difference here is that this dance is a contemporary addition to the wedding ceremony, where the couple has to dance in front of their guests to impress or please them. The addition also of the disc jockey allows the newlyweds to choose any tune they like and hear it performed perfectly, while the folk musicians would not be able to play or perform any tune requested when they were performing at the wedding banquet during the mid-twentieth century. Tradition follows a particular sequence of customs, each accompanied with a specific tune. Contemporary actions like the dance of the newlyweds allow people to choose the tune they want to, but all the newlyweds opened the banquet with the couple's dance. So the new additions become new customs through repetition at the same point in the ceremony with the same action from the newlyweds.

2.3.6 Music chosen to make the guests have fun

All the newlyweds wanted to please themselves and their guests that night, so they hired a disc jockey that could satisfy all tastes of all ages. After the couple's dance several kinds of tunes

⁸' *I Agapi Afti*' [This love] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EN6JfzITtXA> accessed 26 October 2016.

⁹'El Tango De Roxanne' [The tango of Roxanne] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Te2MytD1MIg>. Accessed 2nd January 2014.

followed, such as the Greek *zeimbekiko* dance which is danced with songs which have a 9/8 metre, always causing fun for Greeks (Figure 2.32). The bride sits on her feet and applauds the groom who dances with manly figures.



Figure 2.32 The *Zeimbekiko* dance

Some other categories of songs were heard during this phase like *tsifteteli* songs, *kalamatianos* dances (Figure 2.33), popular Greek songs, and some of the 1970s and 1980s to satisfy the older generations, as the newlyweds informed me during the interviews. Great was the role of the disc jockey who was acting according to the preferences and the mood of the guests during the wedding feast.

Zina added that ‘we asked the disc jockey to play a *kalamatianos* dance after the couple’s dance’, which typically used to be the first tune performed during the past century’s wedding feast after the dance of *the ploumisman*. Antonis and Pavlina had a special show of a belly dance performance during the feast. They thought of this show as something to prepare the mood of the guests for their dance. ‘We wanted to whip up the cheerfulness of our guests while they were having their dinner. And the goal came true, everybody was staring at her with pleasure’ (DVD 2013, Track 8) (Antonis, interview, September 2013).



Figure 2.33 The newlyweds (Nicole and Demetris) and the guests dance circle dances

Many were the times that the guests were ordering a ‘*zeimbekiko*’ tune with the rhythm of 9/8 in order to dance. Some women also ordered the ‘*nisiwtika*’ songs, songs from the Greek islands that always had a joyful character. Such tunes were: ‘*Horepsete horepsete*’¹⁰ [meaning dance, go dance], ‘*Mes tou Aigaiou*’¹¹ [In the water of Aegean] another joyful dance that could be danced in couples or in a big circle. A song from ‘*nisiwtika*’ that was performed in all four case studies was also the Greek wedding song¹², which also had a positive meaning and a dancing character. Some of the lyrics of the song instruct the eagle, meaning the groom, to open his wings and the partridge, meaning the bride, will jump in his arms. The lyrics also instruct the groom never to get angry with the bride but instead to feel proud of her like a beautiful plant of basil in a vase. Some other songs that were requested for dancing at the wedding feasts I recorded were ‘*Ntari ntari*’¹³ a song with lyrics giving warm wishes to the newlyweds and having a dancing rhythm and melody, and ‘*Ligaria*’¹⁴ which is the name of a herb that helps fertility but in the song the herb means the bride, praising her beauty. This song too has a joyful and dancing melody and rhythm, and many guests asked for it to dance to. Only in two case studies the guests asked the disc jockey to play the two

¹⁰<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HrOwgufbUjI>, accessed 4 October 2016.

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j0MapU1-gfs&spfreload=5> accessed 14 September 2016.

¹² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1LQv8XMvgmI> accessed 13 October 2015.

¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=flk4PmCsr2o> accessed 13 October 2016.

¹⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QyZShMtFWqY> accessed 4 October 2016.

Greek Cypriot songs '*Oulla halalin sou*¹⁵' [All for you with pleasure] and '*Ta mavra mmathkia*',¹⁶ meaning the black eyes, which is also an erotic song referring to the black eyes of a young lady who was the reason to be loved. Both of the Greek Cypriot songs are danced as a *kalamatianos* in 7/8 time and the tunes are familiar to all the guests, who dance in a circle.

The wedding banquet in all cases finished around 3.00 a.m. with *zeimbekiko*, *nisiwtika* and *kalamatianos* tunes. The late hour the banquet finished was also a proof that the wedding was successful, because people were dancing until early morning, meaning they enjoyed the music and did not want to leave the party. The songs that were mostly chosen were songs with a dancing character in combination with erotic lyrics. In no case study were there performed any Greek Cypriot folk songs except for the two mentioned above. However, many traditional Greek songs were requested and some others were chosen by the disc jockey. Thus, if the disc jockey's choice of songs did not satisfy the tastes of the participants at the banquet, they could ask for the songs they wanted. The music heard during the banquet was not totally suggested by the newlyweds, who had discussed which songs to perform before the wedding day with the disc jockey, but was also requested by the guests at the time of the party. In addition to that, one can observe the effect that Greece has on people's preferences of songs. *Nisiwtika* songs and dances, which have a dancing rhythm and a cheerful character, were mostly the tunes that the guests requested from the disc jockeys. This phase of the wedding proves the personal, but also the national, identity of the people who participate.

Conclusions

Analysing and examining the first four case studies I observed showed the wedding sequence was the same. They all chose to have a compound 'folk and European' wedding, mixing the two 'cultures', meaning the old and the new. They preferred to separate their weddings into the 'traditional' part, which includes the preparation before the wedding itself (the church service), and the modernised part consisting of a cocktail reception and wedding banquet. Argyrou (1996,

¹⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xqx2U4lf1_I accessed 4 October 2016.

¹⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ZL2n03a_Tw accessed 4 October 2016.

pp. 114, 123) distinguishes weddings in Cyprus as either ‘village’ (traditional) or ‘champagne’ (modern) weddings. I would certainly agree with Argyrou, who claims that contemporary wedding ceremonies depend on the cultural choices, tastes, lifestyles, social class and identity of the families involved (1996, p.111). The five case studies examined in my research were a mixture of what Argyrou calls ‘village’ and ‘champagne’ weddings (1996, p.11). The first four were a combination of a ‘champagne’ wedding with the ‘village’ wedding, where the traditional customs were revived in the first phase of the wedding ceremony and in the adornment of the bride and the groom. Only in the fifth case study, described in the next chapter, was the ceremony a traditional wedding, a ‘village’ wedding, which was intended to be very similar to those of the past century. However, the customs performed in weddings are chosen according to many reasons and they are performed in a way allowed by the existing circumstances at the time of the wedding.

Nowadays most new couples in Cyprus are more ‘Westernised’ and ‘modernised’ than faithful to their roots and the old traditions in their daily life. Nevertheless, behind their behaviour there is a deep feeling of loving their roots, and a will to represent these customs as a debt they owe to their parents or ancestors. Thus, when they have the opportunity to show and express their feeling for tradition, they do so. A wedding is one such opportunity, as there are many wedding customs which are deeply tied with the identity of their country. The analysis of the present study showed that even the weddings discussed in this chapter have ‘revived’ some practices from before 1970. Especially after the late twentieth-century period when traditional weddings and their music were rarely performed, the phenomenon of reviving the old traditional wedding of the past century can be seen as a part of the ‘first music revival’ and the movement could be called a revival of folk music through wedding ceremonies in Cyprus.

One obvious change in the modern Cypriot wedding is that the procedure is much simpler and shorter than it used to be. The weddings which were examined lasted only one day, while the wedding ceremonies of the past century often lasted six days (Zavros, Gewrgiou, Nikolatzis, Iordanou interviews) and sometimes longer when the *antigamos*¹⁷ took place. Studies of wedding rituals in other cultures such as Nishimura’s study about the modern Brahmanic wedding of South

¹⁷ The *antigamos* was an event which took place usually the Sunday following the wedding day when the groom came from another village far away from that of the bride. The villagers came to greet the newlyweds and another feast was held to honour these villagers. *Antigamos* was the end of the *gamos*.

Indians (Nishimura, 1996, p.414) have shown similar shortening of wedding ceremonies in recent decades. The wedding feasts are held in formal performance contexts in halls and hotel party rooms and not in the streets of the village where the wedding dinner used to take place in the past century. The instrumentation used has also changed. It often includes guitars, keyboards, saxophones, drum machines, electronic instruments and so on, most popular with the newlyweds is a disc jockey who can play anything they desire during their wedding feast. The changes are due to new conceptualisations and treatment of the music in Cyprus and also to the new imported musical hits that the youth listen to. The new tendencies of the period and modernisation and Europeanisation have affected the wedding procedure greatly.

Mendelssohn's wedding march, causing a reverent feeling among the guests, is always chosen by the newlyweds for their entrance to the place of the banquet. In addition to that, a new custom was imported into Cyprus in the last three decades. Iordanou Periklis (interview, May 2012), mentioned that after the wedding service the bride turns her back on the bridesmaids and throws her bouquet. Georgiou (interview, December 2010) added that the bridesmaid who catches the bouquet will be the one to marry first among all the single women who were invited to the wedding. This custom, according to Baker (1977, p.80) is an American custom which derives from an old custom of England called 'flinging the stocking'. On the other hand, one old custom has been revived: writing the names of the bridesmaids on the shoes of the bride. As Theodwrou and Zavros mentioned, this was a very old custom which had stopped being performed for many decades since they were children but in recent years, they have seen this custom enacted again when they were called to perform in wedding ceremonies (Theodwrou, interview, November 2011, Zavros, interview, July 2011). Here again, we see older customs being revived.

Another important change I noticed is that the ceremony was the means by which the new couple would express the acquisition of their new status because in the past century they were not allowed to live together before marriage. Nowadays new couples live together and share their lives before their wedding. Thus, the event of the wedding does not usually make such a big difference to them. In addition to that, the whole wedding ceremony is designed according to the financial status of the family and it is a case in which the event reflects the social class of the families who organise it. Sometimes they increase the expenses of the wedding to make a higher class wedding as a matter of 'showing off' in the eyes of the guests. During the past century, the majority of the

wedding ceremonies were the same, with same customs and same food to prepare and so on. Nowadays, there is a big choice of food, reception at hotels or at the yard of the church and so on. Therefore, each wedding varies according to the expenses and the financial situation of the families of the newlyweds and the quality the newlyweds want to offer to their guests.

I have also observed that there have been radical changes in the musical pattern of wedding ceremonies, leaving out a large proportion of the wedding folk songs and customs. But these were inevitable changes in taste and selection as young people are exposed to different kinds of music. The evolution of the new technologies which have entered the lives of the young, through the media, the internet, television and radio, have done much to affect their taste in selecting the music for their wedding.

Chapter Three: A contemporary wedding ceremony reviving mid-twentieth-century practices

This case study is of a conscious attempt to reproduce a wedding ceremony with the accompanying customs and music as it might have happened during the mid-twentieth century.

3.1 The 'imagined' wedding of the mid-twentieth century.

Many customs were performed before and after the day of the wedding. This is the main difference from the other wedding ceremonies that have been examined. George and Georgia started their wedding customs with the invitation. During their interview, they both mentioned that they wanted to preserve as many of the customs and music as they could and revive the 'imagined' wedding of the mid twentieth century. We refer to it as 'imagined' because they did not experience it. But, they tried to imagine how it was through the testimonies of the folk musicians they asked before their wedding. They studied the wedding procedure by asking the folk musicians how they remembered it through their experiences. I asked them why they wanted to preserve these customs, as all happenings around us are in continuous flux, so why not let things proceed with the new wave of 'modernity'? They both supported the view that keeping the tradition, by performing the customs with the music that they accompany them, is like preserving the ethnicity of the country itself, 'especially in these difficult times with so many national problems of the island, it is more than a need now' (Diogenous, George and Georgia, interview, December 2012). Their wedding starts with the invitations based on the 'old' way.

3.1.1 The invitation

The bride and the groom invited their guests, giving them a candle with the invitation, three weeks before the wedding day. When they invited the priests, they gave them a white kerchief as in the past century. The invitations they gave was illustrated with a scene, which was painted by a good friend of the groom (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1 The front cover of the invitation for George's and Georgia's wedding, drawn by Athinodwros. May 2012, Nicosia.

The picture depicts the procession of newlyweds at their wedding. They hold hands and it is like the scenes depicted on many ceramics from ancient Greece. A violinist and lutenist lead the procession and the bride and groom follow holding hands. The villagers follow the procession to watch and be present at the wedding service. This is the way the bride went to the church in the past century.

The new couple created the composition of the poem. Some folk musicians remember how to improvise lyrics and sing for the guests who would be invited to the wedding, but unfortunately no one could remember the melody of the tune or some of those lyrics. No other literature has 'rescued' these songs. The poem has fifteen syllables each line and has a rhyme at the end of the lines. It is in the same style and form as the lyrics of many Cypriot folk songs. George and Georgia mentioned at their interview that they wanted to revive this custom from the past by including a poem on their invitation, even though they knew that the custom was not the same and that invitations were given orally during the past century (George Diogenous, interview, December 2012).



Figure 3.2. The poem (*tsiattisto*) written by George and Georgia, printed inside the invitation to their wedding.

To Savvato tzi' oran 7,
Prwtin Septemvriou
tou 2012 me theliman Kyriou.

Sas proskaloumen na'
Rtete sta stefanomata mas,

On Saturday at seven o'clock, on first of
September
of 2012 with God's will.

We invite you to come
To our crowning,

*Stou gamou to mistirion
na vriskeste konta mas.*

*Stin ekklesian ston Ipsonan i teleti tha
ginei
Tzie efhoumasten touti i stigmi axehasti
na meinei.*

*Mes tis Chrisopolitissas tis Panagias to
meros
Tzi i prosklisi mas afora oullous
idieteros.
Gambros en o Georgios nimfi i Georgia*

*Tzai filakes stoun tin douleian Christos
tzie Panagia.
Goneis nimfis Marios tzie Eleni
Komodromou
Pou Kiperountas to horkon p' areskei
kathe atomou.
Gia ta sightharitiria ton topon na sas
poumen
tzi' osongia tin dexiosin hara mas na
sas doumen.
Tha ginei eis ton Ipsonan s'
enankalonxoklisin
Ston Agion ton Raphael pou'hei se
oulla lisin.*

*Timi mas na sas ehouden eis tin
dexiosin mas*

*tzi o plastisna' naivoithoss'toun tin
axiosin mas.*

to our wedding service, we want you to be there.

At Ipsona's church the celebration will take place and we wish these moments would be unforgettable.

In Virgin Mary the Chrisopolitissa's place and our invitation includes you all.

Groom is George and bride is Georgia

and safeguards to this event is Christ and Virgin Mary.

The bride's parents are Marios and Eleni

From Kiperounta village which everybody likes.

For greetings the place will tell you

and as concerns the feast we will be glad to see you there.

It will take place at Ipsona's nice chapel

At Saint Raphael's chapel, who has a solution to all our problems.

It is an honour for us to host you to our feast

and may God bless our accomplishment.

The poem uses the Cypriot dialect, which includes features from the ancient Greek language like the ending of the verb *doum-en*, showing again the Greek identity of the performers and also the Greek roots of the island. Thus, providing the national identity through the language of the wedding songs. The song also includes religious features like the names of Virgin Mary and God and Saint Raphael to bless the new couple. This is also a characteristic of Cypriot wedding songs which express the religious identity of the performers.

3.1.2 Customs before the wedding service

The couple had some preparations for the food they would serve during the wedding feast. Some of these customs were accompanied with music. On Wednesday before the wedding, the two families and some of their relatives went to the bride's house in order to prepare the traditional food called *koupepia*.

On Thursday they washed the wheat at the faucet of the church, in order to prepare the *resin*. They formed a procession with the musicians playing the Zanpashis tune (DVD 2016, Track 9). When they went to the church, the musicians continued performing by playing the song for washing and pulverising the wheat (DVD 2016, Track 10). They left it in the sun to dry and then ground it in the traditional way using a quern (DVD 2016, Track 11). The song that the musicians performed was the same as for the washing of the wheat but with lyrics adjusted for the grinding (Example 5.2). George mentioned that they just washed and ground a small quantity of the wheat in order to perform the custom because there were 2500 guests, so it would be time-consuming to wash and pulverise so many kilos of wheat. But the next day, they bought a machine which helped them do it faster (George, interview, December 2012). The number of guests might seem incredibly large, but this is the real number of a proper Cypriot wedding, because Cyprus is a closed community as a country and large numbers of people know each other. During the past century all the residents of the village were invited to the wedding, and today the couple and their families invite all the people they know.

At night, when they finished, they placed tables on the street to have dinner for all the people who were there and helped, always with the accompaniment of the folk musicians, who played folk

tunes. On Friday morning, two days before the wedding, they butchered the lambs which would be used to cook the *resin*. On Saturday morning they all went to their parents' houses to cook this traditional delight. On Saturday night George and Georgia slept at their parents' houses in order to simulate the old custom of the new couple first sleeping together on their wedding day.

3.1.2.1 The adornment

On Sunday the musicians first adorned the groom and then they went to the bride's house. They performed the shaving of the groom, the adorning of the bride, the Dowry dance, the dressing of the groom, the smoking and the *zwmán* of the bride and the groom. The only difference between this phase of the wedding and the other case studies is that the groom and his close friends were wearing traditional dress (DVD 2016, Track 12) because they wanted the wedding to be presented as in the old years (Athinodwros, interview, December 2013). The groom was also wearing breeches (Figure 3.3) and he added that he felt more masculine in them (George, interview, December 2012).



Figure 3.3 George, the young lutenist who is a friend of the groom George, wears breeches during the shaving of the groom



Figure 3.4 The Dowry dance. The boots, skirt and traditional embroidered jerkin are placed in the *tseston* to be danced with by the guests. A young child is also dressed in traditional Cypriot clothes.



Figure 3.5 . The groom is now ready, dressed in his breeches



Figure 3.6. The best man puts on the boots to complete the traditional dress



Figure 3.7 The groom's father puts on the red kerchief



Figure 3.8 The groom's mother makes the cross three times to smoke him and give him her greetings.



Figure 3.9 Athinodwros, wearing traditional dress, is holding the pumpkin which he painted and the bread he made.

It is obvious that the groom made efforts to revive an 'imagined' wedding ceremony of the mid twentieth century. The costume that the groom and his friends wear with the breeches and the long black boots is another feature that provides and expresses the national identity of the people who wear them. It is the same costume that people of the past century wore.

3.1.2.2 The procession to the church

When the adorning had finished the procession was formed. The musicians were in front playing the *Zanpashis* tune (DVD 2016, Track 57, Example 6.11). The groom changed from his breeches and dressed himself in his wedding costume. He mentioned that indeed he wanted to revive the old customs but, living in the twenty-first century, he should adjust himself to the new style of living (George Diogenous, interview, December 2012).



Figure 3.10 The procession to church.

The bride arrived at the church in a carriage (Figure 3.11) because she wanted to go back to the ancient Greek customs (Georgia, interview, December 2012).



Figure 3.11 The bride goes to the church in a carriage.

When the bride and the groom arrived at the church, a lady holding a silver bowl sprinkled them with rose water. The first phase of the wedding ends here, before the new couple enters the church.



Figure 3.12 The bride and the groom are sprinkled with rosewater.

3.1.3 The wedding service

The wedding service was no different from the others I attended. The Byzantine hymns and prayers and customs were the same and the groom kissed the bride when the priest chanted ‘the woman must be afraid of her husband’. That was the priest’s instruction as George mentioned during his interview (George Diogenous, interview, December 2012). The best men struck the groom during the ‘Isaiah dance’ but the church did not allow rice to be thrown.

3.1.4 After the wedding service

Rice was thrown at the couple as they left the church, like they did during the mid twentieth century, but no confetti as in the other weddings studied, which is an imported wedding habit.

3.1.4.1 The offer of the special wedding bread

A friend of the groom, Athinodwros, who was traditionally dressed, offered a small piece of decorated bread and wine to all the guests who were there.

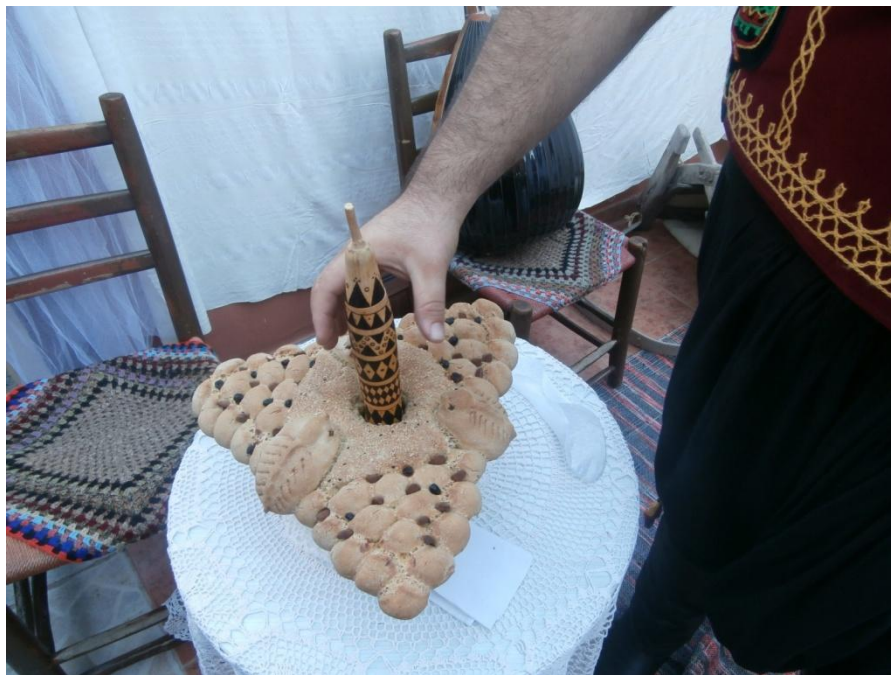


Figure 3.13 The decorated bread which was offered to the guests after the wedding service.

Athinodwros blended a *koullourin* [a kind of bread with sesame seeds on the top] decorated with birds made of dough, almonds and raisins. The dried nuts and raisins symbolise the fertility of the new couple. The three birds were shaped from the bread, always an odd number as a superstition which symbolises good luck for the new couple (Figure 3.13). The bread was sweet to bring a sweet life to the newlyweds. The lady most gifted in handicraft shaped the three birds, which symbolised the Holy Trinity in the old years (Athinodwros, interview December, 2013). Prwtopapa (2005, p.218) refers to the blending of such breads with honey and milk so the life of the new couple would be '*meli kai gala*' [honey and milk]. This is an expression Greeks use in order to wish the couple a happy life.



Figure 3.14 Athinodwros offers the bread and some wine to a guest outside the church.

3.1.4.2 The procession of the newlyweds

The newlyweds left the church and were transferred with a carriage to their home. Georgia wanted to represent the customs 'from their roots' as she mentioned in the discussion we had together. Georgia and the bridegroom believe that Cypriot folk customs derive from ancient Greek customs (Georgia, interview, December 2012).



Figure 3.15 Just married, the newlyweds leave the church in a carriage.

3.1.5 The wedding Banquet

In the evening the newlyweds received their greetings in the grounds of their church where the wedding feast followed.

3.1.5.1 The sewing of the bed

After the greetings, the bridesmaids sewed red crosses on the bridal bed (DVD 2016, Track 13) and prepared it for the couple's first married night (Figure 3.16).



Figure 3.16 The bridesmaids prepare the bridal bed.

The song which was performed was the main wedding song with the lyrics for the sewing of the bed (Example 5.5).



Figure 3.17 The bridal bed is ready, settled with the red and white kerchief in the middle.

The bridesmaids sewed red crosses at the four corners and in the middle for the mattress to be blessed and then they placed a white sheet with a red kerchief and a white one. The small white kerchief is placed in the middle of the bed and is the one which would be shown on the balcony the day following the wedding to reveal the virginity of the bride. This custom was not completed the next day because, according to the discussion I had with them, they did not want the others to know if the bride was virgin on her wedding day or not. The custom ended with another symbolisation of fertility which Cypriots used to perform in the past century. A female child, the couple's desire, was rolled on the sheets (DVD 2016, Track 14), to bring the same luck to the newlyweds to bear a girl for their first child. Incidentally, Georgia bore a girl one year later.

3.1.5.2 The music during the banquet

The wedding party continued with a live orchestra playing *zeimbekiko* tunes, *tsifteteli* tunes and other Greek tunes and *kalamatianos* tunes. George and Georgia were not pleased with their orchestra because they did not perform Cypriot folk tunes. The only Cypriot folk song they performed was the main wedding song for the bridesmaids as they sewed the crosses on the bed (Georgia Diogenous, interview, December 2012).

3.1.6 The *antigamos* [another wedding party one week after the wedding]

The wedding ended with the wedding feast but the next Sunday the *antigamos* was organised at Georgia's village. The *antigamos* was always performed during the past century when one of the two newlyweds was from a faraway village. In order to please the guests who were coming from this place and also to make it easier for them to greet the new couple, the families of the newlyweds organised another wedding feast at this place. George and Georgia invited all the villagers for another wedding feast in Georgia's village, which is called Kyperounta, 28km away from Ipsonas village where they had their wedding. Thus, they wanted to perform another wedding feast for the villagers of the bride who were not able to be present on their wedding. That is what they did during the past century when one of the couple was from another village. Thus, an *antigamos* was performed the following Sunday. The entire procedure ended with the wedding feast of the *antigamos* and the musicians playing several folk tunes.

3.1.6.1 The custom of collecting chickens for the banquet

On that Sunday, in the afternoon, George and his friends accompanied by the musicians went from house to house in the village to collect chickens. The grandfather of George's best man knew the particular song for this activity and taught it to him before he died. As I noticed during fieldwork, the villagers knew the custom because it was performed in their village during the past century but they did not expect it to be performed. However, they willingly gave the chickens with joy and dancing while hanging them on the rod (George, interview, December 2012). George and his friends collected the chickens from the villagers and then the women boiled them to eat them with spaghetti. The melody of the song is the same as the 'song for the newlyweds' (DVD 2016, Track 15) and the lyrics are:

*Kalws irtamen tz' ivramen anoikta ta
katzelia,*

It is nice to welcome us with the doors open

*Tzi an men eshi oute ornithes
piannoumen ziai kopelia,*

And if you have no chicken, we collect boys as well.

*Opios mas dwkei peteinon en tha to
metanosei,
En nartei popse spiti mas tziain na tin
podiplosei.*

The one who will give us a cock he will not regret it,
He will come tonight to our house and he will eat so well that his belly will roll out,

The friends of the bridegroom who were holding the rod with the hung chickens were trying to cause fun by dancing and singing. The song was sung by the friend of the bridegroom and the people who formed the procession repeated it. The cooperation between the people of the community and the group action is seen through all the customs of the wedding ceremony. This custom, with the song which accompanied it, is also presented here for the first time.

3.2 A discussion with the couple

When I interviewed George and Georgia about how they tried to represent a traditional wedding and have folk musicians to perform in all the phases of their wedding, George spontaneously replied with a *tsiattisto* in a recitative way:

<i>Gamos kipriakos horis vkiolin</i>	Cypriot wedding without a violin and a
<i>laouton,</i>	lute,
<i>Pou en pou xanakoustin,</i>	who heard this before,
<i>akousen to tzi i gis,</i>	the Earth heard it,
<i>Gi afton en pou esoustin.</i>	that is why it moved.

He said that it could not be a Cypriot wedding without the folk instruments to perform and he exaggerated, saying that the Earth heard that and it caused an earthquake. These exaggerations are met very often in Cypriot folk songs. Then he added:

I think I was born in the wrong age. I always dreamed about a traditional wedding. I was listening to traditional programmes on the radio when I was six years old. I always took the opportunity when I found old men, to ask how the wedding sequence was during the past century. I like our folk music. People always had fun with singing whatever they were doing: while they were working in the fields, sowing and mowing the wheat, during all their activities.... The wedding with all its customs and music lasted seven days.... Each day was a particular one, with a special aim.... My friends were wearing a traditional costume with breeches and that was their choice. How will the young people learn how these customs were, if we stop performing them? Someone has to perform them again. We still have the half of our country under occupation. Keeping our tradition is a way to keep our identity (George, interview, December 2012).

Georgia added:

My wedding was what I had dreamed of since I was a child. It is a wedding like our parents had and if I had the choice to have another one, I would not change anything. We have to keep our tradition. Performing in a traditional way you feel your wedding is more than just going to the wedding service and that's all. It is a procedure which lasted many days and in this way you get prepared psychologically also for the new life. It is also a way to bring your families and relatives near you. We wanted to revive the old customs because this is a way to remember all of the good old times when people were helpful and close to each other. We and our guests had fun and enjoyed each moment of the procedure before and after the wedding. Many of our guests told us that this was a real wedding, as it was before... with singing and performing the customs of our country' (Georgia, interview, December 2012).

It seems that George and Georgia wanted to revive the customs and music of the mid-twentieth century, because they really love and appreciate it and they do not want to allow the wedding customs and the music to become extinct.

Discussion

To sum up, from the five cases which I examined, only George and Georgia performed the customs of washing and pulverising the wheat and also the blending of breads and cooking traditional food for the wedding feast. In addition to that, on three occasions, at George and Georgias', George and Zina's and Demetris and Nicole's wedding ceremonies, the custom of dancing with the 'dowry', which was accompanied with a particular wedding tune (Example 5.1) was performed.

Regarding the procession of the bride and the groom to the church, only George and Georgia performed it from the house where they were adorned to the church. At Nicole's ceremony there was a short procession of the bride to the church, directed and accompanied by the folk musicians who performed the '*Zanpashis*' tune (Figure 2.17).

As we see, for practical reasons this custom has been abandoned, taking with it the particular music performed with it. In three of the five cases which have been examined, the folk musicians' role ceased after the adorning of the bride and the groom. During the interviews of the newlyweds

I observed a lack of awareness of the procession custom. The tunes and the song ‘*Mwrogiannos*’ which accompanied the custom are not performed on any other occasion, so this music seems destined to disappear in future years.

In Demetris and Nicole’s wedding, the newlyweds could not find a lutenist as these are very rare nowadays. Thus, they hired an acoustic guitar player and a violinist (Figure 3.18). For the newlyweds ‘it would reach the goal of the ceremony. It was the same result for us, as the performer could sing and accompany the violinist by holding the rhythm of the wedding tunes. Otherwise the violinist was the main performer’ (Demetris, interview, November, 2013). Similar to that, for Argyrou’s first case study (1996, p.115) it did not make any difference if the couple did not find a lute player to perform, as the latter is a rarity nowadays. They did find a bouzouki player who would perform the folk wedding tunes and that were important for Argyrou’s couple. The couples examined in my study and for Argyrou’s study did not mind what instruments performed at their ceremony, as the instrumental part is of secondary importance. But they did at least want to perform the wedding tunes and songs and they found a traditional instrument player, showing that they valued that and wanted a part of the tradition present in their wedding ceremony.



Figure 3.18 An acoustic guitar player accompanies the violinist, instead of a lutenist.

As for the violinist's role during the ceremony of the past century, he was the leader of the ceremony. Nowadays he has to follow the guidance of the bride's mother, or to follow the newlyweds' preferences and choices of which customs they want to perform. Before the adorning of the bride starts, the violinist asks the name of the bride and discusses with the bride's mother the customs he will perform. That is an innovation which has happened in the last ten years, because the musicians now have to obey the desires of the newlyweds and their families (Kosta, interview, April 2011). In the past century, the musicians knew the relatives as the community was very close, whereas now they just go to perform for one hour and leave (Charalambous, interview, August 2011). Charalambous also added that now with the financial recession of the country 'we have nothing else to do than to fulfil the desires of the newlyweds, in order to please them and have them introduce us to their friends, to perform in more ceremonies.' Georgiou commented, 'In the past century the community was closed and we knew who would call during our singing, to perform the customs. Now we go to the *allaman* as strangers' (Georgiou, interview, December 2010). Theodwrou added that 'people are trying to make their weddings as simple as they can, culling out the old customs. Many times, we introduce them to the old customs and they choose which of them they would like to perform. Our music tradition includes so many nice melodies and dancing tunes, the *kartzilamades* which show the skills and abilities of the men and their virility. Why should they not be performed anymore? It is such a pity to be lost one day and that day will come very soon' (Theodwrou, interview, November 2011).

As concerns the wedding feast, some *kalamatianos* dances with the rhythm of 7/8 were performed and people had fun with *zeimpekiko* dances with their rhythm of 9/8. Those were Greek, not Cypriot tunes or songs, although Cypriot folk music includes Cypriot *kalamatianos* dances (Examples 8.15, 8.16) and *zeimpekiko* tunes (Example 8.10). The *kartzilamades* dances which used to be performed during the wedding feast are not performed any more. In addition to that, the dance of the *ploumisma*, which was the only dance which was performed by the couple in order to pin money on them, has now been replaced by the couple's dance. Some round dances other than *kalamatianos* dances which were performed during the past century were accompanied by songs like '*Psintri Vasilitzia mou*', and all the bridesmaids performed with the bride leading the round dance. In all the case studies I examined round dances were performed (with 7/8 and 2/4 rhythms) but not with Cypriot tunes. Greek tunes and songs were heard during these dances. The newlyweds explained that this is the music they hear on their outings and have fun with, chosen by the disc

jockeys at the night clubs (Antonis and Pavlina interview, September 2013, Demetris and Nicole Achilleos interview, September 2013, Paul Maria Xenofontos interview, December 2013, George and Zina Georgiou interview, September 2012).

Thus, the newlyweds choose what customs to present according to their knowledge about the customs, their tastes and also the circumstances of the present time. It seems that there is a movement for young couples to represent the old customs at their weddings. This is the concept that Leeds-Hurvitz (2002, p. 180) borrowed from what Levi-Strauss called 'bricolage', meaning to bring together previously used signs into new and unexpected combinations. It is also related to what Crane called 'cultural recycling', which concept helps to understand how people organise complex rituals such as wedding ceremonies (quoted in Leeds-Hurvitz, 2002, p.180).

The causes for this movement might be several. To start with, the unemployment which makes many Cypriots suffer causes a negative view of immigrants who accept low salaries. In recent decades many people have migrated to Cyprus to find a better way of life. The results of the Government's Commission of Statistics for the year 2010 showed an increase of 15,913 immigrants to the country, while 2011 had an increase of 18,142 persons. These numbers are huge considering that the population of Greek Cypriots was 865,900 in the year 2012 (Dalitis 2014). Being in a country in which one half is occupied and the other half's residents are increased year by year by foreigners, Greek Cypriots try to preserve their roots, to find their national identity. Preserving the customs and performing Cypriot folk music is a way to keep their cultural identity. Winter and Keegan-Phipps (2013, p.108) support this view by noting that debates around the subject of immigration have been 'the key site for the formation and maintenance of British and English national identity... voicing anxieties about the impact of incomers on national identity and constructing national identity in relation to the Figure of the 'immigrant other'. Gross (2009, p.13) also supports this view, mentioning that the acquaintance with foreign practices and beliefs of other cultures makes people appreciate their own culture and think of the customs that may be cherished, preserved and propagated to the next generation. And finally, Giddens (1990, p.15) speaks of the 'ontological security' of the modern world, especially after catastrophes when people are obliged to change their conditions of life and have to be integrated into the modern world not by their own will. What matters for Giddens is the rootlessness of the modern world. But, as seen in my research, young Greek Cypriots have tried to revive their traditions and kept ties to their

roots. For whatever reasons, they performed their customs and hired traditional musicians to start their wedding ceremony, and that shows that modernity is not replacing tradition but co-existing with it.

Weddings give youth the opportunity to express the need of preserving their identity. Weddings are cases when many people attend the ceremonies and watch carefully each manifestation of the newlyweds. Weddings provide a field for folk activities. A wedding is also an event when people express mixed feelings of sadness, emotion and happiness. The Cypriot main wedding song, with its particular lyrics in combination with its music and the customs which are performed the same time, provides a place for people to express these feelings. The wedding ceremony is always attended by people who are friends or relatives of the newlyweds and their families. It is a great event for all, thus young people and children who are present absorb features of the Cypriot tradition and the cultural identity of their country.

Of particular note is the addition of folk programmes on Cypriot television where folk musician Xatzimichael Michalis presents Cypriot folk songs. The programme, which is famous and popular with many Cypriots, is a competition between two teams which deals with Cypriot dialect and words which are rarely used nowadays. It is called *Milate Kipriaka* [Speaking Cypriot Dialect]. At the end of the game, the players have to complete the lyrics of a Cypriot folk song by singing the melody of a song which Xatzimichael interrupted on purpose. Xatzimichael tries to publicise Cypriot folk music and songs through this programme (Xatzimichael, interview, March 2014). The media generally, and particularly television, have the power to penetrate and affect the way of thinking and the idiosyncrasy of people. In addition to this programme, which has had great success, some local radio stations like Capital in Limassol organise and broadcast competitions of the type of ‘shaving the moustache of some political persons’ in order to raise money for people who are in need nowadays because of the financial crisis. In these types of programmes the organisers invite folk musicians to perform and to sing and improvise *tsiattista* songs for the occasion. Zavros and Georgiou have often been invited to perform during the last three years.

Some advertisements by young folk musicians have also appeared in Facebook. Their profile picture depicts a wedding scene with the bride accompanied by her parents and the musicians. Facebook is now a place where people can be influenced, so the young musicians do not hesitate

to advertise on this site, which many young people visit almost every day, as performing at weddings is another important source of income.



Figure 3.19 Young folk musicians advertise on their Facebook page. This traditional Cypriot group performs at weddings.

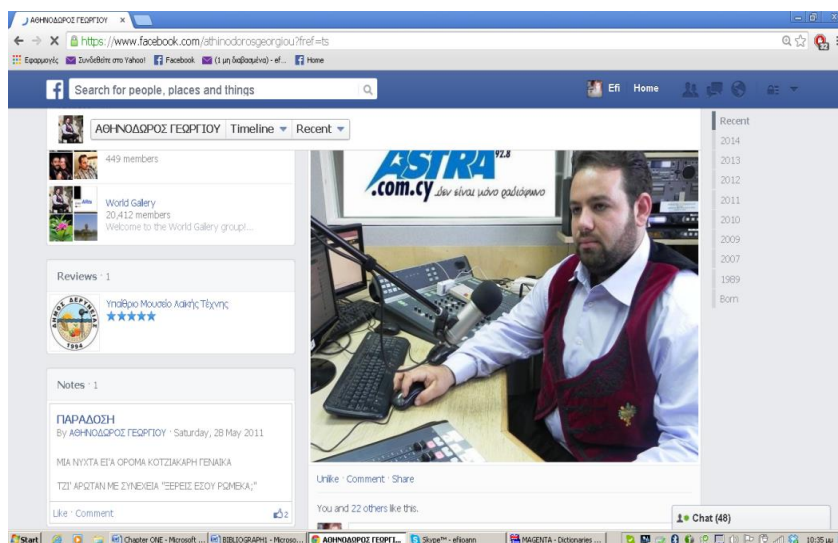


Figure 3.20 Athinodwros advertises his traditional radio programme on his Facebook page.

Thus, evidently some young folk musicians regard weddings as an extra source of income to earn at weekends, parallel to their main job, as contemporary newlyweds tend to include old customs and folk wedding music. Athinodwros, who was also interviewed during the presentation and

analysis of the fifth case study of this research, always dresses in his breeches on formal occasions. He loves the Cypriot tradition and he likes to support it. He broadcasts Cypriot folk music and songs with many dedications and requests from Cypriots.

Since 2006, the Cyprus Rialto World Music Festival has been organised in Cyprus by the Rialto Theatre of Limassol. It takes place every July in Heroes Square, Limassol, and occasionally in villages in the surrounding district. Since 2011, the festival has been a member of the European Forum of Worldwide Music Festivals. Every year the festival presents groups and musicians who share a rich cultural past and also adjust their musical traditions to the present. Entrance is free for everyone who wants to attend.



Figure 3.21 A performance at the Cyprus Rialto World Music Festival: the Lingua Franca Ensemble performs folk music, 10th July 2014. Photo taken by the author, at Platres village of Limassol, Cyprus.

In this framework Cyprus acts as a bridge between these cultural manifestations. Film screenings are regularly organised within this framework to show the people that many activities were common in different places of the world and that they still are. Music programmes, where Cypriot

musicians collaborate with musicians from abroad, aim to make a joint study of artists and develop a renewed reading of various musical traditions.

The above factors and activities, integrally with the reformation of Cypriot education and the emphasis on tradition from the early years of nursery school, affect the developing cultural identity of young Cypriots. The latter understand the situation of their country, they experience unemployment and feel the pain of living in an occupied country. In spite of the fact that most of them have studied abroad, including all the newlyweds who participated on this study (all of them in Greece and one couple in the United Kingdom), and encountered Western culture, they want to blend the two cultures: their own tradition and the Western culture they met during their studies and through the media. As David (2009, p.3) suggests, just as animals have instinct to bind them together, humans have tradition. I would add that rituals such as wedding ceremonies influence and facilitate the formation of the several identities of the people who participate. The clearest identity, which is obviously seen through the ceremony, is the religious, which is based on religious attitudes and practices and the lyrics of the wedding songs. However, postwar, modern Greek Cyprus is also struggling for a national identity. The wedding as a process of adaptation has become a central ritual in which personal, national and religious identities are displayed.

PART TWO: A reconstruction of the wedding ceremony of the mid-twentieth century and its music

In this part of the study, I try to reconstruct the wedding ceremony of the mid-twentieth century, its customs, and the music that accompanied each one. While Chapter Three in Part One described the attempt of a contemporary couple to revive past customs and music in their wedding, I now make my own attempt to put together a picture, as complete and accurate as possible, of the mid-twentieth-century Greek Cypriot wedding and its music, drawing on primary sources and oral histories from that period. After introducing the folk musicians who gave me all this useful information about wedding ceremonies of the past, I explore how the dynamic processes of practices in wedding ceremonies interlink with the constitution of Greek Cypriot identity. I also try to show the evolution of the wedding practices to the contemporary period examined in Part One by comparing them with mid-twentieth century wedding practices. If we are to understand the manner in which Cypriot folk music is used in wedding ceremonies today, we must examine the music of the past by which it has been shaped. I examine the reasons that might have caused these changes, and attempt to determine whether wedding ceremonies are the result of a process of adaptation of the 'old' practices to the 'new' contemporary circumstances.

In order to achieve this goal, this part focuses on the wedding ceremony and music of the mid-twentieth century. I discuss the wedding customs in all phases of a wedding as they have might have been performed during the period examined. I tried to gain many details from the veteran folk musicians about what they did, what the newlyweds did and why, what customs they performed at which phase of the wedding and the music or song used to accompany each custom. In this part of the thesis, I also give detailed transcriptions of each melody so that anyone interested in performing or even hearing the musical piece as it was performed by the folk musicians will be able to use these transcriptions. Part Two of the study ends with a discussion of the changes between contemporary wedding practices and the wedding practices of the mid-twentieth century, and the reasons that might have led to making the ceremonies simpler.

The interviews with brides and grooms and their guests, along with the presentation of the current practice in wedding ceremonies, which were presented in the first part of the thesis, gave a contemporary perspective on today's wedding ceremonies and their relationship to the past. By combining such perspectives with my own historical research on the wedding ceremonies and music of the past century and comparing them to the music performed in wedding ceremonies today, I aim to understand better the current practice and how it conceptualises and draws on the past.

A retrospect of the past century and a presentation of the customs and the music which accompanied each custom are essential in order to give a general view of how the wedding ceremony of the past century was performed. In this part of the thesis, I present the customs and their accompanying music as witnessed and transmitted by the folk musicians I interviewed. Some of the musicians I interviewed and recorded have also performed in the wedding ceremonies of the present century. Some of Jane Sugarman's points about Albanian customs (1997) and singing will be included, as Albania is a country neighbouring Greece, which seems to have many common cultural features with Cypriot traditions.

The wedding ceremony of the mid-twentieth century can be divided into four phases: the period of the preparation for the *gamos* [wedding service], the wedding day, the wedding itself, and the period after the wedding. It is necessary in this part to present a large amount of descriptive information before proceeding to more analytical discussion and commentary on how this 'traditional' form of wedding evolved into current practices. It should also be noted that no other description of wedding customs of the last century and the songs accompanying them has been published.

As mentioned in the Introduction, from 1925 until 1960 Cyprus was a Crown colony of the British Empire (Katsonis, 1994, p.160). I will try to describe the circumstances under which wedding ceremonies took place during this period. Greek Cypriots were fighting to unite their island with Greece as other Greek Aegean islands had done. The Governor, Sir Richmond Palmer, took a number of suppressive measures, which included limitations on the administration of the Greek schools. He also forbade any trade union or association. The main occupation of the people was agriculture. During the Second World War, more than thirty thousand Cypriots joined the British

armed forces. The people were very poor and were under continuous stress trying to gain independence for their country (Vyrwnis, interview, December 2010, Zavros, interview, July, 2011). In 1960, Cyprus gained its independence from Great Britain. Theodwrou (interview, November, 2011) informed me that traditional wedding ceremonies took place during this period, perhaps the need for Greek Cypriots to keep ties with their roots was endorsing their aim of uniting with Greece.

A wedding has always been an event of primary importance for music making and social life in Cyprus, as in many other cultures. The Greek Cypriot form of wedding ceremony that was developed during this period may vary from one area or village to another, but its basic contours are shared, perhaps with some additions or omissions. The music and songs performed by folk musicians show variations in melodic lines, ornaments and lyrics, but the main outlines of the ceremony, its main customs and music performed, remain the same.

I tried to stimulate the folk musicians first to recall the ‘individual memory’ or ‘autobiographical memory’ (Olick, 1999, p.335) and then the ‘collective’ one. I did not want the one to be affected by the other. Shelemay (1998, p.182) sensibly claims that both individual and collective memory is needed to examine a musical tradition because musical knowledge must be shared before it can be maintained and transmitted. I would also support Wertsch’s (2002, p.8) notion that people tend to remember the gist of an event which they try to recall and tend to forget some details which are not useful for the reconstruction of the particular event, although these details may be useful for a scholar. The experiences of the veteran folk musicians were very important and the key to revealing how wedding ceremonies were performed during the mid-twentieth century. In a few years, these documents will be of great value, because if they were not documented in this study, a traditional treasure would be lost. Their recordings and interviews were my primary sources for the present study, since the Greek Cypriot musical tradition is an oral tradition and very few songs had been transcribed and documented in the few books that had been written on this tradition, as mentioned in the Introduction. Also, the literature which exists focuses on wedding folk tunes or songs selected by musicologists, without a particular subject of discussion or an overall description of the wedding ceremony in which the songs were used. Thus, after studying the literature and the transcriptions that had been made by other musicologists like Averof, Kallinikos and others

(discussed in Chapter One) and combining these with the information and the recordings I made, I try to give more substantial results in my present research.

Each person seemed to be a repository of experiences in wedding performance. However, the ability to recall or to neglect information from the past can be affected by several other factors, such as an individual's background, their psychology, social frameworks and so on. In addition, a problem exists in the case of Cypriot folk music, which is an oral and aural tradition, without any notation. Thus, Wertsch's (2002, p.26) idea of presenting the past in the present, which rests on written sources, would not stand for the tradition that is examined in this study. But the 'historical memory' as defined by the sociologist Halbwachs (in Coser, 1992, p.23) could be applied to Cypriot folk wedding music because the latter is kept alive through the wedding ceremonies and other festive occasions which are enacted nowadays. The individuals performing in these events contribute to the re-enactment of the past and its revival in the present. The aggregation of these 'individual memories', combined with the collective memory of the other folk musicians, enlightens the present research. What then is the picture of this tradition that emerges from all these interviews?

Chapter Four: General background to wedding ceremonies of the mid-twentieth century and their music

Chapter Four provides background and contextual information preparatory to presenting the full reconstruction of a mid-twentieth century wedding ceremony. It gives information about the performances, the reasons why the period 1970 up to 2010s has not been much described, and also gives information about the biographies of the folk musicians who participated in the present thesis performances.

4.1 Weddings during the post war period, 1974 - 2010

The period 1930-1970 was chosen, as the folk musicians who inform this research lived, experienced, and performed in wedding ceremonies during that period. After the Turkish invasion of 1974, dramatic changes happened in social, political, financial, and hence cultural aspects of Cyprus. Thus, the period of research has been limited from 1930, when Vyrwnis, the oldest folk musician who offered knowledge for the present study, started performing in wedding ceremonies (Vyrwnis, interview, May 2012), until 1970, just before the invasion.

As I was informed by various folk musicians, during the postwar period the poverty and the need for Greek Cypriots to house their families were among the factors making for very simple ceremonies or even avoiding calling musicians to perform. Anastasiades (2014), the present president of Greek Cypriot Cyprus, describes the circumstances and results of the 1974 war. The results of the Turkish invasion of 1974 are still obvious in the way they shape and determine contemporary developments in Cyprus. The existence of the Turkish troops next to the Greek Cypriots holding the 36.2% of the ground, the abrupt division of the country in two, the violation of human rights, the massive colonisation of Turkish people in Greek Cypriot houses in the invaded area of Cyprus, the disasters that any war could bring and the feeling of insecurity are the

main characteristics of the period 1974 till 2010. 200,000 refugees, which was almost one third of the total population of the country, were sent out from their houses and had to migrate into the Greek Cypriot area, which was free, and try to start their lives afresh after the war. Also, 1070 persons are still missing and their relatives still do not know what happened to them. In addition, 440 people are still trapped to their villages living in difficult conditions of constriction and destitution. The illegal buildings that are still being created in the invaded Greek Cypriot areas and the sales of the particular areas to foreign business companies are continuing daily. Also, many archaeological treasures, cemeteries, churches and so on have been desecrated and are still threatened daily, if they had not already been destroyed by the war of 1974. The United Nations and the UK are trying to mediate to arrange a good solution for this huge ethnic problem of Cyprus. In these conditions newlyweds grew up and lived daily with the stress and anxiety for the future of their country, themselves and the children they will bring into this world.

The folk musicians informed me that during the period after the war newlyweds did not call on them to perform. Only after 2006 did newlyweds start performing the customs of the wedding ceremonies and calling musicians to perform. The relatives of the brides and grooms were the ones to sing for them if they wanted to perform the traditional wedding ceremony (Vyronis, interview, September 2014, Zavros, interview July 2011). Theodwrou (interview, November 2011) claimed that the reason they were not called to perform was probably financial because post war period was a poverty period for Greek Cypriots. Thus, the present research will avoid the period of 1974-2010 because a separate study of that period would bring more fruitful analysis and results.

4.2. Effects of outside influences on the evolution of the wedding ceremony

The wedding as a cultural product is also an agent in an ongoing process, one that is affected by many dynamic changes in culture and society. Greece as the motherland and the place where all the couples in my sample studied (except for Nicole and Demetris who studied in England) has always had an essential role to play in Greek Cypriots' way of life. During the World Wars many Greek Cypriots went to Greece to offer their services as soldiers there. The folk musicians informed me that some years later changes were observed concerning performance at wedding ceremonies. The orchestration changed on some occasions and an accordion was also added.

Figure 6.10 presents a procession of the groom to the church with the accompaniment of a lute, a violin and an accordion. He also added that during the decade of 1950 he remembers the use of accordion and clarinet during the night performances in the coffee shop of his village (Pericles, interview, May 2012). Thus, Cypriots who went to Greece brought Greek influences back to Cyprus. The music that the contemporary couples and their guests chose for the banquet especially featured Greek hits and love songs, *nisiwtika* or *zeibekikiko* dances which all derive from Greece.

Western Europe also had an effect on newlyweds' choices, such as Felix Mendelssohn's wedding march which most of them chose for their dynamic entrance to the cocktail reception venue. Also pieces like the 'Danube Waves', 'Besame mucho' and so on were regarded by the folk musicians as traditional because they had been performed at wedding banquets for many years and were taught by their teachers to them too orally, without knowing their real derivation.

I regard the manner in which past traditions have been brought into contemporary wedding practices as an indication of the desire to preserve the national identity of the newlyweds. The permanent arrival in the country of many different communities, for various political reasons or in order to find a better way of life, created an instant need among the Greek Cypriot youth to safeguard or preserve their tradition. However, since the circumstances and the way of life have changed since the past century, this preservation takes the form of a process of adaptation to the new circumstances of life. Thus, certain customs and the music that accompanied them had to be omitted, keeping only the customs that could be easily adapted to the new way of life. For example, newlyweds consider it inconvenient to invite their guests to come for the pulverising of the *resin* because people work till late afternoon every day and also live away from the newlyweds' houses. Also, they do not need to pulverise the wheat because the chef of the catering service prepares all the food for the cocktail reception and the banquet. In this way, the different lifestyle and the new circumstances in which contemporary people live prevent newlyweds from performing more customs and music for their weddings.

One could conclude that many factors affected the evolution of the wedding ceremonies from the mid-twentieth century until the last decade.

4.3 Biographies of the folk musicians

The interviews and recordings of the following folk musicians who dominated the musical scene in the last century gave me the information for this ethnographic and ethnomusicological research: Vyrwnis Georgiou Papachristodoulou, from Prasteio Kellakiou village (who asked to be called Vyrwnis), born in 1918, Kiriakos Theodwrou, from Konia village, born in 1942, Giannis Zavros, from Limnati village, born in 1943, Nikos Charalambous, from Handria village, born in 1937, Pericles Iordanou, from Pachna village, born in 1934, Nakis Iordanou, from Pachna village, born in 1960, Kosta Kosta, from Agia Fyla village, Limassol, born in 1933, Anthoulla Fylakou, from Koilani village, born in 1943, Agisilaou Nikolas (who asked to be called Nikolatzis), from Koilani village, born in 1919, and Michalis Xatzimichael, from Frenaros village, born in 1954. As there is no traditional music or vocal schools, what is propagated is learned by heart from father to son. This is the way the above people became folk musicians. Thus, their testimonies comprise a treasure for the present research.

Vyrwnis, from Prasteio Kellakiou village, was born on June 8 1918 (interviewed December 3 2010 and 19 May 2012 at Trachoni village, Limassol, Figure 4.1). He is a folk singer, dancer and a lutenist. He started playing the lute at the age of ten. His neighbour was a lutenist, called *mastro* [sir] Michalis. During his interview Vyrwnis referred to his favourite toy, two pieces of card which he beat together to the rhythm while his neighbour was playing his lute. Vyrwnis learned the ‘art of lute’, as he called it, orally, as there was no notation existing in Cypriot folk music when he was young. He still cannot read any score, as he mentioned, but can play many Cypriot folk tunes by heart. At the age of twelve, in 1930, he performed with *mastro* Michalis, at his first wedding ceremony, in Eptagonia village. At the end of the ceremony, they shared the six shillings they were paid for their first performance in a wedding ceremony together. Vyrwnis’ lute was constructed in 1932 by Evagelides and cost three pounds.¹⁸ Vyrwnis plucked his lute with an eagle quill plectrum, which he constructed from an eagle wing two decades ago, and refuses to pluck the string with any other contemporary objects, because the sound would be different and he prefers the traditional way of performing with his lute.

¹⁸ Cypriot money was different from Greek money. Greeks used *drachmas* while Cypriots used *lires*, pounds.



Figure 4.1 Vyrwnis Georgiou playing his lute with his eagle plectrum.

Kiriakos Theodwrou (Figure 4.2) was born in 1942 and comes from the Konia village of Paphos. He was taught to play the violin by his uncle, Antonis Koushis, who was *praktikos*, meaning a self-taught violinist who could not read the notes from a score, but could play his instrument by ear. He found difficulties in being taught by his uncle because his uncle was left-handed. When Kiriakos was young, the radio had just begun to broadcast to his village. Actually, his musical listening came from his uncle and from musicians at the several social events, especially the wedding ceremonies and festivals that took place in his village and the surrounding villages. As the folk musician describes, he ‘hunted out’ these events in order to hear violinists perform.



Figure 4.2 Kiriakos Theodwrou performs with his violin in his house in the Zakaki area of Limassol.

Giannis Zavros (Figure 4.3) is a violinist, singer and lutenist born in 1942, and he comes from Limnatis village, Limassol. His work as a carpenter helped him to construct lutes as well. He learned to play the violin by ‘cheating this art’, as he called it during his interview, from anywhere Cypriot folk music was performed. He performed in wedding ceremonies from a very young age. He also teaches his grandson to play the lute.



Figure 4.3 The violinist, Zavros and the lutenist Vyrwnis perform wedding songs for the present research, at Vyrwnis’ house in Trachoni village.

Anthoulla Fylakou (Figure 4.4), from Koilani village, was born in 1943. She has been a folk singer in wedding ceremonies in her village for many years. She remembers the girls ‘with a good voice’ that used to interrupt the violinist, teasing him: ‘Are you going to sing all the wedding songs? We’ll sing the rest...’. Thus, the girls with good voices, in her closed community, sang many of the wedding ceremony songs. She learned to sing the wedding songs through practical experience from being twelve years old.



1

Figure 4.4 Fylaktou Anthoulla performs wedding songs for the present research, at her house in Koilani village



Figure 4.5 Pericles Iordanou playing his violin in his house at Pachna village.



Figure 4.6 Pericles being interviewed in his back yard of his house.

Nikolatzis (Figure 4.7), born in 1919, lived in Koilani village. He passed away three months after he had been interviewed and recorded. He was a folk singer with an excellent memory known to have performed in many wedding ceremonies since 1930. He was a very gifted singer who could sing narrative songs continuously for more than twenty minutes.



Figure 4.7 Nikolatzis in his house in Koilani village.

Nakis Iordanou (Figure 4.8), the son of Pericles Iordanou above, was born in 1960 and is from Pachna village. He was taught to play the violin by his father. He is a factory owner and a folk musician active in wedding ceremonies today.



Figure 4.8 Nakis Iordanou performs with his violin at his father's house in Pachna village.

Katina Andreou (Figure 4.9), was born in 1945. She is from Tylleria village, Paphos. She used to sing at weddings from twelve years old as she was considered to have a good, loud voice by her fellow-villagers. She wanted to be a singer but her father did not allow her, as singers had a bad reputation in Cyprus at the time. Thus, she performed only in wedding ceremonies.



Figure 4.9 Katina singing, at Linopetra district of Limassol.

Kosta Kostas (Figures 4.10, 4.11), born in 1933, is from Agia Fila village. He is a folk singer, lutenist, dancer, *tamboutsia* [frame drum] and *pithkiavlin* [a kind of aulos] player. He also repairs old violins. An active folk musician, he was interviewed and recorded by the author on 11 September 2012.



Figure 4.10. Kosta Panais playing his lute at his house in Agia Fyla village of Limassol.



Figure 4.11 Kosta in his house, showing the violins and lutes he repairs.

His *tamboutsia* is placed in the middle of his lutes.

Nikos Charalambous (Figure 4.12) is from Handria village and was born in 1937. He is a Byzantine chanter and a violinist. He is also *praktikos* who has performed at weddings since his early years of life.



Figure 4.12 Nikos Charalambous, violinist, and Andreas Charalambous, lutenist.

Michalis Xatzimichael (Figure 4.13) is a folk singer and lutenist born in 1954, at Frenaros village. He likes researching Cypriot folk music. He started firstly by learning the guitar and later learned the lute by watching the other lutenists, as he mentioned during his interview. That is why his performances are different from the other folk musicians. He accompanies the melody with chords on his lute according to the melody of the song, as a guitarist would do in Western music.



Figure 4.13 Xatzimichael performing on his lute at his house in Frenaros village.

4.4 General points about performance

To begin with, I will refer to some general facts I arrived at after studying and analysing the research material. The musicians, the singers who were also lutenists or violinists, were the leaders of the ceremony. Their role was very important and also varied. It was not only to entertain the guests and provide them with a pleasant atmosphere but also, through the lyrics of their songs, to organise the wedding ceremony: the order of the customs, the choice and the order of the person who would perform next and so on. They also sang what was impossible to express in daily life, on behalf of the relatives of the bridegroom. This also happened in Prespa Albanian singing in weddings, when people preferred to express what they ‘couldn’t say’ through their individual singing, and gathered and socialised through their songs (Sugarman, 1997, p.280). The musicians in Cyprus often used extreme exaggeration (hyperbole), metaphors and comparisons (similes) during their singing to achieve their goals. The latter figures are not usually used in daily speech but singers often used them to achieve the aims of their performance and to provide interest for the audience. Some examples are shown in the lyrics below:

Simera pou ton ouranon

Today from heaven

Ageloi katevikan

angels came

irtan na down tin nionimfin

to see the new bride

tzai piso estrafikan.

and then returned.

Tzai na tsakkisw to vkiolin

And I will break the violin

na kamw mian kampanan

to construct a bell

na sou harinei o Theos

May God bless

tin akrivi sou mana.

your precious mother.

The above exaggeration suggests that the bride was so beautiful that angels came down from heaven to see her. Moreover, the singer sang that he would break his violin and construct a bell from its fragments in order to make a sacrifice to God to bless the mother of the bride. It is certainly impossible to construct a bell, which is always made of metal, from a wooden violin. Again, the

singer uses exaggeration. The stanza below also depicts the bride as having dropped down from heaven and being watered by the stars, thus comparing her to something divine.

*Nimfi pou se stolizousin
entisan se me t' aspra
ise kommati t' ouranou
pou to potizoun t' astra.*

Bride, you are adorned
they dressed you in white
you are a piece dropped from heaven
you are watered by the stars.

Customs were performed or omitted according to the will or the mood of the musicians, who were always the leaders and the instructors of the ceremony. In addition to that, the main wedding song of adorning the bride and the groom was either continued or interrupted to present each custom separately or one after the other during the same song. However, music accompanied almost every step of the preparation for the wedding. I concluded that most of the customs and wedding songs were common to the several villages where the people came from. Some villages performed customs which others did not. I collected and will present the customs that are accompanied with music or songs, which I recorded through my research in several villages of Cyprus. I would like to mention that the villages that the folk musicians come from are distant from each other and are in different parts of Cyprus, so one village has not had a direct effect on another.

In cases when a folk musician I recorded referred to a different procedure of the wedding ceremony, the addition of the custom and song will be mentioned. Also, only one song performance for each custom will be transcribed unless otherwise necessary, because my research goals do not allow further transcriptions to show variations of the same song, which would be very slight. Some ethnographic material concerning the customs will also be presented to support the findings of the present research. The reconstruction will be done according to the descriptions through the interviews and the recordings which were recently made by the author, as there are no sources available such as video recordings or audio from 1930. However, recordings of the folk musicians who performed in wedding ceremonies and remembered the songs of the last century will accompany the present study. I tried to work with old musicians who had taken part in those ceremonies since their early years of life, and transcriptions of their performances will be accompanied by descriptions of the relevant customs. A recording of 1961 given to the author by R.I.K., the first broadcasting studio in Cyprus, will be presented and compared with the others.

It will be useful to mention a few words about the *gamos* [wedding] of the last century and how it was considered by the people then. The wedding was the central focus of life for the village people during the last century. The wedding with its cardinal role was considered as the core of family-making. From when a child was born, especially a girl, the lullabies, the songs sung by the adults when they played or rocked the child on their lap, and many apophthegms that the mothers or grandmothers used to say to the child during childhood, were mostly related to their wedding.

Thus, society prepared a child for marriage from his/her first months of life. In many cases, when their children were about five or six years old, the parents made agreements about whom their children would marry when they grew up. An old and unmarried woman or man was always censurable by the community. The estate of marriage was joining a man and a woman, mainly with the purpose of making sons, in order to preserve the surname of the father's family (Prwtopapa, 2009, p.27). After the wedding, the woman was mostly responsible for the housework and raising the children, while her husband would work in the fields and farms. The husband was the *styllos tou spithkiou* [the pile, metaphorically meaning the power and the support of the members of the family], who would take each serious decision for the family (Prwtopapa, 2005, p.18).

Chapter Five: Phase One - Customs and music before the wedding

This chapter is a very important one for ethnomusicologists or people who would like to know how a wedding ceremony took place during the middle years of the last century. These customs are dying out since they are not performed by the majority of contemporary couples. The wedding songs that accompany each custom will also be lost. Thus, their written description, the transcriptions of the songs as I heard them from the musicians, will be of great value in future years when no musicians will even remember them. Firstly, I should mention that the wedding songs have variations. These variations are small changes of the basic melody and different lyrics in the secondary verses. They occur for several reasons, such as the abilities of singing or playing the violin and lute regarding the melody of the wedding song, the musicians' memory and their ability to suit lyrics as they improvise, their ability to improvise and so on. The wedding ceremonies of the mid-twentieth century had a certain, fixed structure on most of the occasions described by the musicians who performed at them.

The parents of the bride and groom had to agree to the wedding, in most cases during their children's early years of life. Prwtopapa (2005, p.19), Averof (1986, p.7), Orthodoxou (2006, p.7) and Anthoulla, Georgiou, Zavros, Charalambous, Iordanou and Euthimiou (interviewed by the author for the present study) mostly refer to weddings of the twentieth century that were arranged between the parents of the bride and the parents of the groom. The bride did not have any input. A matchmaker who knew the two families well had an important role. She had to give information to both families concerning the character of the bridegroom. She had to say if the groom was diligent in his work, if the family had a good name in the village and what property they owned. If the groom came from another village the relatives of the bride would go and find this out by themselves, they did not rely on the matchmaker's opinion alone.

The custom of the dowry existed during the last century in Cyprus and was a strong feature and a motivation for marriage. Sources refer to the house of the new couple, mentioning that in the twentieth century, depending on the village and the customs of the area, the man had to build the house and the woman should offer whatever was needed in the house like furnishing, cutlery and bedsheets. The parents of the groom should reply and offer what they wanted to the new couple. Prwtopapa (2005, p.120) mentions that this mostly happened in areas of North Cyprus like Kerynia and Famagusta villages before 1974. Prwtopapa also claims that if a young man sent the matchmaker to a woman he wanted for his wife and he didn't have a house, the parents of the

woman refused to marry their daughter to him (ibid, 2005, p.121). In the cases of the villages where men had to stay away from their homes because they had to sell their products to other villages, or their occupation forced them to travel, the role of women changed. The woman had to take care of the house. So the groom offered the house where the couple should live and the bride had to give something related to the groom's occupation (ibid, 2005, p.123) in order to support them financially. A sewing machine was offered to the groom in the dowry settlement examined below. If the parents agreed with the dowry, they prepared written settlements. I photographed an authentic settlement from in Giolou village at Paphos, which was agreed in 1942. I consider it essential to give these statements in the original language, which is a combination of Greek Cypriot and the ancient Greek, as these documents are very rare and scholars, or even young Greek couples who would like to learn about dowry statements, will be interested in reading them (Figures 5.1, 5.2). After the original language, transliteration and translation will follow.

The groom's settlement:

Οι γονείς του γαμβρού.

Ο Ευθύμιος Γιάννη και Βαρβάρα Νικόλα δηλούμεν ότι δε παραχωρούμεν σου παν δεν έχουμε δικαιώματα επι της αγοράς των μηχανών του υιού μας Γιάννη ραπτομηχανής σκαρπαρικής και διαφόρων άλλων εργαλείων προς χρήση της εργασίας του σκαρπάρη καθώς και δε εξοδευσαμένου προς εκμάθησιν του επαγγέλματος του ως σκαρπάρη. Πουλάρα. 31 ελιές μετά το θάνατο μας.

1^η Νοεμβρίου 1942.

να δείξει 30 λίρες.

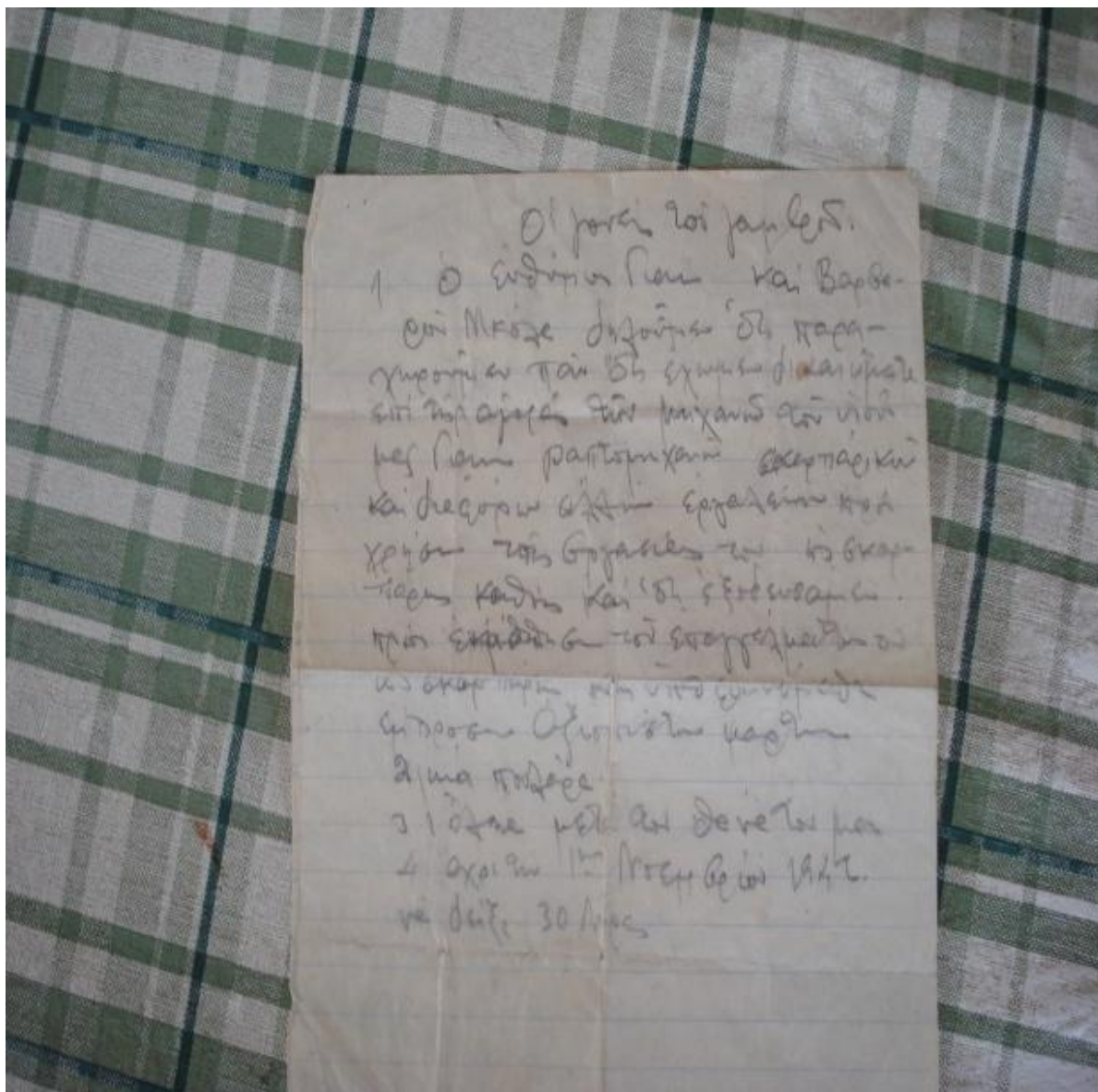


Figure 5.1 A dowry settlement from the groom's parents.
From Eythimios Ioannou at Giolou village, Paphos.

Transliteration:

I gonis tou gamvrou.

1. O efthimios Gianni ke Varvara Nicola diloumen oti parahoroumen sou pan den ehoume dikeomata epi tis agoras ton mihanon tou iou mas Gianni raptomihanis skarparikis ke diaforon

allon ergalion pros hrisin tis ergasias tou skarpari kathos ke de exodeusamenou pros ekmathisin tou epagelmatos tou os skarparin. Poulara, 31 elies meta to thanato mas.

2. *Ii Noemvriou 1942*

3. *na dixi 30 lires.*

Translation:

The groom's parents

I, Efthimios Gianni and Varvara Nikola declare that we give and won't have any rights on them to ask for money for the sewing machine for shoes and several other tools, to use for his occupation of shoemaker. We will pay also the expenses for his training. A female donkey and 31 olive trees¹⁹ after our death.

1st November 1942

To show 30 pounds.

The Bride's dowry settlement

Οι γονείς της Νύμφης

Προκαταρκτική καταγραφή κτημ.

Το πικρόν εκτός του αμπελοφυτεμένου με

τι εν αυτό διάφορα δέντρα όλον.

Αμμάτι όλον.

Λιβαούδια (αμπέλι) όλον.

Στην Ροδιά κατά τον ποταμόν 1 σκάλα

Ότι έχει μέσα δέντρα

Ο κάμπος το ήμισυ με τα δέντρα όσα

Κλείσω μέσα και τον δρόμον πλατών

Και κατά την καλύβαν στενόν

The parents of the Bride

A preliminary writing of the property

The bitter except for the grapes planted

Every tree inside.

Ammati (name of an area) the whole.

Livaoudia (name of an area) the whole.

The Rodia towards the river 1 skala

[equal to 1337.80m²] all trees in

the half field with the trees I will

include in, and the wide road

And towards the hut with the close part

¹⁹ The number of thirty-one olive trees mentioned in the settlement is not a symbolic number but probably the number of olive trees that the parent owned. Thus, the groom's parents would offer him all the olive trees that belonged to them, only after their death.

εντός του κάμπου ένα σπίτι μακρυνάρι

20 βολικιών.

7. ένα ρίφι θηλυκόν φετεινόν.

8. μια γουρούνα φετεινή

9. η ελιά του κάμπου μέσα στον Χρίστου.

Εσωτερικά σακκίν, δισάκι, στρατούρι

Χάρτσινη μαγείρισσα τηγάρι, σκάφη, σκαφίδι,

σανίδα

Λιβαδή

in the field the oblong house

With the 20 wooden pales.

A female sappy born this year.

a female pig less than one year old

The olive tree in Christo's field

A bag, a saddle bag, a donkey saddle

A cooking pot, trough,

Breadboard

Livadi

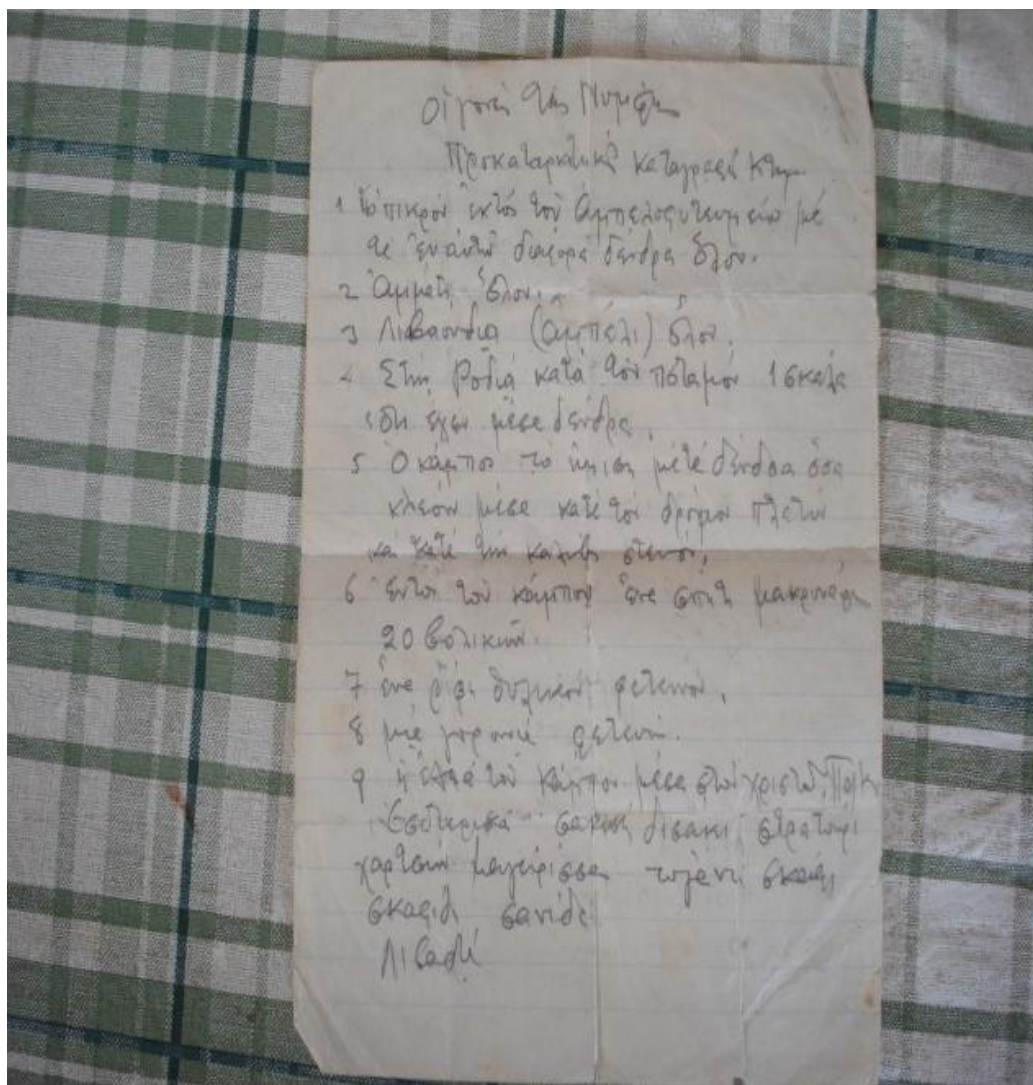


Figure 5.2 A dowry settlement from the bride's parents.
 From Eythimios Ioannou at Giolou village, Paphos.

If the dowry was agreed, the parents of the bride and bridegroom shook hands and the date of the engagement ceremony was planned. During the engagement ceremony, the presence of the village priest was vital and a party was given at the bride's parents house. The musicians performed Cypriot folk tunes and songs, everybody could sing. The engaged pair were not allowed to live together until they were married.

If everything went well with the two families, the wedding was planned. The invitations for the wedding were given to every fellow-villager, sometimes two months before the wedding, by the sister or sister-in-law of the bride, giving them a candle and a *poxamatoudin* [a small piece of a special kind of bread, usually covered with sesame seeds] and sprinkling them with rosewater. The rosewater was placed in the *merrehan* [a silver bowl given as a dowry to the bride].

5.1. The first preparations before the wedding

The wedding ceremony of the mid-twentieth century lasted much longer than today. It started many days before the wedding day by performing customs, always accompanied with their particular song. In some villages, the first custom started a month earlier, depending on the weather, so to give time for the wool to dry. In some others, they took place a week or two weeks before the wedding ceremony. All these customs were preparations for the wedding day. Examples include the custom where the women washed the wool that would fill the wedding bed and the custom of washing the dowry, which would be exhibited to the guests during the wedding day.

The folk musicians recalled their memories and described to me in detail how these customs were performed and what music or songs were heard during the presentation of each custom. All transcriptions have been made by the author from recordings made during fieldwork. All recordings are of folk musicians performing wedding ceremonies of the past century as they remembered them. One sample of music to accompany each custom was chosen from all the recordings, but all recordings of a given song had the same basic melody. The performance and some lyrics differed according to the ability of the folk musician in singing and improvising lyrics, their memory and so on. The name of the performer, the village where the recording was done, the date, and other information about the performance of each tune or song is given in the list of DVD

Contents at the beginning of this thesis. The folk musicians referred to several customs that were performed in the order below.

5.1.1 Washing the wool

The first custom that was performed with the accompaniment of music, as mentioned by most of the folk musicians recorded, was the washing of the wool. In some villages, the custom of washing the wool was performed as soon as the couple was engaged, but some folk musicians mentioned that in other villages it was performed eight days or a month before the wedding day, depending on the weather. They chose sunny days to give the wool time to dry. The ladies would make the bridal mattress with the wool one night before the wedding. Shepherds sold the wool to the family of the new couple. The mother of the bride or the bride herself sprinkled rosewater on the ladies she wanted to invite to the washing. Widows were not invited to this or any other phase of the preparation because it was thought that they would bring bad luck to the newlyweds. They invited only *eleftheres* [single] and *monostefanes* [married just once] people. There should be three, five or seven ladies, always an odd number, as there was another superstition that an even number of ladies present would bring bad luck to the new couple. The mothers of brides mostly chose Sunday for the washing, because most of the women worked in the fields but they had free time on Sundays. They put the wool in two *kofinia* [baskets] and a donkey or an ox was used to carry it to the nearest sea, river, pump or to the water hole of the village. The ears of the animal were decorated with kerchiefs and oleanders to announce that the cargo belonged to a wedding. The kerchiefs were white or red in order to symbolise the bride's purity. Some musicians also mentioned that a blue stone was put on the front of the animal, in order to avoid the evil eye of people who were watching the procession. The ladies washed the wool in a *skafi* [trough] or hit it with *sanidin* or *faoutan* [shingle]. During the procession and during the washing of wool, the ladies who were present at the washing danced to the tune called 'O *horos twn malliwn kai tou krevatiou*' [Wool, bed and dowry dance] (DVD 2016, Track 2, Example 5.1).

Wool, Bed and Dowry Dance

Moderato ♩ = 100

Example 5.1 The Wool, Bed and Dowry dance.

When the wool was washed, they laid it on tree branches to dry. The musicians remembered that the women sang there until the fleece was dry. Unfortunately, it was impossible to collect any of these songs, but my effort to find these songs yielded the lyrics below, which are related to the custom.

Simeron en Kiriaki, avrion en Deftera,
eplinnamen tziai ta mallia oulla ta hrisafena

Today is Sunday, tomorrow is Monday
 we washed the wool, all are golden now.

After the wool was prepared, the procession returned to the village. The musicians led the procession. In the middle of the first line was the donkey or ox that carried the washed and dried wool. The musicians played wedding marches, which would be presented during the procession to the church. The women followed, enjoying their music.

5.1.2 Washing the dowry

Another custom which had a similar procedure to the washing of the (was *to plisimo twn proitziwn* [the washing of the dowry]. The clothes of the bride and groom, everything that would be needed for the making of the bridal bed, and the tablecloths were all carried to the river, or the pump, or the water hole of the village in order to be washed and cleaned. The procedure was the same as for the washing of the wool. The ladies spread a white sheet with *stahto* [ash] or *alousiva* [lye] and they placed the dowry on it. Then they sprinkled hot water on the clothes. The procedure stopped when the water flowed clear through the clothes. Then they laid to the clothes in the sun to dry and then carried them to the bride's mother's house in order to iron them. When the dowry was ready the clothes were placed in baskets and covered with the red kerchief which would later be used for the *zwman* [a custom when the relatives and guests passed a red kerchief three times round the middle of the bride and groom, symbolising the Holy Trinity], during the adorning of the bride and the groom on the wedding day. The tune was the same as the Dance for the Wool (Example 5.1). The red color is used often in wedding ceremonies in other cultures too. For example, the brides of Kihnu Island wear red for the ornaments and the whole appearance because it is considered the colour of youth and mirth on their island (Ruutel, 2002, p.133).

5.1.3 Blending the breads and invitations to the wedding

On the Wednesday or Thursday morning, the mother of the bride would go from house to house in the village to invite the ladies they wanted to come to their house and help with the blending of the breads they would offer during the several phases of the wedding. These ladies should be single and virgins and there should be only three, five or seven, an odd number. They blended the breads that would accompany the wedding meal, the *prosforo* [altar bread] offered to the church for the receiving of the communion during the wedding service, the *koulourin* [kind of bread] with which they would decorate the pumpkin with the wine (in some villages of Paphos), and the *poxamathkia* [kind of bread] they would use for the invitations during the several phases of the wedding. These ladies usually brought flour as a present to the bride, in order to help her financially. Katina informed me that they used to sing during the blending of the several kinds of bread, but unfortunately, she could not remember the particular song. The lady most gifted in handicraft

shaped three birds, which symbolised the Holy Trinity, and snakes which were believed to avert the bad eye. Dried nuts and raisins symbolised the fertility of the new couple. The ladies who helped with the blending never brought a loaf from those they prepared to their own house, because that would mean a separation of the bridegroom. The bride was not allowed to help with the blending. In addition, widows or women who married twice were not allowed to help, because Cypriots believe that if they helped, the bride would not be happy.

Prwtopapa also mentions some lyrics of the songs the women sang while they were preparing the breads:

'Tatsian tatsian t' alevrin na ginei simidallin,

Sieve sieve the flour must be semolina,

san ton nimfin po' houmen en egennithin alli'.

no other bride has been born, like our bride.

Unfortunately, the melody of this folk tune had not been transcribed in Prwtopapa's book and there is no accompanying recording, so it could be said that this tune is already a lost treasure. As the blending of the breads for the wedding is no longer performed, it was impossible for me to find and record anyone who knew these songs. Now the bakeries and catering teams prepare the food and breads and everything for the feast so these songs have already disappeared because the custom has been abandoned. Many women who were interviewed for the present research remember that when they were younger they used to perform the songs, or at least heard their mothers perform them while blending the breads, but no one could remember them. Giannoulla and Katina referred to the blending by three, five or seven young girls, and that older ladies were not allowed to touch the dough. They also mentioned that the women who were present at the bread making brought the bride a present of raisins, almonds, and other seeds which would bring fertility to the new couple (Giannoulla, interview, September 2013, Katina, interview, June 2012).

5.1.4 Preparing the *resin*

The bride's mother also invited villagers to be present at the preparation of the *resin*. The *resin* is a special meal made of wheat cooked in the liquor of boiled meat. This was served at the wedding party on Sunday night with the main course. Men and women took part in this procedure, which usually happened on the Friday night. They sprinkled the wheat with a little water in order to make the procedure of taking the leaven of the wheat out easier. They used a *ssieromili* [hand quern, a tool which consists of two heavy round stones with a wood handle in the middle]. They put the wheat between the two stones to grind the ears of the wheat. Sugarman (1997, p.141) also refers to a song for grinding the wheat in order to prepare a meal for the wedding. Listening to the compact disc which accompanies her book, I found no similarity with the Cypriot song for *resin*. Though the custom seems to be so similar, the music used is polyphonic, full of droning and with a different melody and lyrics. The song for the milling of the wheat was sung first by the *vkiolarides* [violinists], then by everyone who was present and knew the song, the mother or the mother-in-law of the bride. The singer called the ladies to come and mill the wheat, making their roles obvious to all as the instructors of the event (DVD 2016, Track 11, Example 5.2). The violinist always improvised in the introduction which can hardly be transcribed. An attempt to transcribe it is written below on the score but the main melody of the song is transcribed as precisely as my ear could hear it. Next morning, usually on Saturday, the wheat, which they had already pulverised, was washed.

Another song for pulverising the wheat was performed by Vyrwnis and Zavros. They actually sang the melody of the main wedding song (Example 6.3), with lyrics that were suited to the custom of grinding the wheat (DVD 2016, Track 16). They probably used the basic melody of the wedding song to perform many customs because it was simple and could be repeated or sung by the people who were present, or because the structure of the song enables the singers to add or omit stanzas until the performance of the custom ends. Thus, the musicians were those who would cooperate and decide which melody to perform. The song was performed in their villages for the pulverising of the wheat as the folk musicians claimed (Georgiou, interview, December 2010 and September 2014, Zavros, interview, July 2011, Iordanou Pericles, interview, May 2012, Charalambous Nikos, interview, August 2011)

The tune for the Pulverising and Washing of the Wheats



Violin $\text{♩} = 276$

Vln. 6

Vln. 11 E la te ko pel lou_ des mou,- na

Vln. 16 plin nou men to re sin -, e la te ko pe; lou des mou -, na plin nou men to

Vln. 21 re sin -, na fa ei nim fi tzio gam bros -na dou men an t'a re sei -, na fa ei nim fi

Vln. 27 tzio gam bros - na dou men an t'a re sei -

Vln. 32

Vln. 38

Vln. 42

Example 5.2 The pulverising and the washing of the wheat to prepare the *resin*.

*Vyrwnis: Tzi oran kalin tzi oran hrisin,
tzi oran evloimenin,
Touti douleia p' arkepsamen,
Na vgei sterewmeni.*

Vyrwnis: This time must be nice and golden,
and blessed,
the job we have started,
must be strongly based.

*Giannis :O Panaia Despoina,
me ton Monogenin sou,
ela tziai si voitha mas,
tziai dws mas tin eftzin sou.*

Giannis : Oh! Maria Despina,
with your only Child,
you come and help us,
and give us your wishes.

*Virwn: Tzi o ouranos en strogilos,
me t'astras mes tin mesin,
tzi' elate oulles tou horkou,
n' alesomen to resin.*

and the sky is round,
the stars are in the middle,
you come from all over the village,
to mill the *resin*.

*Giannis: To kiparissin egeiren,
Tzi' ekopin pou tin mesin,
elate oulloi tou horkou,
n' alesoumen to resin.*

Giannis: The cypress inclined,
and was cut off, from its middle,
come all people of the village,
to mill the *resin*.

The lyrics the singer improvised might not all be relevant to the particular custom which occurred at the time they were singing. If one observes the above lyrics, the singer sang:

'Tzi o ouranos en strogilos, me t'astras mes tin mesin, elate oulloi tou horkou n' alesoumen to resin'.

The meaning of the lyrics does not matter for the singer, whether it makes sense or not, but what really counts is the rhymed lines. As Zavros and Vironis agreed, they would always be under critical assessment of the guests of the village as to whether they performed and sang well during the

ceremony (Zavros, interview, July 2011 and May 2012, Gewrgiou, interview, December 2010 and September 2014). Thus, they tried to improvise lyrics with rhymes in keeping with the style of the wedding songs. I understand from this that they used images and exaggerations that the wedding songs contained. It is impossible for the sky to be a circle, or the stars to be in the middle of the sky: they just sang these lyrics because they wanted to rhyme the lines and please the villagers.

On Saturday morning around 8:00 or 9:00 a.m. they *anemizan* [blow] the wheat and put the clean wheat in *skafidkia* [wooden troughs] to carry it to the tap or to the village water hole to wash it. Then, they put the wheat to dry in the sun. These songs were performed with violin and lute.

5.1.5 Bathing the bride

I was informed that the custom of bathing the bride was performed at Koilani village until the latter half of the past century. Koilani is a mountain village famous for its jars. On the Friday, before the wedding, they burned wood under a large jar to warm it. The bride would be bathed in the jar. The musicians remembered that four of the best friends of the bride, who were single and virgin, went to the bride's house on Saturday midday, to help the bride with her bath. The number of the women would be five including the bride, which was again an odd number as in the other phases of the wedding. They prepared the jar with warm water, aromatic leaves and olive oil and a ritual was performed there. All the ladies washed the bride until the soap was used up, as they did not want the soap to fall into anyone else's hands. As in all the other phases of the wedding, nothing related to the new couple should have the danger of involving anyone else. While they were helping the bride to bathe, the ladies sang to her, praising her beauty and telling her that she was like the golden sunrise. They also mentioned the custom they performed in their village where the mother-in-law has to give the gift of a gown to the bride. If the mother-in-law was rich, she could give her a silken gown. The youngest lady who was present at the ritual held three candles during the bathing of the bride, symbolising the Holy Trinity. Then the mother of the bride offered *glitzista*, which was a special sweet nowadays found only in Koilani village.²⁰ The sesame seed on

²⁰ *Glytzista* is a special sweet found only in Koilani village nowadays. It is fried dough cut in the way of spaghetti but in a cyclical shape. After it is fried, the women put the sweet in syrup with several aromatic herbs and honey. Then they put sesame seed on top.

the top of the *glytzista* symbolises fertility for the new couple. The mother-in-law sang her the song of the bath, as it was called. Anhoulla sang the song for the bath of the bride (DVD 2016, Track 17, Example 5.3).

Wedding song of Koilani village

Moderato ♩ = 76



Lou thou hte ni stou - nio - nim - fi, tziai lou - thou me - ti no ta,
ki pe the ra sou - sou - fe - ren, me ta - xo ti - ti ro - pa.

Example 5.3. Bathing song, recorded in Koilani village.

This is another wedding song with a melody of a small range, a perfect fifth, which enabled all the guests to participate. It does not need special singing skills to be performed.

Psychological studies on musical pitch have shown that it can interact in the mind and the way of thinking (Dolscheid, Shayan, Majid, Casasanto 2013, p. 613). Lomax endorses the notion of the above folk musicians by referring to high-pitched, strident singing as a musical symbol of the burning pain of sexual starvation, especially in societies where women are secluded or owned (Lomax, 2005, p.163). He also refers to the low-pitched songs and the bass style of Central Sardinia that remind him of primitive communal life which might belong to an Old European culture (Lomax, 2005, pp.155).

The lyrics of the bathing song are:

*1. Louthou, htenistou, nionimfi,
Tze louthou me ti ropa,
Tzi I pethera sou sou' fere,
Metaxoti ti ropa.*

Take your bath, comb your hair young bride,
And have your bath with gown,
which your mother-in-law brought, for you
a silk gown.

*2. Tzi nimfi mas en omorfi,
Tzi an eshie i aipin pete,
Tzi en san ton ilion to hrison,*

And our bride is beautiful,
Say now if she has any disadvantage,
She is like the golden sun,

Tin ora pou genniete.

The time it is born.

A similar custom of bathing the bride and the groom and singing for them is described by Sugarman (1997, p.227) in Prespa Albanian expatriate wedding ceremonies in Connecticut. Sugarman describes the custom of singing to the groom while he was having his shower in the bathroom. The relatives stood outside the door and sang several songs for him according to their choices (Sugarman, 1997, p.228).

5.1.6 Decorating the *Manatsan* and the bridal bed

On Saturday night, a few relatives of the bridegroom and some young women near marriageable age visited the bride's house to decorate the bridal room and make the bridal bed with the wool. Several love scenes were embroidered on a white cloth, which they placed round the bridal bed. Most of the time the bride and bridegroom did not know each other well, so these erotic scenes would be helpful for the newlyweds on the first night they slept together (Georgiou, interview, September 2014, Zavros, interview July 2011, Theodwrou, interview, November 2011). The musicians performed the wedding song of *Manatsas* or the song of *Pastadas*, as they called it (DVD 2016, Track 18, Example 5.4). The *Manatsas* song has not previously been transcribed in any literature. However, the custom is described by Prwtopapa (2005, p.246).

*Tzi o Ikaros en rethiman,
gia na ta poumen ola,
tzi' elate kopelloudes mou,
strwsete tin karkolan.*

And Ikaros is like a drug,
and will make us talk for everything,
and come my young ladies,
to make the bed now.

Manatsas

♩ = 66

Violin I

7
Tzio I ka ros en re - thi - man gia

15
na ta pou - men o - la.

23
Tzie la te ko pel - lou des stro se te

31
tin - kar ko lan.

39
Fo na xe te tes o - mor - fes, na tre xoun,

48
na - vou ri - soun, sto li zoun

56
tin Ma - na - tsan tous, nar toun na vo - i

63
thi - soun.

Example 5.4 The Manatsas song

*Fonaxete tes omorfes,
na trexoun , na vourisoun,
stolizoun tin Manatsan tous,
na' rtoun na voithisoun.*

You, call the pretty ladies,
to run, yes to run,
and decorate the Manatsan,
tell them to come and help.

For some musicians, the word *Manassa* or *Manatsa* or *Pastada* meant the place or the seats the new couple would take in their bridal room. For others it meant the exhibition of the dowry on a table or on the bed and the embroidered cloth the ladies placed round the bed, tied on the four posts of the bridal bed. Prwtopapa refers to the specific custom as the custom of '*Pastos*' or '*Manassa*' and she explains that in ancient Greek they used the same word for the place next to the bridal bed where the newlyweds would sit, something like a sofa extending from the bed. '*Pastos*' and '*Pastada*' as the folk musicians mentioned have the same root etymologically. Prwtopapa mentions the lyrics from Polideukis' '*Onomastikon*' where he refers to the '*Pastadas, de, as i nin exedras*' (quoted in Prwtopapa, 2005, p.247).

5.1.7 Filling, and sewing crosses on, the bridal bed

When they decorated the bridal bed, the musicians continued singing and the women were *allassan, gemonnan tin karkolan* [preparing, filling the mattress] with the wool. The folk musicians remember this custom being performed between 1930 and 1960. They also sewed four crosses on the corners of the mattress on the upper surface and one in the middle to bless the new couple (DVD 2016, Track 19). The same tune was played for the dance the men performed, after the mattress was prepared. A similar custom is described by Baker (1977, p.126) as a custom of German brides who sewed five crosses on their nuptial quilts to protect them from witches.

As soon as they finished the sewing of the mattress, they threw shillings as wedding gifts on the bed and rolled two or three male babies on the mattress, symbolising the fertility of the new couple. The people interviewed mentioned that they preferred boys in order to bring 'good luck' to the newlyweds to bear boys who would preserve the family name: Cypriot society was always patriarchal. The men raised the mattress up, dancing with it, turning it round three times and then

placing it on the newlywed's bed. In each step of the ceremony, the number three was symbolic of the Holy Trinity, to bless the ritual. The bridal bed was made of black iron, having a post in each corner to which the women tied the embroidered cloth. Then, they placed the bride's dowry on the bridal bed to show off the wealth of the bride's family. A similar custom of showing off the dowry of the bride is mentioned in Sugarman's study (1997, p.143), there the dowry is exhibited in the courtyard and the groom's dowry in the bedroom.

The melody of the song is the same as the main wedding song. Theodwrou performed the song for the sewing of the newlywed's bed, with the following lyrics (DVD 2016, Track 13, Example 5.5):

<i>Varte tous tesseris stavrous,</i>	Sew the four crosses,
<i>sta tessera kantounia,</i>	on the four corners,
<i>na ppeftei nimfi tzi o gambros,</i>	the bride and groom will lie on,
<i>san ta filikoutounia.</i>	like the love birds.

Using the same melody as the main wedding song, Georgiou and Zavros used the lyrics below for the sewing of the newlyweds' bed (DVD 2016, Track 20):

<i>Tzi oran kalin, tzi oran hrisin,</i>	This time must be nice, and golden,
<i>tzi oran evloimenin,</i>	and blessed,
<i>touti doulia p' arhisamen,</i>	this job we started,
<i>na vgei stereomeni.</i>	must be strongly based.

<i>Atoi, saranta trexete,</i>	Eagles, run,
<i>angeloi simvoulates,</i>	angels, as advisors,
<i>tziai to krevati na raftei,</i>	the bed must be sewn,
<i>elate voithate.</i>	you all, come and help.

<i>Tziai kopsan tin vasilitzian,</i>	And the basil was cut,
<i>tziai kaman tin dematin,</i>	and they constructed a bolt,
<i>tzi elate kopelloudes mou,</i>	and do come, young ladies,
<i>rapsete to krevatin.</i>	sew the bridal bed.

The Newlywed's Bed Dance

Allegretto ♩ = 100

Violin I

5
Oh, le mo

10
nia, mou foun to ti, poui se ston

16
ka - te - tin,

22
sou stou tziari pse tous an thous,

28
na ge mo stei kre va -

34
tin.

39

46

55

Example 5.5. The sewing of the crosses on the bridal bed.

The ritual for the preparation of the newlyweds' bed always ended with music and dances to entertain the guests who helped during the previous procedure and prepare them with a good mood for the main wedding event, which would take place the next day. They performed female dancing with several *syrto*s dances, like *Psintri Vasilizia mou* [My Thin Basil] (DVD 2016, Track 21, Example 5.6), a slow dance in 2/4 time. The *syrto*s dance took its name from the word *sernw* which means drag, meaning dragging the feet on the ground while dancing.

That night, the most essential dance was the dance of the mattress for the newlyweds. However, other Cypriot folk tunes were performed like *zeimpekika* and *kalamatianos* dances, which will be mentioned later, and other tunes which would put the participants in a good mood.

PSINTRI VASILITZIA MOU

Allegretto ♩ = 88

The musical score is written in treble clef with a 2/4 time signature. It consists of seven staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto' with a quarter note equal to 88 beats per minute. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into measures by bar lines, with measure numbers 10, 19, 28, 36, 44, and 50 indicated at the start of their respective staves. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some sixteenth-note runs in the later staves.

Example 5.6 My Thin Basil. Syrtos Dance.

Chapter Six: Phase Two - Customs and music of the wedding day

The wedding ceremony in Cyprus is a presentation of a series of customs, always accompanied by a particular song. Firstly, the procedure of the *allaman tou gambrou* [the adornment of the groom], took place and as soon as it was finished the musicians would go to the bride's parental house for the *allaman tis nimfis* [the adornment of the bride]. The adornment of the groom included the customs of the shaving of the groom, the Dowry dance, his dressing, the *kapnisman* [smoking] and lastly, the *zwman* [besetting the bride and the groom with a red kerchief]. The adornment of the bride included the making up of the bride, the wearing of her necklace, the smoking and the *zwman*. There was a superstition that the groom was not allowed to see the bride earlier on the day of their wedding, or her bridal dress before their wedding. Thus, the preparations for the wedding were done separately at their parents' houses. The tunes which were performed during the adornment of the bride and the groom were mostly the same, the folk musicians only sang different lyrics.

To start with, weddings always took place on Sundays. The folk musicians informed me that they usually preferred a Sunday with a full moon to bring good luck to the newlyweds. Mostly the wedding took place in the morning after the church service but sometimes in the afternoon about 3p.m. No one would get married in a leap year, because the Cypriots considered it as bad augury for the newlyweds.

As the customs that have been maintained in today's weddings are mostly those from the day of the wedding itself, some of these have already been described in Part One, but here they will be presented with more specific details of their music and lyrics as performed in the mid-twentieth century.

6.1 Invitations to the wedding

In some villages, the parents of the bridegroom would invite all the villagers to the wedding. In some villages, the priest announced the wedding three weeks earlier and on that day, the bride did not go to church because she felt shy. In other villages, on Sunday morning after the Sunday service the mother of the bride would hold a *merrehan* [a silver bowl], which she had filled with rose water to invite the peasants to the wedding. In some villages, of Paphos mostly, they used to give wine or *koulouri* [a kind of bread], or candles to a family which was invited to the wedding (Figure 3.9). The women blended special, triangular bread, with a hole in the middle, decorating it with three birds, snakes and putting on the pastry nuts to symbolise the fertility of the new couple (Anthoulla, Katina, interviewed by the author, 2012). The snakes were believed to divert bad spirits from the newlyweds. This round bread decorated the pumpkin containing red wine, which would be offered to the peasants. In Paphos villages, the peasants were offered red wine and a small piece of bread to invite them to the wedding, which would take place later on the same day. In some other villages, mostly of Limassol and Frenaros, the bridegroom held rosewater in a *merrehan* and sprinkled all the peasants at the church to invite them to his wedding.

After the Sunday service, the mother of the bride went from house to house in the village to invite the women she wanted to be present at the *allaman* [adorning] of the bride. The dressmaker who had constructed the bridal dress was also invited. An odd number of women again went to the bride's house and sang for the making of the bed. They put the sheets on the bed, to prepare the bed for the new couple. The music of the main wedding song was performed. Some women specialised in wedding songs and sang them at several village weddings in a low-pitched tune and a different melody (DVD 2016, Track 22, Example 6.1) more simple than the main wedding song performed in other areas.

Wedding Song (Katina)

Andante ♩ = 80

Violin

Nim - fi, to - fou sta nin sou, a
t'ziai pa no ston - gi ro po don, t'o

Vln.

ge - loi, sou - to' ra - psan,
no - man tous - e gra - psan.

Example 6.1 The melody of the wedding song from Katina .

Only in Koilani village of Limassol and in Tylleria village of Paphos did the folk musicians perform the wedding song with a different melody, this is also the first time it has been presented in literature (DVD 2016, Track 23, Example 6.2).

Wedding song of Koilani village (Nikolatzis)

Solo

♩ = 86

Example 6.2 The wedding song of Koilani village performed by Nikolatzis.

The violinist and lutenist were *allassan ton gambro prwta*, meaning singing to the groom first to shave him and then to put on the groom's costume and adorn him. Then the musicians would go to the bride's house *n' allaxoun tin nimfin* [to adorn the bride and put her in the bridal dress].

The procedure always started as soon as the musicians were ready and they opened the ceremony with the main wedding song. Each performer of the main wedding song gave a different performance according to many other factors, of musical skills, psychological condition, according

to the time they were singing it, at the beginning of the recording or at the end when they were getting tired and so on, but the contour of the melody of the main wedding song was the same. It should be noted here that all the lines of the songs are cleverly suited and rhymed, as can be seen from the transliteration. Three variations of the melody and lyrics were found during the fieldwork, but the most common melody of the wedding song which was met during my fieldwork was the following. These variations were also observed and are transcribed for the first time. They do not exist in any other literature. A recording of the complete wedding phase of the adornment was recorded in Germasogeia village (DVD 2016, Track 24, Example 6.3) and the transcription of the beginning of the ceremony follows below.

Some verses of this song are below:

1. *Fonaxete tis manas tis,*
Narti na tin izosi,
Tze na tis dosi mian eftzin
Tze na tin parodosi.

You, guests, call her mother
to come and put the kerchief round her,
to come and put the kerchief round her,
and to give her away, to the groom.

2. *Me tin eftzin tze o papas,*
Narti gia na se zosi,
Tze dwron is ton niogampro
se lligo na se dosi

to make a wish,
To come and put the belt round you,
and gift to the new groom,
in a bit, he will give you.

3. *Tze o pappous tze i giagia*
Narti gia na se zosi,
Tze dwron is ton niogampro,
se lligo na se dosi.

Also, the grandmother and grandfather.
To come and put the belt round you,
and gift to the new groom,
in a bit, he will give you.

4. *Anapsete ta karvouna,*
I mana na kapnisi
Tze na tis dosi mian eftzin,
Hronia polla na zisi.

It's time to light the coals
the mother comes first
to give her a wish
Many years to live.

Wedding song

♩ = 72



7



13



20



26



34



42



50



58



67





Example 6.3 A wedding song performed by Charalambous Nicola and Andreas, at a wedding ceremony at Germasogeia village, 20 August, 2011.

The main wedding song always started with the stanzas below:

*Oran kalin, tzi oran hrisin,
tzi oran evloimenin,
touti douleia p' arkepsamen,
na vgei sterewmeni.*

This time must be nice, and golden,
and blessed,
this job, we have just started,
must be strongly based.

*O Panagia Despoina,
me to Monogeni sou,`
ela tziai si voitha mas,
tziai dws' mas tin eftzin sou.*

Oh, Virgin Mary, Despoina (another name for Her),
with your Only Child,
please come and help us,
and give us your blessings.

Cypriots were always devoted to their faith and invoked the blessings of the Virgin Mary and her only Child, Jesus Christ. As the musicians informed me, the first stanza was also used for other jobs. For example, when they harvested the wheat they sang the first stanza in order to have a good crop. Thus, religious identity was also expressed through the lyrics of the songs during the wedding sequence.

The tunes which were performed during the adornment of the bride and the groom were mostly the same, the folk musicians only sang different lyrics. Thus, there will be a presentation of the

whole groom's ceremony below and only where there are differences in lyrics or in singing will they be presented for the bride's ceremony, in order to avoid repetition.

6.2 The groom's ceremony

The wedding ceremony started with the musicians singing the wedding song and the groom coming triumphantly into the scene. The guests applauded and sang the lyrics of the '*oran kalin...*' with the musicians when he proceeded. The groom sat in the middle of the room, opposite me, on a *tonini* chair [one made from a special plant called *tonos*] next to the musicians. Some other stanzas often encountered at the beginning of the ceremony follow. The musicians provided a joyful atmosphere. They were responsible for the whole ceremony and for the spirit and the mood during the whole event. They tried to evoke several feelings in the 'principal actors' of the ceremony and in the guests. They made them feel touched, happy for this joyful event of joining the lives of the newlyweds, but also they made them feel sadness because the latter would be separated from their families. The religious content was also strong, asking for mercy in several places. The musicians always called for help from the Virgin Mary and Saint Andrew. Otherwise, most of the lines of the wedding song praised the groom:

*Simera lampei o ouranos,
simera lampei i mera,
simer' allassoun ton gambron,
me omorfin maniera.*

Today the heaven is shining,
today the day is shining,
today the groom is adorned,
with his beautiful idiosyncrasy.

*Tzai Panagia Despoina,
me ton Monogenin sou,
kamia doulia en ginete,
me dihws tin voulin sou.*

And Virgin Mary,
with your only child,
no job can be done,
without your will.

The religious identity of the Greek Cypriots is obvious through the wedding songs and customs also.

6.2.1 The shaving of the groom

The first custom to be performed during the ceremony was the shaving of the groom. The singer instructed the barber to whet his knives and then shave the groom without making him bleed or suffer. Sugarman refers to this custom also (1997, p.143) presented for the Prespa Albanian grooms.

The lyrics about the shaving of the groom were the same, or very similar, in all villages and the melody was that of the main wedding song as was sung in the particular community. Nikolatzis, who lived in Koilani village, sang the following Example (DVD 2016, Track 23, Example 6.2). I chose the oldest folk singer to present his lyrics of shaving.

*Parperi ta xiourafkia sou,
kala na t' akoniseis,
gia na xiouriseis ton gambro,
na men ton tiranniseis.*

You, barber, your knives,
must be well whetted,
to shave the groom well,
and don't make him suffer.

*Tzi i mana sou tzio tziris sou,
nartoun na kamarwsoun,
p' axiwthikan etsi gion,
ston kosmo gia na dwsoun,*

And your mother and your father,
should come now to admire you,
who are so happy to give to the society,
a son who is so commendable.

The barber was directed what to do next by the musicians. He perfumed the groom as soon as he had shaved him. The musicians sang:

*Valtou kolonian,
tzi an prepi gia n' aresei,
gia na mouskomirisousin,
oi strates pon na resseis.*

Put the perfume on him,
which will make him noticeable,
to smell nice,
all the roads he will pass from

*Tziai panw sto kampanarkon,
essiei hrisin kampana,
na sou harinei niogampre,
tin akrivin sou mana.*

And on the bell tower,
there is a golden bell,
God might bless, young groom,
your valuable mother.

6.2.2 Dancing with the dowry

The second custom performed was the '*O horos tw'n rouhwn i tw'n proitziwn*' [the clothes or the Dowry dance]. The clothes were placed in a basket and the relatives and the first man danced raising the basket high with one hand, to show off the dowry. As I was informed by Georgiou, Zavros, Iordanou and Charalambous (interviews, 2011-13) the tune of *the Dance of the Dowry* was related to the custom of exhibiting the dowry. The music performed for this custom is the same as that performed for the custom of dancing with the wool and also for when the mattress was ready to be placed on the bridal bed (DVD 2016, Track 2).

6.2.3 Dressing the groom

Next, the song for the dressing of the groom was performed. After the singer's instructions, the best man put the shirt and new cufflinks on the groom. The singer sang:

*Fwnaxete tis manas tou,
ta rouha na tou ferei,
na t'avloisei o tziris tou,
me to dextrin tou ssierin.*

Call his mother,
to bring him the clothes,
his father should bless them,
with his right hand.

*Tzi Apostole m' Andrea mou,
pou sai sto perigiallin,
ela tziai sou voitha tou,
na valei to stephanin.
Pou mes ton Pentaktilon,
gennietai to feggarin,
tziai feras sas stoun ton horkon,
tziai kaman sas zevgarin.*

And my Saint Andrew,
you who are at the sea,
please come and help,
to place the garland.
From the heart of Pentadaktilos mountain,
the moon is born,
and they brought you in this village,
and they make us a couple.

*Foreste to poukamiso,
to hrisokentimeno,
pou to rapsen i mana tou,
ki ine sideromeno.*

Please put his shirt on him,
which is golden embroidered,
which is sewn by his mother,
and it's so well ironed.

6.2.4 Smoking the groom

As soon as the groom was dressed, the singer started singing the lyrics for the smoking of the groom (DVD 2016, Track 14). Georgiou and Zavros performed the wedding song in a continuous form. Thus, as soon as the dressing was finished, an introduction of the wedding song was played and they started singing the lyrics for the smoking. Only parents were allowed to smoke during the mid-twentieth century. They held a smoking silver bowl in which they had put a small amount of charcoal and olive leaves taken from the church service blessed by the Holy Trinity. They made the cross three times over the head of the groom and the parents gave him their blessings, kissing the newlyweds on the forehead. The lyrics of the song often found for this custom are:

*Fwnaxete tis manas tou,
narti na ton kapnisei,
tziai na tou dwsei tin eftzin
hronia polla na zisei*

Please call his mother,
to come and smoke him,
and give him her blessings,
many years to live.

*Fwnaxete ton tzirin tou,
nartei na ton kapnisei,
tziai na tou dwsei tin eftzin,
hronia polla na zisei.*

Please call his father,
to come and smoke him,
and to give him his blessings,
many years to live.

Vironis sang for me:

*Pou pas tin dkiamantopetran,
kopsete nan kommatin,
kapniste tziai t' antroinon
gia to kakon to mmatin.*

From the diamond,
cut a piece,
smoke the new couple,
from the evil eye.

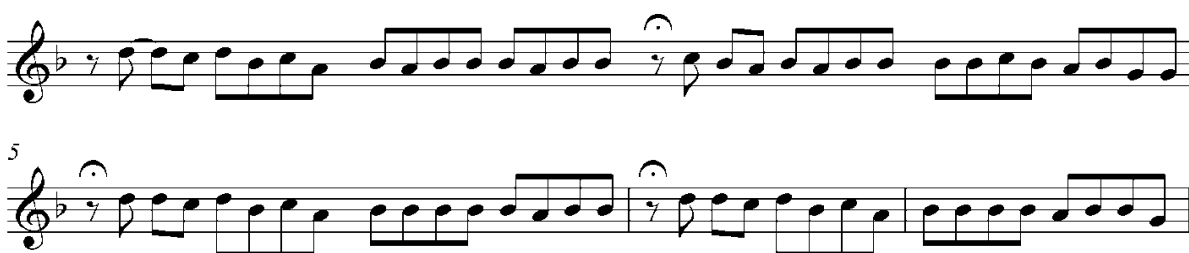
The custom of the smoking of the groom had a double role in the wedding ceremony. First, it symbolised the power to drive evil forces away from the new couple. Secondly, the lyrics with which the singer was asking the Virgin Mary's help to bless the bride and groom expresses the religious identity of the performers and the people who were participating in the ceremony.

6.2.5 The 'surrounding' with a kerchief of the groom

The last custom that was performed during the ceremony of the *allaman*, was the *zwman*. A red kerchief was placed on the left shoulder of the groom to symbolise his virginity. Firstly, the mother was called to beset the groom, then the father, then the godfather, godmother and then the other relatives and friends. All people who were present at the ritual could participate in this custom. In this phase of the wedding, if the singer was willing and if there was enough time before the wedding service, he could add some more song tunes.

Nikolatzis performed a long narrative song, 'The History of Zacharous', which he had been taught by his grandfather (Nikolatzis, interview, September 2011). This song was performed during the *zwman* also at his village. It could be categorised as a narrative song and is not found in any literature. The way he performed is like a musical poetry, which was used in the twentieth century and also in Homer's time. Nietzsche refers to the recitative style as the 'reawakening of the most effective music - the music of Greeks' (Nietzsche 2006) (DVD 2016, Track 26, Example 6.4. 'The History of Zacharous' was dedicated to the groom and Nikolatzis called the tune the song for the groom (Nikolatzis, interview, September 2011).

Song for the groom



Example 6.4. The song of the groom. The history of Zacharous.

*Neoi tziai neoi, gerontai,
i en na sinakteite,
san tou Meli ton erota,
an idete na peite.*

Hey, young men and old men,
come here and tell me,
have you ever seen,
another love like that of Melis?

*Agapisen tin Zacharoun,
korin enos plousiou,*

He fell in love with Zacharou,
the daughter of a rich man,

*giat' itan praman tiheron,
tziai me voulin Kyriou.*

that was his luck,
which Lord desired.

*Ftwhos tzi an itan o Melis,
plousios mes' ta kalli,
tziai tzeinos en tin Zacharoun,
pou den eplastin alli.*

What if Melis was poor,
he was rich in beauty,
he loved Zacharou,
who was also so unique.

*Itan pou mian kwmopolin,
tzi oi dkio tis Ammohwstou,
itounn triantafillia tou Ma,
tziai foulin tou Aoustou.*

They were from a town,
both, of Ammohwstos,
she was a rose tree of May
and he was a jonquil of August.

*Na sas to po pos elahen,
toutoi gia na vrethousin,
tziai pos i tih ta'feren,
mazin n' agapithousin.*

I will narrate to you, how it happened,
these two, to meet each other,
and how their destiny worked,
these two to be together.

*Xerete oti oi ftwssioi,
tzeinoi pou distihousin,
eis tous plousious pantote,
ergazonte tziai ziousin.*

You know that poor people,
those who are unhappy,
they work for rich people,
in order to survive.

*Loipon tzi i mana tou Meli,
hwris na amelisei,
eis tous gonious tis Zacharous,
ergazetoun na zisei.*

Thus, Meli's mother,
without losing time,
at Zacharou's parents,
was working to survive.

*Oti tin diataxousin,
na tous ta etoimasei,
tziai mehri ta mesanikta,
na paei na plagiasei.*

She was preparing,
everything they instructed her,
and only at midnight,
she was going to lie.

*Tziai me tzairon ezitisen,
gia to mikron paidin tis,
tziai dwsan tis tin adeian
tzi epairnen ton mazin tis.*

Once, she asked,
to take her young child,
with her, and they gave her
permission to take him with her.

*Ma ressen hronia o Melis,
osos mikros tzi an itoun,
efainetoun i gnwmi tou,
tziai i diagogi tou.*

*Osa kala ishen pano tou,
kalli tziai nostimades
ishen tziai tosin prokopin,
tziai toses fronimades.*

*Antama me tin Zacharoun,
ekamnan pehnidakia,
stes kamares tziai stin avlin,
san dio peristerakia.*

*Ma otan emagalosen,
oligon kat' oligon,
exi eton epepsan tous,
mazin eis to sholion.*

*Ma otan eskolazasin,
to kathe mesomerin,
i Zacharoulla etressien,
eis to dikon tis terin.*

*Oi dkio mazin etroasin,
episis edkievazan,
katopin esikonanton,
tziai ediaskedazan.*

*To dentron tis agapis tous,
pou totes efitrothin,
sta vathi tis kardoullas tous,
tziai den exirizothin.*

But, Melis was mature enough,
whatever his age was,
his opinion was right,
his behaviour was right.

However, so benefits he had,
beauty and piquancy,
he has also prosperity,
and graces.

With Zacharou,
they played together,
in bedrooms and in the yard,
like two young pigeons.

But, when they grew up,
little more and more,
at the age of six, they sent them,
together to school.

And when they got off school,
every midday,
Zacharoulla ran,
to find her own partner.

They had lunch together,
they studied together,
then when they finished,
they had fun together.

Their love tree,
was planted
deeply in their small hearts,
and since was not uprooted.

*Oi dkio manaes, to loipon,
aman tous ethorousan,
stis hares tziai stes omorkies,
oti eprohorousan,*

*mian imeran i ftwshi,
ipen eis tin plousian,
me harostada diladi,
tziai katharin kardian,*

*pou ton afentin ton Theon,
egiw zito mian harin,
gia na genei i Zacharou,
me ton Melin zevkarin.*

*All' omos pale skeftoume,
i skepsi mou to krinei,
oti pos en adinaton,
touti doulia na ginei.*

*Giat' eshei mithon dahame,
o kosmos na to xerei,
omoios me ton omoion,
prepi na kamnei terin.*

*Ta epourania anoikta,
itan kat'eftihian,
giati ta logia tis ftoshis,
eis ton Theon epian.*

*Ama akousen tis ftoshis,
tzi ipen ton logon touton,
paizei to pas' tin arkonkian,
to ipsos tziai ton plouton.*

*Strefetai tote pano tis,
fonazei, foverizei,*

Their two mothers, so,
when they were watching them,
more virtues and beauty,
that were getting,

one day, the poor mother,
told the rich one,
with good mood,
and clear heart,

I ask only a favour,
from my Lord,
one day Zacharou
and Melis to be a couple.

But, again I am thinking,
my thought criticises it,
that this job is impossible,
to be done.

Because there is a myth here,
people must know it,
same people with same people,
must form a couple.

The Heaven was open,
luckily,
because the poor's mother words,
they reached Lord's ear.

He listened to the poor's words,
talking to Him about
the lordliness,
the height and the richness.

The rich mother turns to her,
shouting and threatening,

*tziai me ta pleon atopa,
logia na tin ivrizei.*

*Lalei tis en antrepesai,
ra psorissa tou kosmou,
en logia touta pou laleis,
tziai stekese ompros mou.*

*Ihes to efkolon na peis,
tethkian plousion kori,
antran tis na tis dosoumen,
ton gion tou toun' ton psorin,*

*Tipotes en antrapikes,
en ekames gisafin,
tziai proxenas ton 'ttenekken',
na smixei me 'grisafin'?*

*Pothen na ton katadektw,
egiw ton dkiakonitin,
pon eshei malin mian malian,
oute dikon tou spitin?*

*Egiw mes' ta diamantika,
tin korin mou en na hoso,
gia'n nan giatron gia dikastin,
en na vro na tis doso.*

*Malista p' ossw mou twra,
pkias' ton tziai na hatheite,
tziai an xana en toun' tin avlin,
na men ixanampeite.*

*Par' ton tzira, tziai'n' hwrattas,
pou' kama gw mazi sou,
en irta me tin ppalan mou,
na pkiasw to paidin sou.*

with so many unsuitable,
words to shrill out abuse.

She shouts at her, don't you feel ashamed,
you, poor and sickly woman,
what are you talking about,
while you are standing in front of me.

Was that so easy for you to say,
for that rich young girl,
to give her as a husband
the son of a poor and sickly man?

Didn't you feel ashamed,
didn't you think well,
and you do the matchmaker,
of the 'tin' to marry the 'gold'?

How can I accept
that gipsy,
who does not own anything,
not even a house?

I will hide my daughter,
in diamond stones,
and I will find and marry her,
to a doctor or a judge.

Yes, from my house, now,
take him and get lost,
and inside this yard,
don't ever enter.

Madam, I was kidding,
take it as a joke I did with you,
I didn't come with my broadsword,
to steal your child.

*Einai athoa ta mora,
pan' koma sto sholeio,
ares' koun mou pou'n' omorfa,
tzi astiepsa se llion.*

*Efien tote i ftwshi,
efien ntropiasmeni,
tziai pien eis to spitin tis,
me ton Melin kameni.*

*Tzi aman tin iden, ekatsen,
etsi hlomin perilipin
tziai paraponimenin,
enomisen o distihis,
ta osa trehei,
tzi efthis etrexen pano tis,
ki arotan tin ti ehei.*

*Tipote, prota o Theos,
en epatha tou leei,
i ftwsheia mas mou ta' kamen,
tziai arkepsen na klaiei.*

*Egiw me athwotitan,
tziai katharin kardian,
simera ehwrattapsa,
tzi irta eis tin Kirian.*

*Thelei voulin pou ton Theon,
touti douleia na ginei,
i Zacharou me ton Melin,
antroinon na ginei.*

*Molis tin omilian mou,
irten tziai akousen tin,
san na an itan na strafei,*

The children are good,
still go to school,
I like that they are beautiful,
and I did joke with you

The poor mother left,
she left so embarrassed,
and she went to her house,
loving Melis so much.

When Melis saw her, she sat,
so pale and sad,
and with complaints,
the poor Melis wondered,
what is going on here
and immediately he ran,
and asked her what she has

Nothing, God comes first,
nothing happened, she told him,
everything happens because of our poverty,
and she started crying.

I went, in innocence,
And with a clear heart,
today and I did a joke,
to my Boss

This job, to be done,
needs the desire of my Lord,
for Zacharou and Melis,
to be bridegroom.

When my Madam,
heard my words,
as if my talk hit her,

tzi' eppesen tzi' ekapsen tin.

*Ama akousen o ftwhos,
oullin tin istorian,*

*thelo na po tin peinan tou,
tziai tin stenahorian.
me dakria sta mmathkia tou,
epien stin Kirian.*

*Leei tis imarton tzira,
eftaixamen konta sas,
na simpathisei eis imas,
omos i afenkia sas.*

*Ektos tzian egelastiken,
na tis to sighboriseis,
tzi' en peritton konta dame,
na exakolouthisei.*

*Pollin xilon tis edosa,
tzi akoma' nna tis dwsu,
ime kalos gia lloou tis,
en na tin halinwsw.*

*Lamne, lalei tou piainne,
pale' nna tin esteileis,
na ertei' lla en na tis to peis,
tziai' nna tis paratzeileis.*

*Na' rketai na ergazetai,
kathws to kath' hmeri,
amma to kopellouin tis,
na min to xanaferei.*

*Ekamen touton o ftwhos,
kata tin simvoulin tis,*

and burned her.

When the poor Melis,
heard the whole story,

I mean his hunger,
the sadness of his mother,
with tears in his eyes,
went to the Madam.

He tells her, please forgive us,
we have wronged,
please show your affinity to us,
whatever we did.

She was probably, mistaken,
please forgive her,
and please take her back.
to her work.

I whipped her,
and I will give her more smacks,
I am good for her,
I will make her exhausted.

Go, now, go,
send her again here,
to work, but you tell her,
and you will advise her,

To come and work,
as she did every day,
but her child,
not to bring him again.

The poor man,
followed her advice,

*tzi epepsen tin gienaikan tou,
me diha ton Melin tou.*

and she sent her to her house,
but he didn't go.

*Signomin, pale i ftwshi,
ezitisen pou pien,
i Zacharoulla ton Melin,
p' agapan en ton ien.*

I am sorry, again the poor lady,
asked from her,
Zacharoulla did not see Melis,
the one she loved, again.

*Trehei tziai pa stin manan tou,
tziai kathetai konta tis,
tzi arotisen tin pou einai,
tziai den irten mita tis.*

She runs and goes to his mother,
she sits with her,
and she asks where is he,
and why he didn't come with her.

The above narrative song of the poor Melis, who loved Zacharou, the rich child, was performed by Nikolatzis in his village for many years. He informed me his aim was to move the guests and also fill the gap in the activities till the procession started for the wedding service. The ceremony at the house ended here and the procession to the church for the wedding service, the *gamos*, followed. The first line of the song has archaic features of ancient Greek language: 'gerontai' [old men] is the plural for 'geros'. In colloquial language in contemporary Cypriot language and also in standard modern Greek the word is 'gerontes' or 'geroi'. In addition to that the lyric 'na simpathisei eis imas' is a clear use of ancient Greek language. 'Eis imas' means for us and in modern Greek and Greek Cypriot it is used as 'se emas'. Thus, the use of ancient Greek language is obvious in Greek Cypriot folk songs. The Greek Cypriot wedding songs becomes the vehicles of expressing national identity, by using the ancient Greek language.

6.3 The bride's ceremony

Customs similar to the groom's ceremony are performed during the bride's *allaman*.

6.3.1 The adornment of the bride

As soon as the musicians finished the wedding ceremony at the groom's house, they visited the bride's house to perform the bridal wedding ceremony. The ceremony was very similar to the

groom's. The customs and the main wedding song were performed. A recording made in 1961 of the adornment and the *zwmān* of the bride was given to the author by the director of the music archive of R.I.K. [*Radiofwnikon Idrima Kyprou*, the first radio broadcasting station of Cyprus]. This recording has a different introduction between the stanzas, which has been probably lost as none of the folk musicians performed it during my fieldwork (DVD 2016, Track 27, Example 6.5). Some women also sang *lalala* between the lines of the stanza, maybe as a way of participating, or maybe they wanted to rest the musicians because the main wedding song was always long. The introductions between the stanzas could also allow them to rest or give them time to think of the next lyrics which they might improvise, or recall lyrics to their memory.

In the recording from 1961, the melody performed by the musicians from bar 38 until the end was not found in any of the recordings I made in the last three years. Perhaps this is because the music and the ceremonies generally tend to be simpler with the passing of the years, or maybe this melody has been lost or forgotten. According to Elschekova (1997, p.31) wedding songs can cling to old, transmitted traditional musical and poetic forms but simultaneously, they adopt changes of renewal. Wedding songs are organic parts of the ceremony (1997, p.43) which change and are adapted to the new circumstances of the time when they are presented. This theory could be applied to the main Greek Cypriot wedding song and also to the whole wedding ceremony, which as we see is getting simpler as time goes by. The music and songs follow and adjust to this change. The main wedding song, as we observe here, is getting even shorter with the culling out of a melody, which included the participation of the guests. This could happen because sometimes the musicians are also in haste to go to another ceremony because they are so few, and with the trend nowadays to preserve the old customs, the few musicians who remain sometimes have to perform at two weddings on the same day (Iordanou, Georgiou, interview, 2013). Also, the introduction that the folk musicians performed is familiar to all participants of the wedding, so it might be used with the aim to make them participate, singing *lalala*, which means they do not have to know the lyrics of the wedding song.

Ora kali, tzi or' agathi, lalalalalala...
tzi ora evloimeni, lalalala...
touti douleia p' arkepsamen, lalala..

Time must be nice and good, lalalalala...,
 and must be blessed, lalalala...,
 this job we have started,

Wedding song 1961

Moderato ♩ = 80

8

17

25

33

41

48

Example 6.5. A transcription of the main wedding song recorded in 1961 by R.I.K. Nicosia, including an instrumental part that is not performed nowadays.

(Lutenist: Liontaris Xenis, violinist: Kiamillos George, singer: Konstantinou Vasos, *tamboutsia* player: Xrysovergis Xristos)

*Ela Thee tziai Panagia, lalalalalalala,
me ton Monoenin sou, lala...,
tzi evloa mas toun' tin douleian, la la...
pou'nai pou tin voulin sou.*

*Agia stoliste tin kala, lala...,
tin markaritarenin, la la...,
apou tin essiei i mana tis,
mes' ta grousa hosmenin.*

*Fwnaxete tis manas tis, lala...,
nartei na tin izwsei, lala...,
tziai na tis valei tin eftzin, lalala...
tziai na tin paradwsei.*

Please, my God and Virgin Mary, come,
lalalalalalala,
with also your Only Child, lala...
and bless this job, lala...,
which is done with your will.

Please adorn her well, lala...,
she is like a pearl, lala...,
her mother always hides her,
in the gold.

Please call her mother, lala...,
to come and beset her, lala...,
and she should give her, her blessings, lalala...,
and then will give her away to the groom.

In Koilani village, different lyrics were performed for the main wedding song, which was presented earlier. This song praised the parents of the bride and asked God to bless them (DVD 2016, Track 28):

*Panw sto kefalagathon,
kathete to skartilin,
na sou harinei tzi o Theos,
ton akrivo sou tzirin.*

*Tziai na tsakkisw to vkiolin,
na kamw mian kampanan,
na sou harinei o Theos,
tin akrivi sou manan.*

On the top of the thorn,
a canary is sitting,
God might bless
your precious father

And I will break the violin,
to construct a bell,
God might bless,
your precious mother.

*Tziai irtan oloi oi sigeneis,
gemosen i avli sou,
na sou harinei tzi o Theos,
tin mian adelfi sou.*

And all your relatives have come,
your yard is full,
God might bless,
your only sister.

The lyrics of the main wedding song for the adornment of the bride which were often found were as follows:

*Simeron lampei o ouranos,
simeron lampei i mera,
simeron pohwrizete,
kori pou ti mitera.*

Today the sun is shining,
today the day is shining,
today is separated
the daughter from her mother.

*Inta kames tis mana sou,
tziai nna se xenitepsei,
esso na mpei, tzi exw na vgei,
tziai sena na girepsei.*

Bride, what have you done to your mother?
and will she send you away?
But, inside and outside,
then, she will look to find you.

Thus, the form of the main wedding song was such as to allow all the guests to participate and express the idiosyncrasy of the participants as active members of the ceremony. In addition, the continuous calling on the Saints to come and assist the ceremony supports my view that Greek Cypriots express their religious identity through the wedding songs.

Another song praising the bride used during the adornment of the bride was recorded by Nikolatzis and had a different melodic line from the one which was mainly sung during the five case studies I recorded (DVD 2016, Track 29, Example 6.6).

Song for the bride

♩ = 92

Pa ski zou sin i ko ra sics, ko ri na se - psa tzie psoun,
a fous e pla sti kes e si, en pan na tes_____gi re psoun.

Example 6.6 Praising the bride. 'Song for the bride'

*Paskizousin oi korasies,
kori na se psatziepsoun,
afis eplastikes esi,
en pan na tes girepsoun.*

The other girls make many efforts,
beautiful girl, to poison you,
since you were born,
no-one goes to propose to them.

More lyrics again praising the bride were added to the above melody, the wedding song of Koilani (DVD 2016, Track 30).

*Hrisi kantila kremmetoun,
ston ouranon tziai kopin,
tzi i mana pou s' anagiosen,
emeinan tis oi kopoi.*

A golden candle was hung
from heaven but it was cut,
and the mother who raised you,
stayed with her toils.

*Tzi ora kali sou nionimfi,
tzi ora kali sou, geia sou,
mouskous tziai rodostemmata,
sta kamarofrida sou.*

Have a nice time young bride,
have a nice time, goodbye,
carnations and rosewater,
to wash your round eyebrows.

*Tzi i nimfi mas en omorfī,
tzi an essiei aipin pete,
tzi en ilios tis Anapolis,
tin oran pou genniete.*

And our bride is beautiful,
please tell now, if she has a disadvantage,
she is like a sun, from the East
the time it is born.

All lyrics praise the bride by creating beautiful images in the mind of the audience.

6.3.2 Smoking of the bride

Only the parents performed the custom of smoking in the last century. They held the *merrehan* or *kapnistiri*, the charcoals inside were lit and they made the sign of the cross three times above the heads of the bride and groom. Then the bride or the groom raised her/his hand three times up the *kapnistiri* to make their cross. The singer sang:

*Anapsete ta karvouna,
i mana na kapnisei,
tziai na tis dwsei mian ephin,
hronia polla na zisei.*

Light on the charcoals,
the mother should smoke first,
and will give her a wish,
to live many years.

*Pateras kai mitera sou,
megalon t'onoma tous,
halalin na sou kamousin,
to vizanagiwman tous.*

Your father and your mother,
great are their names,
all they sacrificed for you,
to suckle and raise you.

*Koulla, otan gennithikes,
o ilios ekatevin,
edwsen sou tin lampsin tou,
tziai pale pism anevin.*

Koulla, when you was born,
the sun came down,
it gave you its shine,
and then turned back.

*Thee mou pou sai sta psila,
sta hamila kateva,
na deis pou xanaplastiken,
panw stin gin i Eva.*

My God, who you are so high,
come to the low levels,
to see that Eva,
had been recreated.

*Tziai moiazeis nionimfi kali,
san petra diamanteni,
ki ise mia koukla zwntani,
agelokamwmeni.*

And bride you look so nice,
like a diamond stone,
and you are like a living doll,
as if the angels had created you.

Some exaggeration is obvious in the above lyrics. The singer wants to praise the bride by telling her that the angels created her, that she is like a doll that came to life, and that she looks like a diamond, and so on. Sugarman also mentions wedding songs with similar content, praising the bride as a slim, tall and beautiful woman and so on (Sugarman, 1997, pp.290,291). The wedding songs praised the bride on the one hand and simultaneously the participants were using customs like the smoking in order to prevent bad forces and the evil eye from harming her.

I shall not repeat any other customs of the wedding ceremony which were described for the groom above unless there is something different or something that will contribute to the research findings.

6.3.3 The 'surrounding' with a kerchief of the bride

The *zwman* ['surrounding' with a kerchief] of the bride was performed in the same way as was described for the groom above. This custom symbolized the virginity of the bride and the groom. The red kerchief symbolizes the colour of blood. The melody is the same as the main wedding song again and the lyrics of the song are below:

*Fwnaxte tis manas tis,
nartei na tin izwsei,
tziai na tis dwsei mian eftzin,
tziai na tin paradwsei.*

Please, call her mother,
to come and beset you,
to come and give her a wish,
and put her out to the groom.

*Me tin eftzin tziai o papas,
nartei gia na se zwsei,
kai dwron eis ton niogambron,
se lligon tha se dwsei.*

With his wish, her father,
come to beset her,
and as a gift to the new groom,
in a bit will give you away.

*Tziai o pappous tziai i giagia,
nartoun gia na se zwsoun,
tziai na sou dwsoun tin eftzin,
tziai na se paradwsoun.*

And the grandfather and grandmother,
should come and beset you,
and will give you the wish,
to give you away.

*Simera lampei o ouranos,
simera lampei i mera,
simera stephanwnete,
i aspri peristera.*

Today the sun is shining,
today the day is shining,
today is getting married,
the white quail.

*Nimfi pou se stolizousin,
entisan se me t' aspra,
ise kommati t' ouranou,
pou to potizoun t' astra.*

Bride, you are adorned,
they dressed you in white,
you are a piece dropped from heaven,
you are watered by the stars.

*Nimfes stolizoumen polles,
tziai paw tziai thwrw tes,
omos esen sigkofkw se,
tin protin pou tis protes.*

Brides we adorn too many,
and I go and see them,
but I predict,
you are the best.

*Apostole Andrea mou,
pou sai sto akrogiallin,
ela tziai dwse tin eftzin,
tziai strafou piso pali.*

My Saint Andrew,
who is at sea,
please come and give your wish,
and then go back again.

*Tziai to karavin en paei,
horis karavokirin,
na sou harinei nionimfi,
ton akrivon sou tzirin.*

And the ship doesn't proceed,
without its captain,
God might bless, bride,
your precious father.

*Sarantapente lemonies,
i mia konta stin allin,
otan anthizoun en ehoun,
ta eidika sou kalli.*

Forty-five lemon trees,
one next to each other,
when they flourish, they don't have,
your special grace.

*Skipse legni kai filise,
tous sigeneis sto herin,
en oran pon n' antamotheis,
me to diko sou tairin.*

Fall, slim woman and kiss,
your relatives at their hand,
it's time you will meet,
with your partner.

*Simera pou ton ouranon,
Ageloi katevikan,
irtan na doun tin nionimfin,
tziai piso estrafikan.*

Today from heaven,
angels came,
to see the new bride,
and then returned.

*Tziai na tsakkisw to vkiolin,
na kamw mian kampanan,
na sou harinei o Theos,
tin akrivi sou mana.*

And I will break the violin,
to construct a bell,
God might bless
your precious mother.

It is obvious that most of the lyrics praise the bride and also her parents. Religion also features strongly. The ceremony is led by the singer. The lyrics are comparable to the hymn chanted during the marriage service 'Be present awful Father to give the bride away' (Kerr, 1965, p.54). The second stanza of the main Cypriot wedding song calls the father of the bride to come and beset the bride in order to give her away to the new groom.

6.4 Songs performed after the adornment of the bride and the groom

I was informed by the the musicians that in the years between 1930 and 1970 they performed other songs besides the main wedding song during the *allaman* of the bride as well as the groom's ceremony. The following songs are no longer performed in wedding ceremonies and are on the verge of extinction, thus their documentation and transcription will be of help to scholars and others who would like to know what the wedding music was like during the mid-twentieth century. The song '*I pertika* [the partridge]' was one of these songs. Xatzimichael performed it for the present study (DVD 2016, Track 31, Example 6.7).

I pertika

Allegretto $\text{♩} = 69$

Mia pe_ rti ka, mia pe rti kae kti se en fou llian,
 9 pou ka_ to stin, pou ka to stin trian ta_ fi llian,
 mpe ni tziai vge ni tziai gen na pa sa lo i_ ti ka_ av ga.

Example 6.7 The song '*I pertika*'

Mia pertika, mia pertika ektisen foulian,

Pou kato stin, pou kato stin triantafillian.

Mpeni tze vgaini tze genna pasaloitika avga

Tze lamni ta, tze lamni ta fterouthkia tis

Tze ta gala, tze ta galaterouthkia tis.

A partridge, a partridge built a nest,

Under a rose tree, under a rose tree.

It goes again, and again and it bears eggs

it flaps, and it flaps with its small wings

and its small, and its small birds.

The folks informed me that during the last century the bridegroom was sprinkled with rosewater and rose leaves from each neighbourhood they passed through. Also in many other phases of the ceremony they sprinkled the bridegroom with rosewater and at the end of the wedding service when they left the church they threw seeds and rose leaves at the newlyweds. The song's text talks about a partridge, which built her nest under the rose tree and then bears small birds and she flaps her wings. A vivid picture is given with this song also. The bride is often compared to a bird in Cypriot tradition. The partridge here might be the bride who, in the eyes of the folk musician, had

already made and fed her children, which was the main aim of the marriage. In Albanian folk music (Sugarman, 1997, p. 206) and in ancient Greek music, the bride is often called ‘partridge’ in wedding songs.

The next song of Kallistheni narrates the dialogue between Kallistheni and her difficult position in telling her mother that she has fallen in love with the baker’s son. Some occupations were tainted in the villagers’ mind. Kallistheni’s mother preferred to see her daughter dead instead of giving her permission to marry the baker’s son. When Kallistheni heard that, she was locked in her bedroom and she committed suicide with poison. Her mother, when she saw her dead daughter, regretted what she had said and tried to bring her back, telling her that her beloved was there. The pain of the mother was so huge that she could not believe that her daughter was dead. She asked her to ‘*xipna*’ meaning wake up, as if she was sleeping and had not died. The last stanza of the song shows again the tough character of the typical Cypriot mother of the past century whose first thought was the disgrace to the family because of her daughter’s suicide and not the loss of her child. The singer wants to move the guests with this song (DVD 2016, Tack 32, Example 6.8).

I Kallistheni

♩ = 200

Ti e his Kal li sthe ni mou tziai me ra ni ktan kles, _____ tziai
 5 na sou po ma noul la mou tziai na₁ sou di gi tu₂ o

to pa ra po no sou se me na den to les. _____ Ti
 pos e si a gapi ses, a ga pi sa tziai _____ go

Example 6.8 The song of Kallistheni, recorded at Koilani village

*Ti eheis Kallistheni mou,
 tziai meran niktan klais,
 kai to paraponon sou,
 se menan den to les.*

What is happening, Kallistheni?
 and you are crying, night and day,
 and your complaint,
 you don't tell it to me

Ti na sou po manoulla mou,

What shall I tell you, mommy?

*tziai na sou diigithw,
opos esi agapises,
agapisa ki egw.*

*Gia pes mou Kallistheni mou,
pion neon agapas,
na sou ton dwsu kori mou,
na min melangholas.*

*Den ine xenos mamma,
den einai makrinos,
o Takis einai mamma,
touournari o gios.*

*Para na pareis kori mou,
touournari ton gio,
kalitera ston Ade,
na se nekrofilw.*

*Stin kamaran tis mpainei,
tziaï sswvadwnetai,
tziaï pairnei to farmakin,
tziaï farmakwnetai.*

*Kriman se Kallistheni mou,
krima sta kalli sou,
tziaï prosvalas mas olous,
konta ston Taki sou.*

*Ma xipna Kallistheni mou,
tzi irten o Takis sou,
tziaï strepse to farmakin sou,
pou to stomahin sou.*

*Kriman se Kallistheni mou,
krima stous kopous sou,
tziaï prosvalas mas olous,*

what shall I narrate to you?
as you loved,
I fell in love, too.

Please, Kallistheni, tell me,
who is the young man you are in love with,
I will give him (marry) to you,
not to feel sad.

He is not a foreigner, mom,
he is not far away from here,
it's Takis, mom,
the baker's son

Instead, of marrying, my daughter,
the baker's son,
it's better in Hades,
to kiss you while you are laying dead.

In her bedroom, she enters,
and she locks the door,
and she drinks the poison,
and she is poisoned.

Poor you, Kallistheni,
it's a pity you ignored your beauty,
and you disgraced your family,
because of your Takis.

But, wake up, my Kallistheni,
your Takis came,
and turn the poison back,
from your stomach.

Poor you, my Kallistheni,
it's a pity you didn't think of your efforts
you disgraced your family

tziai tous geitonous sou.

and your neighbours too.

Anthoulla informed us that a comic song followed the sad song above to cheer the guests up, because a wedding was a happy event and everybody should be happy. As was mentioned before, the singer had the role of entertaining the guests and also creating a pleasant atmosphere and making them laugh (DVD 2016, Track 33). The next comic song refers to a young girl who went to her priest, her spiritual father to confess her sin. She mentioned that she fell in love with a young man and that he kissed her on the lips and then she did the same to him. The priest answered that this is not a sin but something natural, and he takes her by the hand and kisses her on the lips. The young girl warns him that if a neighbour sees him kissing her he will report him to the Mogul and he will cut his hair as a punishment. The priest answers that he does not care about this, as he will still be alive and will kiss her again (Example 6.9).

A comic song for the adornment of the bride

$\text{♩} = 132$

Tzi enan ko ri tsin, ko ri - tsa kin, ap' ton pa no ma hal lan -

8
 , tou pa pa to spi tin - mpen nei, ke tin por tan tou kti pa.

Example 6.9. A comic song from Anthoulla.

*Tzi enan koritsin,
 koritsakin ap' ton panou mahallan,
 stou papa to spiti mpainnei,
 tziai tin portan tou ktipa.*

And one girl,
 a young girl, from the nearest neighbourhood,
 she goes to the priest's house,
 and she knocks at the door.

*Metanoian daskale mou,
 irta n' exagoreftw,
 na sou po ta krimata mou,
 isos kai sighthorethw.*

Forgiveness, my teacher,
 I came to ask for,
 to tell you, my faults,
 maybe, I'll be forgiven.

*Me agapis'enas neos,
ton agapisa ki ego,
me efilisen sto stoman,
ton efilisa ki egw.*

I've been loved by a young man,
I loved him, too.
he kissed me to the lips,
I kissed him, too.

*To filin den ine kriman,
ine praman fisikon,
pou ki egw tha se filisw,
pou' mai kai pnevmatikos.*

The kiss is not a fault,
it is something natural,
and I will kiss you,
I who am a priest.

*Tin arpazei ap' to herin,
kai tin pairnei sto kellin,
kai tin sfiktoagaliazei,
kai tis dinei to filin.*

He takes her by her hand,
and he leads her to the cell,
and tightly he hugs her,
and he kisses her.

*Sopa sopa daskale mou,
min s'akousei i geitonía,
kai se paroun sto Despotin,
kai sou kopsei ta mallia.*

My teacher, don't talk,
don't let the neighbours hear you,
and they will take you to the Mogul,
and will cut your hair.

*Ta mallia ki an mou ta kopsei,
den mou afaira zwin,
ki egw tha se filisw,
Kastanomallou hrísi.*

If he cuts my hair,
he is not taking my life,
and I will kiss you again,
My brown-haired, golden girl.

The comic narrative songs were inserted in the ceremony to create a cheerful atmosphere with their amusing lyrics. In this way the musicians put their own personality into the wedding ceremony.

Katina from Tylleria village of Paphos sang a song she used to sing for the bridal dress, which was always scrutinised and commented on, that it was beautiful or with lots of lace and so on (DVD 2016, track 22, Example 6.1).

Nimfi, to foustani sou,

Bride, your bridal dress,

ageloi sou to' rapsan,
 tziai pano ston giropodon,
 t'onoman tous egrapsan.

had been sewn by angels,
 and on its round cloth,
 they wrote their names.

Xatzimichael from Frenaros village performed the *Nekalisti Avgoritissa* song (DVD 2016, Track 34, Example 6.10) meaning the woman from Avgorou who is crying. It was performed again for the reasons mentioned before, to stimulate the sadness of the audience. The melody of this song and the key in which it was performed, A minor, strengthened the sad feeling evoked by the text.

NEKALISTI AVGORITISSA

Moderato ♩ = 116



In ta'n na - ka mo - tis kar - kias, pou - mou di - a a
 7 tre hou sin tziai kam nou sin, ta dak ri - a | 2. ta mou
 man tan, pou'n mou di - a a - man tan - tziai
 lan tan, ta dak ri - a mou lan tan.

Example 6.10. The crying woman from Avgorou village.

*Inta na kamo tis karkias,
 pou' n mou dia amantan,
 pou' n mou dia amantan.
 Tziai trehousin tziai kamnousin,
 ta dakria mou lantan,
 ta dakria mou lantan.*

What shall I do to my heart,
 who doesn't let me be calm,
 who doesn't let me be calm.
 And my tears flow,
 and form a lake,
 and form a lake.

*Antan na do tin portan sou,
 tziai na 'nai kronnimeni,
 tziai na 'nai kronnimeni,
 tharkoume tzi' en' i Agia Sofkia,
 pou stekei lipimeni,
 pou stekei lipimeni.*

When I see your door,
 being half- opened,
 being half- opened,
 I feel that it is Santa-Sophia,
 who stands so sad,
 who stands so sad.

These songs and others filled the ceremonies, especially the groom's, until the bride sent him a message that she was ready to go to church. A young boy who was a good runner used to undertake this role. There was another superstition at this phase of the wedding that the bride should not arrive at the church first. That would be bad luck for the new couple.

6.5 The procession of the bride and the groom to the church

When the ritual for the adornment of the bride and the groom had finished, the musicians led the procession of the bride and the groom separately to the church where the wedding service would take place. The bride was flanked by her parents on the left and right, near the musicians, and all the relatives and guests together formed the procession of the bride towards the church where the main event would take place. The groom waited outside church, and the father of the bride *na tin paradwsei*, gave the bride to her future husband. The women of the village smoked and sprinkled rose water on the people of the procession as it passed.



Figure 6.1 A procession of the bride at Koilani village in August, 1970.
Photographed by Lakis, the folk singer.

The scene below was photographed in Koilani village in August 1970 by Lakis, the folk singer. It is a procession of the bride being held by her parents. She is accompanied by musicians, a violinist and a lutenist, in front, who perform wedding songs. Many relatives and friends are following behind to go to the church for the wedding liturgy. A similar procession was formed with the groom and his parents next to him and the relatives who followed. The musicians played particular tunes: the *Zanpashis* tune which has a march tempo (DVD 2016, Track 57, Example 6.11), the tune 'Black is the Night' and the narrative song of *Morogiannos*.



Figure 6.2 Procession of the bride, her parents, relatives and musicians to the church for the wedding liturgy. Photographed by Lakis, folk singer in Koilani village, 1970 given to the author for the present thesis

Zanpashis tune

Moderato
♩ = 84

Violin

7

Vln.

12

Vln.

18

Vln.

23

Vln.

Example 6.11. The *Zanpashis* wedding march, which was performed during the procession to the church.

The tune ‘Black is the Night’ which follows (DVD 2016, Track 35, Example 6.12) is a Greek military march which is still used by military bands in Greek parades. It is one of the constellations of songs that were transferred to and embodied in Cypriot culture through the years. It is a joyful, triumphal march which can be easily walked. It is in G major and is a tune that folk musicians had absorbed into Greek Cypriot folk music without even knowing its derivation. The influence of Greek music in Greek Cypriot tradition is obvious in many other tunes also. Although the particular song was composed for the Greeks who were fighting to chase out the Turks from their fatherland, it was used for the procession of the bride to the church, because it causes a reverent and triumphal mood.

Black is the night

Moderato ♩ = 100

9

18

Example 6.12 Black is the Night.

This could be compared with ‘The Battle Hymn of the Republic’ used as a processional hymn for the bride’s entrance into the church in Britain, sung by the guests (Kerr, 1965, p.54). In addition to that, Sugarman refers to a man performing a historic song about a famous Prespa Albanian hero who fought against Greek forces, in the beginning of the last century (Sugarman, 1997, p.157).

The next tune (DVD 2016, Track 36, Example 6.13) was also used for the procession to church. It is a joyful dance tune in 7/8. It is only performed with instruments. The first two bars introduce the rhythm to the audience and it is often used in Cypriot folk songs. The main melodic line is in bars three to twelve. Then it is repeated an octave higher or with different ornamentation. The melody is played with further variations and more ornaments can be added during the performance, thus it can last as long as the walk towards the church.

Tune for the procession towards the church

Allegretto $\text{♩} = 120$

Violin

5

10

15

19

24

29

34

39

44

The image shows a single-staff musical score for a violin. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto' with a metronome marking of 120 quarter notes per minute. The score consists of ten lines of music, each starting with a measure number: 1, 5, 10, 15, 19, 24, 29, 34, 39, and 44. The melody is characterized by a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, and includes some triplet patterns. The piece concludes with a final whole note chord on the 44th measure.

2

49

54

59

63

68

72

76

79

Example 6.13 A tune used during the processions.

Another march that was used for the processions, in the same style as the above, is the tune below (DVD 2016, Track 37, Example 6.14):

Wedding March

Violin *Allegretto* ♩ = 92

9

18

28

38

46

Example 6.14 Wedding march.

During the bride's procession the narrative song of *Morogiannos*, which follows, was performed. This is a long song narrating the story of a young groom called Morogiannos (DVD 2016, Track 38, Example 6.15). Thus, it would serve the purpose of accompanying the procession, as it is long and also has touching content with a happy ending.

O Morogiannos

Violin $\text{♩} = 52$

O Gian nos o Mo ro gian nos, o Mo ro pla ne me - nos,

6

Vln. tri on me ron gam bros i toun, pou tou'rten to ta xi - din.

11

Vln. Na pa ei pe ra ton pe ron, na kti seie nan gio fi____ rin. Na ka mei to tran ta me

16

Vln. ron, ma ka men tra nta gro____ nous. Tzia

19

Vln. po tous tran ta tziai na pan, o gios e li smo ni_____

Example 6.15 O Morogiannos.

O Giannos o Morogiannos,
o mwroplanemenos,
triwn merwn gambros itounn,
pou tou'rten to taxidin,
na paei pera twn perwn,
na ktisei enan giofirin,
na kamei to trantameron,
ma kamen tranta gronous,
tzi apo tous tranta tziai na pan,
o nios elismonithin,
t' armata tou poulisan ta,
ta rouha dkialaloun ta,
tzi i kali tou en pou minen,
simera tin armazoun,
tzi o tziris tou elamnisen,

Giannos, the Morogiannos,
 the wandered Giannos,
 was married three days ago, only,
 and received the news to go on a trip,
 and received the news to go on a trip,
 to go far, far away,
 to build a bridge,
 in thirty days period of time,
 but this lasted thirty years.
 and when the thirty years just passed,
 the young man had been forgotten,
 they sold his rigging,
 they gave his clothes away,
 and his wife who stayed alone so many years,
 today, is getting married.
 and Giannos's father went,

*tziai paei esis t' ampelia,
tzi annoiei tis agales tou
tziai ston Theon doxazei,
'Doxazw se kale Thee,*

*pou sai sta psilomena,
pou deihneis ta krifa logia
tziai ta fanerwmena
tzi anefane ton Gianno mou,
tou kampou tziniontas'.*

*Pantes tziai itan Agios,
tzi eis ton Theon akoustin,
tzi anefanen o Giannos tou,
tou kampou tzinionta.*

*Giannos: 'Ora kalin sou geronta!
Ma nta sheis tziai koushizeis,'*

*O Giannos mou Morogiannos,
o mwroplanemenos,
triwn merwn gambros itoun,
pou tou'rten to taxidin,
na paei pera twn perwn,
na ktisei enan giofirin,
na kamei to trantameron,
ma 'kamen tranta gronous.
Tzi apo tous tranta tziai na pan,
o nios elismonithin,
t' armata tou poulisan ta,
ta rouha thkialoloun ta,
tzi i kali tou pou emeinen
simera tin armazoun.*

*Giannos: 'Arages pes mou geronta,
ftanw tziai giw sto gamon,'
Father: 'An en o Mavros glioros,*

to the vineyard,
and he raised his hands,
and glorifies his Lord,
' I glorify You, my magnanimous Lord,

who lives so high,
who knows all of our secrets,
and all we know,
please bring me my Giannos here,
while you hunt in the champings

As he was a saint,
God heard his prayer,
and Giannos appeared to him,
hunting in the champaign.

Giannos: 'Have a good time, old man!
But, what is happening and you are complaining?'

My Giannos, my Morogiannos,
the wandered Giannos,
was married three days ago, only,
who received the news for the trip,
to go far, far away,
to build a bridge,
and last thirty days,
but, this lasted thirty years.
And after the thirty years passed,
the young man had been forgotten,
they sell his rigging,
they gave his clothes,
and his wife who stayed alone,
today, is getting married.

Giannos: 'Please, my old man, tell me,
do I have time to go to the wedding?
Father: ' If your Blackie (horse) is fast,

*ftaneis eis to trapezin,
an en o Mavros sou argos,
ftanneis eis to traoudin.'*
Fternistirkan tou Mavrou tou,
*tzi eis tin avlin tis ftannei.
Tzi' o Mavros eshissinisen,
tzi i kori epoloithin:*
Bride: *'Papsete t laouta sas,
papse te ta vkiolia sas,
tzi o Mavros pou shissinisen,
eni i pou t' aloa mas.
Annixe porta tis orkas,
porta tis Mavrommatas,
porta tis Gaitanovridis,
tzirten o klironomos.
Pes mou simathkia agathkiaka,
i porta na s annoixei.
Giannos: 'Mana mou stin avlouan sou,
essheis grisin milouan,
pou kamnei mila kotsina,
opws tin afegian sou.'*
Bride: *'Toun't a simadkia xeroun ta,

polloi tziai eipan sou ta,
pe mou simathkia tou spithkiou,
isws tziai se pistepsw.'*
Giannos: *'Panw pou yto krevatin sou,
esheis grouson atouin,
miazei sou sto petaman,
grison mou pertikouin.'*
Bride: *'Toun ta simathkia xeroun ta,
oi vagies tzi eipan sou ta,
pe mou simathkia tou kormiou,
isws tziai se pestepsw.'*
Giannos: *'Mana mou, pas to swma sou,
esheis grisin mallouan,
pou aktipa sou treis girous,*

you have time to go to the banquet,
if your Blackie is slow,
you will arrive when they perform songs.'
He immediately kicks Blackie with his heel,
and he goes to her yard.
And Blackie neighed,
and the bride replied:
Bride: 'Stop playing your lutes,
stop playing your violins,
and the horse who neighed,
belongs to our horses.
Open, door of the old lady,
door of the lady with the black eyes,
door of the round eyebrowed lady,
and the heritor is here.
Tell me signs but signs with 'thorns',
if you want the door to open.'
Giannos: 'My lady, in your yard,
you have a golden apple tree,
which makes red apples,
who look like your cheeks'
Bride: 'These are signs familiar to many people
people,
and someone had told them to you,
tell me signs of the inside of the house,
maybe I will believe you.'
Giannos: 'On the upside of your bed,
there is a small, golden eagle,
who looks like you,
my golden, young partridge.'
Bride: 'These signs are known
by the bondwomen and they have told you,
tell me signs of the body,
maybe, I will believe you.'
Giannos: ' My lady, on your body,
you have a blond hair,
which is three rounds of your middle long,

tzi akoma perissevkei.'

Bride: *'Kalws irten o Giannos mou,
i porta na t' annoixei.'*

and little more, in length.

Bride: 'My Giannos had come,
door, open.'

Sometimes these narratives songs witness features of a wedding preceding the time they were written. The above song shows some features about the wedding such as the use of lutes and violins and the order of the banquet: first, it was the dinnertime and then the singing.

Chapter Seven: Phase Three - the gamos, the wedding

When Greek Cypriots refer to *gamos*, they mean the actual wedding service at the church, where Byzantine hymns, prayers and wishes will be heard for the new couple to be blessed.

7.1 The custom of the ‘stronger’

The moment for which all people present at the wedding service were waiting was that when the priest chanted ‘*I de gini na fovite ton antra*’ meaning literally ‘the woman must be afraid of her husband’ (Biblical reference Ephesians 5.33, interview, priest Michalis, July 2014). At that point, the newlyweds try to step on each other’s legs. The one who hits the other’s leg first was considered to have the upper hand in their marriage, to command their lives (Charalambous, Vyrwnis, Theodwrou, Iordanou, Kosta Kosta, interviews 2012, 2013). However, the real meaning of the chant was not that the woman should be afraid of her husband but that the woman should love and respect him. A similar custom of asking respect is described by Nishimura (1996, p.416) when he describes the custom *sapta padi*, of Brahmans in South India. According to the latter it is a crucial moment when the groom touches the right, middle toe of his wife and pushes it with a handkerchief onto the grinding stone. The groom, in this way, was asking for respect from the bride during their married life and that she should also be subservient to him. The church service served the consecration and confirmation of the marriage, as a fact of joining the life of the newlyweds with the blessing of God.

7.2 The ‘*Isaiah horeve*’, the *Isaiah Dance*

During the wedding service, when the *Isaiah Dance* was chanted the groom took the hand of the bride and they walked three times round the table which was placed in the church. The best man struck the groom strongly on his back with a firm blow. This is an old custom performed during that phase of the church service, to remind the groom of the huge responsibilities that he will

undertake during his new way of life. The groom should be strong enough to accept the blow without falling, as a symbol of his virility and bravery. At that time the audience also threw coins, rice and ears of wheat at the new couple to bring fertility to the newlyweds. The children who were there ran to collect the coins (Georgiou, Theodwrou, Iordanou, Kosta, interviews, 2012, 2013).

7.3 Throwing rose leaves and seeds

When the wedding service had finished the bride and groom, holding hands, stood outside the church to receive greetings. While they walked out of the church relatives threw rose leaves and seeds for the reasons mentioned above, of bringing prosperity and fertility to their new life (Georgiou, Theodwrou, Iordanou, Kosta, interviews 2012, 2013).

7.4 The *ploumisman* [payment] of the musicians

The ceremony continued with the greeting of the new couple in the churchyard. During that time the musicians were paid by the people, who put money on a plate placed in front of the musicians. The musicians performed songs to give their greetings to the newlyweds and also to praise them (DVD 2016, Track 39, Example 7.1):

The song for the Newlyweds

Violin $\text{♩} = 260$

5

9

14

19

25

29

Ka me te to pon ka me

te tziai tra vih tei te pi sw. Ka me te to pon ka me te tziai tra vih tei te pi sw.

Na pa w eis t'an tro i non gia na to shie re ti sw.

Na pa w eis t'an tro i non gia na to shie re ti sw - .

Example 7.1 The song for the newlyweds 'To traoudin tou antroinou'.

*Kamete topon kamete tziai travihite piso,
Na pao es t antoinon gia na to ssieretiso.
Ora kali sou niogabre, ora kali sou geia sou,
Ora kali sou niogampre, tziai fevgo apo sena,
na pao is ti nionifi ta matia ta melena.*

Stay back to make space for the new couple,
I will go and greet the new couple.
Have a nice time new groom,
Have a nice time new groom, I'm leaving now
to go to the new bride with the honey colour.

Charalambous, a folk singer and violinist (interview, 18 August, 2011, at Hantria village), claimed that this song used to be sung many years ago in order to praise the new couple and for the musicians to wish them a happy life in the future. The last line of the song referred to the honey-coloured eyes of the bride. In Cyprus, this colour is considered a characteristic of beautiful eyes in a woman. Thus, by saying this the singer praised the beauty of the bride. Charalambous informed

me that this song is not performed nowadays. This song has not been recorded in any other literature.

Another song which was performed to greet the new couple is the one below which was recorded in Frenaros village. This song also is no longer performed and is not recorded in any other literature (DVD 2016, Track 40, Example 7.2):

*Een, epta itoun ta thavmata os simera tou
Kosmou,*

Een, seven are the miracles of the world
nowadays,

*Giar aman aman aman, os simera tou
Kosmou.*

Giar aman aman aman, of the world nowadays

*Eeen, t' ogdoon en t antoino pou stekete
ompros mou.*

Een, the eighth is the new couple who are
standing in front of me

*Een, i omorkia en fisikou en tou Theou mia
hari,*

Een, beauty is a natural thing, it's a gift that
God gives ,

*Giar aman aman aman en tou Theou mia
hari.*

Giar aman aman aman, a favour that the God
gives

*Een, en iziazete sto zin, en tin trava
kantarin.*

Een, it cannot be counted with a balance.

*Een Agioi Pantes tziai Theos Chistos tze
Panaia,*

Een, Saints, God, Christ and Madonna

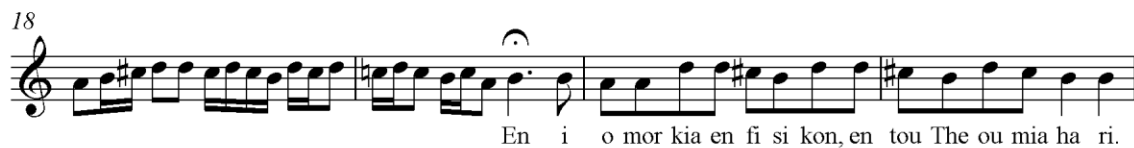
*Een na sas dioun panta haran igian tzi
eftihian*

will always give you laughter, health and
happiness.

The singer praises the beauty of the newlyweds and compares it with the seven miracles that God gave to the world. This beauty is so great that it could not be counted on a balance. These exaggerations are very often used by the folk singers in Cyprus.

WEDDING SONG OF FRENAROS

♩ = 80



2

33

En, A

36

gi oi Pan tes tziai The os Chri stos tziai Pa na i a. Giar a man, a man a man Chri

39

stos tziai Pa na i a. En, na sas di oun pan ta ha ran, i gi an tzi'e fti

42

hia an. Giar a man, a man a man, i gi an tzi'e fti hi an.

Example 7.2 A wedding song from Frenaros village.

Chapter Eight: Phase Four - customs and music after the wedding

8.1 The procession of the newlyweds

After the guests had greeted the newlyweds, the musicians led the procession to their new house, usually the groom's house. The musicians accompanied the procession playing joyful marches and tunes like those described above accompanying the bride to church (Charalambous, Katina, Anthoulla, Georgiou, Theodwrou, Iordanou, Kosta, interviews 2012, 2013).

8.2 Breaking a pomegranate and sprinkling rosewater

When the newlyweds reached the groom's house, the groom always broke a pomegranate on the door-sill. That was a custom which symbolised the fertility of the new couple. The mother of the groom held a *merrehan* to sprinkle them with rosewater (Vyrwnis, Theodwrou, Iordanou, Kosta, interviews 2012, 2013).

8.3 The banquet and the music performed

After the wedding service had finished, all peasants were invited to the banquet. The musicians performed many tunes which will be presented later. However, the basic dances for the wedding party were the Cypriot folk tunes and especially *kartzilamas dances*, [plural for *kartzilamas*, from the word *kartzin* which means opposite in Greek Cypriot] and the tune for the *ploumisma tou antroinou* [pinning money on newlyweds' clothes].

To start with the *kartzilamades* dances, these were dances where people of the same sex danced always facing each other. The *kartzilamades* was a series, like a suite, of four dances. There were male *kartzilamades* and female *kartzilamades*. Due to the social mores in Cyprus between the 1930s and 1970s, women were only allowed to dance with other women who were their relatives. Even the tangos and waltzes which were performed at weddings in the second half of the century

were danced only by women. The *sytos* dance was also performed by only women, the bridesmaids of the bride mostly. The ‘Dance of *Antroinou*’, meaning the dance of the new couple performed by the newlyweds, was the only dance a man and a woman could dance together (Charalambous, Katina, Vyrwnis, Theodwrou, Iordanou, Kosta, interviews 2012, 2013).

8.4 The male *Kartzilamades* Dances

These dances were characterised by Zavros as the national dances of the country. He mentioned that ‘these tunes with the good dance performance of a handsome and brave man were the hit, the favourite tune, for all the guests of the banquet, during the past century. It is also very representative of Greek Cypriot culture as the gestures and the figures the dancer performed expressed his masculinity and bravery, providing in this way the social values of the period. It is like we have the national anthem, we could have the male *kartzilamades* as our ‘national dances’ (interview, July 2011). It is analogous to morris dancing as a national dance for England, as described by Keegan-Phipps and Winter (2013, p.116).

The male *kartzilamades* dances were firstly performed by the father of the bride and the groom. Then the best man and the brothers of the bride and groom would perform. The guests were the last dancers to perform. The first dance was performed separately from the other dances, but the second and third *kartzilamades* were performed in a continuous way, joined together. These dances were performed in a more lively manner than the female suite and the music stimulated the men who were showing off their prowess in several figures while dancing. Theodwrou (interview, November 2011) added that he performed the first note of many of the bars with emphasis, giving it more value, in order to stimulate the dancer to show off. Many of the first notes of the bars are dotted notes performed more loudly than the rest of the notes in the bar (DVD 2016, Track 41, Example 8.1):

First Male kartzilamas Dance

Violin $\text{♩} = 184$

4

6

8

10

12

15

17

20

23

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

2

26

Vln.

29

Vln.

30

Vln.

Example 8.1 First male kartzilamas dance.

Second and Third Male Kartzilamas Dance

Violin  =208

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

2

Vln. 46

Vln. 52

Vln. 58

Vln. 63

Vln. 69 rall.

Example 8.2 The second and third *Kartzilamas* Dances.

A *tsiattisto* song was usually inserted between the third and the fourth dances. The *tsiattisto* song was a type of singing usually performed by two men or, very rarely, by women. They were sung beginning always with the exclamation ‘eeeeeeen’ sometimes sung in a recitative style, allowing time between the lines to think, sometimes losing the song’s meter. Sugarman (1997, p.50) refers to a similar kind of singing with exclamations, sung as solo parts in weddings by women, making all people at the ceremony cease chatting and listen carefully to the woman who was performing. Singing the *tsiattisto* songs was another way to show the mind’s abilities at this time, rather than the body’s which were shown by the various dance Figures. These *tsiattisto* songs were also called the *tsiattisto tou paliomatou*, literally mean the rhymed songs of fighting. The pair of performers were not necessarily trained singers, so they did not give attention or value to the melodic line, and recitative parts were performed also. They did pay attention to the meaning of the lyrics, because they wanted to tease their opponent, to offend him and sometimes to tell him what they could not tell him in daily life. By singing the *tsiattisto* song they showed the ability and readiness of wit to answer to their opponent. Many times the wedding party ended because of the fights between those who were performing these songs and their friends or relatives who ran to support those (Vyrwnis, Theodwrou, Iordanou, Kosta, Anthoulla, interviews, 2012, 2013).

The *tsiattisto* song which follows begins with a violin playing an introduction in 2/4 time, but then the singing part is a recitative performed with improvised lyrics. The two performers are the violinist and the *tampoutsia* player. They always start the *tsiattisto* with a long vowel (a, o or e). The purpose of this is to prepare their audience to pay attention to them, and also to leave them time to think, as they told me during the interview (Zavros, Kosta, interviews, 2011, 2013). Sometimes, when a performer had great ability and a sharp mind, he did not start his singing with a vowel. These long vowels at the beginning of the singing are met in Albanian folk songs as well (Sugarman, 1997, p.66) when singers compete for the best voice and the cleverest lyrics. The violinist Zavros sang the first of the *tsiattisto* songs (DVD 2016, Track 41, Example 8.3):

Ooooh, piase mashierin koufteron,
tzie tin karkian mou shise,
Ooooooh, ma prosehe men tzie kopeis,
giati tzei mesa ise,
giati tzei mesa ise.

Ooooh! Take a sharp knife,
 and cut my heart with it,
 Ooooh! But be careful not to cut yourself,
 because you live in there,
 because you live in there.

Kosta responded:

Eeeen, tziai patisen tziai epiasa,
pou tin pathkian tis homan.

Eeeen, eshei dkio hronia tziai' hw to,
annoiw to vawnnw to,
mouskomirizei koma,
mouskomirizei koma.

Eeeen, she walked and I took
 soil from the traces she left on the earth she walked
 on.
 Eeeen, it's been two years since then,
 I open and close the box I put it in,
 it still smells so beautifully,
 it still smells so beautifully.

Tsiattista songs

Violin $\text{♩} = 88$

Oh - , pia se ma shie rin kou fte ron, tziai tin kar kian mou shi se,

7

Vln. Oh - , ma pro se he mentziai ko peis, gia ti tzei me sa ei sai, gia

13

Vln. ti tzei me sa ei sai.

18

Vln. En, tziai

24

Vln. pa ti sen tziai e pia sa pou tin pa thkian tis ho man,

30

Vln. En, e shei dkio hro nia tziai' hw to, an noi w to va w nw to, mou sko mi ri zei ko ma, mou

37

Vln. sko mi ri zei ko ma.

40

Vln.

Example 8.3 *Tsiattista* song inserted between the third and fourth *kartzilama* dances.

The subject of a *tsiattisto* song is usually defined by the first singer and the partner has to follow him on the same subject. The above song talks about the love the singer had for a lady. It is cleverly suited with rhymes at the end of both lines. However, these *tsiattista* [plural for *tsiattisto*] always lose their charm when they are translated into any other language. Each syllable of a *tsiattisto* song corresponds to one note. The melody has a small range and is very simple to facilitate repetition by people who are present. The performers would not necessarily be singers and anyone who had the gift of making rhymes could perform them. Thus, they did not care if they had the correct intonation, they only cared to present a cleverly suited rhyme (Theodwrou, Zavros, Vyrwnis, Hatzimichael, Anthoulla, interviews, 2011-13). The metrical lines of a *tsiattisto* was always fifteen syllable iambic meter. This practice of composing rhyming couplets and competing at the same time between the performers while singing is also met in the Dodekanese Islands of Greece, where it is called *ismatika* song, and also in Crete with *mantinades* (Beaton, 2004, p.160).

After the *tsiattisto* song, if the peasants did not fight and leave the wedding party, the fourth male dance would follow (DVD 2016, Track 42, Example 8.4). This was a more vivid dance, performed with gestures by the dancers that were more impressive (Theodwrou, Zavros, Vyrwnis, Hatzimichael, Anthoulla, interviews, 2011-13).

Fourth Male Kartzilamas Dance

Violin $\text{♩} = 176$

4

7

10

13

16

19

22

25

28

2

Vln. 31

Vln. 34

Vln. 37

Vln. 40 rall.

Example 8.4 The fourth male kartzilamas dance.

The male *kartzilamades* dances ended here and the female ones would follow. Thus, another form of discrimination was seen in the wedding ceremonies. The women would always follow the men as concerns the order to dance and as we saw before they were only allowed to sing during the ceremonies if there were no folk musicians in the community. If they would sing the tonality of their voice should be very low, as they should not behave with femininity to provoke the reactions of men.

8.5 The female *Kartzilamades* dances

The female *kartzilamades* dances were danced by the mothers of the newlyweds (DVD 2016, Track 43). I could not record any of them during my fieldwork, nor even in George and Georgia's wedding, as they are not performed any more. The sisters of the bride and groom and the bridesmaids would follow. The women's suite, which were slow dances, and the women who were dancing opposite one each other, should be demure, looking down to represent the women of the closed society of the old Cyprus. The women should also make some movements with their hands to pretend that they were sewing their dowry, in order to show how good housewives should be, especially the women who were not yet married. The female *kartzilamades* dances are transcribed below and were performed by Zavros (violinist) and Vyrwnis (lutenist).

First Female Dance

-144

Violin

3

6

8

10

13

16

18

20

22

The image shows a musical score for a violin piece titled "First Female Dance". The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/8 time signature. It consists of ten staves of music. The first staff is labeled "Violin" and starts with a treble clef, a sharp sign, and a 3/8 time signature. The subsequent staves are labeled "Vln." and are numbered 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16, 18, 20, and 22, indicating the starting measure of each line. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. There are several slurs and accents throughout the piece. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a "3" below it at the end of the final staff. The overall style is classical and rhythmic.

2

24

Vln.

26

rall.

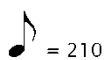
Vln.

The image shows two staves of musical notation for a violin. The first staff, labeled 'Vln.' and measure 24, contains a continuous sequence of eighth notes with various accidentals (sharps and naturals) and some slurs. The second staff, also labeled 'Vln.', starts at measure 26 and continues the eighth-note pattern. Above the second staff, the word 'rall.' is written, indicating a tempo change. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the second staff.

Example 8.5. The first female *kartzilamas* dance.

The second, third and fourth female *kartzilamas* dance follow:

Second Female Dance

 = 210

Violin 


Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

Vln. 

2

47

Vln.

Example 8.6 The second female *Kartzilamas* dance.

Third Female Dance

Violin $\text{♩} = 72$

5

9

13

18

23

28

34 *rall.* *a tempo*

39

43 *rall.*

Example 8.7 The third female *Kartzilamas* dance.

Violin

The Fourth Female Dance

The musical score is written for a violin in 9/8 time. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a tempo marking of a quarter note equal to 138 beats per minute. The score consists of ten staves of music, with measure numbers 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 15, 17, 20, and 22 indicated at the start of their respective staves. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together in groups, and includes various articulations such as slurs and accents. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the final staff.

V.S.

2 Violin

24

26

28

30

32 rall.

Example 8.8 The fourth female *Kartzilamas* dance.

Both male and female *kartzilamas* dances had a symbolic character. Male dances aimed to show the guests the masculinity and the cleverness of the men, while the female dances aimed to show grace and how good the women were at doing housework and sewing. These were also the values of the Cypriot society of the period concerned. They were also performed in order to show to the guests that the wedding of their children joined the two families and that they would share their problems and live peacefully in their daily lives.

In conclusion, the male and female dances expressed the social status of the Greek Cypriots and expressed the discrimination of the two sexes, as they had to dance separately. The music was such as to offer the men the opportunity to show their strength and assert their virility with the lively tempo and the figures they could perform in time to the tune. Also the music of the female

dances was more slow and calm in order to offer the more serious, modest and prim character the women of that period had to present. Thus, through the music of the male and female *kartzilamades* dances during the wedding practices we observe the personal and social identity of the people who presented it. Maybe this is one of the reasons that these dances are not performed any more in contemporary weddings, because they no longer express the social or personal identity of the people who would gladly share a dance with the opposite sex.

8.6 *Ploumisma tou antoinou* - pinning money on the newlyweds' clothes

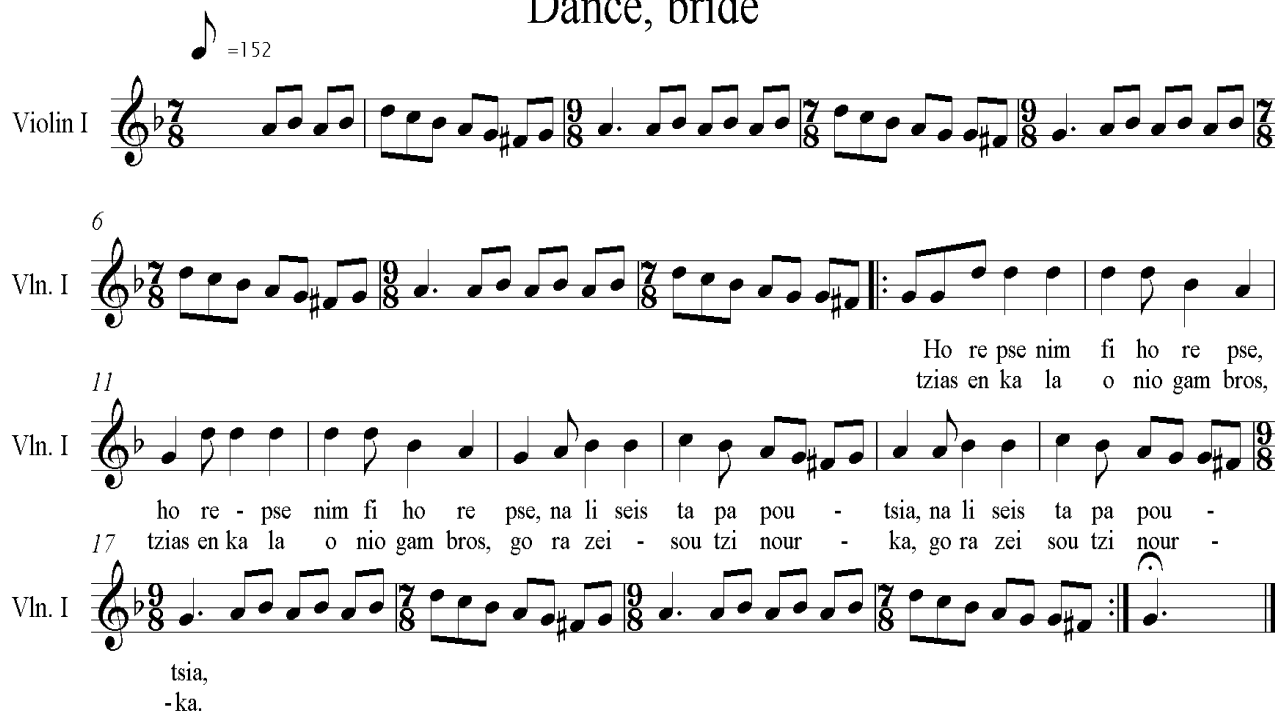
The wedding party continued with the *ploumisma tou antoinou* [pinning money on the newlyweds' clothes] dance. While the newlyweds were dancing with the following particular song, the relatives of the bridegroom pinned on their shoulder a long 'tape' of money. This 'tape' was prepared before the wedding with *dekalira* [ten Cypriot pounds], which were joined together, in order to form a long line with money. Sometimes the relatives of the bride and the groom competed to see who would form the longest line of money (Figure 8.1)



Figure 8.1 The newlyweds dancing for the *ploumisman*. This photograph, taken around 1970, was given to the author by Panagi Andreas from Kalopsida for the present research.

Iordanou Nakis performed the song for the money giving (DVD 2016, Track 44, Example 8.9):

Dance, bride


 Musical score for 'Dance, bride'. It features four staves: Violin I, Vln. I (twice), and a final Vln. I staff. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 152. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature changes from 7/8 to 9/8 and back to 7/8. The lyrics are in Greek and are placed below the Vln. I staves.

 Ho re pse nim fi ho re pse,

 tzias en ka la o nio gam bros,

 ho re - pse nim fi ho re pse, na li seis ta pa pou - tsia, na li seis ta pa pou -

 17 tzias en ka la o nio gam bros, go ra zei - sou tzi nour - ka, go ra zei sou tzi nour -

 tsia,

 -ka.

Example 8.9 The song of the *ploumisman tou antroinou*.

Horepse nimfi, horepse,
horepse nimfi, horepse,
na liseis ta papoutsia,
na liseis ta papoutsia.

Tzias en kala o niogambros,
tzias en kala o niogambros,
gorazei sou tzinourka,
gorazei sou tzinourka.

Gambre ti nimfi n' agapas,
gambre ti nimfi n' agapas,
na men tin emallonnis,
na men tin emallonnis.

San tin vasilitzian stin gin,
san tin vasilitzian stin gin,

Dance, bride, dance,
 Dance, bride, dance,
 to destroy your shoes,
 to destroy your shoes,

May the Groom have his health,
 May the Groom have his health,
 he will buy new for you.
 he will buy new for you.

Groom, you must love the bride,
 Groom, you must love the bride,
 you must not scold her,
 you must not scold her.

Like the basil on Earth,
 Like the basil on Earth.

*na tin ekamaronneis,
na tin ekamaronneis.*

you must admire her,
you must admire her.

*Pou mes ton Pentadaktilon,
pou mes ton Pentadaktilon,
genniete to feggain,
gennietai to feggain.*

Inside the Pentadaktilos mountain,
Inside the Pentadaktilos mountain,
the Moon is born,
the Moon is born.

*Tziai feras sas pou dkio horka,
tziai feras sas pou thkio horka,
tziai kaman sas zevgarin,
tziai kaman sas zevgarin.*

You've been brought from two different villages,
You've been brought from two different villages,
and they named you a couple,
and they named you a couple.

*Ta makaronia psinnoun ta,
Ta makaronia psinnoun ta,
tziai tron' ta me tin protsan,
tziai tron' ta me tin protsan*

The spaghetti is cooked,
The spaghetti is cooked,
and they eat it with a fork,
and they eat it with a fork.

*Tziai seis oi dkio tsiattizete,
tziai seis oi dkio tsiattizete,
san ta kleidkia stin portan,
san ta kleidkia stin portan.*

And, yes, you two are so matched,
And, yes, you two are so matched,
like the keys in the door,
like the keys in the door.

The singer who performed this song always added many stanzas in order to prolong the song so that the newlyweds would get more money.

One could clearly observe that the whole ceremony and all its wedding practices and music were a means of mass participation by the community in supporting the new couple in their new life. From the first custom of washing the wool for the preparation of the bridal bed, until later for the preparations of the food for the wedding feast, the custom of the *Manatsan* and all the others expressed the social and personal identity of these people to help and participate in the event of the wedding of a fellow couple or relatives.

8.7 Other folk tunes and songs presented during the wedding banquet

I recorded many more songs that the folk musicians willingly performed for me. I chose to present and transcribe the ones that are not heard on other occasions in contemporary Cyprus.

The men continued the banquet with the Cypriot *zeimpekiko*. This dance derives from the *Zeimpekides* from Asia Minor, who came to Cyprus as refugees after the Asia Minor Disaster in 1923. In a metre of 9/8, it was danced only by men as it was a dance to show off their courage and manliness (DVD 2016, Track 45, Example 8.10)

The banquet continued with many other tunes like the ‘Fox’ (DVD 2016, Track 46, Example 8.11) as Zavros called it (Zavros, interview July 2011). This tune probably derived from American foxtrots. Many foreign tunes have been incorporated into Cypriot folk music through the years. When Zavros was asked by the author if that was a Cypriot folk tune, he replied positively. I got the same answer when Theodwrou performed the ‘Waves of the Danube Waltz’ of Iosif Ivanovici (DVD 2016, Track 50) for me as a valse he performed for the ladies to dance together (Zavros, interview, July 2011 and May 2012, Theodwrou, November 2011). The folk musicians absorb the tunes and by performing them through the years, they forget where they learned them or who wrote the tune.

Another love song which was performed for dancing during the wedding party was the ‘*Eleni-Elenara mou*’, which was a joyful song which praises Eleni as a clever, beautiful, graceful girl who gives sweet kisses and has a bright glance (DVD 2016, Track 47, Example 8.12):

*Eleni Elenara mou, tsiafkina parpounara mou,
en lambratzia to dein sou, tziai melin to filin sou.
Eleni pou tes Treis Elies, pou pethimas tes
agalies,
emenan thore monon, giat'en na kamo phonon.
Eleni mou Eleni mou, aspris i moira, Eleni mou
en to filin sou meli, tziai pios en pon to thelei.*

Eleni, my Elenara, you are so clever and graceful,
your glance glistens, your kiss is so sweet.
Eleni, who comes from the Tris Elies village,
look at me, only, because I will murder you
Eleni, my Eleni, your luck has just changed,
your kiss is so sweet, and who would not desire it.

A song which aimed to touch the feelings mostly of unmarried women and their families was Saint Philip’s song. It talks about the Saint Philip’s name day which had passed and how other women had married but the singer was still single (DVD 2016, Track 48, Example 8.13):

*T' Ai- Philippou edkiaviken tzi' rtent' Ai Mina,
T' Ai- Philippou edkiaviken tzi' rtent' Ai Mina,
tzi oi korasies pantrevkountai tzi' allassoun ta
legna,
tzi oi korasies pantrevkountai tzi' allassoun ta
legna.*

*Mia mavrommatousa gronwn dekaennia,
Mia mavrommatousa gronwn dekaennia,
stin manan tis paainnei, parapon' arkina,
parapon' arkina, parapon' arkina.*

*En ton pairnw mana, oute ton psaran,
En ton pairnw mana, oute ton psaran,
meronikta girizei, mes' t' almira nera,
mes' t' almira nera, mes' t' almira nera.*

*En ton thelo mana oute ton voskon,
En ton thelo mana oute ton voskon,
tes niktes xotzoimizei, ston kampon sto vounon,
ston kampon sto vounon, ston kampon sto
vounon.*

Another funny song which was performed for the wedding party to cause a good mood amongst the guests was the song *Eipa sou htenistou llion* [I told you to comb your hair] (Xatzimichael, March 2014, DVD 2016, Track 49, Example 8.14):

*Ipa sou htenistou llion,
ipa sou htenistou llion,
tziai'n fevgeis pou to giallin,
tziai'n fevgeis pou to giallin.*

*M' agapo se opos ise,
m' agapo se opos ise,
tzi astievko se pelli,
tzi astievko se pelli.*

Saint's Philip name day had passed,
now it's Saint's Mina's name day,
the young girls had already got married,

and they change the nappies of their babies.

A young girl, with black eyes, nineteen years old,
A young girl, with black eyes,
she goes to her mum to start
complaining, to start complaining.

No mum, I will not get married
to the fisherman,
he will be all day and night
on the salty waters

No mum, I do not want
the shepherd either,
in the nights he sleeps in the
plains and in the mountains.

I told you to comb your hair, a bit,
I told you to comb your hair, a bit,
and you don't go away from the mirror,
and you don't go away from the mirror.

But, I love you, the way you are,
But, I love you, the way you are.
I was joking, crazy.
I was joking, crazy.

*Pas' ta mavra sou ta mmarhkia,
pas' ta mavra sou ta mmathkia,
men tin valleis tin follan,
smen tin valleis, tin follan.*

On your black eyes,
on your black eyes,
don't put more eyeshadow,
don't put more eyeshadow.

*Giati ehousin dikin tous,
giati ehousin dikin tous,
tziai i xeni en kolla,
tziai i xeni en kolla.*

Because they have their own,
Because they have their own,
and the foreign one does not remain,
and the foreign one does not remain.

Some other tunes were performed during the night wedding party such as 'The Waves of the Danube Waltz' of Iosif Ivanovici, a 'German valse' as it was called by the folk musicians (DVD 2016, Track 50) which were foreign tunes imported and incorporated into the Cypriot folk tradition through the years. Some other familiar tunes also included tangos like the '*Micherlou*' which is a popular Greek song, influenced by Middle Eastern music, which had been propagated to Turkey and Arabic countries and eventually gained worldwide popularity in the 1960s through guitarist Dick Dale. Theodwrou performed it for the purposes of the present research (DVD 2016, Track 51).

There was also a tango which the folk musicians called 'another tango' (DVD 2016, Track 52). Kiriakos did not know that the tune he performed was the famous 'Besame Mucho' which is derived from faraway Argentina. It must have been absorbed into the Cypriot folk tradition.

The wedding banquet always finished with *kalamatianos* dances (DVD 2016, Track 53, Example 8.15). *Kalamatianos* dances were performed by the bridesmaids and the bride who always led the dance.

Finally, the musicians played the '*pologiastos*' [noun, from the verb *pologiastw* which means instruct someone to leave the place]. With this song the singer instructed the guests to depart to their houses. The wedding ceremony always ended with the *pologiastos* dance, called *Mantra*

[farm]. This dance was the ending of the wedding ceremony and was the last piece performed by the musicians to show the guests that the wedding party was over (DVD 2016, Track 54).

This tune always symbolised the end of any event (Vyrwnis, interview, September 2014 Zavros, interview July 2011 Theodwrou, interview, November 2011). The banquet thus came to an end. The songs of the banquet are transcribed below:

Kypriako Zeimbekiko

Violin 1

6

10

13

16

20

24

27

30

The image shows a musical score for Violin 1, titled 'Kypriako Zeimbekiko'. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/8 time signature. It consists of nine staves of music, each starting with a measure number: 1, 6, 10, 13, 16, 20, 24, 27, and 30. The first staff begins with a glissando (gliss.) marking over the first note. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. Several measures contain triplet markings (a '3' under a bracket). The overall style is characteristic of traditional Cypriot folk music.

2

The image shows three staves of musical notation for Violin 1. The first staff starts at measure 33 and ends at measure 36. The second staff starts at measure 37 and ends at measure 38. The third staff starts at measure 39 and ends at measure 42. The music is written in a single system with three staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals). There are also some performance markings like slurs and accents. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and one flat (Bb). The time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be 2/4 based on the note values.

Example 8.10 The Cypriot *Zeimbekiko*.

FOX

$\text{♩} = 112$

Violin

9

Vln.

18

Vln.

25

Vln.

33

Vln.

41

Vln.

47

Vln.

55

Vln.

Example 8.11 The Fox tune.

ELENI-ELENARA MOU

Andante ♩ = 88

6 E le ni Ele na ra mou, tsiaf ki na par pou na ra mou, en lam bra tzia to dein

sou, en me lin to fi lin sou - en me lin to fi lin sou -

The musical score is written on two staves in 2/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked 'Andante' with a quarter note equal to 88 beats per minute. The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes, with some rests. The lyrics are in Greek and are aligned with the notes.

Example 8.12 Eleni-Elenara mou.

Saint Philip's song

♩ = 96

8 T'Ai-Phi lip pouedkia vi ken tzi' rten t'A i Mi na, t'Ai Phi lip pouedkia vi ken tzi' rten t'A i Mi

na, tzi'oi ko ra sies pan trev koun tai tzi'al las soun ta leg

12 na, tzi'al las soun ta leg na, tzi'al las soun ta leg na.

The musical score is written on three staves in 2/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked with a quarter note equal to 96 beats per minute. The melody is simple, using mostly quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are in Greek and are aligned with the notes.

Example 8.13 Saint Philip's song.

I told you to comb your hair

$\text{♩} = 116$

I pa sou hte ni stou lli on, i pa sou hte ni stou lli on, tziai'n fev geis pou

11 to - gial lin, tziai'n fev geis pou to gial lin. M'aga po se o pos i se, m'a ga

21 po se o pos i se, tzi'a sti ev ko se pel—

27 li, tzi'a sti ev ko se pel - li.

Example 8.14 I told you to comb your hair.

Agapisa tin pou karkias



Violin

6

Vln.

10

Vln.

A ga pi sa tin pou-kar kias -

15

Vln.

-tzi' ha to gia ka ma - rin - ,

20

Vln.

ma tzei ni pe ri pe_ ze_i me - , pou na ti dw - kou

24

Vln.

va - rin. Oh_ tin kar kian moue sheis ka me nin tzi ai me ti ra neis. _____

29

Vln.

Oh - li - pi thou me tzi'a rki na pion na me po neis.

34

Vln.

38

Vln.

Example 8.15 A *kalamatianos* dance. Agapisa tin pou karkias [I loved her deep in my heart].

Mantra-Pologiastos

Violin $\text{♩} = 288$

4

8

12

16

21

26

30

34

39

);

2

43

rall.

Example 8.16 The *Mantra -Pologiastos* tune.

8.8 The period after the wedding

The day after the wedding, usually Monday, was very important for the families of the new couple. That day the sheet from the bridal bed was shown off on the balcony of the house. If there was blood on it, it meant that the bride was a virgin and her family should be very proud. It was very embarrassing for the bride's family if the bride had had sexual relations before her wedding. According to Argyrou (1996, p.80) and Prwtopapa (2005, p.113), community restrictions were strict on that subject and everybody waited to see the white bridal sheet exposed to the balcony stained with blood after the wedding night, to receive the confirmation that firstly, the bride was a virgin and secondly, the groom had managed to deflower her. Many weddings dissolved because the bride was not a virgin and many mothers of the brides butchered cocks to get blood and dupe the peasants who were anxious to see the blood-stained sheet. If the groom did not manage to deflower the bride, the priest would give his blessings by a special psalm. If the bride was not a virgin the couple could be divorced or the groom had the right to ask a further dowry, which was called the '*poupanoproitzin*' (Fylakou, September, 2011, Vyrwnis, December 2010 and May 2012, Iordanou Nakis, May 2012, Iordanou Pericles, May 2012, Kosta, April 2011, Onisiforou, May 2011, Zavros, July 2011, Xatzimichael Michalis, March 2014). Nowadays this custom has been abandoned.

8.8.1 Monday, after the wedding

On Monday morning a relative of the groom would offer lunch for all. The bride changed her bridal dress and wore the '*defterkatikon*', which was a formal dress she wore to the Monday feast. The mother of the bride had to cook a soup for the newlyweds. The soup was made of two white doves, to symbolise the peaceful life the couple should have (Baker, 1977, p.116, Theodwrou, Zavros, Vyrwnis, Hatzimichael, Anthoulla, interviews, 2011-13). The relatives who were invited to the night's feast brought *pittes*. The women blended flour with water to prepare a thin pastry which they cut into small squares and then fried and topped with honey, making a delicious dessert. The honey also symbolised the sweet life the newlyweds should have. While the relatives had dinner together the violinist and the lutenist played Cypriot *kartzilamas dances* and tangos and the guests danced till morning.

8.8.2 Tuesday, after the wedding

On Tuesday afternoon, the relatives of the bridegroom would visit their neighbours' houses, holding a wooden pole, in order to collect chickens, which would be the food for their Tuesday dinner. They used to tie the chickens with a small rope and the chickens were carried with their legs tied up on the pole. If there were musicians in the village, they accompanied the procession. The relatives who would go to the groom's house brought flour with them in order to prepare spaghetti to eat later with the boiled chickens. Another feast would follow with Cypriot tunes. Kiriakos performed the song he used to play while the women were cutting the dough to prepare the spaghetti. The chickens were boiled and they cooked the spaghetti in this liquid (DVD 2016, Track 55, Example 8.17). On Tuesday the feast was dedicated to the close relatives of the bridegroom who had helped with the several works of the wedding over the previous days.

Song for cooking the spaghetti

♩ = 208

Violin

5
Fer te po tzei - tes

10
sa - nid kies tziai ka tse te xw gi rou - ,

15
na ko psou men zi ma - ri ka, s'y gei an t'an tro

20
i nou -

23
1.2.3 4

Example 8.17 The song for preparing the spaghetti.

*Ferte potzei tes sanidkies,
tziai katsete xogirou,
na kopsoumen zimarika,
s' ygeian t' antroinou.*

Please, bring the laths,
and sit around them,
in order to cut the spaghetti,
and propose to the newlyweds to be happy.

*Piaste simadin pano sas,
tziai smiles, tziai panerin,
na kopsoumente tziai na fa,
tou niogambrou t' asterin.*

Please take a sign on your body,
take chisels and a basket,
to cut and eat,
the young groom's, the star.

*Eis to zoumin twm ornithwn,
psinnoun ta makaronia,
tziai to fain tous en glitzin,
moizei san ta loukkoumia.*

In the chicken's juice,
they cook the spaghetti,
and the spaghetti is so sweet,
they look like delights.

*Elate kopelloues mou,
na tripsoumen halloumia,
tziai na parasionosoumen,
tora ta makarounia.*

Please, come my young ladies,
to grate the halloumi cheese,
and we must throw,
now the spaghetti.

8.8.3 Antigamos [second wedding]

The *antigamos* was another feast which included greetings for the newlyweds and was organised for the people who could not participate during the wedding. It was usually organised when the bride or the groom was from another village, in order to please and make it easier for the people who could not go so far, to go and greet them. Some folk musicians called *antigamos* the next day of the wedding and some others the first Sunday after the wedding. The newlyweds invited their relatives to their house to have lunch together and dance with the tunes the musicians played. These tunes were included in the wedding party and have been presented above. The wedding ended with the *antigamos* event.

Chapter Nine: General observations about wedding songs and ceremonies

Being the most important event in the lives of many Greek Cypriots, the preparation and the agreement for the wedding was done at a very early stage in their lives through lullabies and apophthegms told to the children. Music was an intrinsic feature in one's wedding. It accompanied almost every step of the wedding ceremony. The musicians, through the wedding songs, had multiple crucial roles during the whole ceremony. The singer, who was also the violinist or the lutenist, or both, was the leader of the procedure, instructing who was going to participate and what the next step of the ceremony would be. He was not only the performer, the entertainer, the improviser of lyrics for certain persons according to their characteristics, but also the orchestrator of the whole event. Through his singing, he had to stimulate all kinds of emotion in the relatives and the guests: the happiness, the joy, the anxiety and sadness. The young daughter grew up, then when she became a bride she was separated from her mother and became a wife and a mother herself. The songs articulate these changes.

For each step of the preparation of the wedding and for every day during the week before the wedding, there were special songs. All ritual actions were carried out through the singing of songs whose lyrics addressed that moment of the wedding ceremony. They were sung by the musicians to set up the wedding ceremony and present the wedding customs. Some of the wedding songs are lost - it was impossible for me to find the song for blending the dough for the bread which they gave to invite the guests or to give after the church service - but some others are still performed in wedding ceremonies.

The lyrics of the wedding songs are concerned mostly with good wishes to the newlyweds and praising them with touching farewells. Many of these songs call on the Lord or Virgin Mary to bless the wedding, showing the strong religious feelings of Cypriots. As concerns the construction of the wedding songs, it is usually simple in order to be sung or repeated by everyone. The melody of the wedding songs sometimes combines a plaintive character and a merry one. Many of the wedding songs have the same melody and different lyrics are performed according to which

custom is presented. Perhaps this happens because, consciously or not, it makes them more easily memorable and helps the guests to participate in the wedding ceremony. As we observed, the villagers were involved by helping the couple and their families from the first preparations for the wedding. The melody of the wedding songs was repeated maybe in order to make the guests help with the wedding process by singing. If the melodies were not simple and easy for everyone to join in, the wedding ceremony would not represent the community's main value, which was always to help one another.

The melody also gives the freedom to the poet who is the singer, always to add lyrics and lines on the same stanza and also more stanzas in order to increase the time which the song must last. For example, if the people who want to *zwmán* (beset) the bride or the groom had not finished, the musicians would add more stanzas, because music had to accompany each moment of the ceremony. Thus, the wedding songs in the way they are constructed and performed sound rather improvisatory in character, rich in sentiment to touch the guests with feelings and offer them intimacy, warmth and hospitality. The poetry used exaggerations, metaphors and images from nature and made comparisons of the bride and groom with trees and flowers and birds within the lyrics. This serves two purposes: to help in the setting of the text, to make it more interesting to hear and to add emphasis to the meaning of the lyrics. Some parts are also repeatable, again for the reason mentioned before, to enable the guests to participate and be involved in the wedding process.

Most of the songs I recorded started with an improvisation by the violinist, for two purposes again: firstly because he wanted to warm up his fingers and secondly to prepare the audience and the atmosphere in which the wedding ceremony starts. Moreover, the wedding songs usually end with a cadence with the violinist playing the fifth note of the scale in high pitch, ending with the tonic note performed forte. The reason for this emphatic finish was to get applause from the audience and also to gain their attention for the ceremony (Vyrwnis, interview, 2014, Haralampous Nikos, interview, 2011, Kosta, interview, 2011, Zavros, interview, 2011, Theodwrou, interview, 2011, Xatzimichael Michalis, interview, 2014). The craftsmanship displayed in the feminine *kartzilamas dances* elaborated the villagers' needlework (this is shown also by the gestures the dancers make) and the impressive and dignified performance of the masculine *kartzilamas dances* vaunts the

bravery and the masculinity of the dancers. The latter was also shown off by the *tsiattista* which were inserted between the third and fourth male dances of the suite.

During my research I observed that during the last century some of the wedding customs were performed on different days, for example the cooking of *resin* or the collection of the chicken in the *antigamos*, but the core of the wedding was the same as described above by the folk musicians. Through the wedding procedure, many aspects of life could be studied: the community, the economy, and the values of the society. The musicians and their songs draw attention to the weddings as social events supporting the families' reputation and the festive atmosphere. The community is active and participates in the wedding procedure in each step of the ceremony by giving help to the newlyweds, with their presence or with material contributions. The ritual of the wedding presented the symbols of the community. It gave emphasis to what Cypriots considered ideal in a man or woman (i.e. the male and female *kartzilamas* dances). The ritual performed in some villages included the bride's bath and the use of water as a symbol of purification before the wedding.

One of the crucial aspects of the wedding was that the ritual was the means by which the newlyweds would express the acquisition of their new status because they were not allowed to live together before marriage. Females in the Cypriot community were classified in two ways: the immature girl before menstruation and the mature woman after her teens who was now considered as a fertile woman ready to be married. The main purpose of the woman was to bear children and do the housework. Thus, when she reached her fertile age, she was ready to fulfil her obligations. The reason that many customs and lyrics of the songs praising the bride which are presented in the wedding ceremony are related to fertility is that the wedding aimed at and focused on the legitimization of offspring. This is also a reason why weddings and their music are so crucial to the perpetuation of a communal identity such as 'Greek Cypriot'. The need of survival and the need of preserving the identity of the country found place in weddings where customs and music were the means through which these needs would be covered. The continuous feeling of insecurity in combination with the difficult circumstances the communities lived and during the past century and the same feeling which came again during the decade of 2005-2015 gave the 'seeds' to the Greek Cypriots of the need to preserve the tradition and music.

The wedding ceremony in Cyprus revealed the idiosyncrasy of the people who participated. Thus, it was full of restrictions such as the number of ladies who were invited to help during the various preparations for the wedding. Wedding rituals included all the elements of village solidarity. Shelemay refers to procedures like birth, marriage and so on as vulnerable ground open to evil forces and Trachtenberg claims that in these cases superstitious devices are found to send away demonic forces (1974, p. 168, quoted in Shelemay, 1998, p.156). The bride was believed to be most at risk of bad luck, as many eyes would turn their attention to her in the wedding procedure. Thus, superstitions, such as that the groom should not see the bride on the night before their wedding or see her bridal gown, the use of symbols like hitting the groom, throwing rice and coins onto the mattress and to the newlyweds in the church during the Isaiah Dance, throwing a pomegranate on the newlyweds' house and so on were usual phenomena in the wedding procedure. These acts were created by people in order to protect the new couple from evil powers. In the transitional phase of the wedding ceremony, customs like the smoking of the bride mostly were again practices with the aim of warding off evil powers. That is the reason why the customs performed during the wedding ceremony were focused mostly on prosperity, happiness of the newlyweds and protection from negative energy and the evil eye.

9.1 Changes in wedding ceremonies and their music since the mid-twentieth century

During the wedding banquet the separation of the men from the women was obligatory. The women were only allowed to sing wedding songs during the adornment of the bride, if there were no musicians at their village to perform. According to the analysis of my recordings, the singing style of the women was with an open throat, with low registers resonating in the head, providing a nasal sound. This nasality in peasant's singing is found in the vocal practices of other cultures such as Ukraine (quoted Noll, 2008, p.596). These are symbols of the male-dominated society of the past century. The wedding ceremonies, the events, the customs which were performed or omitted, mirrored the values of the people. The core of the wedding ceremony, the service at the church, announced to the public the formal involvement of the bride and the groom. It was needed because in this way they gained the approval of a religious society. The main aim of the wedding,

the making of descendants, was represented in many scenes of the wedding ceremony, such as the sewing of the bed when they rolled a boy on it, in order to bear a boy as the first child of the new family. Moreover, the libido between the newlyweds was presented through the custom and the song of Manatsa.

During the past century, the island has experienced difficult times, poverty and pressure. The survival of the ordinary people was a very difficult task for everyone and a daily fight under so many difficult circumstances. The perceptions which Cypriots had of society, and of several aspects of life, defined the behaviour of these people in society, in their daily life and also for formal events. A very important role for the formation and the settlement of these perceptions was played by their strong faith in Orthodox Christianity. In addition to that, their continuous anxiety to preserve the language, religion and Greek heritage which characterised the Cypriots through the passing of the centuries were elements which tied them to their roots and their derivation. Under the pressure of several conquerors, they clung to their values and their beliefs. Sometimes the effects of foreign civilization were strong and the Cypriots had no other choice than to absorb them, adjust them according to their circumstances and then incorporate them in their tradition. Sometimes, these adjustments were so huge that it is very difficult for a scholar to find out their original derivation.

Looking through the interviews of the folk musicians about the last century's practices, we observe that most of the folk musicians are disappointed by the tendency of new couples to abandon the wedding customs of the past. Most of their opinions about the wedding customs and music were held in common, thus I decided to refer only to some representative comments.

Theodwrou, during his interview, claimed that nowadays customs are performed mostly in shows by traditional groups in festivals. He also expressed his sadness about this situation and referred to his cousin's wedding when he performed at the *allaman* of the groom. During the wedding party Theodwrou asked the groom if he could perform some tunes for them to dance. The bride and her friends 'managed at last' to dance a Cypriot *kalamatianos* dance but the groom and his friends could not dance because they did not know how to dance the Cypriot *zeimbekiko* dance. Theodwrou adds that he also feels guilty for the derogation and abjection of the tradition because he used to be a teacher before his retirement. When he was working and was obliged to live in the

villages, when they asked him to perform in weddings, he refused for fear of losing prestige. Being a '*vkiolaris*', violinist, was underestimated, while one should be proud to be a teacher who was considered educated. He was afraid also to use the usual phrase '*ekatantises vkiolaris*'. Now, rethinking that, he regretted not performing in the villages he was working at, because as he claims he helped to abandon the tradition. He now regrets doing nothing to change this, in his role as teacher and traditional violinist. At the end of his interview he was asked if he knew the new customs that appear in weddings now. He referred to the new customs which derive from Greece, the writing of the names under the bride's shoes, the cutting of the wedding cake by the newlyweds and the 'money dance'. The last custom has been present in some weddings in the last two decades and if the new couple dance the dance of the 'money pinning' then they put the money in a cloth bag and dance a *syrtos* dance with it. He did not seem to be annoyed by the inserting of the new customs but mostly he expressed his sadness at the disappearance of the Cypriot *kartzilamades* dances, which are full of *levenkian* [bravery] and *harin* [grace].

Theodwrou's interview represents the opinions of all the other folk musicians I interviewed who had performed from 1930 in wedding ceremonies. Zavros added that the addition of new instruments, especially the beat box while playing his violin, has a great advantage:

I put the beat and the tempo I want and the result is great for me as it plays the tempo so steadily and does not change tempo as humans would do often while performing. Nowadays there is a lack of good lutenists.... Some tunes which must be performed in a fast tempo, it is very difficult to perform them unless you have a good lutenist next to you. The beat box I use if I have to perform in wedding night parties is perfect for me and also I gain all the money myself.... I do not have to share it with anybody (Zavros, interview, July 2011).

Iordanou claimed that the changes that occurred through the years were inevitable. He mentioned the reasons that some customs are neglected:

"The lack of time nowadays when people work many hours in comparison with the early past century, when they had to plant their own fields and worked as shepherds, is a crucial aspect for these changes in wedding ceremonies. The wedding lasted for four or five days, it was a long lasting procedure, now it is very difficult practically for a wedding to last more than one day. What the newlyweds do now it is the

adornment of the groom and the bride. After the wedding service, they accept the greetings in a prestigious hotel and the close relatives only are invited to the hotel for the banquet at night. It is practically difficult, as the ceremony occurs today to carry the mattress for example to the restaurant in order to dance with it as the best men used to do in the house of the bride. Thus, firstly I witnessed the abandonment of the above custom and its music and the custom for the '*ploumisman tou antroinou* dance.

The newlyweds feel ashamed nowadays to dance and have people pin money on their clothes. (Nicole, interview, September 2013).

Chapter Ten: General discussion about weddings of the mid-twentieth century

To conclude, having made some comparisons of the wedding ceremonies of the mid-twentieth century with the contemporary weddings as described before, it would be fruitful to mention the main changes of Cyprus between the period 1930-1970 and contemporary modern Cyprus. The meaning of modernity does not only have to do with recent time and history. Rather, it deals with many other aspects of life, a different kind of living, a different way of organising society and people's thinking. All these are reflected in the arts, daily life, customs, literature and so on. Almost all societies move to modernity in different periods, depending on several circumstances. Cyprus seems to have been entering this period of modernity in the last decade.

Kendall (1996, p.53), in her study about weddings in Korea, made comparisons between the 'old style' weddings of 1960s-1970s and the 'new style' wedding enacted in several places on the peninsula. She concluded that Korean people had entered the twentieth century, providing their 'own images' of tradition, modernity and nation, including wedding ceremonies and women in transforming valuations of 'old' and 'new' (Kendal. 1996, p.224). She also concluded that since the whole society has been Westernised and marriage just follows other changes in social life, the wedding customs had changed naturally into a 'simpler' form (ibid., p.55). A similar process has affected weddings in Greek Cyprus in the last decade. Weddings in a wedding hall are better suited to modern life, providing all the necessary services, such as the bride's gown, flowers, and a pianist to perform, and the wedding hall is more readily accessible to guests than a venue in a rural village.

Lankauskas (2015, p.5), in her research about nation and modernity in post-socialist Lithuania, examines contemporary weddings where people desire and embrace a Western-style 'modernity' that has been brought to them by a steady influx of ideas from an imaginary Europe or generally the 'West'. Lankauskas does not suggest that modernity exists solely in opposition to tradition. Discussing the urban weddings in post-socialist Lithuania, she concludes that tradition is 'modernity's conceptual alter ego' (2015, p.12) and that modernities had already existed between the World Wars (1918-39) and during the Marxist-Leninist era of 1940-91. She also concludes

that the social and cultural value of weddings is related to issues of identity and personhood (2015, p.19). Lithuanian people consider unmarried people or people who had never experienced marriage as incomplete and abnormal (2015, p.19).

This could be compared to the significance of the Greek Cypriot wedding, which seems to be mostly a cultural celebration by the whole community and not a family event. In their struggles for identity and power, as they have always been under the command of foreign conquerors, Cypriots used to think and act collectively. It was a great offence for a family of the mid-twentieth century not to be invited to the wedding of anyone in the same village. Thus, weddings hosted great numbers of guests, as the whole community was invited. Today, Greek Cypriot weddings may host three thousand or more guests for the main event of the wedding, at the church and at the cocktail reception, as the custom seems to be continued in a 'modern form' where the newlyweds and their parents invite to the wedding all people they know from their community (city or not). Only at the wedding banquet is the guest list more restricted, and even then there were four to five hundred people invited in four of the case studies I examined. The Diogenous couple invited 3,500 people to the wedding banquet for dinner, and Diogenous mentioned in an interview that around 3,330 guests actually joined them (Diogenous, interview, 2012).

Many invitations are posted on Facebook (Figure 10.1) so every 'friend' is invited to the wedding, as it is considered offensive for the newlyweds to get married and not invite everyone they know. The groom who posted this invitation added above the invitation the words 'For those whom we did not manage to see personally. You are all invited!'

As for the wedding music repertory, European models have been imported in recent decades. Zavros and Theodorou performed Western art pieces without knowing what they were playing and from where they derived. Thus we meet the 'Waves of the Danube Waltz' and the 'Besame Mucho' performed in wedding parties by folk musicians, who had no idea that the particular pieces were well known masterpieces of art music. Thus Cypriot folk music has come to incorporate pieces of European art music.

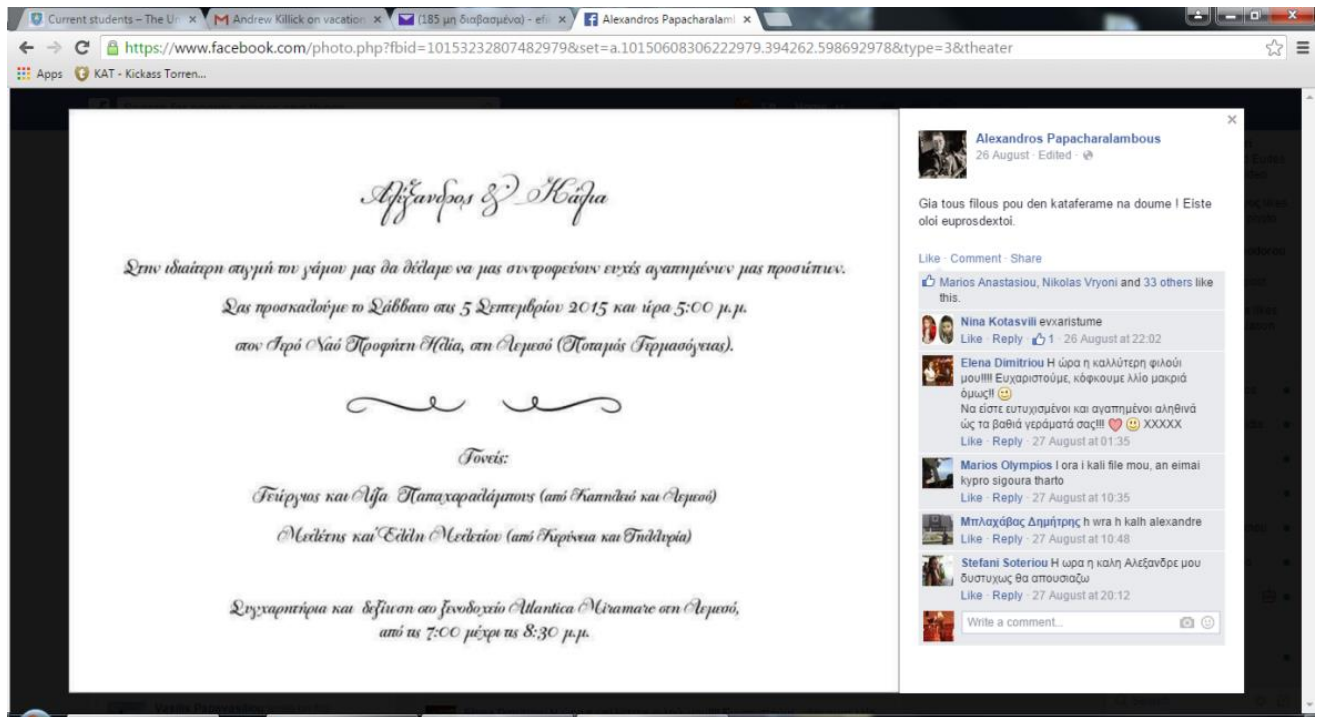


Figure 10.1 An invitation for a wedding on Facebook:
a modern way to invite people in contemporary Cyprus.

Another change I observed from the mid-twentieth century weddings is that the wedding used to last many days but now it lasts only one. People are working many hours nowadays and it is usually very difficult to leave their jobs and go to help at the wedding banquet. Also, the new couples order the drinks and the food they will offer during the wedding reception and the banquet so they do not need to prepare for days before their wedding. Thus, social changes have affected the wedding's duration.

In the mid-twentieth century, villagers looked forward to wedding events as a source of entertainment. Nowadays many people feel bored by weddings as there are so many other sources of entertainment which are more appealing to them. Many times people do not know the newlyweds at all, they just know their parents and they only attend the wedding because they consider it a social obligation. The reasons that these changes have happened and many customs have been omitted have been already discussed in Part One, but here I will extend this discussion in the light of the past wedding practices that have been described in Part Two.

Before the modern era, the wedding was a basic aspect of the social structure and simultaneously one of the most important events in Cypriots' lives, as it formally led to the creation of a family. This fact should be observed in the context of the social structure of the last century when the society was very strict and the values were different from now. The need for personal survival as well as the community's survival was a primary aim. Music was the central means of conducting a wedding ceremony and it played an exceptionally important role. It expressed the happiness in the event itself and simultaneously, the sadness in the farewell of the newlyweds from their parents.

Argyrou (1991, p.183) sensibly claims that Cypriots' transition to modernity led them to prosperity and gave them many other benefits. Innovations are expected and it depends on one's ideology whether they will be embodied and considered as parts of the tradition, or whether these innovations could be considered as parts of the modernised world. Giddens (1990, p.4) supports the notion that there is a coherence between the traditional and the modern and one should not oppose the two in too gross a fashion. Thus, the mid-twentieth century Greek Cypriot wedding does not stand in contrast to the modern wedding described in Part One. On the contrary, the first phase of the modern wedding ceremony on the wedding day contains many features of the traditional wedding ceremony adapted to contemporary needs. Even the 'modernised' Greek Cypriot wedding has deliberately incorporated elements remembered or revived from the past and regarded as 'traditional', and in that sense it represents a process of 'revival'.

In trying to reconstruct the wedding of the mid-twentieth century according to the testimony of folk musicians who had experienced it, and in presenting the ceremony as I recorded it during my fieldwork, I have tried to consider the wedding songs and the whole ceremony as a process of adaptation. For example, although the new couples do not call on the barber to shave or comb the groom's hair or beard, as they did during the last century's ceremonies, the custom is performed, among the contemporary couples who were recorded, by the best man with the accompaniment of the same song. The groom is already combed by his hairdresser and has shaved himself, before the ceremony. The best man pretends that he shaves the groom. All the grooms who were interviewed for this study mentioned that they just wanted to preserve the custom with the music (Antonis, interview, 2013, Demetris, 2013, Paul, interview, 2013, Diogenous, interview, 2012, Vyrwnis, interview, 2012). Only George Diogenous, who tried to perform the customs as they were in the past century, had a real shave during the ceremony, again by his best man. The reason for that, as

he mentioned during his interview, is that he wanted to perform the custom as it was and it did not matter who would shave him. Besides, his hairdresser was closed on Sunday, when his wedding would take place, and he asked a large amount of money to come and comb his hair and shave him during the ceremony (interview, December 2012).

Part Two of the thesis supports the author's view that contemporary wedding practices form a link between tradition and safeguarding or preservation of the Greek Cypriot identity. The traditional wedding ceremony seems to be sensitive to social changes and accepts dynamic changes over time. The very nature of the wedding customs accompanied with particular songs and tunes allows people to participate and be a part of the traditional process by gaining access to the old tradition and its resources. The wedding, as a cultural event in itself and part of the Greek Cypriot heritage, provides a place where participants act as part of the ethnic or national resources of the country, helping the production of national identity. Contemporary Greek Cypriot newlyweds have become the actors who choose, adapt and transform associations related to the wedding practices in response to the new way of life and the social changes of the last century. In the wedding process, contemporary newlyweds seek to establish customs that are related with symbols of supernatural power, religion and the ability to drive away evil and bring fortune and fertility to the new couple. Thus, reshaping the wedding ceremony in simpler, shorter forms and choosing the customs that would be 'convenient' to be included in contemporary weddings was a means to express and also recall the Greek Cypriot tradition in the new circumstances of life, always promoting a shared sense of identity. Wedding practices change like a living organism, which is reshaped in order to be adapted to the new circumstances of life. If we look at the wedding ceremony this way, we can understand its importance as a ritual which provides a link between tradition and identity, dealing with the relationship between modernity and traditional continuity as an element of national identity.

Thus, while many parts of the traditional wedding ceremony have been abandoned because of practical reasons and because of the needs and the changes in Greek Cypriot society, remnants of tradition survive and even increase. The adornment phase and other customs performed during several phases of the traditional wedding are becoming widespread in wedding ceremonies in

contemporary Cyprus, while two decades ago the newlyweds did not perform the phase of adornment at all. Some of the customs have been adjusted to the new way of life, but many of them are still performed in some form in the weddings of contemporary couples.

Okello supports this idea, mentioning that people make their own choices about what to preserve and how, and that is the reason for features of ambiguity and ambivalence in traditions, customs and cultures (2012, p.83). Thus, Greek Cypriot tradition, music and culture need to be understood in the context of modernity. The circumstances of Greek Cypriots in this modern period are not easy: having almost half of their country occupied, the daily worry whether the Turks will proceed to the rest of the country, the financial crisis, youth unemployment and stress for themselves and their family's future, are some threats that exist in young Cypriots' daily lives. It is in this context that young couples in Cyprus seem to have come to feel that it is important to respect their culture, their roots, their tradition and their music. By preserving tradition, either in a manner similar to the old style (as in the case of the couple that tried to reproduce the traditional wedding ceremony) or in a new way that compresses the wedding into a single day and produces a simpler ceremony (as in the other four case studies), it is as if they open up ways of moving on to their future, while building that future on their roots.

Chapter Eleven: Conclusions

Among Greek Cypriots, the struggle to preserve and express identity arises from a deep and lasting need that includes the need for survival of identity in an occupied country. Wedding practices and their music have provided a space for preserving and expressing this identity. Through these wedding ceremonies and their revival of past customs, a form of social healing becomes a possibility for all participants. Wedding songs and customs intensify the experience of living and sharing in the tradition, and in so doing they set in motion a process healing for the people, as they feel more strongly the drive to restore the social health of a country that has been under threat almost throughout its history. According to Bohlman (2013, p.125) musical revival 'is a shared phenomenon, which creates a meaningful language for bringing disparate collectivities together through social change'. But Bohlman goes on to say that the history of revival he has discussed in his study suggests only the possibility of an imagined Southeastern Europe, for which healing is the goal, but not really possible to be achieved. For Greek Cypriots the efforts for musical revival seem to be an effective and conscious reaction to the social changes and continuous national threats. They might also be the means of bringing people together, by reviving the 'old culture' and giving them the feeling of security. Nevertheless, the goal of an imagined 'Cyprus' might only be a desire, since the national problems still exist.

This concluding chapter will discuss the results of my research and its contribution to the ethnomusicological understanding of countries that are occupied, showing how people try to secure and preserve their identity and tradition through their wedding music and customs. There is now a well-established movement, starting from newlyweds and other individuals and organisations, to preserve the musical and cultural traditions of Cyprus. What I call a 'selective music revival' is the new wave led by the newlyweds who consciously want to revive certain customs, but only those they select. In only one of the five case studies did the newlyweds want to represent the whole wedding ceremony as it took place during the past century, but the other four weddings also included consciously 'revived' elements. Thus, a conclusion of the study could be that the newlyweds did not refuse their 'modern' way of living but showed two identities simultaneously during their weddings. They mixed the 'old' Greek Cypriot culture with the 'new'

modern one by separating them in the phases of their weddings, the first phase being the ‘old’, traditional way presented by folk musicians, and the second phase, the ‘new’ modern one presented by disc jockeys.

The present chapter discusses the contributions of this thesis in the aspects of wedding practices and music as a means of expressing and preserving identity, the functions of wedding music and songs in the community of the mid-twentieth century, the music revivals, through the contemporary wedding practices, the reasons for reviving and preserving traditions of the Greek Cypriot culture during the decade of 2005-2015. Finally, I will offer some suggestions for further related research.

11.1 Wedding practices and music as a means of expressing and preserving identity

In this study, I examined five contemporary Greek Cypriot weddings and analysed the functions of the wedding songs and music in the traditional wedding ceremony. Documenting and analysing the wedding practices and their music, especially in relation to their function in constructing and expressing an identity, the study concludes that new couples want to preserve their identity as Greek Cypriot but also show a ‘modern’ identity at the same time. Thus, they performed the wedding folk practices during the first phase of their wedding and they continued with the more ‘modern’ practices in the second and third phases. The study revealed the traditional elements the newlyweds chose for their wedding, which they left out, and for what reasons. It also shows that the wedding is the main means of the preservation of the tradition. In the case of the fifth case study, the newlyweds refused to follow the new practices. They wanted to revive the mid-twentieth century wedding as they imagined it was, from research on wedding customs the groom made before his wedding. Thus, we can conclude that my study revealed a music revival wave and a desire by young couples for a continuity of the tradition. Since all the weddings in my case studies consciously incorporated folk music and customs that had not been commonly performed in the late twentieth century, I believe it is justifiable to speak of a ‘movement’ or ‘wave’ to revive the old wedding customs and music. An analysis of my interviews with the newlyweds showed that

the main reason that the newlyweds ‘founded’ that movement was to preserve the national Greek Cypriot identity.

Concepts of identity are also related to concepts of heritage and tradition. Wedding songs seem to be an essential means of preserving tradition and expressing identity. A wedding ritual provides a means for the contributors to make explicit statements concerning who they are (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p.131). Leeds-Hurwitz explains that a variety of communication forms is included in wedding rituals, which are used to create and affirm cultural identity. UNESCO has also given priority as concerns the approach to studying the definition of heritage in its ‘Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage’ (UNESCO, 2003). By the term ‘intangible heritage’ UNESCO defines the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts, and cultural spaces associated with communities, groups and individuals and recognized as part of their cultural heritage. This heritage, which is transmitted from generation to generation, is re-shaped by communities depending on their environment, social and historical changes. This interaction gives emphasis to the feeling of identity and continuity provided to the participants of the traditions.

During my fieldwork, when I asked George Diogenous the reason he wanted to revive the mid-twentieth century wedding ceremony, he replied with a *tsiattisto* song, which he improvised instantly that moment:

<i>Ali ton pou tis rizes tou,</i>	It is a pity for the one
<i>tzeinon pou xomakrizei,</i>	who ignores his roots and runs away from them,
<i>me pou ton ilion rizei fws,</i>	nor from the sun owns the light,
<i>mite patridan rizei.</i>	neither does he own a Motherland.

And when he finished singing he said ‘I totally answered you with my song’ (George Diogenous, interview, December 2012). I interpret the song to mean that someone who is moving away from tradition and does not perform any folk music or custom is condemned not to be a member of his own country. Thus, George considers the tradition as essential as the sun is for life.

From the first steps of my folklore exploration in Cyprus during the early twenty-first century, folk music has always maintained some relationship with the concept of national identity. In the looming question of what it means to be a Greek Cypriot, the folk musicians answered:

‘One has to speak the Cypriot dialect and perform Cypriot songs and dances’ Georgiou, interview, 2014).

‘A Greek Cypriot was born in Cyprus and accepts the national flag of the country.’ Iordanou, interview, 2011).

‘One has to respect and live with the several values of society and preserve its tradition and dialect’ Charalambous Nikos, interview, August 2011).

‘One has to know the history of the country, to follow its religion and language and to respect and preserve the customs’ Katina, interview, June 2012).

The folk musicians, giving their definitions for being a Greek Cypriot, connected their identity with the language, the history of the country, the customs, the songs and dances, and in general, the tradition. The main reason that causes this need for preservation and expression of the Greek Cypriot identity could be the geographical position and natural features of Cyprus, which made the island subject to several migration waves and to many conquerors. The number of migrants, which has substantially increased in the last decade, provided the deep need for expressing and preserving Greek Cypriot identity. Most Cypriots have a dual sense of Greek and Cypriot identity and feel proud of both. Living in cosmopolitan modern Cyprus, with features of multiple cultural identities, they still struggle to preserve their national identity. Argyrou (1996, p.54) points out that there is nothing more offensive for Greek Cypriots than for one to tell them that they might not be Greek. He also adds that they take great pride in their ‘Greekness’ and always find an opportunity to declare it publicly. Georgia mentioned during her interview (December 2012), ‘I used a carriage to carry me to the church for the wedding and my husband and I left with the carriage after the service because we are Greeks and that is what our ancient ancestors used to do for their weddings’. Pavlina also mentioned that her husband broke a pomegranate on the stairs of their house after the wedding service, as the grooms in ancient Greece did, for the same reason: to bring them happiness and fertility (interview, September 2013).

Looking back at the history of Cyprus, the many conquerors of the country for centuries also might have led people to a deeper need of preserving the tradition of the country. Moreover, the financial recession of recent years led people to look for solutions in the past and try to return to an 'old way' of living when life was more prosperous and happy. Therefore, performing the tradition and the traditional wedding practices, especially the adornment phase which is an event in itself, aiming to bring the community and the guests nearer to each other, seems to be a necessary instrument for assuring the stability and security of the participants, reminding them of their national Greek identity. This is the probable reason that the newlyweds prefer to preserve and revive the adornment phase of the wedding sequence which draws people in to participate by singing, dancing, giving their greetings, besetting the bride and groom with the kerchief and smoking the newlyweds, in their formal dress and costumes, on the day of the wedding. There is no need then to take time off from work, something which is very difficult nowadays. A community needs its heritage because it is a vital source of identity, dignity and survival for the people comprising it. The new interest of young couples in wedding customs and music, beginning in the last decade, coincided with a period of modernity and its needs to find ways in which to construct a modern national identity. In view of the circumstances of the daily 'threats' discussed above, there are many feasible reasons as to why Greek Cypriots would like to preserve their identity.

Firth (2003, p.167) refers to rituals in their cultural contexts, as 'patterns of symbols... and the scope of ritual performances is to provide the underlying order which will lead the social activities' of the members of the community. Hurwitz, quoted in Fong and Chuang, (2004, p.142) adds that intercultural weddings, meaning that the newlyweds derive from different cultures, serve as a means for the performance of identity. He continues, 'Intercultural weddings are especially valuable as sites of identity statements, for any one culture increases in visibility when contrasted with a second.' The wedding ceremony as a means of expressing identity provides national Greek identity but also foreign features. For example, with modern American and European song hits, or a belly dance show by a Cypriot woman. The creation of a new wedding ceremony form, providing a 'modern identity' which is a mixture of the 'old' and the 'new' cultures, is seen in four of the case studies examined. Thus, the old traditional way of wedding ceremonies is combined with the 'new' modernised style. This hybrid form seems to be accepted by the new couples who adjusted

it to the new way of living and performed it feeling that they are doing something patriotic for their country and for themselves as Greek Cypriots, thus preserving their Greek Cypriot identity.

In addition to that, Greek Cypriots were always faithful to their Christian Orthodox religion. The lyrics of the wedding songs are full of calls to the Virgin Mary and saints to bless the new couple and come to help the whole procedure of the wedding. Some of the customs that are performed, such as the smoking with a blessed olive branch and the *zwman* where a cross is 'drawn' on the newlyweds' body, invoke Christ to assist the wedding. Thus, the religion identity of Greek Cypriots comes out through the wedding songs and customs.

With the development of other genres, migration of people and contacts with other cultures, the wedding music and repertoire became more varied by combining local tradition with additions from Western art music and pop music of Greece, Europe and other countries, while more or less maintaining the role of the wedding repertoire for the adornment as a symbol of the local wedding ceremony. This supports the idea that wedding songs can be interpreted as a symbol of national identity. Titon (2009, p.209) endorses the above statement by referring to a fundamental principle of ethnomusicology, which is the fact that people realise and express their identity, both personal and collective, through their music.

We can conclude that weddings, as a form of ritual including religious symbols, supernatural power symbols and wishes for fortune and fertility based on cultural continuity, provide a field for expressing the national identity of the Greek Cypriots who perform them and the guests who participate. The Greek Cypriot wedding process, as it appeared in this study, is a public ritual which demonstrates the making of cultural practice, including the incorporation of 'authentic' customs and the wedding tunes and songs that traditionally accompany them. The newlyweds in my study demanded connection with the tradition in order to keep contact with their roots and express their identity. In addition to that, the wedding ceremony as a space of cultural dynamic process in Greek Cypriot modernisation acts as a means of adaptation in which newlyweds and participants reshape their traditions to be better 'fit' with their new circumstances of life.

11.2 The functions of wedding music and songs in the community of the mid-twentieth century

In Part Two, I tried to reconstruct the wedding sequence of the mid-twentieth century, based on the veteran folk musicians' testimonies. In the process, I examined the functions of the wedding music and songs in the community of that time. Firstly, as concerns the song themselves, the rather monotonous and low-pitched performance style of Anthoulla is a characteristic of old women's performance. Katina also performed with a low-pitched voice. However, Greek Cypriot wedding songs in general were performed in a low pitch for two possible reasons. The first was again to enable all guests to contribute to the ritual, and the second was that the women of the past century, if they were allowed to sing, would be shy and unassertive. In most of the villages of Cyprus in the past century, society forbade them from singing publically. On the rare occasions when they were allowed, in special events like wedding ceremonies of their very close relatives or if the village did not have its own musicians to perform, they were not allowed to perform with high pitch. Greek Cypriots of the mid-twentieth century believed that high pitched performing would excite the men's libido (Anthoulla, Katina, interviews 2012). High pitched singing was considered as a more female than male activity. Thus, they used the bottom of their range in order to sound like men, so the closed community of the middle century in Cyprus would not misunderstand their singing.

This revealed that the wedding music and songs provided an important vehicle for the life ways and values of Cypriots and showed the relationship of the wedding music and customs with religion, family, and other aspects of the broader Greek Cypriot culture.

The role of the wedding songs was specific for each kind of participant. For the musicians, the wedding songs were the means to call the guests to participate. Through the wedding songs, the community and relatives helped in the practical tasks of washing the wheat, washing the wool, cooking and so on, also in giving their help in performing the customs which protected the newlyweds from evil forces. The community had to participate in all the stages of the wedding, especially the spiritual customs, the *zwman* and the smoking. The musician called them by adding the name or the relative in the lyrics of his song. For the newlyweds, the songs were the means to announce their new status of life. Mostly, the bride and the groom, who were exposed to the evil

eye, were ‘protected’ by the customs and lyrics of the wedding songs. For instance, in the smoking, the lyrics called on Saint Mary and other saints to help the new couple to have a good life and fertility. This is also a possible reason for preserving the first phase of the wedding ceremony and not other phases of the mid-twentieth century ceremony in contemporary weddings.

As was described in Part Two, the three basic principles to keep a marriage strong and healthy were given through the actions and greetings which were provided through the wedding songs: protection, religion and fertility of the new couple.

A conclusion that emerged after an analysis of the main wedding song, as described and transcribed in Part Two, is the important role of the song in calling everyone who was present to participate in the whole process and perform all the appropriate customs. The song has a simple melody and a small range in order to give all the opportunity to participate with or without musical skills. It also has repetitions during the stanzas, calling everyone to sing and clap with the rhythm and participate in the wedding procedure. The form of the wedding songs was such as to be repeated as many times as needed to give the opportunity for all the relatives and guests to participate. The third and fourth lines of each stanza had to be repeated after the singer. Thus, no one needed to know the lyrics by heart: most of them were improvised by the singer at the time he sang them. During the main wedding song also the melody was repeated with just the syllable ‘la’, again to enable the guests to participate in the ceremony.

A possible reason for this phenomenon is that Greek Cypriots have learned to give their help and participate in whatever the community members did. They could not be neutral to such a great event for a fellow community member. Thus, wedding songs (created by an unknown composer) belonging to that culture, followed the values and the social status of the community. Similarly, *pizmon* singers (Shelemay, 1998, p.198) cleverly chose ‘catchy melodies’ which would be easy for the people to remember, thus preserving the song’s text.

Many Cypriot wedding songs have survived because of the easy melodic line which is common to many of them. Some others have been lost though and it is now impossible for a researcher even to find out the reasons why. Were they lost because of difficult melody, text that was difficult to remember, or the abandonment of the accompanying custom? If we take the case of Nikolatzis from Koilani village, he was recorded singing in a recitative style the song ‘The History of

Zaharous' for six minutes and fourteen seconds continuously, at ninety-three years of age, he stopped probably because he was sick and was coughing. Thus, I would argue it is not simply the length of a song text that determines whether it will survive or not. I would disagree with Shelemay here, when she says that in order to 'access viability in collective memory,... the song must be experienced often and repeatedly in the same liturgical, domestic, or social contexts' (1998, p. 204). Greek Cypriot wedding songs showed a liturgical, practical way to be performed and contextualized to the values of the past century. A probable reason that some of them have been abandoned is because of the change in society, thus change of tradition and culture.

Moreover, the songs referred by Sugarman in Prespa Albanian culture have many similarities with Cypriot wedding songs in function as well as form. These songs praise the bridegroom (Sugarman, 1997, p.63), some customs of shaving the groom, adorning the bride (p.124) and comparing her with a partridge (p.57), the procession to the church is also presented in Sugarman's study. Singing for the Prespa Albanian is a social obligation (ibid, 1997, p.59), such as their presence and help in the whole wedding process is for Cypriots. Singing for Prespa Albanian people, both women and men, was a means of getting attention and admiration (p.60). This was also the case for Cypriot men who sang in order to expose themselves and their virility, especially in *tsiattista* songs (Example 8.3) and in *kartzilamades* dances (Example 8.5). Women were not allowed to sing in a public place except for singing the wedding song during the adornment of the bride and the groom, or if the community did not have folk musicians. Thus, the discrimination of women and men which characterized the social status of the past century was reflected in the singing. This was also the case in Prespa Albanian singing which was also a cultural form of utterance and a discourse of patriarchy (ibid, p.282). Men had to sing with thick voice, because 'that's the way men sing' (p.283). Men could dance, move around and make gestures with their hands while singing in Prespa Albanian weddings, but women had to sit and were not allowed to move or make gestures. It was not considered 'good' for a woman to sing and move around. It was 'shameful' (pp. 284, 285).

The findings of my research on wedding songs add to the general theories about wedding songs, that they function as the vehicle for the relatives and guests to show their presence and help the procedure. The wedding songs as outlined in Part Two are also the means of cathartic action, needed by all participants of the sequence to express their feelings and identities. It can be

established that folk music and songs were considered vital elements in the last century's wedding ceremonies in Cyprus.

11.3 Music revival in Cyprus through contemporary wedding practices

The intentional acts of reviving and restoring, or even reimagining, features from the past for present purposes has been a much-discussed cultural phenomenon across many cultures, but not in literature for the particular culture we examine. I use the term 'music revival' as Livingston (1999, p.68), who defines it as a social movement which aims to preserve and restore the folk music and songs that are considered to be disappearing. Music revivals aim to improve existing culture through their historical values, and the revivalists seek historical authenticity.

The reason I did not refer to this wave with the term 'resurgence' as used by Winter and Keegan-Phipps (2013, p.10) is that they use the term 'resurgence' with the meaning of a wave of interest in English folk culture, but they distinguish this movement from previous folk revivals in Livingston's sense. The first reason for this differentiation in the meaning of 'music revivals' and 'resurgence' is that no informants showed any concern that the data they collected from folk musicians might disappear. Rather, they consider 'resurgence' as a growth of popularity and profile of pre-existing practices. It also differs from earlier revivals as concerns the aspects of mainstream culture, which it deals with. Many folk musicians who had been interviewed emphasized folk music's status as a kind of popular music. Moreover, for Winter and Keegan-Phipps, the collection of traditional material is not essential as happens with other revivals and Livingston's theory. Winter and Keegan-Phipps (*ibid*, p.10), disagree with Livingston, who claims that in every revival movement the collection of the 'basic ingredient', meaning the traditional material, plays an important role in the movement (Livingston, 1999, p.69). For Winter and Keegan-Phipps the collection of traditional data plays little role in the resurgence, but existing material from previous revivals could move on in celebrations, publications, online sources and so on.

Bithell's and Hill's, as well as Lind's, definition, who defines music revival as the efforts to restore music tradition which is in danger and the agents of this restoration are also active participants to

the transformations and cultural changes. And Livingston (1999) deals with the subgroups of people and their music tradition which is in danger and also with the musical features which should be restored.

Livingston's theories could be applied to the Greek Cypriot music wave which aims at the same time to preserve and propagate Greek Cypriot tradition and wedding music. This wave provides people with a feeling of safety, which is a fundamental human need for survival, especially during the uncertainty of war (Ceribasic, quoted in Bithell and Hill, 2014, p.331). I would disagree with Lind's notion that the practice is reimagined, since the wave for 'a selective music revival' in Cyprus is based on the testimonies of the folk musicians who had already experienced the customs and music. Of course, these testimonies, taken from several folk musicians, might have slight differences, for example, in melodies and lyrics or the form of a wedding song. Each performance is different from the previous one, even if the same person is performing it. In addition, each district in Cyprus has its different local customs and dialect. The collector and the revivalist have an important and crucial role: to transfer this information entire from the primary sources he/she found and examine it as objectively as is feasible. He/she can find the similarities and present them or the differences to share them with others. Thus, music revivals should include detailed consideration of what must be rescued and what left to perish.

The study revealed a movement to 'rescue' and propagate Greek Cypriot folk music and customs. This is a wave, happening for the first time in Cyprus, in which there is more than one contributor, unlike before. There have been valuable efforts to collect and transcribe folk music in earlier periods, like those of Apostolides in 1910, Kallinikos in 1951, Michaelides in 1960, Anoyianakis and Iakovides in 1987 and so on, referred to in the Introduction, but those were undertaken only by individual persons who voluntarily wanted to preserve tradition. In contemporary Cyprus of 2015, the wave is organised by several people and organizations, like the newlyweds, folk musicians, the R.I.K. which presents daily radio programmes about Greek Cypriot folk music and dialect, the Municipality of the towns which organize festivals, like the Cyprus Rialto World Music Festival and the wine festival where folk musicians perform. The Rialto festival, which is promoted by the Government with many advertisements before it begins and free entrance for all, brings Greek Cypriots closer to their tradition and also to foreign traditions. Being acquainted with other traditions helps in learning to respect them and also one's own. Bithell and Hill mention that

revivals in general often provide new methods for propagating the revived music which may involve festivals, competitions, government policies, educational institutions and so on (Bithell and Hill, 2014, p.4).

In the last decade, when the folk revival was in its 'boom' period, to employ the term used by Neil Rosenberg (1993), a movement has been created of music revivals and customs revivals, for Greek Cypriot happenings. All the wedding couples that have been recorded and interviewed were contributors to this wave, in the meaning of reviving the wedding practices from the past. For the author, 'music revival wave' is not only the collection, recording, and transcription of traditional data and related interviews. It means all the above and the contribution to revive this collection in its 'authentic' circumstances. For example, one form of music revival was the wedding songs of the adornment as they were used in the five case studies, performed by folk musicians who experienced and performed the customs and the songs during the mid-twentieth century, at the right point of the wedding. Collectors, folk musicians, newlyweds, contributors, the Government's policy to add the show 'Speak the Cypriot Dialect', the present study and its author who researches and teaches Cypriot folk music to children of six upwards, new folk groups who perform in weddings: all these together form the music revival wave in Cyprus.

For the Greek Cypriot wave of music revival, the collection of folk material is important, as up to now little has been collected from the rich traditional music of the country, and the few veterans who keep the tradition alive will not be here for long. Xatzimichael, one of the performers of the show 'Speak the Cypriot Dialect' and a singer and lutenist of the folk group that participates in the television programme, is also a researcher and a collector. He is thus an active contributor in the music revival wave, and he considers the collection of traditional music and songs very important in terms of 'rescuing' Cypriot folk music (Xatzimichael, interview, March 2014). Cypriot folk music is in need of 'rescue' as some customs, folk songs and music have already been rejected by society and have been lost without being described and transcribed in literature (e.g. the song for the blending of the breads for the wedding day, referred to in Part Two). In addition, all the musicians referred to the effort by the newlyweds of the last decade to perform wedding customs accompanied by folk music, at least on their wedding day. They were glad to observe that young couples want to perform the adornment of the bride and the groom separately at their parents' houses, even if they had lived together sometimes for years before their wedding. During their

interviews, all folk musicians mentioned that two decades ago they were very rarely called to perform at the adornment in weddings. Now they receive calls to go and perform almost every weekend. The musicians found this renovation encouraging for them, as they feel they are the last representatives of tradition (Georgiou, interview, 2014, Charalampous, interview, 2011, Haralampous, interview, 2011, Kosta, interview, 2011, Onisiforou, interview, 2011, Zavros, interview, 2011, Theodwrou, interview, 2011, Xatzimichael Michalis, interview, 2014). Concerning the other phases of the wedding ceremony after the adornment or the music and customs before that phase, it seems that they are most at risk for the reasons explained in Chapter Two. It seems that there is a wave of interest in Cypriot wedding songs and customs, but a tendency to ‘selective’, as I call it, music revival.

11.4 Reasons for reviving and preserving tradition of Greek Cypriot culture during the decade 2005-2015

As was mentioned above, Cyprus was a British colony until 1960, living in poverty and misery, its people restricted even in receiving education. Contemporary Cyprus is semi-occupied by Turks, with rural depopulation. It is also a multicultural country with thousands of migrants from several countries, with multiple backgrounds. Modern Cyprus faces unemployment and lives in financial crisis. Regarding the phenomenon of the thousands of immigrants who live in Cyprus, I will borrow Winter and Keegan-Phipps’ notion (2013, p.109), which refers to the anxiety of native people about the impact of incomers on national identity. I would add here that the more multiple identities one lives with, the more native he/she will try to become.

Livingston claims that an important point for countries that recuperate from any kind of disaster like wars, nature’s destructive effects, or prolonged cultural suppression, is the trend to music revivals as a means of healing (1999, p. 68). Ceribasic (quoted in Bithell, 2014, p.332) endorses this notion, referring to the refugees’ baggage as symbolic elements of their idiosyncrasy to re-establish their own place ‘under the sky after the war’. As well as personal belongings their baggage contains heritage items like folk costumes or personal instruments. According to

Ceribasic, each one who experiences war carries their own ‘baggage’, meaning their own values and wounds that war brought.

For Greek Cypriots, these values, among others, were the desire to perform the traditions from before the 1974 war and the way they performed weddings for our focus. This heritage was handed on to their children. All the couples who were examined for the study were children of refugee families from different areas of Cyprus. During their interviews they mentioned many times that the reason they wanted to revive the wedding customs at their wedding was ‘for respect of our parents’ (Paul and Maria Xenofontos, interview, December 2013), ‘because these customs were performed by our parents at their wedding’ (George and Zina Georgiou, interview, September 2012), ‘because these are the customs which were performed by our parents and forefathers, in our occupied village before the invasion and we want to keep them alive... we owe it to our children’ (Antonis and Pavlina Antoniou, interview, September 2013). Thus, it is obvious that all the newlyweds wanted to revive the customs and music of their parents as a matter of healing, bringing to the surface the customs and music their parents performed at their weddings.

The new music revival wave aims to preserve tradition through the weddings, which give the grounds for performing the customs and music which accompany them, and people accept it easily as a cathartic action and a way to keep themselves tied to the ‘old’ culture’ in combination with the ‘new’. Thus, they are not stuck in the past, but, holding what is acceptable from the ‘old’, they adjust it to the ‘new’.

11.5 Suggestions for further research

Contemporary Greek Cypriot wedding customs and music has been a challenging subject on which to write for a number of reasons. The main one is that the field is unexplored, and the study showed that there is certainly much to add in the general ethnomusicological context. While this study has attempted to explore many of the facets of the traditional wedding revival in modern Greek Cyprus and compare the weddings of two chronological periods, there remains much that still needs to be uncovered and researched. The field is raw and still largely untouched in regard to the ethnomusicological, ethnographic, political, and social contexts of the subject. It might be argued

that more could be done to integrate the multiple contributions of the newlyweds and the folk musicians to the broader debates discussed in this study. I hope this study has demonstrated the fertility of the field as an area for further research. Primarily, more focus is needed on the development of the folk revival generally in the country, researching other aspects as well as weddings. There is presently a relative lack of ethnographic documentation on the subject of contemporary Greek Cypriot customs and music and folk arts in general. Remarkably, there has been little academic literature produced on Greek Cypriot folk music except for some transcriptions of wedding songs from the last century, like Demetriou's work. Further studies could discover, for instance, whether the music revival movement that I have documented is more generally applicable to Greek Cypriot folk music as well as the wedding music that I examined.

A comparative study with Greek folk weddings would provide additional insights. It is astonishing to say that during the years of my research I have been to many important libraries in Athens, such as Megaro library and the National Archaeological Museum and Library of Athens, yet no-one could provide me with literature on contemporary Greek weddings. The remaining question is whether in mainland Greece there are similar customs accompanied with music, providing evidence that survivals from ancient Greek culture have not been exclusively 'marginal'.

Moreover, it would be fruitful for an ethnomusicologist to research Cypriots of the diaspora, who emigrated in 1974 after the Turkish invasion. Those people may have retained the customs as they were performed at that time, and they may also speak a more original Cypriot dialect than people in Cyprus nowadays. They remain steady to their identity and they are said to be more Cypriot than the Cypriots who live in their own country.

I chose to study wedding practices and their music as a forum for constructing and expressing identity by reviving practices from the past. Weddings in many societies are often presented in the literature as a focus for bringing the community together and expressing identity, values, and customs. The wedding, in this study, has been examined as a ritual of symbols which hide deeper meaning and insights of the people who perform it. Leeds-Hurvitz studied the wedding as a 'text', meaning a sequence of symbols like speech, writing and gesture which had to be interpreted (2002, p.24). The Greek Cypriot wedding, as examined in this study, revealed meanings and symbolised the Greek Cypriots' idiosyncrasy but also the values and needs of Greek Cypriot society. Thus,

examining these weddings, one can conclude that their symbolic meaning reveals aspects of Greek Cypriots at a personal but also at the group level of society.

This study thus contributes to an understanding of contemporary wedding practice. It aims to provide an informative source for students, scholars and interested non-specialists for wedding ceremony practices and traditions of Greek Cypriots. It can also be a useful resource for readers who simply want to know more about the history and development of current marriage practices and customs in this particular culture. At the same time, the study has attempted to take the wedding folk music of Cyprus into unexplored areas by researching the reasons that newlyweds want to revive some practices of the past and why they want to change others, why they choose particular traditional elements and not others, and how this relates to their sense of identity. It is also an attempt to help preserve what is becoming lost through being omitted from wedding ceremonies. Part Two is the only written reconstruction of a wedding ceremony as it was during the period 1930-70. The accompanying DVD will give a more vivid account of how the wedding music used to be. Thus, my work could itself form a part of the 'music revival' for Greek Cypriot culture. However, it does not belong to the 'selective music revival', as I called it, since I have tried to document and analyse each and every detail shared with me by the veteran folk musicians, the last exponents of these traditions. As an active participant in the music and teaching of my country, I decided to use the research method of 'participant observation' the better to understand the folk performances and other aspects of the tradition by learning to perform some of the tunes from veteran folk musicians (DVD 2016, Tracks 66, 70, 71). Accordingly, I end the DVD and this thesis with two tracks on which I perform with my respected folk musicians and teachers Zavros and Vyrwnis (DVD 2016, Tracks 70, 71).

The Greek Cypriot wedding ceremony is a vehicle of personal, religious and national identity. Tradition is in continuous flux, and no one can stop its flow. People choose what to omit and what to preserve for their own reasons. Sometimes they mimic behaviours, sometimes they follow the trends of the present times. Thus, the contemporary wedding ceremony is a selective revival of past wedding practices and a process of adaptation to the present needs and the new circumstances of life.

I conclude that wedding tradition in Greek Cyprus is something more than an inert segment of the culture. It reflects intentional, conscious actions of performing selected customs and music from the past to reshape the tradition in the present. The wedding ceremonies have changed since the mid-twentieth century in a process of adaptation to the new way of life and circumstances. Thus, tradition and wedding practices change through the years like a living organism in order to be adapted to the new circumstances and also to fill the contemporary inner needs of the people who present them. I look forward to discovering the varied interpretations that other, different approaches will no doubt uncover in the field of Greek Cypriot wedding music and in broader explorations of wedding customs and their music in relation to dynamics of revival and identity.

The present study could offer a paradigm for ethnomusicological studies that investigate the struggle over weddings and their music as these change over the years, demonstrating how people, especially in post-war or post-colonisation periods, use ceremonies to meet their national demands while manipulating symbols and practices. They do so by asserting several types of identities through their wedding practices, including personal, religious and national identity. In such cases, the wedding ceremony appears to have a double role. It is not only relevant to individuals as a rite of passage, but it may also stand out as the main ritual context in which musical revivals are pursued, thus serving as a bridge between modernity and traditional-historical continuity and supporting the consolidation of personal, religious and national identities.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Wedding Song.

The first trial to transcribe the main wedding song in Cyprus. Transcribed by Christos Apostolides and harmonised by Dionisios Lavragas, October 1910.

I.
ΤΟ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙ ΤΟΥ ΓΑΜΟΥ. | THE WEDDING SONG.

Ἰπὸ Χρ. Ἀποστολίδου.

Andante lento. (♩ = 76)
p *espress.*

ἄ - ρα κα - λῆ τριῶ - - ρά - βα - ῆθι

p *legato*

Violino.

τριῶ - ρα κα - λῆ τριῶ - ρα κα - λῆ

dim. *f marcato* *f*

2

Violino.

τού - τή δου - λειά πάρ - - χέ - ψα - - μεν⁽²⁾ να
 πού τόν ά - φέν - την⁽³⁾ τόν Χρι - - στόν να

και ούτω:
 and thus:

βχῆ στε - ρε - - ω - - με - - νη
 νι εύ - λο - - η - - με - - νη

p legg.

dolce

First system of musical notation, including a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a forte (*f*) dynamic marking.

Second system of musical notation, including a vocal line with Greek lyrics and piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a piano (*p*) dynamic marking and the instruction *sost? il canto ben legato*. The word *Violino.* is written above the vocal line.

Ὁ Πῆ-ας τῆς Ἀ-να-το-λῆς

Third system of musical notation, including a vocal line with Greek lyrics and piano accompaniment.

τις Βα-σι-λιᾶς τῆς Δύ-

Fourth system of musical notation, including a vocal line with Greek lyrics and piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a *scherzando* marking.

της.

Fifth system of musical notation, including a vocal line and piano accompaniment.

4

Violino.

συβ - βού - λι - ον ε - δώ - χα - σι

p dolce

2 1 4 3 2 1

p

και ούτω:
and thus:

συμ - πεθ - θερ - χόν να - χά -

dim.

μον.

per violino

ff con bravura

p

f

p dolce

p dolce

pp *dimin.* *rall.*

pp *dimin.* *rall.*

ppp *dimin. e morendo* *lunga*

ppp *dimin. e morendo* *lunga fff*

Ὁ Ρῆας ἔβαλεν τὸν γγιὸν τῆς Βασιλῆας τὴν κόρην
 Σαστήχαν⁽⁴⁾ νὰ παντρέψουσι τρεῖς πασι νὰ καλέσουσι
 x. t. λ.

(Βλ. Σακελλαρίου Κυπριακά τομ. Α' σελ. 728).

*

ΔΙΣΤΙΧΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΡΕΒΑΤΙΟΥ.

Βάρτε τοὺς τέσσερις Σταυροὺς στὰ τέσσερα καντούνια
 Νὰ πέσῃ⁽⁵⁾ ἡ νύμφη τῆς γαμπρός σὰν τὰ φιλικονούγια.
 x. t. λ.

*

Εἰς τὸν Στολισμὸν τῆς Νυμφῆς.

Ἄγια⁽⁶⁾ στολίστε τὴν καλὰ τὴν μαρκαριταρένην
 Ὅπου τὴν ἔχῃ ἡ μάνα τῆς κατὲ ὀχτὼ λουμένην
 Τρεῖς⁽⁷⁾ τοὺς τῆς ἔχῃ ὁ πατὴρ τῆς μέσ' στὰ χρυσὰ χωσμένην.
 x. t. λ.

Σαστήχαν = ἡτοιμάσθησαν. (5) Νὰ πέσῃ = νὰ κατακλιθῇ. (6) Ἄγια = ἄγε, ἐμπρός. (7) Ὁ τρεῖς τῆς = ὁ πατὴρ τῆς.

Appendix 2: The main wedding song

Transcribed and harmonised by Solonas Michaelides, for a vocal quartet, in 1960.

468.17

ΤΟ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙ ΤΟΥ ΓΑΜΟΥ.
(Κυπριακό δημοτικό) Λαυρεντική Πεξερασία.
Σολ. Μιχαηλίδης

Lento.

The musical score is written for a vocal quartet and piano accompaniment. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal parts and piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked 'Lento.' and the time signature is 2/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in Greek and are written below the vocal staves.

Lyrics (first system):
 Σο - ρα - κα - ρη - - - ρα - κα - ρη - - - ρα - κα - ρη - - - ρα - κα - ρη - - -
 κί - ω - - - ρά - γα - θη - κί - ω - - -
 ρα - - - κα - - - ρη - κί - ω - ρά - γα - θη - κί - ω - - -
 ρα - - - κα - - - ρη - κί - ω - ρά - γα - θη - κί - ω - - -
 κί - ω - - - ρά - γα - θη - κί - ω - - -

Lyrics (second system):
 ρα - εὐ - γο - - - ρη - - - με - - -
 ρα - εὐ - γο - - - ρη - - - με - - -
 ρα - - - εὐ - γο - - - ρη - - - με - - -
 ρα - εὐ - γο - - - ρη - - - με - - -

2

Fine

The image shows a handwritten musical score on two systems of staves. The top system consists of four staves: two vocal staves (treble clef, key signature of one sharp) and two piano accompaniment staves (grand staff, key signature of one sharp). A 'Fine' marking is placed above the first measure of the vocal lines. The lyrics are in Greek and include two parts: 1. Του - ρη σου - για παρ - χι - σα - με να - 2. Απ' - τον α - φεν - τη - τον χει - στο να - . The bottom system continues the piano accompaniment and vocal lines, with lyrics including: εγα - στε - σε - ω - με - να - . The score is written in a clear, legible hand.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are for violins (vn.), and the bottom two are for vocal parts. The music is in G major (one sharp). The first measure is marked with a first ending bracket (1) and a second ending bracket (2). The lyrics for the vocal parts are: "Pn-gas rns" and "A - - va-ro".

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are for violins (vn.), and the bottom two are for vocal parts. The music continues in G major. The lyrics for the vocal parts are: "gnas ki'o Ba-ge gnas", "Pn-gas rns A - va - ro", and "gnas ki'o Ba-ge gnas".

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of four staves: three vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and one piano accompaniment staff. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are in Greek. The first two versions of the phrase are:

- 1. Λύμ - βού - γε - ον - - - ε -
- 2. Ο Πή - γας "ε - - - βα -

The piano accompaniment features a simple harmonic progression with a bass line that provides a steady accompaniment.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, continuing the vocal and piano parts. The lyrics continue with:

- κα - νε τον - γιο
- δω - κα - νε τον - γιο

The piano accompaniment continues with a similar harmonic structure, supporting the vocal lines. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

- συ-περ-θε-ρι-ων
 κι'ο βα-σι-λης
 - συ-περ-θε-ρι-ων
 κι'ο βα-σι-λης
 - συ-περ-θε-ρι-ων
 κι'ο βα-σι-λης
 - τον-συ-περ-θε-ρι-ων
 ης-κι'ο βα-σι-λης

1 μου ρη.
 2 μου ρη.
 μου ρη.
 μου ρη.
 μου ρη.
 μου ρη.

D.C.
al Fine

INTERVIEWS

Anastasiou Vasos. b. 14.2.1947, son of Ttasos Ttasou, two *pithkiavlin* player, 6 June 2014.

Andreou, Katina, folk singer, 20 June, 2012.

Antoniou, Antonis and Pavlina, newlyweds, 30 September 2013.

Achilleos, Demetris and Nicole, newlyweds, 29 September 2013.

Charalampous, Andreas, b.1959, folk lutenist and singer, 19 August 2011, at Hantria village of Limassol.

Charalampous, Nikos, b. 1937, folk singer and violinist, 19 August 2011, at Hantria village of Limassol.

Dimitriou, Konstantinos, b. 1943, folk singer, 10 September 2011, at Koilani village of Limassol.

Diogenous, George and Georgia, newlyweds, 20 December 2012.

Fylaktou, Anthoulla, b. 1943, folk singer, 10 September 2011, at Koilani village of Limassol.

Gewrgiou, Athinodwros, young researcher of tradition, 21 December 2013.

Gewrgiou, George and Zina, newlyweds, 10 September 2012.

Georgiou Vyronis, b.1918, folk singer, dancer, lutenist, 3 December 2010 and 19 May 2012, at Trachoni village of Limassol.

Ioannou, Giannoulla, folk singer, 10 September 2013.

Kosta, Panais, b. 1932, folk singer and *tamboutsia* player, 4 April 2011, at Agia Fila village of Limassol.

Kyriakou, Andreas, 1925-2011, *pithkiavlin* player, 14 July, 2011, at Nicosia.

Limnatitis, Elias, b. 1931, violinist, singer, 10 August 2013, at Limassol.

Michalis Voskou, b. 1942, priest, 7 July 2014, at Limassol, Saint Andrews Church.

Onisiforou Lakis, 1938-2011, folk singer, 10 May 2011, at Koilani village of Limassol.

Theodwrou, Kyriakos. b. 1945, folk singer and violinist, 1 November 2011, at Limassol.

Xatzimichael, Michalis, b. 1954, folk singer and researcher of Cypriot folk music, 17 August 2011 and 20 March 2014.

Xenofontos, Paul and Maria, newlyweds, 2 December 2013.

Zavros, Giannis, b. 1933, folk singer and violinist, 10 July 2011, at Limassol.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anastasiades, Nikos (2014). Cyprus, 1974-2014: still under Turkish invasion, still divided. <http://www.pemptousia.gr/2014/07/kipros-1974-2014-akoma-ipo-katochi-akoma-dier/> . Accessed 8.7.2014

Anoyanakis, Foivos (1999). *Kipriaka Demotika Tragoudia* [Cyprus-Popular Songs]. Nafplion: The Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation.

Apostolides, Christos (1910). *'Asmata kai Horoi Kipriakoi: 21 temahia di' asma kai kleidokimvalon* [Cyprus Songs and Dances: 21 pieces for singing and piano]. Limassol: Zavalli Press.

Argyrou, Vassos (1996). *Tradition and Modernity in the Mediterranean: The Wedding as Symbolic Struggle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Averof, Gewrgios (1986). *O Kipriakos Gamos: Ethnographic Study* [The Cypriot Wedding: Ethnographic Study]. Nicosia: Violaris Press.

.....(2001). *Ta demotika tragoudia kai oi Laikoi horoi tis Kyprou* [The folk songs and dances of Cyprus]. Nicosia: Politistiko Idryma Trapezis Kyprou.

Baker, Margaret (1977). *Wedding Customs and Folklore*. New York: Douglas David and Charles Press.

Behague, Gerard (1985). Performance Practice: Ethnomusicological Perspectives. *The Musical Quarterly*, 71, pp.381-386.

Berthoud, Philip (2011). *Irish Fiddle Playing: A Guide for the Serious Player. Volume 2*. Fenton, MO: Mel Bay Publications.

Bithell, Caroline and Juniper Hill (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Bohlman V, Philip (2004). *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History*. California: ABC-CLIO.
- (2013). *Revival and Reconciliation: Sacred Music in the Making of European Modernity*. Maryland: Scarecrow Press.
- Christides, Panagiotis (2001). *The History of the Greek Language*. Athens: The Centre of Greek Studies Publications.
- Demetriou, Nicoletta (2008). *The Fones discourse: ideology and practice in Greek Cypriot folk music*. PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London.
- Dolscheid, Sarah, Shakila Shayan, Asifa Malid and Daniel Casasanto (2013). The Thickness of Musical Pitch: Psychological Evidence for Linguistic Relativity. *Psychological Science* 24 (5): 629-634.
- Dunaway, David K. and Molly Beer (2010). *Singing Out: An Oral History of America's Folk Music Revivals*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Duncan, Craig (2010). *Getting into Fiddling*. Fenton, MO: Mel Bay Publications.
- Elschekova, Alica and Linda Fujie (1997). Functions and Transformational Processes of Central European Wedding Songs. *The World of Music*, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 31-50.
- Emilianides, Achilles C. (2011). *Religion and Law in Cyprus*. Great Britain: Aspen Publishers.
- Firth, Raymond (2003). *Symbols: Public and Private*. New York: Routledge.
- Ganeri, Anita (2004). *Wedding Days: Celebrating Marriage*. London: Evans Brothers Limited.
- Georgiou, Takis (2005). *Excerpts from the History of Cyprus*. Limassol: Aurora Publishing.
- Giddens, Anthony (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Graikos, Costas (1980). *Kipriaki Istoria [Cypriot History]*. Nicosia: Printgo Press.

- Grant, Catherine (2012). Rethinking Safeguarding: Objections and Responses to Protecting and Promoting Endangered Musical Heritage. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, Vol.21, No.1, pp.31-51.
- Gross, David (2009). *The Past in Ruins: Tradition and the Critique of Modernity*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Halbwachs, Maurice (1992). *On Collective Memory: The Heritage of Sociology*. Ed. Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Harker, Dave (1985). *Fakesong: the Manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present Day*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Ioannides, D. Konstantinos and Christodoulou N. Menelaos (1960). *Kipriaka Demode Asmata* [Cypriot Popular Songs]. Nicosia: Zavalli Press.
- Kallinikos, Theodoulos (1951). *Kipriaki Laiki Mousa* [Cypriot Popular Muse]. Nicosia: Cypriot Studies Company.
- Katsonis, Costas (1994). *Elate na Gnorisoume tin Kypro* [Come to meet Cyprus]. Nicosia: Printgo Press.
- Keegan-Phipps, Simon and Trish Winter (2013). *Performing Englishness: Identity and Politics in a Contemporary Folk Resurgence*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Kendall, Laurel (1996). *Getting Married in Korea: Of Gender, Morality and Modernity*. London: University of California Press.
- Kennedy, E. H. (1925). Polish Peasant Courtship and Wedding Customs and Folk-Song. *Folklore*, Vol.36, No. 1. pp.48-68.
- Kerr, M. Jessica (1965). English Wedding Music. *The Musical Times*, Vol.106, No. 1463, pp.53-55.
- Kyrris, Costas (1996). *History of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Lampousa Publications.

- Lankauskas, Gediminas (2015). *The Land of Weddings and Rain: Nation and Modernity in Post-Socialist Lithuania*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Leeds-Hurvitz, Wendy (2002). *Wedding as Text: Communicating Cultural Identities Through Ritual*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lind, Tvarno Tore (2012). *The Past is Always Present: The Revival of the Byzantine Musical Tradition at Mount Athos*. Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press.
- Livingston, Tamara (1999). Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory. *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp.66-85.
- Lomax, Alan (2005). *Alan Lomax: Selected Writings 1934-1997*. Ed. Ronald D. Cohen. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Makrides, Andreas (2011). *To Gramma N: I Istoría kai o Politismos tou Pthogou*. [The Letter N: its History and Civilisation]. Larnaca: Negresco Press.
- Mansur, Fatma (1972). *Bodrum: A Town in the Aegean*. Netherlands: E, F. Brill, Leiden Press.
- Merriam, Alan P. (1964). *The Anthropology of Music*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Mitchell, Gillian (2007). *The North American Folk Music Revival: Nation and Identity in the United States and Canada, 1945-1980*. Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Monger, George (2013). *Marriage Customs of the World: An Encyclopedia of Dating Customs and Wedding Traditions*. Second Edition. Volume 1: A-H. Oxford: ABC-Clío.
- Nettl, Bruno (1957). The Hymns of the Amish: An Example of Marginal Survival. *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 70, No. 278, pp. 323-328.
- (1990). *Folk and Traditional Music of the Western Continents*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- (2005) *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

- Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm (2012). *The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music*. Ed. Stanley Appelbaum. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications.
- Nishimura, Yuko (1996). South Indian Wedding Rituals. A Comparison of Gender Hierarchy. *Anthropos*, Vol. 91 4-6), pp.411-23.
- Olick, Jeffrey K. (1999). Collective Memory: The Two Cultures. *Sociological Theory*. Vol. 17, No. 3, pp.333-348.
- Orthodoxou, Marios (2006). *O Paradosiakos Gamos stin Aradippou* [The Traditional Cypriot Wedding in Aradippou Village]. Larnaca: Perfect Press.
- Papantoniou, Giorgos (2012). *Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus: From the Cypriot Basileis to the Hellenistic Strategos*. Leiden: Brill Press.
- Polydorou, Andreas (1994). *Istoria tis Kyprou* [The History of Cyprus]. Nicosia: Office of Press and Information.
- Post, C. Jennifer (2006). *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Prwtopapa, Kalliopi (2005). *Ethima tou Paradosiakou Gamou: apo ta Proxenia os to Gamo* [The Customs of the Traditional Wedding: from the introducing of the newlyweds till the Wedding]. Vol. 1. Nicosia: S. Leivadiotis LTD Press.
- Rosenberg, Neil V. (1993). *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*. Springfield: The Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.
- Shelemay, Kay Kaufman (1998). *Let Jasmine Rain Down: Song and Remembrance among Syrian Jews*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Simeonides, P. Charalambos (2006). *Istoria tis Kipriakis Dialektou: Apo ton 7 Aiona p. C os Simera* [The History of Cypriot Dialect: since 7th century B.C.]. Nicosia: Scientific Centre of Holy Monastery of Kykkos.
- Slobin, Mark (1996). *Returning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*. United States of America: Duke University Press.

- Steele, Philippa (2013). *A Linguistic History of Ancient Cyprus: The Non-Greek Languages, and their Relations with Greek, c. 1600-300 BC*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stuart, Kevin and Jun Hu (1992). The Guanting Tu Monguor Wedding Ceremonies and Songs. *Anthropos*. Vol. 87, 109-132.
- Sugarman, Jane (1997). *Engendering Song: Singing and Subjectivity at Prespa Albanian Weddings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Titon J., Cooley T., Locke D. (2009). *Worlds of Music: An Introduction to the Music of the World's Peoples*. 5th Edition. Canada: Clark Baxter.
- Titon, Jeff Todd, ed. (2009). *Worlds of Music: An Introduction to the Music of the World's Peoples*. 5th ed. New York: Schirmer.
- Tombolis, Swzos (2002). *Kipriaki Paradosiaki Mousiki: Sillogi-Katagrafi-Analysi* [Cypriot Traditional Music: Collection-Transcription-Analysis]. Vol. 1. Nicosia: Politistiko Idrima Trapezis Kyprou.
- UNESCO (2003). Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, November 2003. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/pdf/creative-economy-report-2013.pdf>. Accessed 27th March 2013.
- Wertsch, V. James (2002). *Voices of Collective Remembering*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zarmas, Pieris (1993). *Piges tis Kypriakis Mousikis* [Sources of Cyprus Folk Music]. Nicosia: *Kentro Meletwn Ieras Monis Kykkou*.