Orfean Harmony: An Ensemble's Creation Of Ancient Greek Music As Ode To The Resilience Of Modern Greece

Aikaterini Grigoriadou

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/anthro_theses

Recommended Citation
https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/anthro_theses/132
ORFEAN HARMONY: AN ENSEMBLE’S CREATION OF ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC AS ODE TO THE RESILIENCE OF MODERN GREECE

by

AIKATERINI GRIGORIADOU

Under the Direction of Steven Patrick Black, PhD

ABSTRACT

This ethnography examines Orfean Harmony, a non-profit and voluntary Greek musical ensemble located in Thessaloniki, Greece, to illustrate how the production of sound and musical aesthetics contributes to the sustainability of this ensemble in the context of Greece’s crisis. Drawing on Actor-network theory, Orfean Harmony is analyzed as a network of performing artists who study and re-imagine parts of ancient Greek heritage and culture producing particular sound-time-space frameworks through the recreation of ancient Greek musical aesthetics. This research argues that ‘sound,’ ‘time,’ and ‘space’ form altogether a single entity, the sonic-chronotope, which acts as a dynamic force on the subject’s feelings and experiences in ways that contribute to the re-formation of musical ensembles in times of crisis.

INDEX WORDS: Orfean Harmony, Thessaloniki, Greek crisis, Actor-network theory, sonic-chronotopes, ancient Greek music
ORFEAN HARMONY: AN ENSEMBLE’S CREATION OF ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC AS
ODE TO THE RESILIENCE OF MODERN GREECE

by

AIKATERINI GRIGORIADOU

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in the College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University
2018
ORFEAN HARMONY: AN ENSEMBLE’S CREATION OF ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC AS
ODE TO THE RESILIENCE OF MODERN GREECE

by

AIKATERINI GRIGORIADOU

Committee Chair:  Steven Patrick Black

Committee:  Kathryn A. Kozaitis

                  Emanuela Guano

                  Louis A. Ruprecht

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University
May 2018
DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to late Aristotelis Vritsios, founder of the musical ensemble Orfean Harmony, to Nikos Papapostolou, and to all members of Orfean Harmony. Furthermore, I especially dedicate this work to my good friend and colleague Dimitrios Delfinopoulos, who introduced me to the richness of ancient Greek music, and who trusted me with an artistic role within Orfean Harmony. Lastly, I dedicate this thesis to my beloved parents, Christos Grigoriadis and Polyxeni Stambouli, and to my dear sister Xanthippi Grigoriadou, who supported me both financially and emotionally during my studies.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the guidance and support of my advisor, Dr. Steven Black, who introduced me to the fascinating world of Anthropology of Music and Sound, and who gave me valuable advice for conducting fieldwork with musicians. I would also like to acknowledge the indispensable mentoring of Dr. Kathryn Kozaitis, since 2012, who contributed to my intellectual and academic development, and inspired me in pursuing an academic career in Anthropology. The insights and advice provided by Dr. Emanuela Guano and Dr. Louis Jr. Ruprecht were and continue to be critical to my academic advancement. I would like to give special acknowledgments to Dr. Jennifer Patico, Dr. Faidra Papavasiliou, Dr. Brent Woodfill, and to all my classmates from the Writing Seminar in Spring 2018, who had the patience to read through my thesis drafts or to be a sounding board for my ideas related to the development of my thesis.

The support of my father, mother, and sister, both financial and emotional, was invaluable to me during my studies at GSU since 2012. I would like to thank them for all the sacrifices they have been through all these years to make possible my artistic, intellectual, and academic development. I am especially indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Kiriazis for providing for me a warm house to live in during my MA studies. Finally, I would like to thank all the members of Orfean Harmony and Nikos Papapostolou for the love and trust they showed in me during my research.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .............................................................. V

LIST OF FIGURES ........................................................................ IX

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .......................................................... XI

1 INTRODUCTION .................................................................... 1

1.1 Introduction to the ethnography ................................................. 2

1.2 An Encounter with Orfean Harmony: Becoming a Member of Orfean Harmony 5

1.3 How ‘Orfean Harmony’ turned out into an Ethnographic Project in the Context of the Greek Crisis ..................................................... 7

1.4 The Theoretical Framework ...................................................... 9

1.4.1 Actor-Network Theory ......................................................... 10

1.4.2 Chronotope and Soundscapes: Sonic-Chronotopes ..................... 13

1.5 Chapters Summary .................................................................. 16

2 METHODS ............................................................................ 18

2.1 Methods and Ethics in Anthropological Research ....................... 18

2.1.1 Methods and Ethics During Filedwork ................................. 19

2.2 The Native/Insider Anthropologist During Fieldwork ................. 24

3 ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT .................................................... 31

3.1 A Day in Thessaloniki of 2017 .................................................. 31
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Thessaloniki: A City of Culture</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1</td>
<td>Orfean Harmony in Thessaloniki’s Artistic Environment</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2</td>
<td>Thessaloniki and the Greek Crisis</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Greece and the Fiscal Crisis</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1</td>
<td>Greece as a Member of European Union</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2</td>
<td>Greeks and the Fiscal Crisis</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ORFEAN HARMONY: GROUP FORMATION</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>The Beginning and Beyond</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1</td>
<td>The Artists</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2</td>
<td>The Instruments and the Sponsor</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3</td>
<td>The Mission: Music, Texts, Musical Expression, Education</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.4</td>
<td>The Human and Non-Human Actants of Orfean Harmony</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Orfean Harmony and the Crisis</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1</td>
<td>They need to be Productive!</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>THE PERFORMANCE</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>The Performance at the Byzantine Bridge of Pylaia</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Towards the Production of Orfean Harmony’s Sonic-chronotopes in Public Space</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Sonic-chronotopes of Heritage</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>The Aftermath of the Sonic-chronotopes of Heritage</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6  INSTRUMENTS AND MUSIC .................................................................89
6.1  Playing with the musical instruments .............................................90
6.2  Music .........................................................................................96
6.3  Sonic-chronotopes of Utopias ..........................................................100
7  THE REHEARSAL ........................................................................102
7.1  Rehearsing with Orfean Harmony ..................................................103
7.2  Sonic-chronotopes of Transformation ............................................108
8  THE SYMPOSIUM .......................................................................114
8.1  Orfean Harmony’s 10th Anniversary ..............................................114
8.2  Sonic-chronotopes of Dreaming Together .......................................119
9  CONCLUSION .............................................................................122
9.1  Sonic-chronotopes of Resilience ....................................................122
REFERENCES ..................................................................................127
APPENDICES ..................................................................................140
Appendix A HYMNS .......................................................................140

  Appendix A.1 Hymn to Dionysos Bassareus and Triennial .................140

  Appendix A.2 Ode to Orfean Harmony .............................................141
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Entrance of Orfean Harmony 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Entrance of Orfean Harmony 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Aikaterini Grigoriadou holding the musical instrument pektis for the first time</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Orfean Harmony’s performance at the ancient historical site of Roman Agora</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Thessaloniki’s sightseeing bus (tour-bus)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Performance at the Roman Agora as part of EYC’s 2014 cultural activities</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Call for “General Strike,” “Everybody on the streets”</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>A pile of garbage in downtown Thessaloniki</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Graffiti in downtown Thessaloniki</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Performance at the Folklore and Ethnological Museum of Thessaloniki</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>Beautification of urban walls, downtown Thessaloniki</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>&quot;Bicycles for refugees&quot; &quot;No Hate&quot;</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13</td>
<td>Tourists and Thessalonikians at the statue of Alexander the Great</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14</td>
<td>Bicyclers, walkers, and flaneurs/euses at the seafront of Thessaloniki</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 15</td>
<td>Phorminx</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 16</td>
<td>Trigono</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 17</td>
<td>Sambuke</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 18</td>
<td>Crotala, Cymbals, Seistron</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 19</td>
<td>Single and double-flutes</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 20</td>
<td>The Byzantine Bridge of Pylaia 1</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 21</td>
<td>The Byzantine Bridge of Pylaia 2</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 22</td>
<td>The set-up of the technological equipment</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 23 Orfean Harmony's sound-check ................................................................. 74
Figure 24 Odysseus giving instructions .................................................................. 75
Figure 25 Melpomene playing the thin diaulos (double-flute) ................................. 77
Figure 26 Artists interact with the audience 1 ...................................................... 86
Figure 27 Artists interact with the audience 2 ...................................................... 86
Figure 28 Artists interact with the audience 3 ...................................................... 86
Figure 29 Artists packing the musical stands and instruments ............................. 87
Figure 30 Preparing the liqueur ............................................................................ 106
Figure 31 Bomboniers ......................................................................................... 106
Figure 32 Music-making in rehearsal .................................................................. 109
Figure 33 Socializing after the rehearsal ............................................................. 110
Figure 34 Socializing during rehearsal's break-time 1 ........................................ 110
Figure 35 Socializing during rehearsal's break-time 2 ........................................ 110
Figure 36 The food! .............................................................................................. 115
Figure 37 Preparing the souvlakia! ..................................................................... 116
Figure 38 The Candlestick .................................................................................. 117
Figure 39 Watching the video ............................................................................. 118
Figure 40 Discussing about the future .................................................................. 118
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANT – Actor-network theory
EC – European Commission
ECB – European Central Bank
EU – European Union
IMF – International Monetary Fund
US – United States
1 INTRODUCTION

A man of average height, around his forties, walks up and down nervously. He is dressed in white, and holds a wooden musical instrument in his hands with seven strings and a very strange shape. Every now and then, he looks at his watch, and throws sneaky glances at the audience to see if the time has come. Behind the small wooden platform, small talk and laughter breed sounds of excitement and eagerness among the artists in their white attire. Finally, the restless man stands in front of the musicians with the bizarre musical instruments, the singers, the actors, and actresses and gives the final instructions before the performance. With a clear, vibrant, and warm voice, he wishes everyone “good luck!,” and prompts the musicians to check the tuning of their instruments one last time. The sound of the A note, coming from the wooden wind instrument that resembles in shape the classical flute, sets the tuning pitch for the string and wind instruments respectively. The ethereal and earthly tuning notes follow the evening’s aura to snuggle briefly in the imagination of those who anticipate the images and sounds of a distant time.

A few minutes later, the artists form two lines behind the wooden platform, and wait patiently to walk on the stage. In the whispers of the words, “πάµε παιδιά!” (“let’s go guys!”), the steady pompous beat of the drum sets in motion the procession of the musicians, actors, and actresses, and signifies the beginning. The wooden double-flute escorts gently the pace of the artists, carrying the eerie sounds of an ancient past to the modern audience. The performance of “The Ensemble of Ancient Greek Music: Orfean Harmony” has just begun.
1.1 Introduction to the ethnography

Since 2008, Greece is experiencing a deep economic crisis that fuels further national and moral crises among its citizens. This ethnography focuses on Orfean Harmony, a self-organized,
non-profit and voluntary musical ensemble that recreates ancient Greek musical aesthetics in Thessaloniki, in the midst of Greece’s crisis. Studying Orfean Harmony, this research seeks to answer the question of how sound and in particularly musical aesthetics contribute to the sustainability of non-profit and voluntary musical artistic groups in times of crisis and social upheaval. Drawing on Actor-network theory (Latour 2005), Orfean Harmony is analyzed as a network of performing artists who seek to promote aspects of ancient Greek heritage and culture based on the recreation and expression of ancient Greek aesthetics. These aesthetics incorporate the union of μουσική (music), τραγούδι (song), and θέατρο (theater). Orfean Harmony’s musical aesthetics produce particular sound-time-space frameworks that shape civic experience for the performers and the audiences of this ensemble. This thesis synthesizes the concepts of soundscapes (Samuels et al. 2010; Feld and Basso; Feld and Brenneis 2004) and chronotopes (Bakhtin 1981) and model the sonic-chronotopes to answer how sound and in particularly the musical aesthetics of a distant past act on the human experience. Positioning this research at the regional (Thessaloniki), national (Greece), and international (global) scales of the financial disaster, this ethnography aims to enrich our knowledge on how musical artistic ensembles may function in times of crisis.

The next pages explore under which conditions and for what reasons Orfean Harmony was established in 2007 in Thessaloniki, and under which conditions and for what reasons it continues to exist in 2017. Hence, this ethnography shows when, how, and why the members of Orfean Harmony decided to participate voluntarily in such musical ensemble, and why they continue to be part of this group in 2017. However, this thesis respects the participants’ desire to keep their anonymity, which necessarily reduces the use of personal details that would further enrich ethnographic descriptions. Orfean Harmony’s reconstructed ancient Greek musical
instruments, as well as the ancient Greek texts and music that this ensemble studies and performs, are vital parts of this network of performing artists. These contribute to the formation and re-formation of Orfean Harmony since 2007, and further inspire the participation of the artists in such a musical group in 2017. Furthermore, Orfean Harmony’s affiliations with other artistic and cultural networks are critical for the realization of this ensemble’s public performances in Thessaloniki and beyond, and hence, these affiliations contribute partially to the sustainability of this ensemble.

Drawing from scholarly work on Thessaloniki’s history and urban geography, on Greece’s economic and political history, and on neoliberalism, this paper outlines the city’s rich socio-cultural environment across time, and the socio-economic, political, and historical aspects of the Greek crisis in relation to the broader neoliberal arena. Furthermore, ethnographic literature and anthropological perspectives on the Greek crisis illustrate the influence of this financial disaster on the people, and the responses that have been recorded and interpreted by anthropologists. Accordingly, this study shows how a Greece in crisis, and in extension Thessaloniki’s turbulent environment, in 2017, affects the life of the members of Orfean Harmony both financially and emotionally to elucidate how their every-day experiences call for balance through artistic expression. The activities, experiences, and feelings of Orfean Harmony’s members, within and outside Orfean Harmony’s environment, demonstrate how this network of performing artists becomes an agent of comfort during the harsh times of Greece’s economic crisis, and how Orfean Harmony’s environment breeds hope for social change in Thessaloniki and beyond. Consequently, this thesis argues that the experience of musical artistic activity within a group during times of crisis generates and reinforces aspects of sociality,
support, and solidarity that allow artists to express their agency as they dream and hope for a better future.

1.2 An Encounter with Orfean Harmony: Becoming a Member of Orfean Harmony

April 2007: I was sitting with my mother in the kitchen trying to complete my music-harmony exercises when the phone rang. It was my good friend and colleague Odysseus who informed me about the creation of a non-profit musical ensemble, Orfean Harmony, the mission of which would be to recreate ancient Greek music. In this phone-call, Odysseus invited me to participate voluntarily in this ensemble either as an instrumentalist or as a singer. He also informed me that the ensemble would perform at the Olympic Games in Beijing—something that ultimately did not happen due to lack of interest in the proposal by the Greek Ministry of Culture. While I had no preceding knowledge about ancient Greek music, I was driven by musical curiosity and the promise of artistic expression inspired me to respond positively and enthusiastically to Odysseus’s invitation. In less than a month, the first performance of the ensemble took place at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki within the 1st World Conference of Engineering. Due to personal obligations, I did not participate as a performer in this concert, but I had the privilege of being among the first audience that cherished this audio-visual experience.

A few months after the ensemble’s first public performance, my friend Odysseus invited me to his house to determine what would be my artistic role inside Orfean Harmony. Having already been allured by the prospect of reconstructed ancient Greek instruments, I decided to challenge myself and take the role of an instrumentalist. Thus, Odysseus opened the door to reconstructed musical “treasures” that waited patiently to be played. Since the musical ensemble was already established, there were not many options in the choice of Orfean Harmony’s musical instruments. However, at the site of pektis’s unique shape and beauty, I surrendered to the
experience of recreating ancient Greek music through pektis’s gentle timbre\(^1\). The moment I held the instrument in my hands, I felt pektis lingering on my chest over my heart, trying to fit in my embrace (figure 3). As Odysseus was narrating to me the history of this musical instrument, including its invention “by the ancient Greek poetess Sappho during the 7\(^{th}\) century B.C.E.,” I tried clumsily to place my fingers on its strings and become familiar with its delicate harmonics and vibrations that were passing through its wooden surface to the upper part of my body.

My past experience as a musician, and especially as violinist, helped me to develop in time exercises and techniques that would eventually reinforce my musical interpretation within Orfean Harmony. As with other instrumentalists in this ensemble, historical sources on the practicing techniques of the particular ancient Greek instruments helped a great deal to understand how these instruments may be performed. More or less, this is how most of the stories of Orfean Harmony’s members begin: in Odysseus’s house, with a reconstructed piece of history in their hands.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{Aikaterini Grigoriadou holding the musical instrument pektis for the first time.}
\end{figure}

\(^1\) Pektis consists of twenty-two strings placed in-between an arched sound box (made by wood from the outside and membrane from the inside) and a wooden base. A long straight-line of iron connects the top of the sound box with the base of pektis. Its shape resembles a slightly curved triangle, and it looks like a small harp.
In time, Odysseus’s house became a landmark of Orfean Harmony’s casual meetings. I still remember the gatherings of the members of the ensemble in his house after rehearsals. We were hanging out at his small apartment to discuss issues related to Orfean Harmony, current local and global news, history and philosophy, and to dream about the future. Being a part of these meetings several times, I developed bonding relationships with the members of the ensemble. The long meetings and conversations at Odysseus’s house (that began around 9:00pm-10:00pm and ended around 2:00am-3:00am) brought the members of Orfean Harmony closer and created bonds of friendship and affection. As the harsh times of Greece’s crisis started soon to unfold, the relationships among Orfean Harmony’s members provided support and solidarity, and Orfean Harmony became the shelter of artistic expression and comfort.

1.3 How ‘Orfean Harmony’ turned out into an Ethnographic Project in the Context of the Greek Crisis

In December of 2012, I was traveling back to Thessaloniki, Greece, after spending the first semester of my freshman year at the School of Music, Georgia State University, in Atlanta. Twenty-two hours of traveling and the only thing that I was dreaming was the warmth of my sweet home. Winters in Thessaloniki were always cold, but the winter of 2012 turned out to be the coldest of all. I will never forget when I walked inside my house and continued to feel the cold freezing air wrapping my body all over. Where was the warmth that I had expected with such nostalgia, I wondered. A few minutes later my mother said, “We don't have much petroleum to heat the whole house. Here are some warm clothes to wear after your shower.” A couple of days passed before I realized what this phrase actually meant, not only for my family, but also for other Greeks who suffered from the dramatic outcomes of radical socio-economic decline and political uncertainties.
In the years that followed, I completed my Bachelor of Music degree with a minor in Anthropology, and began my MA degree in socio-cultural Anthropology at Georgia State University, with the zeal to understand social changes related to socio-economic crises. During these years, my family’s financial struggles, related to the Greek economic crisis, allowed me to visit Greece just once annually. During these visits, I was able to collect ethnographic data related to the Greek crisis in Thessaloniki as an undergraduate assistant and later as a graduate researcher assistant. This process helped me to develop not only my skills in gathering qualitative data, but also to gain a critical perspective of what was happening inside the Greek society.

In-between data collection, during summers 2013-2017, I was welcomed to rehearse, perform and meet with Orfean Harmony’s members, whenever a rehearsal, a concert and/or a formal/informal gathering were scheduled. In these rehearsals, performances and meetings, I was surprised to observe that despite the personal difficulties related to financial struggles, such as unemployment and/or employment under unstable conditions, the members of Orfean Harmony continued to perform, and to pursue friendly social meetings with each other. Even under dire socioeconomic conditions, these artists exercised their agency to create and to perform voluntarily. It was at that time that I began to wonder how non-profit and voluntary musical artistic groups might have a life in times of crisis. What elements hold these groups together, and what do these groups have to offer to their participants in difficult periods? These were the questions that led me to consider ‘Orfean Harmony’ as a possible ethnographic project for my Master’s thesis. At the same time, my four musical diplomas from Greek conservatories, my Bachelor of Music degree from Georgia State University, and my Master’s degree in anthropology still in progress called for an ethnography where music and its performers would
be at the core. As a native Greek and Thessalonikian, a classical trained musician, and a member of Orfean Harmony for ten years, I decided to study this network of artists through the lens of music-making in the context of the Greek crisis. Accordingly, Orfean Harmony became my first ethnographic project.

As a member of Orfean Harmony, I am particularly committed to introducing the work of this ensemble to the audiences inside and outside of Greece through this ethnographic study. The conditions under which this ensemble functions during the harsh years of economic crisis are worthy of attention. It is critical to record the actions of people engaged in artistic activities in a variety of social urban environments in order to understand what macro and micro socio-cultural forces may inspire, motivate, and unite people who are engaged in collective roles through artistic expression. Examination of how artists experience social life through the lens of music-making may be a guide to understanding what motivations and/or initiatives lie underneath self-driven, voluntary, and artistic responses during times of social upheaval. Through this ethnographic study, I intend to inspire further research among music-artists who function in challenging socio-cultural environments across our global village. Most of Greece’s ethnographic literature on the Greek crisis focuses on the city of Athens, Greece’s capital. This research contributes to ethnographies on Thessaloniki, the second largest city and co-capital of Greece.

1.4 The Theoretical Framework

This thesis incorporates interdisciplinary perspectives from anthropology, sociology, literature, and ethnomusicology. More specifically, the ethnographic data analysis is grounded on sociological approaches on science, technology and society (STS) centered on Actor-network theory (ANT) (Latour 2005), on literacy’s concept of *chronotope* (Bakhtin 1981), and on
anthropological and ethnomusicological frameworks related to music, sound, and soundscape (Feld 1982; Feld and Fox 1994; Feld and Basso 1996; Feld and Brenneis 2004; Samuels et al. 2010; Fox 2004; Samuels 2004). A synthesis of these theoretical frameworks allows for a theorization of the production of knowledge related to the formation and re-formation of artistic social groups in times of social-change and crisis.

1.4.1 Actor-Network Theory

ANT’s approach examines the social world in the process of becoming, and elucidates the production and re-production of social realities—such as social groups and networks—taking into account the interactions between human actors and non-human entities (Latour 2005). ANT is useful for the studies of musical ensembles, where various non-human entities such as ‘unusual’ musical instruments, music, texts, and finances are found at the core of a musical group’s formation and re-formation. In the context of ANT, a complementary theoretical tool for the study of non-human entities is the theory of affordances (Gibson 1986 (1979)). This theory examines how the physical and inherent properties of the non-human entities may direct the interactions among the human actors and non-human entities (Gibson 1986 (1979)). Such an approach is useful in understanding, for example, how the properties of the musical instruments interfere with the processes of music-making, and thus, how these non-human entities direct decisions that influence the function of an artistic group, and thus the creation of socio-cultural realities.

Observing the interplay among the human actors and non-human entities of a musical group, allows us to elaborate on the fundamental aspects of the group’s existence and functionality. Human actors and non-human entities constitute the actants of social formations and are necessary for the creation and maintenance of these formations (Latour 2005:72). A pre-
requisite for the existence of a social network is the interplay among its actants. Accordingly, social realities happen when actants are at the state of interaction. For social realities to maintain their existence, processes of re-creation must follow the process of initial creation of these social realities (Latour 2005). Consequently, any social formation is found at the state of constant creation.

ANT emerged from studies related to science and technology. The sociologists Latour and Woolgar (2006 (1986)) observed the micro-cosmos of a scientific laboratory to examine the production of scientific knowledge. According to their work, scientific knowledge is the result of multiple interactions among heterogeneous human and non-human entities—such as doctors, laboratory apparatus, Xeroxed copies, articles, and finances (Latour and Woolgar 2006 (1986)). The sociologist Callon (1984) observed a network constituted of researchers, fishermen, and scallops, to examine the interplay among these actants in relation to the following: decrease in the number of scallops, the scientific community, the recent developed technique for scallop’s production, the lives and work of fishermen, and the role of finances. This work shows how networks bridge the human and non-human realms, proving the dynamic and expanding nature of such formations. Accordingly, Callon reveals how human and non-human entities participate in a feedback relationship that lies in-between socio-technological and natural realities, which affect both the human and non-human worlds in various ways (1984). The works described above, demonstrate the valuable framework of ANT in highlighting the role of non-human entities in the formation and re-formation of the social world.

Anthropologists have used ANT to examine socio-cultural networks and meanings based on the interaction of human actors and non-human entities as well. For example, the anthropologists Briggs and Mantini-Briggs (2016) applied ANT’s framework to illustrate the
heterogeneous components of a vast network—consisting of people (journalists, healers, parents, nurses and others), viruses, and animals—that participated in the production and persistence of an epidemic, in order to comprehend the difficulties associated with the epidemic’s diagnosis and treatment (Briggs and Mantini-Briggs 2016:5). Other anthropologists have used ANT to emphasize the participation of material culture in the construction of socio-political meanings (Navaron-Yashin 2009:8), and to understand processes of network formation—such as in relation to protests— with the participation of technological components (Castaneda 2013). These works reveal that ANT’s framework may be successfully applied in studies that do not necessarily focus solely on science and technology.

ANT appears as well in studies related to music and music-making. Bates (2012) applied ANT to illustrate how musical instruments participate in the creation of social relations. According to his research, the musical instruments are examined as subjects that interplay with human and non-human actants for the creation of both music and human experience (Bates 2012). Logan (2013:24) applied ANT to illuminate the creation of sociocultural forms related to music-making and creativity. His study reveals the power of music to act upon cultural identities and human emotional responses and actions. At the same time, Logan (2013: 22,23) argues that the production of musical creativity stems from social networks that embody musicians, non-musicians, objects, and finances.

Inspired by the works of Briggs and Mantini-Briggs, Navaron-Yashin, Castaneda, Bates, and Logan, this thesis moves beyond the science-technology context of ANT and incorporates this theory to elucidate how human actors (such as musicians, actors/actresses, and sponsor)—and non-human entities (such as musical instruments, texts, sound (music, voice, language), and
finances) participate in the production and re-production of a network of performing artists, Orfean Harmony, during the Greek economic crisis.

This thesis examines Orfean Harmony as a network of performing artists defined by the relations among its human and non-human actants, including the interplay between human-non-human entities and external-internal processes. To that end, an ANT-oriented approach traces the activities of all the actants of Orfean Harmony and focuses on the macro and micro forces that participate in the realization of Orfean Harmony’s formation and re-formation in Thessaloniki, during Greece’s financial crisis. This approach helps us to examine and interpret the relations between musical instruments, sound (music, voice, language), texts, artists, sponsor, musical instruments, and finances as vital forces to Orfean Harmony’s network building and sustainability in relation to Thessaloniki’s urban environment and Greece’s broader socio-economic framework.

1.4.2 Chronotope and Soundscapes: Sonic-Chronotopes

Influenced by Einstein’s Theory of Relativity and the idea of spacetime, Mikhail Bakhtin established the concept of chronotope, in 1937, to interpret time-space relations in artistic expressions in the world of literature (Brandao 2006:133; Graan 2015:49). Chronotope, from the Greek words ‘χρόνος’ (time) and ‘τόπος’ (place), is constructed by the interplay between narrative time and space, and is defined as a time-space unity, which acts on the subject’s actions and expressions—the subject may be the character of a novel, the author, and/or the reader (Bakhtin 1981; Brandao 2006:133; Bemong and Borghart 2010:3-4). Accordingly, the theory of chronotope analyzes how elements of time and space altogether construct the realm where fictional and non-fictional plot and meaning take place (Bakhtin 1981). Anthropologists have applied this theory in the context of socio-cultural environments to examine: how people link
distinct times and spaces to create cultural understandings of place, how people construct and consume time-space elements, and how these time-space elements affect people in everyday socio-cultural and political life (Faudree 2012; Guano 2017; Basso 1984; Samuels 2004; Fox 2004; Wirtz 2016; Swinehart 2008; Blommaert 2015; Graan 2015; Agha 2007). These studies reveal how time and space are significant in the construction of social meaning and experience, and hence, how chronotopes become integral parts of social expression.

Like chronotopes, soundscapes (from the words ‘sound’ and ‘space’), are also produced and consumed by people in the social world. In fact, soundscapes signify the sonic/acoustic socio-cultural environment where human action and meaning happen (Feld 1982; Samuels et al. 2010:330). Accordingly, soundscapes act on human experiences in ways that produce socio-cultural realities. This means that humans integrate the sonic and spatial environment into various cultural practices—including sounds in language and song. Consequentially, the sonic-spatial environment, the soundscape, builds and shapes socio-cultural systems and experiences (Feld 1982; Feld and Basso 1996). Thus, soundscapes provide the environment where socio-cultural, economic, and political practices and meanings are produced and re-produced (Feld 1982; Samuels et al. 2010:330), as soundscapes and people co-exist in a feedback system that defines every-day experience and builds socio-cultural realities (Feld 1982; Feld and Basso 1996).

According to the above, both soundscapes and chronotopes influence and are influenced by human actions. It is important to note that the “-scape” in soundscapes refers to space and place, providing a point of overlap with the “-tope” (space and place) in the theorization of chronotopes. At the same time, the sound in the soundscape—including music, song, and language—does not exist in a vacuum, but in relation to elements of time and space, and hence,
in relation to chronotope. This allows us to approach chronotopes and soundscapes not as two
distinct theoretical approaches, but as a combined form, the sonic-chronotope. This thesis
examines soundscapes as a particular type of chronotope, the sonic-chronotope, in which sound,
like time and space, is significant. More specifically, this ethnography reveals how sonic-
chronotope—an entity that defines the union of sound-time-space—acts as a dynamic force on
the subject’s feelings and experiences, and produces socio-cultural realities.

Orfean Harmony produces and consumes sonic-chronotopes in Thessaloniki, in the midst
of Greece’s financial crisis, through sound (music, voice, language), texts, musical instruments
and knowledge from an ancient time and place. Accordingly, this network of performing artists
constructs in present time and place an audio-visual experience, where sound-time-space
altogether influence the members of Orfean Harmony and the audience of this ensemble. A
closer analysis on the production of Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes outlines how Orfean
Harmony’s members experience the musical aesthetics that they consume and create in
Thessaloniki, and how these particular aesthetics inspire a collective ethos that seeks to bring
order, harmony, and hope within Greece’s turbulent society. The way(s) that the human subjects
experience Orfean Harmony’s musical aesthetics is grounded in the analysis of narratives related
to Orfean Harmony’s music and sounds; this analysis considers ‘language about music,’ which
analyzes how people talk about music (Feld et al. 2004). Furthermore, a close attention to the
lyrics in the texts and music that Orfean Harmony performs elucidates the time-blending
component that directs people’s attachments with sound (language), time (past), and space
(imaginary-mythological-real, ancient-present Greek place); here, the theoretical framework
‘language in music’ directs the analysis of the texts (Feld et al. 2004).
In the context of Actor-network theory, the interaction among Orfean Harmony’s actants (musical instruments, sound (music, voice, language), artists, sponsor, finances) constitutes Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes of heritage, utopias, transformation, and dreaming together. These particular sound-time-space frameworks become necessary for the sustainability of this group of artists, as they influence the artists in ways that foster their ongoing participation in Orfean Harmony. Accordingly, Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes become actants as well, as these interplay with Orfean Harmony’s other actants, and ensure the re-formation of this ensemble. To that end, this thesis argues that the products of social-realities may become in turn actants that contribute to the sustainability of such social formations.

1.5 Chapters Summary

Chapter two focuses on the methods and ethics during ethnographic study in Thessaloniki, Greece, including a broader discussion on methods and ethics in anthropology, and on the positionality of the author as a native/insider anthropologist. Chapter three provides the ethnographic context of this thesis illustrating Thessaloniki’s socio-cultural and economic environment with respect to Greece’s financial crisis. Chapter four introduces in depth Orfean Harmony’s profile, focuses on the processes and interplay among its human and non-human actants, and illustrates how the Greek financial crisis has affected Orfean Harmony. Chapter five demonstrates the production of Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes of heritage in public spaces, and shows how these influence the participants, the audience of this ensemble, and the re-production of Orfean Harmony within Thessaloniki’s artistic life. Chapter six delves into the non-human actants of this network—the instruments and music—and illustrates how they interplay with Orfean Harmony’s artists to produce sonic-chronotopes of utopias that in turn act on the experiences of the human actors, and hence, foster the ensemble’s cohesion. Chapter
seven examines the ensemble’s rehearsals as ritual-like activities that produce sonic-chronotopes of transformation, which in turn influence the physical, emotional, and spiritual experiences of the artists. Chapter eight moves beyond the performances and the rehearsals of Orfean Harmony and meets the artists in their casual-friendly meetings, where sonic-chronotopes of dreaming together reinforce the ensemble’s sustainability during times of crisis and social upheaval.

Chapter nine bridges Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes examined in previous chapters to demonstrate how these altogether constitute the ensemble’s sonic-chronotopes of resilience. Furthermore, it argues that these sonic-chronotopes act as important non-human actants that work in favor of Orfean Harmony’s cohesion and re-production during Greece’s financial crisis.
2 METHODS

2.1 Methods and Ethics in Anthropological Research

In anthropological research, a variety of methods allow the anthropologist to collect qualitative and quantitative data. These methods include: participant-observation\(^2\), field notes\(^3\), and semi-structured and/or open-ended interview-questions\(^4\) (Bernard 2006:343-344, 388, 210). In addition to the methods listed above, audio and video-recording become useful, especially in research that focuses on language, sound, music, and the visual world; however, these methods may raise concerns especially in the field of cultural anthropology (Black 2017:47).

To ensure the best application of all methods and the tools related to these (such as video-cameras and audio-recorders), the ethnographer should be aware of the concerns associated with these, and use these methods and tools accordingly. During participant-observation, the observer needs to be aware that his/her presence may disturb and influence the behavior of the participants (Duranti 1997:118). Cameras and audio/video-recorders may also challenge the participants’ actions (Black 2017:47). At the same time, it is critical to understand how field-notes, video and audio recording, and the production of transcripts are all selective in nature (Duranti 2006:301). To that end, the researcher should not proceed to conclusions without further confirmation of these data. To address such issues, the anthropologist may choose to alternate the way of his/her participation, observation, and/or the use of technological devices (Black 2017:47); for example, participating more actively one day and less the other day may help the anthropologist observe how the behavior of the participants may be different and in what ways. Furthermore,

---

\(^2\) Participant observation allows the anthropologist to participate within the community under examination and learn more about it through interaction with the participants.

\(^3\) Field notes refer to the process of keeping notes of what is being observed during fieldwork, usually right after observation to avoid loss memory.

\(^4\) During interviews the anthropologist may develop discussions with the members of the community in order to gain a better insight.
approaching the participants through the combination of multiple methods and tools may help
the anthropologist to increase his/her data validity.

Ethical use of the methods and tools listed above is equally important. The researcher
must ask for the consent of each participant for his/her involvement in the community’s
activities—during participant observation—and the use of technological equipment (e.g. during
interviews) in order to ensure his/her engagement in ethical research. Respecting the participants
is a core ethical responsibility in ethnographic research, which helps the ethnographer to avoid
manipulation and/or misrepresentation of people and data. Listening closely to the participants,
the researcher may be able to understand in what cultural settings recording human activities is
and/or is not welcoming—for example, funeral settings may not invite the use of photo and/or
video camera (Black 2017:51). It is critical to keep in mind the ethical components associated
with primary research, which include the principles of confidentiality, respect, informed consent,
honesty, risks, and benefits, in order to facilitate the ethical conduct of ethnographic research
(AAA Ethics Blog 2012: n.p.).

2.1.1 Methods and Ethics During Filedwork

Ethnographic research with the members of Orfean Harmony took place in Thessaloniki,
during May, June, July, and August, in 2017\(^5\). During that period, I gathered qualitative data
through semi-structured audio-recorded interviews, video recordings, photos, and field-note
taking through participant-observation in formal and informal conversations, meetings, and
gatherings. I triangulated these methods including the use of technological equipment to capture
sounds, performing behavior, and acts, taking into account their selective and partial nature. My

---

\(^5\) Prior to my research involvement with Orfean Harmony, I received IRB approval for the study (including the
approval of the consent forms that I distributed to the participants), which defined as research period the dates
between the 28\(^{th}\) of April and 27\(^{th}\) of April 2018.
sample was based on nineteen consent forms which helped me to gain a holistic understanding in respect to how this musical ensemble came into being since 2007, how it continued to exist and function in 2017, and how the participants experienced their participation within Orfean Harmony during the Greek economic crisis.

I interviewed eighteen participants including eleven instrumentalists⁶, three singers, and one actor (all members of Orfean Harmony), the sponsor of the ensemble as well as his/her assistant, and one of the specialized luthiers who repairs the string instruments of this group. The interview sessions ranged from approximately one to four hours each. I encouraged my participants to choose the time and place of meeting. Accordingly, some interviews took place in various cafes in Thessaloniki, my house, the interviewee(s)’s house, and/or the office/working environment of the participants. During the interview sessions, I used an audio-recorder with the voluntary consent of each participant. Only one interviewee asked me to not audio-record our session. Therefore, I took only handwritten notes with his consent.

My interview data included: demographic information (such as age, gender, ethnicity, citizenship, social-class, religion, marital-status, employment, education, and residency), the participant’s feelings, attachment, and relationship with the performing arts, music, ancient Greece, ancient Greek music, texts, and/or instruments and the soundscapes associated with these, the participant’s personal experiences within Orfean Harmony’s environment (including music-making, feelings/emotions, social relations, financial challenges, and activities), and finally the experiences of the participants in relation to Greece’s financial crisis. In the end of each interview, I asked each participant to narrate any story related to Orfean Harmony’s environment in order to enhance my understanding of the participants’ feelings and experiences

⁶ Seven string players, three woodwind players, and one percussion player.
associated with this ensemble. I also tried to grasp an idea on what constitutes ‘Greek identity’ for each of the participants, but I encountered guarded responses from some members, and I also witnessed intense emotions on this subject. After one of the rehearsals, two members of Orfean Harmony engaged in an intense discussion about what constitutes Greek identity. During this confrontation, one of them asked my personal opinion on this issue. As an anthropologist during fieldwork, I wanted to avoid influencing the views of my participants, and instead of answering directly to this question, I asked: “Could you help me define ‘Greek’?” The answers were fascinating as the members were trying to come up with a definition that would encompass their subjective and personal feelings. It is undeniable that all members of Orfean Harmony love and admire ancient Greek civilization, and they all show an interest and zeal to learn more about it and share this information with other people. It is also undeniable that all members of Orfean Harmony are inspired by the idea of recreating parts of an ancient musical past in general, and of recreating parts of an ancient Greek musical past in particular. However, the members’ personal views, opinions, and feelings about what constitutes a Greek identity, and how a modern-Greek identity may be connected with that of the ancient Greek identity differ—this is an example of how people’s subjective feelings and interpretations may vary depending on their personal backgrounds. Since I noticed that ‘Greek identity’ is a sensitive topic, I decided to allow my participants to speak about it only if they wished to, in order to avoid any discomforts—this is an example of respecting the participants.

What was interesting in the interviews and the formal/informal conversations was the way that the participants reflected on their experiences in relation to music and music-making. Some of them gave musical examples by humming, singing, playing an instrument, and moving their body to demonstrate the answer that cannot be said in words, “τώρα πώς να στο πω αυτό;”
(“Now, how can I say that?”). This is an example of the “untalkable quality of music,” and its “firstness” dimensions—which refer to the power of music to produce emotional experiences to the human subject, which are difficult to articulate (Turino 1999:231-232, 249-250). The incidents described above revealed the experience of inspiration, leading the discussion to a place where the participants felt both excited and comfortable to perform the answer in front of the researcher. In fact, it is critical that the anthropologist lead the discussion in ways that inspire excitement and interest, in order to gain a better insight of the participants’ experiences, behavior, and feelings (Wulff 2012:173). The excitement of my participants led the interview to a new level of rapport. Alternative communicative means, through music and body performances, illuminate an additional path to the experiences of the interviewees, which is critical for understanding how they make sense of their artistic activities.

During my participant observation in rehearsals, performances, group meetings, and social gatherings, I was able to video-record, photograph, and/or keep field-notes on the group’s activities, and those affiliated with it. This ethnographic strategy helped to enrich my understanding of how Orfean Harmony’s members and their affiliates function within everyday urban, social, music-making, and other performative settings. Beyond the rehearsal and concert frameworks (where most of the video-recording took place), these settings included two wedding celebrations, the ten-year anniversary celebration of the Orfean Harmony in the leader’s country house, café-food meetings, hanging out in the working environment of the participants, spending time with the family members of the participants in the context of Orfean Harmony’s gatherings, and one funeral attendance. In these settings, my field notes focused on formal and informal conversations, music, language, text, soundscapes, and material culture. While most of the

7 One of the initial supporters of the group passed away.
participants encouraged me to video-record and take photos of moments that they considered important, they also encouraged me when not to use my camera—such as in the funeral setting. Following their advice on when and how to use my technological equipment enhanced the establishment of trust between me, as a researcher, and the members of this ensemble, as the participants. Furthermore, I informed the participants every time that I intended to use the video camera in order to receive one more time their verbal consent. The information gathered from the settings listed above helped me to navigate various experiences, to document narratives, and to record information related to Orfean Harmony’s environment.

As an active member of Orfean Harmony since 2007, I play the ancient Greek instrument pektis. Accordingly, I participated in this ensemble by playing the pektis during rehearsals and the performance in the end of June 2017. At the same time, I was asked to participate as a singer in one of the musical pieces, since one of the singers could not perform with the ensemble. Beyond my music-oriented performing activities, I was also engaged in the setup of the room for the rehearsals, car-transportation for the members of the group when needed, participation in casual conversations, gatherings, and group-meetings, and the promotion of this group through the use of the video-material recorded with my camera from the performance. My involvement in the activities listed above, maximized my data collection as an insider participant-observer, which allowed me to grasp parts of the insider’s emic view.

My research also included the collection of cultural artifacts, such as musical programs, photos, and musical scores, that were given to me by the participants for using them in this

---

8 The members of Orfean Harmony used this audio-visual material to create a small video and asked me to give it to the Mayor of Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati. The performance was part of the 3rd Festival of Musical Meetings 2017, organized by the municipality of Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati, and hence, the mayor and the artistic director asked from me a small video-sample. This video is available on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SBUAGROf6mQ.
research. At the same time, I collected information from musical videos available on YouTube to get a sense of Orfean Harmony’s past performances. Finally, I observed Thessaloniki’s urban environment and gathered photo material that demonstrates the city’s turbulent creative and civic environment including graffiti, demonstrations, strikes, and other city-elements—this information was critical to understanding the urban context where my ethnography took place in summer 2017.

The above methods helped me to gather important information based on the participants’ personal and collective responses, the activities in which the members of Orfean Harmony were engaged in, and the conditions under which this musical ensemble functions as an artistic force within Thessaloniki’s turbulent environment. Furthermore, these methods generated a data collection that sheds light on the feedback-relationship between the human actors—such as the members of Orfean Harmony and those associated with the ensemble—and the non-human entities—such as the musical instruments, sounds (music, voice, language), and finances. This human-non-human relationship reveals Orfean Harmony’s creation and recreation since 2007, and gives insight on the sustainability of this ensemble. Finally, this material contributes to our understanding of how Orfean Harmony works as a network of performing artists that shapes temporal sonic-chronotopes that echoes on a distant past.

In the next section, I discuss the difficulties and opportunities related to being an insider/native anthropologist to illustrate my positionality as a researcher during fieldwork in Thessaloniki, Greece, in 2017.

2.2 The Native/Insider Anthropologist During Fieldwork

In the early ages of Anthropology as a social discipline, the ethnographic researcher was associated with the non-native outsider who studied foreign cultures or small scale-
technologically simple non-Western societies. Early ethnographic research was rooted in the study of the non-Western ‘other’ by the Western self and the idea of writing towards how to make sense of the different ‘other’ (Abu-Lughod 1991:138). The last three to four decades, many anthropologists paved the path for studying the ‘home communities’ and interpreting their own cultures—thus, they challenged the long-term tradition of conducting anthropological research on ‘other’ ‘different’ cultures (Jacobs-Huey 2002:792; Narayan 1993:673). These anthropologists were/are considered as ‘native’ and ‘indigenous’ since they study their own cultures from the view of an ‘insider,’ and some of them may also hold a more complex identity. It is critical to note that native anthropologists can be both insiders and outsiders, and non-native anthropologists may become insiders with their long presence in the field. In fact, a ‘native’ anthropologist who has been studying for years his/her own culture, he/she still cannot be knowledgeable of all the socio-cultural aspects of his/her culture (Narayan 1993:678). Thus, no one may be an ‘expert’ of a whole culture. As a matter of fact, there are so many differences between ‘native’ people, as one person cannot be an adequate representative of all ‘natives;’ ‘natives’ are not a homogenous category, and during research an anthropologist experiences a transformation of his/her identities (Narayan 1993; Jacobs-Huey 2002:792). Accordingly, native/insider anthropologists’ positionality in the field may vary vastly; ‘native/insider’ cultural awareness and linguistic skills are only partial in nature within a larger ‘native’ cultural context, and ‘native’ status does not secure rapport and trust with the participants (Jacobs-Huey 2002:794, 799). A researcher’s identities in the field are always fluid and depend on their exposition to a specific place, time, and group of people.

In this ethnographic study, I found myself embracing a mixed and fluid identity that incorporated elements of a native/insider—as a Greek, Thessalonikian, musician, and a member
of Orfean Harmony—and an outsider anthropologist, who carried a student-intellectual and professional identity built on studies in anthropology in the United States. My native/insider identity carried in the field cultural and social capital⁹ (Bourdieu 1986), that were critical in the realization of this study. The knowledge of the Greek and music language, the musical skills on an ancient Greek instrument (pektis), and my ten-year participation and access in Orfean Harmony and other musical networks allowed me to negotiate my research-relationship with the members of the ensemble and to build rapport—a core element in ethnographic study, necessary for the realization of interviews, participant-observation, and access in information (Spradley 2016 (1979):78-79), as well as the use of audio and video recordings. While some of the members in this ensemble were new, and did not know me, they felt comfortable when they learned that I had been part of this group since 2007; being ‘one of them’ was enough to enhance their trust in me. Therefore, my native identity helped me to build rapport easily and quickly—this element was critical since my presence in the field was short. Furthermore, my previous experience with the ensemble, as well as my musical abilities and skills on the pektis helped to maximize my participant-observation from the very first meeting with the group.

Being a native Thessalonikian means allowed me to stay in my parents’ house, and to use that space for interview sessions and gatherings. Also, the members of my family facilitated my research since they provided me with the technological equipment for my research; for example, my sister gave me her photo-camera, and my father gave me his video-camera. In addition to that, since my parents supported Orfean Harmony since 2007, the members of this ensemble welcomed my father’s involvement in the process of video-recording during Orfean Harmony’s performance, in which I had to perform on stage with the ensemble; as a matter of fact, this

⁹ My social and cultural capital were developed through my formal school and musical education, and the participation in various musical networks in Thessaloniki, Greece.
activity was something that my father had conducted several times for Orfean Harmony in the past. Furthermore, my father took many photos during the performance to enrich both Orfean Harmony’s archive and my research-data, since I needed a ‘second hand’ while I was conducting participant observation in the field. In this context, my native network worked in favor of my research in both financial and practical terms.

While the advantages of my native/insider identity were many, challenges also occurred. For example, my key informant, who is the leader of the ensemble and a good friend of mine, asked all members to give me an interview to help me enrich my data. To avoid any kind of coercion, I repeated many times that the participation in this research was voluntary and that no one had any obligation to participate in an interview—I was more concerned with the newer members of Orfean Harmony with whom I did not have any previous relationships, and hence, I did not want them to feel forced to participate in this study.

Another challenge raised due to my insider-native view was my established assumptions and biases. While biases are unavoidable in any study, I tried to “bracket” (Husserl 2012 (1931)) myself as much as possible when I was writing the field-notes. This means that I tried to incorporate in my field-notes details and descriptions that were obvious and familiar to me—such as the musical instruments and the musical sounds. Stepping temporarily outside of the Greek, Thessalonikian, musician, and member of Orfean Harmony self/selves, allowed me to maximize my theoretical perspectives as a researcher (Duranti 2009:213), and focus more on the detailed work of an anthropologist who reflects at the experience from a different point of view. I want to highlight here that such process does not indicate clear boundaries. In these cases, the anthropologist is destined to move in-between the two (or more) ‘selves’ that lie on a single line with no specific points of reference. The triangulation of anthropological methods including
highly detailed descriptions and attention to the environment under examination may help the researcher to partially and temporarily step-out of a personal experience in order to critically evaluate it later.

My personal assumptions for the ensemble changed once I started interviewing people. In the interview sessions, I realized how many things were different from my past personal views. For example, I had the assumption that the members of Orfean Harmony all shared similar perceptions about their relationship with the ancient Greek past. In-depth interviews with Orfean Harmony’s members, as well as informal discussions after rehearsals and meetings revealed that each participant experiences the ancient Greek past in various ways (from religious, to nationalistic, to global citizenship views). As an outsider anthropologist, I had to prevail in order to put aside old ideas and focus on new information. This is an example of how the outsider student anthropologist from the United States calls into question biases and expectations related to her native/insider identity.

It is critical that the researcher is aware of his/her identities in the field and be able to choose which identity has to prevail in order to examine what lies beneath not only the participants’, but also his/her own thoughts. While this may be more easily achieved during interviews and data analysis, where the researcher’s identity prevails, during participant-observation transactions may be confusing, and identity boundaries become fluid. For example, from the very first day, I experienced the battle of identities as an anthropologist/outsider and a musician/insider. While I came in the rehearsal with my consent-forms, video, photo, and audio devices, and made the announcement of this study as an anthropologist, the moment I took the musical instrument in my hands, I felt that I was just the musician. In fact, I noticed in the video
how many things I missed while I was trying to tune my instrument and read the musical scores; in this context, the use of technology served as a complementary tool to my field notes.

Other challenges that occurred during fieldwork were related to emotional ups and downs. The anthropologists who live away from their native communities and travel-back to study them may encounter emotions of pleasure and disappointment (Guano 2017:19); emotions that may lie in-between feeling both near and away from home. During fieldwork in Thessaloniki, overwhelming and contradicting emotions were present every single day. As a native Thessalonikian who chose to flee the country and pursue a better future, I was emotionally charged as I was temporarily back to my home-town near family and friends; this event brought the explosion of happy and unhappy memories and feelings, which reminded me why I left Thessaloniki, why I missed this city, and why I had to leave away from it, again: “Never come back!” were the advising words of some of my participants, friends, and relatives. One of the participants specifically said,

What I am about to tell you now, I don’t want to say it, but I have to tell you. As much as I wish for you to finish your studies and come back, I’m telling you not to come back. Come only for holidays, for swimming in the summer. But really, do not come back saying, “let’s go back to find out what kind of job I can find,” please don’t make this mistake. And it hurts me to say this, because we are not going to be able to see you, but don’t come back.

At the same time, my parents’ frustration, due to the unstable and unpleasant conditions of the Greek financial crisis, added to the battle between my native-identity, which was experiencing emotional struggles, and my researcher-identity, which was calling for focus, attention, and work. In addition to these challenges, I faced a health issue just a day before the performance with Orfean Harmony, which forced me to be bedridden for fourteen hours, and which caused terrible pains in my back. My mother, who is a pharmacist, and my uncle, who is a
doctor, remedied my condition with heavy medication. Accordingly, I was able to perform with the ensemble and conduct three more interviews that week. One may understand here how my native network was crucial in the completion of my fieldwork.

According to my experience described above, the anthropologist enters the field with various identities—these identities both favor and challenge the research. Thus, the anthropologist needs to negotiate his/her identities in the field during all times. The positioning and understanding of ‘self’ in relation to research is critical for avoiding the prevalence of embedded biases and assumptions. While subjectivity is unavoidable, an honest and ethical engagement with the study participants may reduce misinterpretations and contribute to a more sound data analysis.
3 ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

3.1 A Day in Thessaloniki of 2017

Moving from Panorama, a suburb of Thessaloniki, the bus passed the region of Pylaia and headed towards the downtown area of the city. Following the main avenue of the city, Tsimiski, at the core of downtown region, the bus turned right at Venizelou street, and then right again at Egnatia street. Contemporary buildings, scaffoldings, and Thessaloniki’s unfinished project of underground transportation juxtaposed the city’s remnants and sites of a distant past. Just a few meters before the bus entered Tsimiski street, the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, which was situated next to Thessaloniki’s Byzantine Museum and across Thessaloniki’s Museum of Modern Art, indicated an urban environment charged with history. At the site of the Archaeological museum, I felt nostalgic remembering my performance with the musical ensemble Orfean Harmony in this space a few years ago. Turning my head towards the Museum of Modern Art, I wondered if Eleni, also a member of Orfean Harmony, was working there that day. My thoughts were soon distracted by the lines of tour-buses at the side of the streets near the museums and historical sites. Drivers inside or outside of the tour-buses waited patiently for the tourists to finish their sightseeing in the city, or to move to the next touristic destination. At Egnatia street, the ancient Arch of Galerius (dated to Roman times), with its rich depictions of ancient wars and battles, made its appearance with all its greatness as the bus headed towards the Orthodox Christian church of Panagia Dexia. Standing next to cafeterias near Aristotle University, this ancient Roman site signified one of the most popular places for Thessalonikians’ casual meetings.

Beyond the markers of Thessaloniki’s long historical presence, the recent graffiti on the city’s walls, which covered previous artistic expressions, gave to the urban space the image of an
artistic war. This war was filled with rage related to European Union’s and Greece’s politics, racist remarks, calls for human rights, fascist and anti-fascist expressions, sports slogans, and love words. While I was observing the plethora of slogans, drawings, and flyers in the city’s space, I overheard the woman who was sitting next to me sighing—a woman around sixty years old, wearing casual clothes, make-up, earrings, and holding a small handbag tightly. It was still morning, around 10:00am, but she looked already tired and exhausted. I wondered if she was working at night, or if her thoughts and frustrations made her so tired. Perhaps this ride with the bus served as an ephemeral escape from her life-struggles, or it was destined to make her confront her problems. Observing this woman reminded me of my parents who recently started using the city’s buses in order to save money. “Is this how they feel?”, I wondered.

I stepped out of the bus at Egnatia street and walked towards the sea to face another historical site, the White Tower—a cylindrical building with small windows, which rested for centuries in front of the gulf of Thermaikos, signified the city’s beloved symbol. Situated next to Thessaloniki’s Vasiliko Theater and opposite from the State Theater of Northern Greece, this symbol was filled with contradictory histories. During Thessaloniki’s Ottoman period, the White Tower served as a prison where people were tortured. Thus, its name used to be “Tower of Blood.” In contemporary Thessaloniki, the White Tower serves as a museum where visitors could become familiar with the history of the city. Hence, I watched tourists waiting patiently to move inside, while Thessalonikians rested under the precious shadows of the Tower’s surrounding trees in front of the blue sea.

I walked at the seafront of Thessaloniki towards Aristotle Square. Cafeterias and bars anticipated Thessalonikians to enjoy their daily coffee, and the tourists to cherish the beautiful sea-view while drinking refreshments. However, the city looked relatively empty. While I was
observing Thessaloniki’s social life, I noticed a decline in the number of cars, and the people in cafeterias and bars in comparison to previous weeks. As a native Thessalonikian, spending twenty-six years of my life in the city, I found this relatively empty-image of the urban environment very strange. I kept looking for signs to understand if that day there would be another demonstration. However, the answer was not hidden in the city’s activities. It was just the end of the month and people did not have enough money to spend. This simply meant that the majority of Thessalonikians lived their lives paycheck to paycheck.

I arrived at Aristotle Square and wandered in and out all the small streets around the area. Elements of anger, frustration, hopelessness, and hope dominated the streets, walls, pavements, benches, garbage cans, shops, and squares in downtown Thessaloniki: “war to the war of the bosses,” “smash the borders!” “life with color, fascists on the ground!” “we are shutting down!” “no hate!” “bicycles for the refugees.” These voices and images mixed with the voices and images of beggars, poor immigrants, and homeless people, as well as with the social and volunteering activities, musical and dancing artistic expressions, strikes and demonstrations (that took place the previous days) gave to the city the sense of disorder.

A few hours later, I jumped on another bus to get me to my mother’s pharmacy at the other side of the city, in the Working-class district of Krini (Εργατικές συνοικίες Κρήνης)—a relatively poor region. Most of the customers that walked in the pharmacy were poorly dressed, and looked worried, frustrated, and in despair. In the question of the pharmacist, “How are you?” most of them replied with a deep “Ah! What can I tell you now (τι να σου λέω τώρα;)?” Some of the clients could not afford to pay for their medicines since it was the end of the month and did not have enough money. However, my mother gave them what they needed with the expectation to be paid when the clients receive their monthly salaries and/or pensions. In fact, this was a
common practice lately. Observing these people in a tough position, I wondered how they cover their basic needs. “The basic needs are covered by people themselves. They help each other. There are people who volunteer to cook and give food to the citizens. At the same time, if someone in the neighborhood dies, his/her relatives bring his/her medicines in the pharmacy, and requests from us to give them to the social-medical-center (κοινωνικό ιατρείο) or to the Doctors of the World. Then the people from these organizations come by to pick them up,” my mom said.

Indeed, social-health-institutions (such as medical centers and pharmacies) in Thessaloniki help those in need of medical care, while voluntary initiatives and groups of solidarity provide people with food. Hence, solidarity and social-support help Thessalonikians to cope during times of struggle, crisis, and social change.

In order to understand a ‘Day in Thessaloniki of 2017,’ this chapter outlines the city’s profile across time, and introduces the socio-economic context of the Greek crisis in relation to the European Union, the Eurozone, and the global financial crisis of 2008. ‘Thessaloniki: A City of Culture’ illustrates an environment charged with multinational and multi-religious histories, and shows how the city’s socio-cultural and artistic activities call for the formation of artistic groups, such as Orfean Harmony. The description of the city’s environment in the context of the Greek crisis illustrates what conditions dominated during this ethnographic project. In the last part of this chapter, the broader socio-economic, political, and historical framework of the Greek crisis elucidates how Greece, and in extension Thessaloniki, has been subjected to radical socio-political and economical changes that influence Greek citizens.

3.2 Thessaloniki: A City of Culture

Thessaloniki is the co-capital of Greece and the second largest city. Thessaloniki as a larger metropolitan region includes many municipalities with a total population of approximately
800,000 citizens, while the Municipality of Thessaloniki holds a population of 352,152 residents (Gemenetzi 2017:88; ELSTAT 2014:2). The city is located in the Northern part of Greece, next to the sea at the Gulf of Thermaikos, and near the borders of northern Greece and southeastern Europe. The Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Greek periods of Thessaloniki elucidate the city’s multi-national and multi-religious background, which was shaped by Christians, Muslims, and Jews; a background that is visible in the contemporary fabric of the city in its multiple surviving architectonic memoirs (Mazower 2005), and in the urban experiences via touristic, artistic, social, and other cultural performances (Tzanelli 2011), (see figures 4-5).

Figure 4 Orfean Harmony’s performance at the ancient historical site of Roman Agora

---

10 Such as the White Tower, the Arch of Galerious, the ancient Roman Agora, the Rotonda and many others.
11 The photo was taken by Christos Grigoriadis in July 2014.
The city’s recent history celebrates Thessaloniki as a ‘City of Culture,’ as the city became the host of various cultural events, such as the birth of ‘Thessaloniki Film Festival’ (Papadimitriou 2016:93). In 1997, Thessaloniki became the ‘European Capital of Culture’ (European Communities 2009:24), and in 2014, Thessaloniki gained the title of the ‘European Youth Capital of 2014’ (Forum E. Y.n.d.:n.p) (see figure 6). During both periods, the year of 1997 and the year of 2014, the city embraced a variety of socio-cultural activities, which ranged from public and street performances including theater, music, dance and other, to walking-historical tours, volunteering initiatives, and European youth networking. However, the aftermath of being the European Youth Capital 2014, marked a continuous development of cultural activities through municipal, volunteering, and other independent initiatives—especially the two latter. The participation of Thessalonikian youth in these activities and initiatives illustrate how young Thessalonikians are engaged in the European Union’s efforts to reinforce intercultural dialogue among its members-states, with the hope to inspire unity and a sense of

---

12 Thessaloniki’s tour-bus illustrates important sites of the city: the statue of Alexander the Great, the tower of OTE, and the White Tower; from the left to the right.
belonging in the European Union’s diverse environment (European Communities 2009:1 and Forum E. Y. n.d:n.p.). These initiatives appear as necessary for the peaceful co-existence of multiethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious European citizens of a recent and partially integrated Europe. At the same time, the celebrations for Thessaloniki’s 100 years of liberation in 2012 signified Thessalonikians’ revitalization efforts at the heights of Greece’s financial crisis.

Figure 6 Performance at the Roman Agora as part of EYC’s 2014 cultural activities

In the mix of cultural activities in Thessaloniki, music is found at the core of urban experience as musical groups and people who just love to make music occupy various spaces in the city. One may listen to music on the streets, inside the means of public transportation\(^\text{13}\), in bar-restaurants, in popular music venues, in music theaters\(^\text{14}\), in traditional/folk *kafeneia*\(^\text{15}\), in city’s music conservatories, in museums\(^\text{16}\) (see figure 10), in archeological spaces (see figures 4 and 6), at the airport\(^\text{17}\), in squares\(^\text{18}\), at the seafront public space, and in various social

\(^{13}\) Such as buses and taxis.
\(^{14}\) Such as the Megaron of Music.
\(^{15}\) A type of old/traditional Greek coffee-shops.
\(^{16}\) Such as the Archeological Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, the Byzantine Museum, and the Folklore Museum and Ethnological Museum of Thessaloniki.
\(^{17}\) The State Orchestra of Thessaloniki has given a performance there in 2017.
\(^{18}\) Such as the Aristotelous’s square located at the city’s center.
gatherings\textsuperscript{19}. Musicians embrace a variety of musical genres such as: Greek folk/traditional music, pop, rock, funk, metal, classical, jazz, ethnic, Balkan, Argentinian and classical tango, Latin, and other. Undoubtedly, music is an integral component of Thessaloniki’s urban life.

3.2.1 **Orfean Harmony in Thessaloniki’s Artistic Environment**

Thessaloniki’s rich multi-historical, artistic, and musical environment provides the ideal arena for the realization of artistic ensembles, such as Orfean Harmony. From its creation in 2007 to this day, the ensemble provides a unique note to the city’s aesthetics based on ancient Greek music, instruments, and texts. The formal and informal musical venues, as well as the historical and archeological sites and museums, become Orfean Harmony’s performing spaces. The performances of this group in these spaces makes Orfean Harmony an integral component to Thessaloniki’s artistic life. In fact, Orfean Harmony’s performances in historical archeological sites (such as the Rotonda and the Roman Agora) produce images and voices of an imagined Greek past that transform temporally Thessaloniki’s urban experience.

Orfean Harmony participates in the city’s festivals and events, along with a variety of other artists. For example, the group performs every year at the K.Ω.Θ. Underground festival, which hosts a variety of artistic groups. Also, Orfean Harmony’s unique repertoire, based primarily on the recreation of ancient Greek music, was/is critical for the collaboration of this group with a variety of theatrical groups (including the State Theater of Northern Greece) as well as with dancing groups interested in the promotion of ancient Greek heritage and culture (such as the Panhalkidikos Institution). Thessaloniki’s richness in festivals and artistic groups is critical for the continuation of Orfean Harmony’s performances, especially in the period of Greece’s

\textsuperscript{19} Such as parties, weddings, and other formal/informal and casual meetings.
economic crisis, during which financial difficulties interfere with the ensemble’s ability to perform regularly.

### 3.2.2 Thessaloniki and the Greek Crisis

Since 2008, Thessaloniki has been subjected to Greece’s financial crisis, which shapes the city’s everyday urban experience, and which constructs contradictory urban *heterotopic* spaces²⁰ (Foucault 1986) with fluid boundaries. The aesthetics of the city are highly dynamic and interplay with visual and sonic/acoustic multilayered images, sounds, and meanings. For example, the historical multiple remnants and buildings that range from the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and modern Greece’s history co-exist with the city’s creative graffiti/slogan ‘wars,’ demonstrations, protests, and strikes related to Greece’s austerity measures, political instability, and a broader neoliberal framework. Such images and voices, captured by the ethnographic eye throughout Greece’s residential environments, call for collective civic action and change in Greece’s political stage (Knight 2013:147,155), and opposition to austerity measures (Knight 2015:230), and signify alternative forms of civil resistance and activism (Alexandrakis 2016) that mark the emergence of a more civil society.

The fiscal difficulties of Thessalonikians include as well the rise of the anti-middleman movement. This movement refers to the way that producers sell their agricultural products directly to the consumers without the interference of middlemen—this movement claims Thessaloniki’s urban space temporally in order to participate in the informal solidarity economy, “the ‘hidden welfare’” (Rakopoulos 2017:86, 98). This grassroots movement is another response to Greece’s crisis. At the same time, a plethora of NGOs (such as the United Societies of

---

²⁰ *Heterotopias* are defined as real ‘other spaces’ or ‘counter sites’ that invert what exists in other real places in the world.
Balkans), ΚΟΙΝΣΕΠ/Social Cooperative Enterprises (such as the Greenways), formal/informal volunteering organizations, and social movements of solidarity (such as the Group of Social Solidarity) occupy the city’s urban space, and call attention to human rights, humanism, and solidarity initiatives. Social scientists and scholars interpret these kinds of movements as responses to a broader neoliberal environment, the burst of the financial crisis, and the decline of trust to the Greek political world (Rozakou 2016:81-82). Cars, buses, bicycles, artistic performances, flaneurs/euses, beggars and homeless people, immigrants and refugees, vendors, as well as touristic excursions add to the diverse and contradictory visible, invisible, and acoustic layers of a city in transition (see figures 7-14).

Figure 7 Call for “General Strike,” “Everybody on the streets”
Figure 8 A pile of garbage in downtown Thessaloniki\textsuperscript{21}

Figure 9 Graffiti in downtown Thessaloniki

\textsuperscript{21} The result of the strike of the garbage collectors in Thessaloniki.
Figure 10 Performance at the Folklore and Ethnological Museum of Thessaloniki

Figure 11 Beautification of urban walls, downtown Thessaloniki
Figure 12 "Bicycles for refugees" "No Hate"\textsuperscript{22}

Figure 13 Tourists and Thessalonikians at the statue of Alexander the Great

Figure 14 Bicyclers, walkers, and flaneurs/euses at the seafront of Thessaloniki

\textsuperscript{22} ΚΟΙΝΣΕΠ (Social Cooperative Enterprise) spreads the message “no hate” and offers/gathers bicycles for the refugees.
To understand how Thessaloniki became the host of such diverse environment, the next section of this chapter outlines how Greece’s broader neoliberal and economic framework brought societal changes all over Greece.

3.3 Greece and the Fiscal Crisis

Since 2008 Greece entered a deep financial debt crisis that threatened the balance and stability of European economies and generated further moral and humanitarian crises within the Greek borders. As a response to the debt-crisis, the Greek government of George Papandreou moved towards an agreement with the European Union (EU) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and signed the first Memorandum of Understanding in May 2010 to save the state’s money and contribute to the establishment of credibility among Greek and European economies. This agreement placed Greece in a continuous borrowing position under strict surveillance from the joint European Union and IMF arena; the so-called TROIKA which includes the European Central Bank (ECB), the European Commission (EC), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (IEO 2016:3; Alexandrakis 2016:273; Knight and Stewart 2016:1-2). Accordingly, Greek society’s struggle with ongoing political, financial, and humanitarian crises is the result of the implementation of harsh austerity policies and measures related to structural adjustments and reforms implemented by TROIKA.

The harsh economic policies contributed to radical changes in Greek society, including shifts in the socio-economic and political scenery with the election of the left-party SYRIZA in 2015, and the implementation of capital controls in the summer of 2015. The structural adjustment program for Greece incorporated a variety of policy reforms focusing on fiscal cuts, which included continuous cuts in pensions and increase in taxes (Matsaganis 2014:114). More specifically, the IMF, ECB, and EC played a significant role in fiscal and competitiveness
reforms grounded on plans of privatization (Wyplosz and Sgherri 2011:33-35). These reforms demanded from the Greek government, and in extension the Greek citizens, strict frugality by any means. In order to understand Greece’s struggles in a broader context, it is important to understand Greece’s position inside the European Union.

3.3.1 Greece as a Member of European Union

Greece entered the European Union in 1981 following the western trend of modernization and economic development (Tsakalotos 2013:18) and became part of a larger complicated socio-economic and political system—this integration generated Greece’s responsibilities within EU’s arena automatically. According to this system, the national governments of the EU member-states give part of their sovereignty to the EU institutions—the ECB, EC, and European Parliament (European Union 2012:3). While being a member of the EU, Greece joined the Eurozone in 2001 and gained access to the benefits of the euro—including competing at a larger market (European Central Bank 1994:8-9; Lewis 2011:62). Greece’s entrance to the Eurozone automatically reduced the governmental power to devaluate currency—meaning that the Greek government lost the privilege to adjust the country’s currency whenever is necessary. At the same time, in order to ensure a successful participation within the EU, the Greek governments of PASOK and New Democracy followed neoliberal trends, based on privatizations, liberalization, free-market (Harvey 2005:2), and the expansion of the banking system (Tsakolotos 2013:27) in an attempt to serve the EU and US neoliberal orientation in the name of ‘development.’

Consequentially, 1980s Greece is now tied to EU and US’s financial processes. Greece’s current fiscal crisis is the result of global financial trends (Knight and Stewart 2016:1) related to the deregulation of governmental power in the ‘market,’ the expansion of capitalism, and trade of liberalization in the name of neoliberalism (Tsakalotos 2013:4).
The global crisis of 2008 severely impacted the US and European economies, influenced the international market, and caused instability and tremendous economic difficulties in countries such as Greece, Portugal, Spain, and Italy (Knight 2013:149; Knight and Stewart 2016:1; Öztürk 2015:26; Varoufakis 2013:207-208). Accordingly, the implementation of neoliberal policies and structural adjustments—including the application of harsh austerity measures in the countries listed above—led to the burst and explosion of national and international financial crises, and the entrenchment of social inequality across the globe (Ganti 2014:93). Accordingly, the overall 2008 financial disaster followed the implementation of a neoliberal agenda (Montoya 2014:6). This highlights how Greece’s fiscal and humanitarian crises did not erupt solely from internal financial problems, but were fueled from an international global crisis of capital, which extends beyond national borders (Lewis 2011). This is an example of how the increased interconnectedness and expansion of international ‘free-market,’ through the processes and practices of globalization and neoliberalism, affect regions beyond regional and national boundaries.

Greece’s precarious financial position negatively affected investments and increased the interest rates of Greek bonds for investors (Knight 2013:149; Varoufakis 2013:206-207). This led to the deepening of Greece’s public debt, which demanded the immediate intervention of the international monetary institutions in order to bring back stability in the financial arena of the European Union; Greece’s public debt, as well as the Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish financial crises raise concerns about the future of European banking system, and contribute to the rise of unemployment in many EU countries (Archick 2017:4; Varoufakis 2013:164-165).

Since 2010, the IMF along with the EC and ECB have been engaged in a multi-year program of financial ‘assistance’ with bailouts and “rescue packages” in order to restore Greece’s
economy inside the EU arena. However, these funds are used to repay Greece’s debt in foreign banks, and thus, most of this capital flows beyond Greece’s borders (IEO 2016:3). At the same time, the measures of conditionality imposed by the TROIKA, which are associated with harsh austerity policies have been/are heavily criticized as these not only do not contribute in Greece’s economic revival (Varoufakis 2013:207-208), but lead to the continuous rise of Greece’s unemployment and public debt (Wyplosz and Sgherri 2011:2; Rakopoulos 2015:88).

While the financial world of Greece struggles in the global and European economic arenas, the question is how these struggles are translated at a local level. What is happening inside Greek society? How may the global financescapes (Appadurai 1996:36) affect people on the ground? How do Greek citizens continue to struggle financially with minimum and/or even no hope for the future? These are the questions that fuel ethnographic research in Greece by anthropologists.

3.3.2 Greeks and the Fiscal Crisis

Recent ethnographies and anthropological responses on the Greek crisis all reveal a troubled society, a society in struggle, a society in transition and transformation—hence, a society in change (Hatzidaki and Goutsios 2017). As the salary of forty-five percent of working Greeks dropped into poverty levels (Matsaganis 2014:114), and as the unemployment rates hit the percentage of approximately 21% in 2017 (ELSTAT 2017:2), the Greek citizens experience radical changes in their every-day life—including economic, social, psychological, and every-day material aspects (Hatzidaki and Goutsios 2017:4-5, 21; Aggelopoulos 2016:n.p.). In fact, in Thessaloniki, the recent rise in suicides is correlated with the conditions of unemployment within the environment of Greece’s fiscal crisis (Foundoulakis et al. 2015). The increased levels of poverty, the high rates of unemployment, and the tragic phenomenon of suicides show the
dramatic dimensions of the Greek financial crisis. In the ‘mild’ side of the crisis, changes in socio-economic every-day life challenge middle-class Greek citizens. This means that Greek people experience a continuous decline in the status of their social-class, to the extent that they feel unable to specify the social-class to which they belong (Rozakou 2016:95; Alexandrakis 2016:273).

While elements of anger, disappointment, distress, are voiced through performances of anti-austerity demonstrations, revolts, protests, movements of disobedience, strikes, and graffiti/slogans (Goutsios and Polymeneas 2017:191; Knight 2015:231; Zaimakis 2015:374, 378;), Greek citizens have recently developed forms of civic resistance (Rakopoulos 2015:98) via volunteer movements, solidarity initiatives, and artistic expressions. The recent solidarity and volunteer movements have been expressed through the establishment of κοινωνικά (social) institutions (such as social pharmacies and clinics) that aim to provide welfare to people in need, including Greek citizens, migrants, and refugees (Cabot 2016:n.p.; Rozakou 2016:79-80; Rozakou 2016:185). It is interesting to note here that these kind of movements respond to a neoliberal orientation as these embody privatized social initiatives.

On the artistic side, art creators exhibit and perform aspects of the Greek crisis through their unique skills—in paintings, photographs, music, theater, graffiti (Rikou and Chaviara 2016:48; Koutsoulelou 2017; Mylonas 2016:n.p.; Alexandrakis 2016; Zaimakis 2015) and other mediums. Such creative outlets influence positively the Greek audience, as these inspire feelings of hope (Mylonas 2016:n.p.) and solidarity. Humor, laughter, and sociality of various forms are also part of Greeks’ response to the crisis (Knight 2015:237; Bakalaki 2016:n.p.); this kind of expression makes life less frightening and more tolerable some days.
Greek society has become a canvas for the experience of radical transformations and the expression of a variety of political, collective, and personal sentiments. The Greek debt crisis mobilized citizens to exercise collective agency via volunteer, social, political, and artistic initiatives in order to transform Greece. In this arena, the members of Orfean Harmony exercise their artistic agency to inspire hope, and bring harmony and order through the voices and harmonics of a distant past. Hence, the members of the ensemble are collectively engaged in the production of audio-visual experiences that seek to create harmonic utopias within Greece’s turbulent and chaotic environment. To that end, Orfean Harmony becomes an urban agent that strives to bring change to the Greek society through musical means.
4 ORFEAN HARMONY: GROUP FORMATION

“Sing, Muse, dear to me, and prelude my own song.
Let a breeze, come forth from your groves, make my soul tremble.
Oh, wise Kalliope who directs the gracious Muses,
and you whose wisdom initiates the mysteries.
Son of Latona, Delian, Paian, help me with your favor.”


4.1 The Beginning and Beyond

In 2006, a friendly meeting between the musician of the state orchestra of Thessaloniki, Odysseus, and the Emeritus Professor of Oncology of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Aristotle, carried one of the seeds for Orfean Harmony’s creation. In this meeting, Odysseus and Aristotle shared the vision for the formation of a musical ensemble that would produce ancient Greek lyrics and harmonics through the most representative ancient Greek musical instruments. The shared vision of these men was grounded in the deep admiration and love for music and the ancient Greek civilization. Accordingly, the establishment of a group that would promote parts of the ancient Greek heritage through musical means was just a matter of time.

This chapter introduces Orfean Harmony’s general profile through the establishment of the ensemble since 2007 by focusing on the founding members, the artists, the instruments, the sponsor and finances, and the mission of this ensemble through the texts, the music, and the performances and presentations of Orfean Harmony. Thus, the first part of this section demonstrates the ensemble’s human and non-human actants. The second part of this section moves beyond Orfean Harmony’s general information to situate the ensemble’s processes of reformation during the harsh years of Greece’s economic crisis. Accordingly, it examines how the Greek financial crisis has affected Orfean Harmony to illustrate how the ensemble is held together during times of crisis and social upheaval.
4.1.1 The Artists

After his fruitful encounter with Aristotle, Odysseus, as a professional musician, a viola player and a composer, used his artistic network to recruit the first musicians for Orfean Harmony. As Achilles, one of the initial members of the ensemble, told me, “We created the seed [for such a musical group] with Odysseus and with others at the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki [when we were still students there]. And we were discussing about it, and after some time I met with Odysseus and he said, “We will do it!,” and I said, “What?,” and he said “Orfean Harmony!” Hence, Odysseus already had some musicians in mind when he started the initial recruitment of the artists. In turn, these members, based on their own artistic networks, brought more musicians interested in the production of music in such group. As Logan (2013:36) argues, musical creativity is the product of musicians’ social networks. Accordingly, Orfean Harmony’s musical production was and is the result of Odysseus and other Orfean Harmony’s members affiliations with various artistic networks, which contributed and contributes to the recruitment of the ensemble’s performers. The selection of the members was and still is interwoven with their interest to shed light on a missing part of the ancient Greek world, that of musical experience. Since Orfean Harmony was established as a non-profit group, the volunteering participation of the members, as well as their commitment for ongoing involvement and participation in this ensemble was and still is crucial to their selection.

At its birth, on 1 May 2007, just a year before the outbreak of the Greek economic crisis, Orfean Harmony consisted of seventeen members—fourteen people who played ancient Greek reconstructed instruments and three singers. In the two years that followed, and at the brink of the Greek debt crisis, the ensemble increased significantly to twenty-four performers; growth in membership led to the use of more ancient Greek instruments, and the added participation of
actors and actresses who recited excerpts of ancient Greek lyric poetry, and theater. In 2017, ten years after the group’s foundation, Orfean Harmony consisted of twenty-five members including founding, older, and newer members of the age of twenty-six to fifty-six years old—of whom thirteen were men and twelve were women.

The members of Orfean Harmony were/are trained as classical and/or traditional/folk musicians who learned to play an ancient Greek instrument when they entered the ensemble, and/or as actors. However, their professions vary from classical musicians at the State Orchestra of Thessaloniki and/or the Municipal Orchestra of Thessaloniki, to folk/traditional musicians, teachers of music, actors/actresses, photographers, sound engineers, bank employees, anthropologists, archaeologists, civil engineers, and web-designers. Most of them held BA and/or BM degrees, and some of them even MA and/or MFA degrees. Hence, Orfean Harmony’s members have developed strong cultural and social capital that contributed and contribute significantly to their participation in this musical ensemble. For example, the knowledge of reading musical notation was and is a pre-requisite for the participation of the instrumentalists and singers in this ensemble.

During the interviews I conducted, the members of Orfean Harmony expressed their interest in joining this ensemble due to their personal attachments with music, ancient Greece, and their genuine curiosity about the past:

Paris: Music is everything in life. Because everything you do has in it elements of music. Whether it's melodic, rhythmic, when you're talking, walking, or when your heart is beating, for me all of these is music; the sound that the wind will make through an object, the trees in nature. Everything.

Paris expresses in this quotation how music is woven into the fabric of life. In fact, for him it is impossible to live a life without music, as music defines his every-day life through music-
making activities at home, rehearsals, and performances, as well as through listening to music for relaxation and inspiration. In further discussion with the participant, Paris expressed his deep love and admiration for ancient Greece—a factor that served as catalyst for his involvement in this musical ensemble.

Leto: I always had a love for ancient Greece, not just for the music but for everything. For ancient texts, for ancient theater, for mythology, even for the myths of Aesop that are both ancient and not ancient.

Leto expresses in this quotation, and in the rest of the interview, her fascination with the ancient Greek world. Leto is not interested just in learning about the ancient Greek musical aesthetics. For her, it is essential to learn more about all the elements that defined the ancient Greek world, in order to be able to approach its mysterious past as much as possible. At the same time, music for her is an integral part of her every-day life allowing her to cope with emotional transitions.

Ariadne: Orfean Harmony gave me the opportunity to express all of these things that gathered inside me all these years: my love for the ancient Greek drama, in which the ancient logos (word) unites the music with the ancient drama… I feel the path that opens in the past, regardless of whether it is a Greek past—especially in the archaeological places… When you rehearse, you touch something so old and you do not know exactly if it is transcribed in the right way. This dimension of not knowing exactly how it was, this is intriguing. And you say, “Ah, could I have a time-capsule to transfer me to the past?”

Ariadne described Orfean Harmony to me as a blessing. In this quotation, she clearly says how her participation in this ensemble gave her the opportunity to express her love for the ancient Greek drama, in which music and logos unite. At the same time, her curiosity about a past so ancient intrigues and excites her imagination and desire in finding ways to come as close to it as possible. As a child, Ariadne was influenced by her father who introduced her to music through singing, and taught her about ancient Greek philosophers. With her family, they made yearly trips to the theater of Epidaurus, where ancient Greek plays were/are performed. Hence, from an
early age Ariadne developed an interest in music and ancient Greece.

The deep love for music, the admiration and love for ancient Greece, and the fascination of approaching a mysterious ancient past are elements that unite and bring together the performers of this ensemble, including the initial founding members of Orfean Harmony, Aristotle and Odysseus—these elements incorporate sonic-time-space aspects related to a mythological, imaginary, and real Greek past, which both inspire and intrigue the human actors of Orfean Harmony. Consequentially, the ensemble’s formation and re-formation lie on the collective desire of Orfean Harmony’s human actants to approach and re-create elements associated with notions of ancient Greece through musical expression within Greece’s contemporary and urban environment.

**4.1.2 The Instruments and the Sponsor**

While Odysseus was charged with the recruitment of the musicians, and later the actors and actresses, and the musical arrangements, Aristotle ensured the acquisition of reconstructed ancient Greek musical instruments. Before he met for the first time with Odysseus to share his vision about Orfean Harmony, Aristotle discovered in the laboratory of a specialized luthier in Athens, Greece, a big collection of thirty-seven ancient Greek musical instruments—such as *lyra, kithara, phorminx, pektis, varvitos, pandoura, syrinx, krotala* and others. Discussing this discovery with his close friend Xenophon, Aristotle and Xenophon both concluded that these musical instruments should be played in front of the public. As Xenophon mentioned in an interview:

> The unique element [about these reconstructed ancient Greek musical instruments] is that they produce sound… Because from time to time, many attempts have been made to make instruments by studying vases, frescoes, and texts about musical instruments from ancient Greece, but these instruments did not play, they did not leave sound.
What Xenophon implies here is that this collection of musical instruments does not include replicas designed for visual display in a museum. Instead, these instruments have voice and sound, and hence, these are destined for an audio-visual experience. Accordingly, Xenophon provided the financial fee for the acquisition of this collection, with the expectation that these musical instruments would soon sing in front of the audiences inside and outside Greece, in order “to transfer the melodies of yesterday to modern audiences.”

According to the above, the physical properties of the reconstructed ancient Greek musical instruments inspired Aristotle’s vision for the creation of Orfean Harmony and ensured the major financial contribution of Xenophon for the acquisition of these instruments. This is how this musical collection found voice in the hands of Orfean Harmony’s musicians. Consequently, the existence of the musical instruments and the initial financial transaction that took place for their acquisition played a critical role to Orfean Harmony’s creation at first place. To this day, the members of Orfean Harmony host and play these ‘unique’ pieces of musical history.

Orfean Harmony’s musical instruments collection incorporate string, wind, and percussion instruments, which in ancient Greece were classified as chordophones, aerophones, idiophones, and membraphones (Mathiesen 1999: West 1992:48). More specifically the ensemble incorporates one Athenian kithara with eleven strings, four lyres with seven strings, one phorminx with nine strings (see figure 15), one archaic kithara with eleven strings, one Spartan kithara with nine strings, one pektis with twenty strings, one trigonon (see figure 16) with twenty-four strings, one sambuke (see figure 17) with eleven strings, one pandoura with three strings, one pandoura with four strings, one barbitos with three strings, and one barbitos with seven strings. The aerophone instruments (see figure 19) include three monaulia, one thin-
diaulos, one uneven diaulos, two double-flutes, one photinx (plagiaulos), one syrinx (or aulos of Pana), and one salpinx. The idiophones include two krotala, two cymbals, and two seistra (see figure 18), and the membraphones include two tumpana (drums) that differ in size and tuning.

Orfean Harmony’s instruments cover a wide range of the ancient Greek world—meaning that these derive from different places and centuries and are associated with various social occasions including ritualistic and religious ceremonies, symposia, musical competitions, and educational settings (Mathiesen 1999; West 1992). From the lyre that appear in Minoan and Mycenaean depictions (2000-1000 B.C.E.), in numerous texts and artistic representations across centuries, and which was used in contests and various ceremonies, and constituted the base of the Athenian education in the 5th century B.C.E. (Mathiesen 1999:248), to the phorminx that appears in the Homeric lyrics (8th century B.C.E.) and vase paintings, and which was associated with sacred and private settings (West 1992: 49-50; Mathiesen 1999: 253-255), to the pektis, which’s invention was attributed to Sappho from Lesbos (7th century B.C.E.) (Mathiesen 2004:1), and which was partially associated with sensual settings and pleasure (West 1992: 74-75), the instrument collection of Orfean Harmony may be considered a small representation of the musical instruments of the ancient Greek world. However, Orfean Harmony’s musical instrument collection does not re-create a particular period of the past. Inspired by the richness in the musical aesthetics of an imagined ancient Greek world across time and space—which incorporated a wide range of sound-time-spaces—this collection creates new images and sounds, as it bridges various sound-time-spaces in post-modern Greece.

The construction of the instruments is based primarily on wood and membrane/leather (except the salpinx which is made by metal). According to the members of Orfean Harmony, the wooden and membrane surfaces of the instruments create a ‘natural’ sound with calming and
soothing effects. However, the strings of the instruments are made of a plastic modern material similar to fishing line. While this material was not available in ancient Greece, the specialized luthiers used it as it gives more ‘life’ to the strings in comparison to those strings made by animals’ intestines, the gut-strings.

The shapes and sizes of the instruments vary: from the lyres with the sound-box in the shape of a tortoise shell and the two wooden arms that resemble horns, to the trigonon in the ‘simple’ shape of triangle, to the sambuke whose body resembles the shape of a boat, to the photinx that resembles the shape of a classical flute, to the ‘classic’ rounded shape of the tumpana (drums). At the same time, some of the string instruments (such as the lyre, Athenian kithara, and the phorminx) are accompanied with an extra small piece of wood, the plektron, which is used to pluck the strings (Mathiesen 1999:247). At this point it is critical to note that the shapes and sizes of these musical instruments were fundamental for the development of musical techniques by the members of Orfean Harmony. This means that the way that these instruments are constructed both challenges and guides the instrumentalists to discover ways to play them. This indicates that the physical properties of the instruments may direct the actions of human subjects—a concept that correlates with the theory of affordances (Gibson 1986 (1979)), which shows how objects may shape the ways in which humans interact with them.

It is important to note that Orfean Harmony does not use of all these instruments in the performances. However, in the majority of the performances there is a representative number of the instruments from each of the categories listed above. For example, in the performance on the 30th of June 2017, Orfean Harmony performed with seventeen instruments. The number of the instruments used during the performances depends on the availability of the members of Orfean Harmony to perform.
Figure 15 Phorminx

Figure 16 Trigono

Figure 17 Sambuke
4.1.3 The Mission: Music, Texts, Musical Expression, Education

Orfean Harmony’s mission is to promote Greek heritage through performances and educational presentations based on the union of three basic elements of the ancient Greek world: music, song, and theater. The bulk of Orfean Harmony’s music derives from survived musical, lyrical, theatrical, and philosophical excerpts from the ancient Greek world that range from the
7th century B.C.E to the 3rd century A.C.E. For the survived musical excerpts\textsuperscript{23}, Orfean Harmony follows the musical translations—from the ancient Greek musical notation based on the Greek alphabet to the European western musical notation—found in scholarly works, such as \textit{Ancient Greek Music} by Martin Litchfield West (1992). It is critical to note that these musical experts were composed for small musical ensembles, which in ancient Greece were usually constituted of three musicians (Hagel 2009:53-54). Orfean Harmony is constituted of twenty-five members, including instrumentalists, singers, and actors. Accordingly, the leader of the ensemble has orchestrated these musical excerpts specifically for the purposes of Orfean Harmony’s setting. This means that the musical product of Orfean Harmony is ‘unique’ in the sense that this music has never been performed by such large musical ensemble, and with this kind of musical orchestration. At the same time, the texts of this music are performed in their survived linguistic form—meaning the ancient Greek language.

Some of the survived excepts from lyric poetry, theater, and philosophy\textsuperscript{24} are musically arranged based on the ancient Greek modal musical system. While the actors recite these texts, the musicians accompany the recitations with musical sounds including melodic phrases and rhythmical patterns. This part of Orfean Harmony’s musical program reinforces the theatrical experience of the performance as it highlights the words from these texts. It is important to note that the recitation of these texts is performed in modern Greek language, so that the audience may follow the words. However, in some cases, the actors recite these excerpts in both ancient Greek and modern Greek language to highlight the sounds of the ancient Greek language and its connection to the modern Greek language.

\textsuperscript{23} Such as the Epitaph of Seikilos, the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} Delphic Hymns, and the Hymns of Mesomedes.

\textsuperscript{24} Such as Sappho’s hymn to Aphrodite “Hither to me from Crete,” the Aggelos from ‘Perses,’ and Aristotle’s definition of tragedy.
Another part of Orfean Harmony’s musical repertoire includes the musical arrangement of survived hymns, which lack or do not have a survived musical notation\textsuperscript{25}. These musical arrangements follow the ancient Greek musical modal system. Hence, Orfean Harmony suggests musical compositions for the specific ancient Greek survived hymns. In addition to that, since 2017, Orfean Harmony has performed with the ancient Greek musical instruments a Greek song composed in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century in order to suggest new ways in the use of the ancient Greek musical instruments.

Orfean Harmony’s music is called by its members ‘new-dimensional music.’ This term refers to the blending of past and new knowledge in present time. More specifically, Orfean Harmony provides new dimensions in ancient Greek musical texts and excerpts by performing them in present time, by proposing their interpretation within a large musical ensemble, and by connecting modern musical compositions with the sounds of ancient Greek musical instruments. This means that Orfean Harmony suggests new ways for the experience of ancient Greek music in present time, opening alternative ways of using the survived ancient Greek musical, theatrical, lyrical, and philosophical excerpts, as well as the re-constructed ancient Greek musical instruments. Accordingly, Orfean Harmony imagines and re-invents an ancient Greek past in order to adjust it in the practices and aesthetics of a post-modern Greek urban society.

In many performances, the ensemble includes small presentations about the instruments that Orfean Harmony’s members play, the texts that Orfean Harmony performs, and the role that music held in the ancient Greek world. These presentations incorporate the myths and histories associated with the ancient Greek instruments, as well as historical and archaeological information regarding the specific texts and the role of music. Through these presentations, the

\textsuperscript{25} Such as the hymn to Athena “Athana” and the Orphic hymn to Dionysus.
members of Orfean Harmony endeavor to connect with the members of the audience, who are interested in learning more about ancient Greek music.

The ensemble provides as well free educational performances and presentations in educational institutions, such as schools. As one of the participants stated, "The ultimate goal [of Orfean Harmony] is paideia, and when I say paideia I mean it in its literary sense, to educate the children. This is why we go to schools." In these educational presentations, Orfean Harmony does not show up as a group. Any member who is available and wants to participate voluntarily in these educational settings undertakes the task to present and perform his/her instrument, and to talk about ancient Greek music. Thus, Orfean Harmony endeavors to educate its audience on parts of ancient Greek music and life through the harmonics and voices of a distant past. Hence, the ensemble advocates the democratization of education and knowledge. The commitment of Orfean Harmony in such effort is further evident through the ensemble’s participation in performances with free admissions.

Most of Orfean Harmony’s performances took and take place in Thessaloniki in open or closed theaters and venues—such as the Vafopouleio Pneumatiko Kentro of Thessaloniki, Cinema and Theater Alexandros, State Conservatory of Thessaloniki, Hotel Nikopolis, Ancient Roman Agora, Archeological Museum of Thessaloniki, the historical space of Rotonda, and the Byzantine bridge of Pylaia. The various performances of the ensemble in Thessaloniki’s urban environment illustrates that Orfean Harmony is integral part of the city’s artistic environment. The group has also performed in theaters and performing venues outside the city including the theater of Nea Karvali, the forest of Aristotle in Stageira Chalkidikis, the foothills of Olympus mountain in Leivithra, the ancient Greek theater of Dion, and the Museum Benaki in Athens. Institutions, organizations, and conferences that attempt to introduce elements of ancient Greek
culture, heritage, and aesthetics to Greek audiences include in their programs Orfean Harmony to enrich their events with the sounds of ancient Greek music (e.g. the Panhalkidikos Dancing Organization of Thessaloniki). Thus, Orfean Harmony participates in a larger effort charged with Greek images, voices, narratives, and soundscapes, which promotes Greek heritage and culture.

4.1.4 The Human and Non-Human Actants of Orfean Harmony

According to Orfean Harmony’s general profile, the human actants of this ensemble are constituted of: the specialized luthier who constructed the ancient Greek instruments, the initial founding members—Odysseus and Aristotle—the sponsor of the ensemble—Xenophon—and the instrumentalists, singers, and actors who participate in the ensemble. Since Orfean Harmony’s initial formation, some of the human actors of the ensemble have changed. For example, new instrumentalists, singers, and actors/actresses entered the group while some others left the ensemble. To this day, Orfean Harmony incorporates artists who have been part of this group since 2007, and artists who have recently became members of this group. There is also another specialized luthier who undertook the task to repair some of Orfean Harmony’s instruments, as the initial instrument-constructor retired. In addition to that, the unfortunate event of Aristotle’s death contributed to the loss of one of the ensemble’s visionary ‘fathers,’ whose social network helped the ensemble to arrange some of the group’s public performances. Since then the sponsor of Orfean Harmony took a significant role in arranging some of the ensemble’s artistic events. These changes in Orfean Harmony’s environment signify the ensemble’s flexible and fragile nature, which confirm the elastic and sensitive form of such social group formations (Latour 2005:28). As a matter of fact, it is Orfean Harmony’s flexibility that holds the group together as this allows the participation of new artists and other people who are affiliated with the ensemble in various ways.
The non-human actants of Orfean Harmony are constituted of: the reconstructed ancient Greek musical instruments, the music and texts, and the finances. These non-human entities signify Orfean Harmony’s flexible and dynamic nature as well. For example, besides the survived musical texts that Orfean Harmony regularly studies and performs, the ensemble constantly enriches its musical program and repertoire with the addition of various theatrical and philosophical texts, as well as with new musical arrangements.

According to the above, Orfean Harmony’s processes of its initial creation—through the establishment of this ensemble based on the vision of its founding members, the recruitment of Orfean Harmony’s first members, the acquisition of the ancient Greek musical instruments through the financial contribution of the sponsor, and the establishment of the ensemble’s mission based on the music and texts that this group performs in various artistic and educational settings—were/are followed by multiple processes of the group’s re-creation. These processes of recreation are grounded in the continuous interaction among Orfean Harmony’s human and non-human actants, as well as through the added participation of new ones. The members of Orfean Harmony, the sponsor, the musical instruments, the music and text, and the finances constitute Orfean Harmony’s primary actants; meaning that Orfean Harmony would not exist without the multiple interactions among them. Accordingly, these represent the vital nodes, webs, and links that make Orfean Harmony a dynamic social network (Wolfe 2011) of performing artists within Thessaloniki’s urban environment.

4.2 **Orfean Harmony and the Crisis**

As discussed above, Orfean Harmony constitutes an artistic social network, which is an integral part of Thessaloniki’s broader artistic and urban social framework. Hence, Orfean Harmony is subjected to the socio-cultural and economic forces that act on the Greek
environment. Difficulties associated with the lack of sufficient financial resources due to Greece’s fiscal crisis interplay with Orfean Harmony’s function as a group within Greece’s turbulent environment, as well with the members’ participation and exercise of artistic agency within the ensemble. In fact, the Greek financial crisis has both challenged and reinforced Orfean Harmony’s cohesion, and the interplay among the artists, the sponsor, the instruments, the texts, the music, and the finances related to the ensemble.

Orfean Harmony faces difficulties when it comes to participate in various performances and festivals. Because some festivals do not have the financial means to provide the necessary technological equipment for the performance of this ensemble, the group cannot participate in such events. At the same time, while the ensemble performs both inside and outside of Thessaloniki, there are many economic limitations in terms of getting transportation and accommodation for its members in outside regions. Hence, most of the time, the ensemble’s performances are limited to Thessaloniki’s and or nearby regions. However, the sponsor of the ensemble takes advantage of his social and economic capital to arrange performances for Orfean Harmony and ensure a symbolic financial reward for its members. Accordingly, both external and internal financial processes influence Orfean Harmony’s active participation in public performances in various ways.

Another challenge that Orfean Harmony faces is related to the members of this group and their personal experiences within Greece’s fiscal crisis. Some members left the country to pursue a better future—including the author of this thesis—while others moved outside of Thessaloniki, where they found jobs, or where they could stay with their families since they could not afford an independent way of life. While most of these members are still part of Orfean Harmony, they encounter difficulties in attending regularly rehearsals and performances. Moreover, for some
members in Thessaloniki, transportation is difficult, since they do not have the financial means to own a car, or to take a taxi when the buses are not convenient. However, the group-members with cars provide rides to those in need. This exemplifies that Orfean Harmony’s environment is built on support and solidarity—elements that are evident throughout Greece’s (Rozakou 2016) and by extension Thessaloniki’s social life. While support and solidarity are significant aspects of Orfean Harmony’s social framework, the question is for what other reasons the members of this ensemble chose and choose to spend voluntarily their time and energy in Orfean Harmony, especially during the challenging years of the Greek financial crisis.

4.2.1 They need to be Productive!

Due to the financial crisis, the lives of Orfean Harmony’s members were and are highly challenged. For example, many of them work either under unstable conditions or they are partially employed, or unemployed. During interview sessions and informal discussions, I asked multiple members of Orfean Harmony about what elements of their lives have changed due to the Greek financial crisis. Below are their responses:

Kleio: I used to buy things without thinking about them… now, now I have to be cautious and to be careful with money. I do not buy what I like; I buy just what I need.

Ariadne: The income has been reduced… a lot, dramatically! I’m unemployed now.

Foivos: The expenses… I look now which supermarket has cheaper products and I will buy things accordingly. One ingredient from here, the other from there… We don’t go out that much of course, all of these are limited.

Nefeli: In my everyday life, well… I try to limit the expenses… OK I am not hungry, but if I want to make a family I don’t know how! And artistically, artistically, it is sad. I’ve been damaged.

Alexander: Of course, the work, I just work to keep the company, but I don’t make any money.
Themistocles: For me… I lost my home…

In the quotations listed above, the changes in the people’s everyday life due to the financial crisis range from limiting everyday expenses, to the reduction of income, to the loss of employment, to the loss of residency—this indeed is highly dramatic. Here one needs to consider what makes these people—whose everyday lives were and are marked by the Greek financial crisis—to want to be active members in a non-profit voluntary musical group.

Orfean Harmony’s members educational degrees and artistic abilities illustrate that these people have been trained to be productive and artistically creative. Many of them consider productivity and artistic creativity as part of their ‘artistic’ nature. Paris said, “We are artists, that’s what we do, we create! If we don’t do that, we will get depressed;” here artistic creativity is perceived as a way of life. Consequentially, some members’ artistic creativity was and is challenged due to unstable working conditions; meaning that being unemployed or partially employed may create feelings of ‘idleness,’ which in turn affect the mood of these artists. Thus, some of Orfean Harmony’s members feel that they lose the ability and the right of being productive and contributing members to the society. As one of the unemployed participants said to me: “I need to be productive, I need to be creative. I mean, what else would I do? This is why I try to find ways to express my creativity in Orfean Harmony, somewhere else… I just need to have something to do!”

Within Orfean Harmony, the members exercise their artistic agency in many ways. As a matter of fact, Orfean Harmony’s artistic environment invites both collective and individual artistic expressions. For example, Achilles, who is a sound-engineer, shared with me his dream regarding the creation of a “sound music library” generated by the sounds of the instruments of Orfean Harmony—a project that is already on the move. Another member of the ensemble used
his musical skills of composition and composed for Orfean Harmony a musical piece. Here the
cultural capital of Orfean Harmony’s members acts as the driving force of artistic creativity,
productivity, and hence, of human agency within the ensemble’s environment. It is of utmost
importance to note that there is no financial reward for any of the members who take part in
these initiatives. This demonstrates how the members of Orfean Harmony have the need to be
productive, and especially artistically creative. In turn, the desire for artistic productivity
becomes an important factor that contributes to the ensemble’s cohesion during challenging
times.

According to the above, the Greek financial crisis influences the ensemble in multiple
ways. Logan (2013) examines ‘agency’ and its expression in respect to musical experience and
creativity, and argues that music-making interplay with various resources and factors—including
finances, as well as collective and individual artistic feelings, desires, and efforts (Logan
2013:36). In the context of Orfean Harmony, financial difficulties negatively affect the regular
participation of some members in Orfean Harmony and interfere with the participation of Orfean
Harmony in various festivals. In this context, the valuable help of Orfean Harmony’s sponsor
and his affiliations with various social artistic and non-artistic networks work in favor of Orfean
Harmony’s public performances. At the same time, aspects of unemployment and/or partial
employment negatively affect some members who left the city and the country, while at the same
time these reinforce the desire for productivity within Orfean Harmony’s environment. In this
environment all primary human and non-human actants of Orfean Harmony work together
towards the production of musical experience, which in turn creates sonic-chronotopes that
further reinforce the sustainability of the ensemble in times of crisis. The next chapter examines
how Orfean Harmony’s public performances create an urban musical experience grounded in the
production of particular sonic-chronotopes of heritage, which lie within sounds and images of the ancient Greek and post-modern Greek worlds.
5 THE PERFORMANCE

Dedicated to the memory of Dr. Dimitrios Themelis, lyrist, violinist, composer, music theorist, and professor of Musicology at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

From all members of Orfean Harmony, “Thank you for your support.”

Orfean Harmony performs in Thessaloniki’s urban environment independently or as part of various festivals. This chapter focuses on Orfean Harmony’s public performance in the Byzantine bridge of Pylaia in June 2017, in the context of the “3rd Festival of Musical Meetings” of the Municipality Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati; a festival that promotes musical expression, and which offers free access to various musical performances—including evenings with baroque music, traditional/folk Greek songs from various places, and ancient Greek music. In this festival, Orfean Harmony produced a sound-time-space framework, a sonic-chronotopic environment, that influenced both the audience and the members of the ensemble. Accordingly, this section examines what actants worked towards the realization of Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes in public space—here the space around the Byzantine bridge of Pylaia—and illustrates how these particular sound-time-space frameworks shaped the experiences of Thessalonikians and reinforced the ensemble’s ongoing function within Thessaloniki’s artistic life.

5.1 The Performance at the Byzantine Bridge of Pylaia

I arrived at the Byzantine bridge of Pylaia (see figures 20-21) with my father around 7:30pm. While this place has been only fifteen minutes car-distance away from home, I never knew of its existence. Just a few meters below the central highway that connected the suburbs of Panorama and Pylaia with Thessaloniki’s downtown, a quiet small neighborhood rested in front of the ancient sight. A small arched stone bridge from past centuries emerged just slightly from
the ground—as if it did not want us to meet its old secrets below the surface. Only the upper part of its arched-dome stood proudly above the grass to stir our imagination and play with our wonders. The small street that led to the bridge ended just a few steps away, in front of the sign: “Municipality of Pylaia-Hortiati/Work: Restoration of Preserved Monument (Arch) at the juncture of the regional trench with the Elaiorama in D.E. Pylaia of the Municipality Pylaia-Hortiati.” A little closer to the bridge, a small resting area with an informative template informed the passersby for the bridge’s Byzantine descent. Interestingly enough—as an employer of the Byzantine Museum of Thessaloniki informed me—there were still arguments regarding the origins of this sight, as some archaeologists supported that this bridge might have been constructed during the Roman times. Whether Byzantine or Roman, this arched stone bridge stood as a reminder of Thessaloniki’s multilayered history since ancient times.

*Figure 20 The Byzantine Bridge of Pylaia 1*
Once I stepped outside the car, I sensed the terrible heat running from my neck to my back, making every move difficult and heavy. This summer was hot, really hot. Just before I left home—holding the ancient Greek instrument in my hands and dressed up in my long white dress and golden-brown sandals—my uncle said, “Have you lost your mind? Where are you going to perform with such heat?” Arriving at my performance’s destination, these words hit me when the first wave of melting atmosphere touched my skin. Two steps closer to the Byzantine bridge, the unpleasant smell of the garbage cans nearby ran into my nose and made me feel even more uncomfortable. A few minutes later, the mosquitos’ attack added one more unpleasant sense to the body. Despite the heat, the bad smell, and the mosquitos, the sound engineers and technicians, as well as the employers of the Municipality of Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati were working with Orfean Harmony’s members to set up the space in front of the Byzantine bridge for the ensemble’s upcoming performance.
Within an hour, a small wooden platform, several microphones, wires, sound boxes, computers, projector, lights, chairs, musical stands in the shape of lyre, and reconstructed ancient Greek musical instruments transformed the bridge’s ancient sight to a contemporary musical venue with touches of a distant past. The white attire of Orfean Harmony’s performers accompanied by the women’s jewelry and hairstyles—that resembled ancient Greek-like aesthetics—added to the visual time-game between ancient and post-modern Greece, which was enhanced with the images and sounds of Orfean Harmony’s musical instruments. These images and sounds formed an audio-visual space, which attracted the attention of people from the neighborhood. It was interesting to observe people watching from their balconies this bizarre, both familiar and strange, scene. At the same time, some passersby—who walked alone or with their children or friends—stood for a few moments in front of the Byzantine bridge to get a sense of what was happening and what was about to happen. These people (from young children to senior citizens) were all attracted and allured by Orfean Harmony’s presence and music-making activity. Some of them approached closer to the space of the performance, sat on the white plastic chairs placed there for the audience, and attended both the sound-check and the performance.

Figure 22 The set-up of the technological equipment
Voices giving instructions about the technological equipment, as well as voices asking for help to set up the musical stands and chairs dominated this space for at least an hour. Odysseus’s anxiety was obvious in the intense expression of his eyes, the trembling movement of his hands, and the agonizing tone of his voice. From the top of his head to the bottom of his toes, Odysseus’s body was calling for the attention and focus of the performers and the technicians. As usual, Odysseus was striving to get everything under control—such as the setting up of the ensemble on the wooden platform, the projector (which unfortunately did not work for this performance), the volume of the microphones for each performer, the balance of the sound of the instruments, the singers and the actors, as well as the theatrical entrance and exit of the ensemble before and after the concert (see figure 24). However, the humorous comments and casual conversations among Orfean Harmony’s members released his tension, brought laughter and a sense of euphoria, which created an amusing and pleasant atmosphere for everybody.
As the day’s sunlight was pacing slowly to its evening chambers, the members of Orfean Harmony moved behind the wooden platform, at the other side of the bridge, and waited patiently the beginning of the concert. Laughter and small talk, coming from both the performers and the audience, dominated the area around the Byzantine bridge. Here and there, the children’s voices pierced the evening’s atmosphere giving a juvenile vibrant sense to the space. As I was talking to my friend and member of Orfean Harmony Kaliope, her four-year old daughter jumped into her arms, distracting pleasantly the conversation and releasing our tension before the performance. A little further, the wife and two-year old son of Iasonas (another member of Orfean Harmony) came to wish us “good luck!” At the same time, a familiar hand touched my back to say “hi!,” to hug me, and wish me also “good luck!” It was my father’s cousin with his wife, who always supported my performances with this group. Soon enough, the relatives and family members of the performers mixed with the audience, of approximately one hundred and fifty people, at the other side of the bridge.

Just before Orfean Harmony moved on stage, the repetitively tuning sounds of the ensemble indicated how the hot and humid environment interfered with the wooden musical
instruments. For example, the strings from the string-instruments were getting lower or higher in
tone, and hence, the instrumentalists had to re-tune them by re-adjusting the length of the strings
accordingly. The artists decided to check the tuning before and during the performance in order
to address such problems. However, the wind instruments, which were also affected by the hot
and humid environment, could not be re-tuned the same way as the string-instruments, and the
flutists had to adjust their facial muscles and air-production used for the generation of sound
while playing. To make things easier for the wind-players, the ensemble tuned and re-tuned the
string-instruments according to the tuning of the flutes. Moreover, one of the drums lost
completely its tuning and the ensemble used the other percussions to perform the rhythmical
patterns ascribed to the drum that was out of tune. Thus, the physical properties of the
instruments reacted to the humid and hot environment, and directed the actions of the artists; this
reinforces the argument that the features of an object may shape human activity (Gibson 1986
(1979)), and that non-human entities play a critical role to the outcomes of social performances

When the Mayor of the Municipality Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati arrived, the artistic
director of the Municipality Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati said a few words about Orfean Harmony’s
upcoming performance. Following his short greeting, the Mayor welcomed the audience as well,
and signified that the ensemble’s upcoming performance as part of the “3rd Festival of Musical
Meetings, June 2017” was attributed to the generous financial contribution of the “Charitable
Love Foundation KAITH Papapostolou.” Thus, he thanked publically the president of this
institution, who happened to be the sponsor of Orfean Harmony. As the audience applauded the
Mayor’s speech, the artists lined up in two rows at the right and left sides behind the wooden
platform and prepared to walk on stage.
In a musical ritual-like procession, the members of Orfean Harmony slowly showed up on the wooden platform, exciting the imagination of the spectators with their white attire and the strange looking instruments that carried images and sounds of a distant past. From the left side of the stage, Telemachus initiated the artists’ procession with a steady slow beat in the drum, while from the right side, Melpomene accompanied the percussionist’s beats with airy improvisations in the wooden thin-diaulos (see figure 25). As the artists walked on the wooden platform, Melpomene moved forward, closer to the audience and continued improvising. Like a Greek goddess, with dark curly hair, long white dress, and golden-brown sandals, Melpomene stood on the semi-illuminated grass. The sweet trills coming from her thin-diaulos asked the audience to follow them into a musical journey in time and space.

*Figure 25 Melpomene playing the thin diaulos (double-flute)*
Orfean Harmony’s arrangement on stage delineated two parallel semi-circles. The string instruments\(^{26}\) filled out the front part of the wooden platform, while the percussions\(^{27}\) along with the wind instruments\(^{28}\) were placed behind the string instruments. The arrangement of the musical instruments in such position was formed in respect to each instrument’s sound. This means that such an arrangement on stage helped the sounds of the instruments to be as equally as possible distributed to the audience. Once more, the physical attributes of the instruments directed human decisions and actions. The singers of Orfean Harmony occupied the space in-between the percussions and wind instruments, while the two actors waited on the right and left sides next to the musicians and stood in-between the audience and the ensemble whenever they had to perform their part.

Orfean Harmony performed ancient Greek survived musical excerpts from lyric poetry, theater, and philosophy that ranged from the 7\(^{th}\) century B.C.E to the 3\(^{rd}\) century A.C.E., and one contemporary Greek song composed in the 20\(^{th}\) century. More specifically, the musical program incorporated the themes of music, poetry, war, eros, justice, theater, religion, and rituals. At the end of the first musical piece “Athana” (hymn to the goddess Athena), Odysseus stood up and warmly welcomed the audience. With his deep, calm, and soft voice, the leader of Orfean Harmony informed the spectators about the important role of music in ancient Greece and introduced the musical instruments of Orfean Harmony including information about the role that each musical instrument held in ancient Greece. Each one of the musicians stood up holding his/her instrument high so that the audience would have a better visual contact with it. Odysseus concluded his presentation with the central role of the song in ancient Greece, and asked from

\(^{26}\) Athenian kithara, Apollo’s lyre, phorminx, pektis, trigwnon, pandouris, and varvitos.
\(^{27}\) Drums, seistron, cymbals, and krotala.
\(^{28}\) Photinx, double-flute, thin-diaulos, syrinx/flute of Pana, and salpinx.
the audience to take a look in the printed program of Orfean Harmony’s performance. This program incorporated references to the musical pieces performed by Orfean Harmony, including translations from ancient to modern Greek, dates, and historical information. Inspired by the significant role of music and song in ancient Greece (Mathiesen 1999:76; West 1992:13), this small presentation addressed the need to highlight the essential role of music and music-making practices and activities in the construction of everyday socio-cultural realities within Thessaloniki’s and in extension Greece’s society.

The Byzantine bridge with its surrounding trees and the green grass, the ritual-like procession of the artists, the ancient Greek instruments, the white attire of the performers, the ancient-Greek like jewelry of the female artists, the sounds of the ancient Greek language mixed with the modern Greek language, the ‘simple’ and immersive sound of ancient Greek harmonics, the familiar ancient Greek rhythms similar to the traditional Greek rhythms, and the eerie vibrations of the ancient Greek musical instruments blended with past and contemporary melodies created a sound-time-space environment that opened the path to an imaginary travel channel. This channel gently called the performers and the audience into a journey from modern Greece to ancient Greece, to modern Greece again; a journey that lasted for almost one hour and fifteen minutes.

Just before the last musical piece, the ensemble performed Dionysiakon; a recently composed musical piece29 based on the ancient Orphic Hymn to Dionysus Bassareus and Triennial30, and the exclamations “avave,” “papeo,”31 and “evi evan32.” The thunderous voices of

29 Odysseus composed this piece in ancient Greek musical system specifically for Orfean Harmony.
30 See in Appendix A.1.
31 There is no translation for the exclamations “avave,” “papeo,” and their meaning remains a mystery. However, these exclamations were associated with Dionysus’s cult and rituals.
32 The words “evi evan” mean “to be healthy and joyful.” These words were also associated with Dionysus’s cult and rituals.
the artists, along with the vibrant uplifting rhythm of the percussions, the successive glissandi from the string instruments, and the piercing sound of the double-flutes created an orgiastic ritual-like atmosphere, that inspired feelings of dancing and euphoria. As my mom and her friend who attended the performance told me about this musical piece, “We just wanted to jump from our chairs and start dancing!” Thus, when Dionysiakon came to an end, the audience jumped from their chairs, and burst into applause shouting “Bravo!” The performers stood up and with smiling faces acknowledged the heartfelt applause.

5.2 Towards the Production of Orfean Harmony’s Sonic-chronotopes in Public Space

In order to examine Orfean Harmony’s production of sonic-chronotopes in the Byzantine bridge of Pylaia, it is first necessary to illustrate what processes took place to allow the generation of the ensemble’s artistic activity in such public space. Xenophon, the sponsor of the ensemble, met with the mayor, who is also his friend, to discuss Orfean Harmony. This meeting created the fertile ground for the group’s performance as part of the artistic activities of the Municipality of Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati. However, during the organization of this event, financial issues almost caused the cancelation of the ensemble’s performance. The involvement of the Charitable Love Foundation “KAITH” Papapostolou served as catalyst for the actualization of Orfean Harmony’s public appearance.

Once the final official confirmation of the ensemble’s performance in the Byzantine bridge reached Orfean Harmony, the group arranged rehearsals to prepare the musical program for the event. As rehearsals were on the move, the Municipality of Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati took care of the arrangements for the use of the necessary technological equipment at the space of the performance under the valuable guidance of the leader of Orfean Harmony. As described above, the day of the performance, the employees of the Municipality of Pylaia-Panorama-
Hortiati, the technicians, and the members of Orfean Harmony worked together for the final set-up of the space and sound coverage for the musical instruments, the singers, and the actors.

Multiple external and internal processes and interactions took place for the realization of Orfean Harmony’s performance in the Byzantine bridge. These processes illustrate that the group’s affiliations with other social networks are critical for the ensemble’s performances, as these reinforce Orfean Harmony’s re-formation and ongoing function within Thessaloniki’s public environment; this demonstrates how multiple actants, including other social networks and finances, participate in the formation and re-formation of social groups within particular socio-cultural settings (Latour 2005; Logan 2013).

5.3 Sonic-chronotopes of Heritage

Orfean Harmony’s performances construct a particular experience based on audio-visual components. More specifically, the ensemble produces a sound-time-space environment, a sonic-chronotope, which aesthetically challenges Thessaloniki’s urban setting, and acts on the citizens’ feelings and experiences. As a member of the audience said:

Orfean Harmony with its image, music, and recitations creates a sense of a journey in time… it opens a window… this experience is unique. The ensemble does this in a way with the μέλος (melody), in the way that only the μέλος could do it. It opens the window to time in such a way that a book or a text could not do it. You enter in another world. You don’t find this experience somewhere else…

This means that for a while, sound-time-space elements unite to create a sense of a time-space journey based on sonic and visual components. In fact, the spectator here refers specifically to the power of music to influence the human subject, as it creates imaginary time-space experiences. Accordingly, time-space manifestations are closely related to sound aesthetics, practices, and meanings (Fox 2004; Samuels 2004). The significant participation and contribution of sound in the construction of chronotopic experiences is undeniable here.
In the context of Orfean Harmony’s performance at the Byzantine bridge, the sonic components of the performance’s setting incorporated the following elements: the musical harmonics of both the ancient Greek and western musical systems, the sounds of the ancient Greek musical instruments transmitted through contemporary technological equipment, and the sounds from the ancient Greek lyrical, philosophical, and theatrical texts, which included the aural aesthetics of the ancient and modern Greek languages. Accordingly, Orfean Harmony’s sonic components lay in-between time’s and spaces’ fluid boundaries, as past and contemporary sonic aesthetics of ancient and post-modern Greece co-existed. Here, sound does not exist separately from time and space. As a matter of fact, Orfean Harmony’s sound encompasses a sense of time and space—a sense of a subjective, mythological, imaginary, and real time and space related to notions about Greece.

Orfean Harmony’s sonic aesthetics were accompanied by the images of the ancient Greek instruments, the ancient-Greek like hairstyles and jewelry of the artists, the white attire of the artists, the theatrical ritual-like procession of the ensemble, the ancient site of the Byzantine bridge, the natural environment with the trees and green grass, the microphones, the cables, the musical stands in the shape of ancient Greek lyre, and the contemporary symphonic-like arrangement of the ensemble. Here, we see again how the overall aesthetics of Orfean Harmony’s particular performance constructed an environment full of time-contradictory audio-visual elements.

Various fragments of a wide range of the ancient Greek world unite and find voice through the artistic actions and expressions of Orfean Harmony’s members, with the use of contemporary technological equipment and knowledge—thus, Orfean Harmony’s artistic aesthetics incorporate heterotopic elements of heterochrony (Foucault 1986:26). Through the
ensemble’s music-making activities, these fragments from the past are re-invented and transferred to contemporary audiences. Consequentially, Orfean Harmony consciously and unconsciously re-invents practices of heritage—such as language, culture, and song (Harrison 2010:9)—as it bridges an imagined ancient Greek past with a post-modern Greek present.

Accordingly, Orfean Harmony creates sonic-chronotopes that embrace elements related to ideas about Greek heritage and culture. As a member of the ensemble noted:

Achilles: All these things that deal with the tradition, in general, it is like you have a flash-light. You open this flash-light and you shed light back in time, right? And you shed light for example to all these traditional things and you can see just for a few meters behind, like one, two three, five meters behind. What we do [with Orfean Harmony], we haven’t just taken a flash-light, but something much stronger and we shed light far far far back… and I am interested in this ancient Greek thing that we will take it and bring it to today…I experience something like a time-travel.

Achilles clearly indicates that Orfean Harmony’s music-making production is attached to notions of Greek heritage that needs to be illuminated in present time. “Heritage” is a highly complicated and controversial term, which is associated with a wide range of tangible/material and intangible/non-material forms, which extend from objects, property, natural landscapes, museums, sites, music, song, performing arts, oral traditions, values, ideologies, and social practices, to policies related to the preservation of monuments and sites (Harrison 2010). In the context of Orfean Harmony, heritage is experienced and constructed in both tangible and intangible forms.

Orfean Harmony’s sonic and visual aesthetics are perceived by the audience and the performers as both familiar and foreign. A member of Orfean Harmony noted that while he does not understand the meaning of ancient Greek, he is able to trace cultural continuities in the sounds of the ancient and modern Greek languages, as “they share similar words, vowels, and consonants.” Furthermore, a spectator noted that, “One can understand the [cultural] continuities
in the shape of the musical instruments and in the music [of Orfean Harmony];” for example, the ancient Greek instrument of pandoura resembles the shape and sound of the traditional Greek instrument bouzouki. Another member of the ensemble referred to the similarities of the ancient Greek musical rhythmical patterns with those of the recent Greek folk/traditional music and dances. Thus, the audio-visual components of Orfean Harmony are perceived as parts of an ancient Greek heritage that is familiar to contemporary Greek audiences, as these survive in the sounds and images of folk/traditional and contemporary Greek aural and material culture. It is critical to note here that the aesthetics are perceived in respect to the human subject’s cultural awareness (Welsch 2003:20-21)—in this case, in respect to Greek cultural awareness.

Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes lie in-between notions of ancient Greek and post-modern Greek culture, and flirt with tangible/visual and intangible/acoustic forms of Greek heritage. The ensemble’s aesthetics and the subjective experiences associated with these are destined to fuel the experience of a temporal Greek environment that contradicts Thessaloniki’s everyday urban experiences. Thus, in Orfean Harmony’s performances, the aesthetics associated with sound, music, and song shape the human experience and hence, the social environment in which humans live in; an idea that correlates with the argument that expressions of sound, music, and song act as vital forces in the construction of socio-cultural experiences (Denora 2001; Samuels 2004; Fox 2004; Feld 1982). Thus, Orfean Harmony’s performance in the Byzantine bridge challenged Thessaloniki’s frustrated and disoriented socio-cultural framework of the Greek crisis, as it constructed an ephemeral sound-time-space environment, which invited the audiences to an escape from every-day life’s struggles and concerns.
5.3.1 The Aftermath of the Sonic-chronotopes of Heritage

While the artists were moving away from the wooden platform, the spectators came to congratulate them and share their feelings of excitement and euphoria (see figures 26-28). For more than thirty minutes, the artists were engaged with people from the audience in relaxed and pleasant conversations. This illustrates that Orfean Harmony’s music-making artistic activity inspired the interest of the spectators, and temporarily united the artists with the audience. Some people asked the artists how they could follow announcements about the ensemble’s upcoming performances, while others expressed an interest in learning more about ancient Greek music and the myths and history/ies associated with the musical instruments. Coming closer to the musical instruments, the curiosity of the spectators prevailed as they asked to touch them and learn more about the techniques that the instrumentalists use. The artists were more than happy to share their knowledge and get to know the people who approached them with such warmth. Here the members of the audience showed an interest in Orfean Harmony’s suggested practices of heritage and culture. To that end, the ensemble’s performances may be interpreted as forms of “social and cultural action,” which aim to the production of ‘new’ culture; meaning a culture based on the adoption of both new and old cultural practices (Harrison 2010:36).

Despite the ephemeral nature of Orfean Harmony’s performance in the Byzantine bridge, important outcomes emerged. The Municipality of Pylaia-Panorama-Hortiati promoted a video with Orfean Harmony’s performance on YOUTUBE and offered to the ensemble the opportunity to rehearse regularly in one of its buildings—this was and still is a significant contribution to the ensemble, as Orfean Harmony did not own a space for rehearsals.
Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes in public space are products of the interactions among Orfean Harmony’s primary and secondary human and non-human actants prior and during the ensemble’s performances. This indicates that musical networks are subjected to internal and external social processes, which are necessary for the re-formation of these networks within particular socio-cultural environments (Logan 2013). Orfean Harmony’s sonic-
chronotopes are grounded in the audio-visual components of tangible and intangible notions of ancient Greek and post-modern Greek heritage and are destined to create new practices of heritage and culture through the aesthetics associated with sound, music, and song; aesthetics that challenge the overwhelming trends of global aestheticization, and which favor more aesthetics related to tradition’s revitalizations (Welsch 2003:6-7).

The group’s sonic-chronotopes in the Byzantine bridge of Pylaia contradicted Thessaloniki’s urban turbulent environment, as these offered a temporal audio-visual ‘escape,’ a ‘time-space journey,’ which traveled the members of the ensemble and the audience away from the frustrated noises and images of Greece’s crisis. In turn, these sonic-chronotopes ignited social interactions among the artists and the audience, and hence, they served as significant non-human actants for Orfean Harmony’s artistic endeavor and ongoing participation in Thessaloniki’s artistic life. This proves that the products of social-formations may become significant contributors to the processes of the groups’ re-formation within socio-cultural environments.

![Figure 29 Artists packing the musical stands and instruments](image)

As the technicians were packing the last wires, the members of Orfean Harmony carried the musical stands and arranged the musical instruments in their cases (see figure 29). Despite
the tiredness from the performance, the eyes of the artists filled with glow from satisfaction and hope for the future, greeted the small neighborhood, and moved away from the ancient arched-dome, which temporarily served as their home.
Bates (2012:364) argues that musical instruments may be perceived as actors that interplay with other actors, as these exist in-between the processes of formation of social relations; thus, he perceives musical instruments as both parts and creators of social relations. Accordingly, musical instruments may be examined as entities that interplay with human and non-human actants for the creation of musical and human experience (Bates 2012), and in extension for the generation and experience of social formations. Denora (2001) argues that music may be seen as a force that acts on the social environment and influences social relations. In fact, she examines music as a model of agency—including social, collective, and emotional agency (Denora 2001:175), which actively participates in the formation of the social world.

Both musical instruments and music are perceived as non-human entities that interact with the human subject and environment, and which contribute to the formation and re-formation of the social world. In the context of Orfean Harmony, the musical instruments and music are found at the core of the ensemble’s processes of formation and re-formation. As this thesis has already illustrated, ANT allows us to highlight the vital interactions among human and non-human actants, which define the production, establishment, and function of a social network (Latour 2005:72). Thus, this chapter delves further into the power of both human and non-human actants to act on each other, and inspire further action as long as these entities are found in the process of interaction. Accordingly, it draws a closer attention on the intimate interplay among the musical instruments and their sounds, the music and the texts associated with it, and the musicians, to reveal how they act on each other and generate particular sonic-chronotopes that contribute to the sustainability of the ensemble in respect to Greece’s turbulent environment. The first section illustrates how the instrumentalists of Orfean Harmony interplay with the musical...
instruments and their sounds, while the second section examines how Orfean Harmony’s members experience the music that they create within this ensemble.

6.1 Playing with the musical instruments

Holding the audio-recorder in one hand, and my musical instrument in the other hand, I walked towards Odysseus’s house. That day, I had a meeting with the leader of Orfean Harmony for an interview, a discussion related to the tuning of pektis, and a demonstration of my recent developed musical technique on glissandos. In the middle of the small quiet street, just before I reached the entrance of Odysseus’s house, an old man with his seven-year old granddaughter asked me kindly to spare a few moments with them. They were both attracted by pektis and they wanted to know if this instrument is a kind of harp. While the old man could detect some resemblance with modern harp, the strange shape and size of pektis confused him—a twenty-string instrument, in the shape of a curved triangle, designed to be held in-between the musician’s chest and knees. Hence, the instrument seemed familiar and foreign at the same time. When I informed the old man and his granddaughter about the name and history of this instrument, I gave them some information about its tuning and the musical techniques that I use. Then the man asked if his granddaughter could touch and play with its strings. As we were in the middle of the street, I held the instrument close to the child who was quite shy to touch it. Once the old man plucked the petkis’s strings, the young girl fascinated by the sweet sound tried to imitate what she had just seen and heard. In fact, once she started playing she did not want to stop, until her grandfather took her by the hand to continue their evening stroll.

Observing the fascination of these two people with the pektis reminded me of my first encounter with this instrument, which included elements of curiosity, fascination, awe, and challenge—elements that most of Orfean Harmony’s members said that they felt during their
first meeting with the ensemble’s musical instruments. These elements inspired further interaction among the musicians and the musical instruments, which led to the development of a more intimate relationship. As a matter of fact, many of the instrumentalists view their instruments as living organisms, as they consider wood a living entity. At the same time, they develop such a relationship with their instruments to the extent that they consider these non-human entities as part of themselves, and hence, as part of human entities. Below are the responses of two instrumentalists regarding how they experience their relationship with the musical instruments they play:

Kaliope: I feel that the instrument is alive. The wood is a living organism. It does not matter that it does not have roots, and that it has been dead for years. It remains an organic material. I feel that if I play it with love its sound will be more beautiful compared to if I play it without love. When I play it, I embrace it. You may say that I am stupid or crazy, but I think that the instrument feels my vibrations, if these are positive or negative and its sound responds accordingly… I think that its sound is influenced depending on what I am feeling at that moment. And I feel that the instrument is alive. I do not know if what I am saying now is supernatural… I am bounded emotionally with this instrument. I have it so many years and I feel that it is the extension of myself, and I love it, and I feel that it will play more beautifully if I play it with sweetness. And because it produces harmonics, these harmonics return to me, and I feel this give and take [between the instrument and myself]. Because, when I give you my devotion and love, and you [the instrument] give me back this music, these vibrations are good for me, these vibrations are beneficial. And I love the instrument, I really love it.

Iasonas: I had the happiness to host these instruments. And I use the word ‘host’ because I consider these instruments as living organisms… The wood has life. I mean the wooden construction of the instrument’s sound-box has been processed in such a way that from the state of having no voice, now the wood has a voice. So, the wood becomes alive. Don’t we say that if you don’t play the instrument its voice will close? And don’t we say that if you play the instrument its voice will open?... The instrument becomes the extension of yourself. I become one with it… Since the instrument becomes one with me, of course I feel personal connected with it. Sometimes I even feel that there is a competitive relationship, like, for example: I say, “Dammit! Why I cannot play this?” and I say to the instrument, “Wait, and you’ll see, I’ll make you play!”
and then it doesn’t work, and I say, “The instrument does not listen to me!”

And then sometimes I go to play the instrument, but I don’t listen to it. So, it is like a romantic relationship of a couple that argues, but in the end the lovers reconcile and become one despite their conflicts.

By these sentiments, Kaliope and Iasonas consider the instruments as living organisms due to their wooden construction, which is subjective to the properties of the wood. As the luthier who repairs Orfean Harmony’s instruments told me, the wood is influenced by environmental factors, such as humidity and temperature, and a wooden instrument requires to be played a lot to produce a good quality of sound. Thus, the wooden instrument is considered as a ‘living organism’ in that it interacts with the environment and the way(s) that humans use it. This means that rehearsals, performances, and practice at home may never be the same, as the instruments respond differently to the environmental context. Accordingly, each instrumentalist needs to adjust his/her playing to the needs of the instrument each time he/she holds it. Once more here we see how the physical attributes of an ‘object’, a non-human entity, interplay with the actions of the human subject (Gibson 1986 (1979)).

Furthermore, both of the participants above expressed how they connect with the instruments to the extent that the instruments become ‘one’ with themselves. Moreover, they attributed human ‘senses’ to the musical instruments, such as the ability to ‘listen,’ ‘feel,’ ‘argue,’ and ‘reconcile’ with the humans. What the artists endeavor to convey here, is that the musical instruments interact with humans in ways that a human would interact with another human. What Kaliope and Iasonas experience in this human-object relationship is an interaction with their own personal feelings and emotions that find expression through the use of instruments. Thus, the musical instruments do not have the intentionality to act by themselves. This emotional relationship between the musicians and the instruments demonstrates that the
instruments participate in a feedback system with humans to produce altogether sound, music, and emotions. Since the instruments respond to the ‘feelings’ of the musicians, this means that the product of the sound results from the human actors’ intentionality to express their emotions via these non-human entities. Hence, the instrument ‘acts’ on the human self when it becomes the means to facilitate human expression. Accordingly, the members of Orfean Harmony feel that their instruments are valuable parts of themselves, since during the interaction with them, the instruments embody the emotions of the instrumentalists.

Another theme that emerged through this feedback relationship among the musicians and the musical instruments of Orfean Harmony is the experience of time-travel through the sound that leads to spiritual experiences:

Alexander: When you have an instrument charged with so heavy history, when you hold it and pluck its strings you always travel in another world. I become one with it. I become one with the world that this instrument represents.

Andromache: When I play this instrument, I feel like I am outside of an ancient palace, inside the nature, and anyway, this is only something imaginary in my head, and I see me dressed in a tunic and that I am part of that society. Or that the moment that I play inside this modernism, suddenly, the ancient people appear and say, “Po, po! Look how things will be after so many years!” Ha, ha! Me, and my imaginations…

Alexander and Andromache here express how the ancient origins of these instruments are conveyed through their sounds to inspire a time-travel journey from present to past, and from past to present. Alexandros refers specifically to “the world that this instrument represents,” which implies an imagined ancient Greek world. According to the participant, this world incorporates the elements of arête, kallos (beauty), and paideia, which all call for the mental-spiritual development of the human self. When he plays this instrument, he feels closer to these ‘ideal’ features of a human society, features that 2017 turbulent Greek society lacks. Hence, he
travels mentally and emotionally into an imaginary human society where the human self is spiritually developed through the aesthetics of arête, kallos, and paideia. Accordingly, this instrument for him carries the means for a particular human spiritual experience that helps him escape to an ideal, utopic world.

When Andromache plays her instrument, she experiences an imaginary time-travel where the human ‘self’ is transferred temporarily in ancient times as well. This vision is enriched with elements of nature, ancient clothing, and architectonic buildings. This elaborated image demonstrates how the participant seeks to participate in an imaginary ancient Greek society, which, according to her, was based on the respect for the natural environment and the spiritual development of self. Andromache envisions as well ancient people to appear in front of her as she plays with this instrument in present time. Here, we see how the past intrigues the instrumentalist to construct a spiritual experience via sonic-time-travel journeys.

The next quotations reinforce the argument that particular sonic-chronotopes, produced by the interplay among human and non-human entities in Orfean Harmony’s network, emerge as the instrumentalists seek to find inner balance, harmony, and spiritual elevation.

Odysseus: Sometimes, I play the instrument at home to get away from other things. It is a calming process. For example, to sit down and pluck its strings, and just relax for a while. I feel its pulse and its coordination on my body. I feel the tension of the string, and I work with it accordingly in a way that it will calm me down... I could say that the ancient Greek kithara is the λειτούργημα (vocation) while the viola is my profession. If I say that tomorrow I stop playing the viola, I will have no job. If I say I stop playing the kithara nothing will change in my material life. However, it will change in my soul. And because I consider the psychic world more important, I will continue playing the kithara.

Terpsichore: The instrument sometimes frustrates me, but I want to discover it, it enchants me. The magic of the string instrument, that gives you the immediate sense of vibration. It is wonderful to coordinate with its rhythm and to feel your soul moving. I come into being and well-being. Sometimes I feel shivers when I play.
Paris: I like its timbre. It is airy, calming, pastoral. It is closer to natural sounds, it makes me feel more natural. It is an instrument made by cane you know like those in lakes. So, its sound is natural. It has a weak sound, a thin sound, but it is uplifting to the soul. It drives you higher. It is a heavenly sense. I feel calm, relaxed.

The instrumentalists demonstrate how they connect with the sound and the vibrations of their instruments in order to lose their tension and find peace—in order to “get away,” in order to escape. As the instrumentalists hold these instruments close to their bodies, the sound-waves reach the musicians through their ears, as an aural experience, and through their bodies, as a sensation. This body-sensation illustrates how the sound affects the instrumentalists to the extent that the rhythm of the musical instruments may influence the rhythm of the human bodies—in turn this interaction produces feelings of calmness, relaxation, being, and well-being.

Accordingly, the participants illustrate the need to find inner balance and harmony through a spiritual experience based on the production of particular sonic-chronotopes. This indicates that the elements of peace and wellness are absent from their lives. On the contrary, the elements of frustration are parts of the society in crisis, in which the participants live in. Accordingly, the instrumentalists express here the ‘healing’ properties of the human-non-human interaction among themselves and the instruments. This interaction generates the experience of spiritual elevation that gives birth to positive feelings and expressions—feelings of tranquility and wellness. Thus, the activity of producing sound within Orfean Harmony’s environment creates a sound-time-space framework that generates feelings of spiritual exaltation, which ‘moves the soul’ and heals the frustrating lives. This ‘healing’ experience is the central feature that works towards Orfean Harmony’s cohesion during times of crisis and frustration.

The next part examines how Orfean Harmony’s music affect the members of Orfean Harmony, and how it generates particular physical, emotional, and spiritual experiences.
6.2 Music

I walked into the office of Euterpe for a casual coffee and an interview related to her participation in Orfean Harmony for ten years. Euterpe welcomed me as always with a big and warm smile even though she had many troubles with her work. As she told me, she was trying to keep her business in action in any possible way, and that profit was less than minimum: “Too much work, with no reward,” she said. Once we started discussing her experiences within Orfean Harmony’s musical environment, her eyes shined, and she expressed feelings related to spiritual elevation, as well as the need to bring harmony and balance to her body, soul, and spirit. She even showed me that she had shivers while recalling moments related to Orfean Harmony’s music-production—an element that I noticed in many interviews with the artists of this ensemble. This element signifies the passion, zeal, and inner need to continue being part of Orfean Harmony’s musical framework.

The artists experience Orfean Harmony’s music through the re-invented sounds of the ancient Greek modal musical system and texts—including the sounds of the ancient Greek language and the sounds of the Modern Greek language. In addition to that, the artists consider the sounds of this music inseparable from the sounds of Orfean Harmony’s musical instruments. Accordingly, the musical instruments, the survived musical, theatrical, lyrical, and philosophical texts, the ancient Greek and modern language, the singers, the instrumentalists, and the actors/actresses interact with each other to produce this ‘unique’ musical result.

The members of Orfean Harmony described their experiences in relation to the production of Orfean Harmony’s music in various ways—through time-space journeys in an imagined place, the inner self, and towards the ‘divine’ nature, and through feelings of
relaxation, spiritual elevation, ecstasy, ‘methexis\(^{33}\),’ and hope. Hence, Orfean Harmony’s music actively interacts with the members of Orfean Harmony. This interaction—experienced through the process of music-making within Orfean Harmony—contributes to the birth of dynamic sonic-chronotopes that act on the feelings and emotions of Orfean Harmony’s members and shape the experiences of the artists.

Andromache: what we play are things that a man played many centuries ago, the same things. This gives me the sense that I transfer these things in the new world through a scientific imagination, and I see me as the scientist who has entered in-between two χωροχρόνους (chronotopes).

Andromache refers to an imaginary journey that brings her in-between two time-spaces (two chronotopes), in which she transforms into a scientist that has the power to connect the past with the present, simply by performing Orfean Harmony’s music. Here, the ancient components of Orfean Harmony’s music allow for the connection of these two chronotopes, and the construction of an imaginary chronotope in which time loses its linear dimensions. As another participant stated, “You feel that you travel back, or that the past comes to the present, or that time is cancelled.” Accordingly, during music-making, the artists experience time in the mythological sense—meaning in its cyclical dimension where past, present, and future co-exist.

Euterpe: I think it is a trip to the depths of the self, to the soul, but without chatters, without words. She [the music] just talks to you and makes you feel peaceful. It's an inaugural concentration, a meditation that you're doing at that time, you get in touch…. you leave things behind, and you get in touch with the here and now.

Euterpe experiences a different kind of traveling. A journey into the ‘self,’ which leads to meditation. Thus, music ‘speaks’ to the human self to bring peace through the initiation of a spiritual journey—a journey that brings the participant closer to the inner feelings of the ‘self.’ In

\(^{33}\) Methexis (µέθεξις) is an ancient Greek word, which was associated with the symposia. However, there is not an exact translation in modern Greek since we do not know exactly what this word meant. In modern Greek language, this word refers to intense feelings of euphoria.
further discussion with Euterpe, this journey helps her to connect with her ancient roots. Accordingly, in this journey the participant seeks the continuity of an ancient past in present time within herself. Here, Orfean Harmony’s music serves as the reminder of a ‘forgotten’ past that lies within the ‘self’ of the present.

Aias: I think [with that music] I am getting closer to the divine. I feel this music is divine. This music makes me feel divine, and I become one with the divine… I have moments of ecstasy, especially with the Dionysiakon piece.

Aias travels towards the world of the ‘divine.’ Accordingly, he has an ecstatic experience, which allows the elevation of the human nature to the realm of the divine. Thus, he feels that participating in the production of Orfean Harmony’s music helps him to approach the divine nature, in which he believes in. More specifically, the participant refers to the hymn to Orphic Hymn to Dionysus Bassareus and Triennial, which invokes the god to come closer to the human nature in order to bring happiness and joy to everyone. Thus, he seeks to unite with the divine nature to find happiness and joy.

Andromache, Euterpe, and Aias feel that Orfean Harmony’s music takes them on a journey revealing three kinds of traveling: a journey in an imagined time and space, a journey into the inner self, and a journey towards the experience of the divine. Other artists referred to the power of Orfean Harmony’s music and sound to stimulate spiritual experience and feelings of calmness and revival:

Daphne: I feel relaxed [with this music], and I coordinate with what I want spiritually. The sound of the orchestra is sweet, dynamic, and powerful… I have felt my heart beating fast and getting inspired. It [the music] brought feelings, which I had to balance. It comes to me with a pleasure and excitement, and a fear of losing it. The balance of reason and emotion is important.
Daphne experiences the sound of Orfean Harmony’s music in various ways. She feels that this music provides a meditative path towards inner peace; hence the artist experiences here a spiritual journey as well. At the same time, the sound of Orfean Harmony influences the human body, as it ‘acts’ upon the pace of the heart—an element that was found also in the ways in which the sound of the instruments interacts with the human body. Furthermore, music awakens inspiration and strong emotions, to the extent that Daphne feels the need to tame these emotions. This experience is so strong and the fear of losing it sometimes prevails. Therefore, she seeks to manage the rise of intense emotions with the use of reasoning. In another interaction, Daphne told me how being a part of Orfean Harmony makes her a better human being. Thus, the development of ‘self’ is born through Daphne’s interaction with Orfean Harmony’s music, which ‘urges’ her finding ways to bridge reasoning with emotions; thus, the artist here seeks to find order, harmony, and balance.

Kleio: I feel awe. The grandeur [nature] of these pieces help you to revive. You feel this spiritual elevation.

Leda: In a performance… I felt methexis. I feel a spiritual uplift. A deep euphoria, a profound feeling, which stems only from the enjoyment of that moment from the sound color and the musical course… it has to do with the musical intervals, with the resonances, with everything.

Kleio and Leda both illustrate how the sounds of Orfean Harmony’s music inspire as well strong feelings that lead to spiritual uplifting. In fact, Leda uses the word ‘methexis’ (intoxication) to emphasize the experience of a deep and powerful pleasant feeling, which intermingles with spiritual elevation. Once more, we see here how the members of Orfean Harmony seek to bring into their lives pleasant feelings and emotions in order to balance their frustration that comes along with everyday struggles and troubles.

Achilles: We play the Epitaph of Seikilos, and this is a plaque with some little letters on it, which has some musical notes, and says something very
simple about life and death. Basically, it is from a grave, but it talks about life! This is fucking awesome!

Achilles focuses on the lyrics of a survived ancient Greek musical excerpt, the Epitaph of Seikilos:

> “While you are alive, shine, man,
don’t be the least bit blue.
> Life is for a little span;
> Time demands its due.” (West 1992: 301).

This excerpt highlights the significance of wisdom in living well. According to its lyrics, life is a gift and it should be highly praised. Grief should be wisely measured and not last for a long time. Achilles feels that these lyrics are great since these demonstrate how sparks of hope may shine in times of distress. Here we see how parts of Orfean Harmony’s music may serve as a driving force towards hope during times of struggle, during times of crisis.

### 6.3 Sonic-chronotopes of Utopias

Orfean Harmony’s sound and music born through the interplay among the musical instruments, the texts, and the members of Orfean Harmony. Thus, the musical instruments, sound, music (Bates 2012; Denora 2001), and texts of Orfean Harmony interrelate to the extent that they become parts and creators of Orfean Harmony’s processes of social formation and reformation. Altogether these non-human actants participate equally in the activity of sound and music-making within Orfean Harmony. This activity generates flexible and dynamic sonic-time-space environments, particular sonic-chronotopes, which influence the subjective feelings and experiences of Orfean Harmony’s members in multiple ways; this is an example of how sound and music affect emotionally the human subject (Turino 1999:231-233; Feld 1982; Fox 2004:158-159; Denora 2001) and construct subjective chronotopic experiences (Fox 2004:81-82 Samuels 2004:79). Once more, the participation of the sonic component in the construction of
particular chronotopes is undeniable. These particular sonic-chronotopes incorporate the vital ingredients that inspire Orfean Harmony’s members to continue being parts of this network of performing artists in times of crisis and social upheaval.

Orfean Harmony’s members pursue the production of particular music-making activities that allows them to enter into imaginary places, into utopias, where order, harmony, balance, and hope triumph. These places provide the artists with emotional, spiritual, and healing expressions that bring inner peace, joy, and excitement with respect to what each human subject seeks to achieve. Thus, Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes become the means for a journey, a subjective journey, that does not necessarily follow a specific path. Instead, this journey is dynamic in nature, allowing each human subject to ‘travel’ in multiple directions. However, the ‘travels’ of Orfean Harmony’s members do have a common characteristic: they all act as ephemeral escapes that relieve and free the human subject from everyday struggles and worries. Accordingly, the interaction among the human and non-human actants of Orfean Harmony here construct a heteroropic (Foucault 1986) sonic-chronotopic environment, which inverts the negative elements of disorder and disharmony that exists in the Greek society; the society in which the artists live in. Thus, these sonic-chronotopes contribute to the cohesion and sustainability of this group, and thus, they serve as important non-human actants to the reformation of Orfean Harmony’s network in difficult times.
7 THE REHEARSAL

This chapter examines how the artists, the musical instruments, the texts, music, and sound interact during the ensemble’s rehearsal and construct a heterotopic environment that hosts ritual-like activities. In these activities, the human and non-human actants of the ensemble produce sonic-chronotopes that foster ‘transformation’ through processes that revolve around music-making—including various forms of socializing through musical, speaking, and laughter sounds. Therefore, Orfean Harmony’s heterotopic ritualistic music-making framework becomes a shelter of comfort where the members of Orfean Harmony feel free to share their problems, release their anxieties, and leave with a pure heart, soul, and a revived spirit.

In order to examine Orfean Harmony’s rehearsal as a ritual-like activity, it is necessary to define what would count as a ritual-like process—meaning a process (activity or action) that incorporates ritualistic features Kertzer (1998) places the world of ritual(s) at the core of political manifestations, life, and activity, and directs our perception for ritual beyond its ‘classical’ definition; the ‘classical’ definition defines ritual based on the symbolisms of various religious performances, and the belief in supernatural abstract entities. Kertzer (1998:9) defines ritual as any “symbolic behavior that is socially standardized and repetitive.” Woodfill (2010) adds to this definition of ritual the concept of functionality (2010). In order for an activity to be considered as a ritual, it must act on the human subject; meaning that it must have a function (2010: 270-272). Consequentially, a ritual is defined by a human repetitive action which does something to the human subject. As Catherine Bell (1997:91) notes, “there are multiple activities that people can ritualize in various degrees;” meaning that people can construct ritual-like activities, which are not confined or restricted to specific ritualistic frameworks. Instead, human activities may become ritualized through a wide range of ritualistic perspectives (Bell 1997:91). In Orfean
Harmony’s environment, the rehearsal’s repetitive actions construct a particular type of music-making tradition, which refers to the concept of traditionality\(^\text{34}\) (Bell 1997:145), and produce sonic-chronotopes that act on the artists of the ensemble; thus, rehearsals incorporate elements of functionality.

7.1 Rehearsing with Orfean Harmony

I arrived at Orfean Harmony’s rehearsal space twenty minutes earlier from the scheduled rehearsal time. It was late afternoon, but still very hot. I was already tired from my long and exhausting day and wondered if I would be able to observe and participate in the rehearsal. I was the only person there, and the space for the rehearsal was closed. Instead of sitting around doing nothing, I took my pektis and sat on the stairs outside to play and relax from my long day. In front of me there were few buildings full of graffiti in various shapes and colors, while on my right side there was a typical Greek summer field filled with yellow grass and wheat that made me smile. Wandering all day among traffic, noise, and frustrated people at the downtown region of Thessaloniki, this quite place on the eastern side of the city, in Thermi, served as balsam to my tired body and mind.

Fifteen minutes later, a car arrived with two members of the ensemble. As Nefeli did not have a car of her own, Ektoras offered her a drive. In fact, this was and is a common practice among Orfean Harmony’s members, indicative that the ensemble functions within a social framework of solidarity and support. The previous week, Melpomene, who lived near my parent’s house, drove me to the rehearsal (since I could not borrow my mom’s car, and the bus could not get me there), and two days later Achilles, another member of Orfean Harmony, drove

\(^{34}\) The concept of traditionality is associated with the repetition of a set of actions related to past traditions, which have been adapted to new settings (Bell 1997:145).
me back home after our long interview at night, so I would not have to pay the expensive taxi-rate. In turn, I offered car-drives to the members of Orfean Harmony when needed.

As Ektoras was opening the door to the rehearsal’s space, I asked how things were those days with the crisis: “from bad to worse,” said Ektoras, while Nefeli made a facial expression of disappointment and sighed. While I was setting up my technological equipment, Ektoras and Nefeli were arranging the chairs and musical stands for the rehearsal. After five minutes Kleio came in in a rush to talk to me. She was speaking at a very fast pace and seemed to be upset. Her voice signified frustration, as her eyes sought inside my eyes empathy and compassion. Kleio narrated to me her crazy week during which she declined an employment position in the island of Santorini. While initially she was excited finding a job after months of unemployment, she soon discovered that life in Santorini was highly expensive and that there were not any houses or apartments for rent. Hence, she had to decline the position she was offered, but she did have second thoughts. Since she was unemployed, taking such a difficult decision at that moment brought her anxiety, and thus, she felt like sharing her struggles within a supportive environment.

As I was listening to Kleio’s story, most of Orfean Harmony’s members came in for the rehearsal. Of course, there were some absences since some members live in cities outside of Thessaloniki, and some others were not able to attend the rehearsal due to personal obligations. The tuning sounds of the musical instruments along with the friendly and casual conversations filled with humor and laughter dominated the space. These conversations revolved around the members’ news, issues with the instruments, the musical pieces, the upcoming performances of the ensemble, as well as the costumes of the ensemble. While there seemed to be a kind of disorder during the gathering of the members, which lasted for almost thirty minutes, once Odysseus gave the signal, everybody got in their places to start the rehearsal.
The ensemble started with the Dionysiakon piece, and then rehearsed the hymns to Aphrodite, Athana (Athena), Paian, Ares, and Messini. As some members were missing, the musicians and actors had to imagine the missing passaggios, which set the rhythm and give important musical and theatrical queues. In some parts, some of the instrumentalists and singers filled out the missing parts with their voices to help out the rehearsal by imitating the sounds of the missing instruments or the voices of the missing singers. As a matter of fact, artistic flexibility and adaptability are critical to Orfean Harmony’s musical production, as unexpected challenges occur regularly. For example, in that rehearsal, Odysseus asked from the instrumentalist Kalioppe to sing in both the rehearsal and the upcoming performance, as one of the singers would not be able to perform these days with the ensemble. Hence, Kalioppe was assigned a double-role.

During the rehearsal, the musicians interacted with each other with facial expressions, glances, small gestures, and breathing coordination. Odysseus was leading the rehearsal, and he was stopping the ensemble whenever further instructions were needed. Some of the members interrupted the rehearsal to either re-tune their instruments, or ask questions about their artistic parts, or to just make a funny comment and socialize briefly. As Euterpe told me, “In rehearsals sometimes there is absolute devotion to what we do and then we are like τα παιδία παίζει (the children play)” Indeed, humor and playful mood were and are found at the core of Orfean Harmony’s rehearsals.

In the brief break of the rehearsal, Orfean Harmony’s members celebrated Melpomene’s recent wedding. It is significant to note that inside Orfean Harmony the members have developed family bonds in the sense that some of them have become κουμπάροι in weddings or they have

---
35 This word is translated similar to ‘best man’ and maid of honor.”
baptized each other’s children. Hence, any significant event related to the members’ life inside and outside Orfean Harmony’s framework is supported by the ensemble. That day, Melpomene brought liqueur and *bombonieres* (see figures 30-31) from the wedding to share her happy moment with the members of Orfean Harmony who did not attend this religious ceremony, as the wedding was organized for a few people due to financial restraints. The members of Orfean Harmony drank the liqueur by saying *ευοί ευάν* and wished her *βίο ανθόσπαρτο*—a typical Greek wedding wish, which literally means a life full of flowers. During that celebration, the actor who was/is also a professional photographer took photos to enrich Orfean Harmony’s archive with this important event.

*Figure 30 Preparing the liqueur*

*Figure 31 Bomboniers*

---

36 Wedding flavors.

37 An ancient Greek expression which means to be healthy.
When the rehearsal was over, the members of Orfean Harmony socialized inside or outside the rehearsal’s space for at least thirty minutes. Two of them asked me to join them for a drink in a bar nearby. Two and a half hours ago, I was so tired that I could not even imagine the possibility to get for a drink that night. However, the activity of music-making within Orfean Harmony’s environment, as well as my social interaction during the rehearsal gave me energy to continue my night. This feeling reminded me of a conversation with Leto, another member of Orfean Harmony, who told me that these rehearsals serve as psychotherapy. I felt that the music and people took away the tiredness of the day and fed me with strength to keep up. Hence, I went for a drink and discussed with Orfean Harmony’s members about many things. Most of the conversations revolved around the Greek crisis in paideia, and the need to educate citizens (including ourselves) in terms of becoming ‘good’ citizens—meaning people who are honest, who respect each other and the natural environment, and who move towards spiritual development and away from a materialistic way of life. Many references were made to Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Hesiod, mythological gods, heroes, and landscapes—such as Olympus mountain—as well as to Orfean Harmony’s musical instruments, and the musical pieces that the ensemble studies and performs. Indeed, most of Orfean Harmony’s conversations revolve around images and voices associated with an ancient Greek real, mythological, and imaginary past. These conversations do not necessarily find all members in agreement; however, these fuel long conversations. As some members have stated, these conversations lead them to the experience of catharsis—a term, which according to Aristotle’s definition of tragedy, acts as a ‘cleaning’ mechanism, a “purgative treatment” (Butcher 1951:249).
7.2 Sonic-chronotopes of Transformation

Orfean Harmony’s rehearsal environment inverts the every-day disordered and turbulent urban environment of Thessaloniki, as it relies on the production of order, harmony, and balance through the activities that revolve around the practice of music-making. This heterotopic environment is defined by elements of heterochrony, which signify the coexistence of past and present elements (Foucault 1986:24). Orfean Harmony’s heterochronic features are traced in images, voices, and sounds of an ancient Greek past—in the images and sounds of the musical instruments, as well in the harmonics of the music, and the narratives of the artists—which coexist with images, voices, and sounds of a post-modern Greek present—including the voices, sounds, and narratives coming from the artists. In this contradicted environment, the artists of Orfean Harmony experience ephemeral physical, emotional, and spiritual ‘transformation.’

Orfean Harmony’s rehearsals step on the tradition of ‘professional’ music-making within an artistic ensemble. Thus, they are formed in ways that professional musical groups traditionally rehearse, meaning specifically arranged meetings for music-making practice during which the groups ameliorate their musical products. However, Orfean Harmony’s rehearsals are adjusted to the ensemble’s particular features, which create new dynamics to traditional music-making. These features are related to the ensemble’s social-friendly environment which directs the time of socializing prior, during, and after music-making activities and to the unique characteristics of the instruments, which interfere with the flow of the rehearsal. As a member of the ensemble said, “On one hand I would prefer that Orfean Harmony would become a more strictly professional ensemble and be more professional in terms of timing in rehearsals and preparation, but one the other hand, I do not wish to lose this friendly-socializing environment.” This indicates the differences between a traditional professional music-making in respect to Orfean
Harmony’s friendly-oriented music-making. The ensemble’s voluntary nature directs the unstable rehearsal dates and times, as well as an irregularity in the presence of the artists in rehearsals—thus, rehearsals rely on elements of flexibility and adaptability, which help the ensemble to rehearse without all the artists present (see figure 32). Furthermore, the close relations among the artists may inspire events of celebration in the middle or after the music-making setting, which means that rehearsals are rarely the same. However, repetitive features do occur in Orfean Harmony’s rehearsal settings.

![Figure 32 Music-making in rehearsal](image)

A typical rehearsal of the ensemble incorporates the following features: the members of Orfean Harmony gather and socialize for almost twenty to thirty minutes while they are setting up the space, tune their instruments, warm up their voices, and hang out inside or outside the rehearsal’s space. The leader gives the signal to start the rehearsal, and everybody take their assigned seats and follow Odysseus’s instructions for music-making. During this process, interruptions occur as the members might socialize and as some instruments must be re-tuned. In the end of each rehearsal, the artists socialize for another twenty to thirty minutes before they leave (see figures 33-35). Some of the members continue social interactions after leaving the
space of the rehearsal. The repetitive activities of music-making, humor, sociality, and laughter are found at the core of Orfean Harmony rehearsals and serve as stress-release mechanisms, through the experience of spiritual, emotional, and physical transformation—this indicates the rehearsal’s functionality.

Figure 33 Socializing after the rehearsal

Figure 34 Socializing during rehearsal's break-time 1

Figure 35 Socializing during rehearsal's break-time 2
The features described above construct a ritual-like heterotopic place that produces sonic-chronotopes, which in turn act on the ensemble’s human actants. As the artists expressed during the interview sessions:

Kaliopē: Always, I am going to leave [from the rehearsal) happier than before. I mean I leave feeling calmer and having forgotten all the bad feelings of the day; having forgotten that that day hurt me. It is a λύτρωση (redemption) to my soul!

Kaliopē clearly states here that rehearsals clean the dirtiness of the day, and lead to the soul’s exaltation though the feeling of redemption. Kaliopē also told me that she anticipates going to rehearsals to meet with her friends and socialize. Participating in rehearsals creates for her the experience of “redemption.” Indeed, ‘redemption’ is a very strong word, which indicates the desire of the participant to heal the self from anything that went wrong that day.

Alexander: I go and focus on the rehearsal, and I forget the fatigue and the all the other things, because this is beneficial to me.

Alexander indicates the desire as well to move away from negative emotions; emotions associated with tiredness and fatigue. Here the participant uses the word “forget” to signify the power of Orfean Harmony’s music-making experience to transfer the artists into the state of oblivion; a state where he can move away from the reality outside the rehearsal’s space, a state where he can find rest for a while.

Leto: I feel much better when I come to rehearsals. I meet there with people that I can communicate.

Leto refers specifically to the positive feelings during rehearsals, which stem from moments of socialization. In this quotation, the participant implies that Orfean Harmony’s members share common interests. Thus, they seek to be engaged into relaxing and friendly conversations during the rehearsal.
Melpomene: Many times, I may be at work and, I cannot go to the rehearsal. But, I will finish my work and I will go to the rehearsal, and I will feel like, "oh! We have two hours rehearsal, and I cannot go to bed for two hours or to have a coffee with my quiet." And I go to the rehearsal, and after the first musical piece, it is as if the music absorbs all my cells. And I come to a balance and this is fascinating!... It is like, I come to my senses (έρχομαι στα συγκαλά μου).

Melpomene argues that music-making during rehearsals lead to inner balance, as it brings order through the balancing of the emotions. Thus, here rehearsals seem to be precious for Melpomene, as these allows her to find the balance and peace, which she greatly desires.

Ares: You see there other people who are in the same situation as you, and I do not have children, but some of them they do have children, and they try and come [to the rehearsal], and when we go there our dedication to what we do is what makes us forget the rest; it is a little like a medicine.

Ares refers to the shared qualities with the people who participate in these rehearsals; people who have the same kind of problems, and some of them even more problems. Accordingly, he highlights the dedication of Orfean Harmony’s members in this artistic endeavor, and argues towards the power of the rehearsals to act as psychotherapy.

According to the quotations above, in Orfean Harmony’s rehearsals, the human and non-human actants interact in such ways that help the artists to elevate their mood and find order, balance, and well-being. Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes ‘heal’ the artists of the ensemble from negative emotions and feelings of tiredness. This healing is found on aspects of socialization among the artists, which includes elements of humor, laughter, and solidarity, and the practice of music-making—which in turn puts things in the right order as it allows the artists to come into their ‘senses.’ Thus, during rehearsal time, the artists are found at the state of physical, emotional, and spiritual transition towards feelings of pleasure and well-being; towards a place of tranquility, order, and peace. Accordingly, the rehearsal’s sonic-chronotopes of transformation help the members of Orfean Harmony to fight their every-day struggles by
allowing them to ‘re-born,’ through the experience of revitalization. The element of ‘revitalization’ is essential to the ensemble’s cohesion during times of struggles, as this gives to the artists the emotional, spiritual, and physical energy and strength to cope with their turbulent lives. Once more we see here, how Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes serve as significant non-human actants that contribute to the sustainability of Orfean Harmony’s during the harsh years of Greece’s crisis.
8 \hspace{5mm} \textbf{THE SYMPOSIUM}

Orfean Harmony is not defined solely by musical performances, rehearsals, and artistic-making practices at home. As a matter of fact, the ensemble’s functionality is heavily based on friendly meetings and gatherings, which reinforce aspects of sociality, support, solidarity and fraternal bonding among its members and those associated with them. These gatherings are necessary for the healthy co-existence of the members, as the ensemble is constituted by “\textit{ετερόκλητα μέλη} (different kind of people).” As many artists stated, “Orfean Harmony is a family where many different people co-exist.” As in every family, agreements and disagreements take place regularly. Therefore, moments of pleasant relaxation are critical to release any unwelcomed tensions among the artists, and to enrich Orfean Harmony with elements of dreaming and hope for the future.

This chapter examines Orfean Harmony’s life beyond performances and rehearsals. Thus, this section focuses on the ensemble’s 10\textsuperscript{th} anniversary meeting at the country-house of the group’s leader, Odysseus, and illustrates how the artists, the instruments, the texts, the sponsor, the finances, the music, and sound of Orfean Harmony interact in ways that produce narratives filled with humor, music, song, and planning for the future.

8.1 \hspace{5mm} \textbf{Orfean Harmony’s 10\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary}

Two days after Orfean Harmony’s performance at the Byzantine bridge of Pylaia, Achilles came by my parent’s house to pick me up with his car. That day was special for Orfean Harmony, as it was destined to celebrate the ensemble’s 10\textsuperscript{th} anniversary. Following the detailed handmade map sketched by Odysseus, we drove towards Odysseus’s country-house in Epanomi; a region almost forty minutes away from the city.

“What are you holding there, what did you make?” asked Achilles looking at the blue tupperware in my hands.
“I just made some τυροπίτακια (cheese-pies). What did you bring?” I asked. “Oh! I brought some meat to grill, you know like souvlakia, and also beers and wine.” “I guess we’ll eat well again, as usual!” I said laughing. “And drink well!” added Achilles laughing as well.

This short discussion in the car predicted what was about to happen. A contemporary Greek symposium with food, beverages, wine and beers, song, and lots of laughter.

We arrived at Odysseus’s house around 1:00pm. Once I stepped out of the car, vibrant joyful voices excited my anticipation for fun. Most of Orfean Harmony’s members were already there along with their husbands, wives, and children. They were standing or sitting at the small yard around the table full of food and refreshments. Watching the children playing and running around full of joy, I noticed how much Orfean Harmony have grown. The family members of the artists of this ensemble were never considered foreigners or outsiders to the ensemble. As a matter of fact, these were/are the people who supported Orfean Harmony from the beginning in various ways—such as helping out in performances by managing the projector, or by following Orfean Harmony in performances inside and outside Thessaloniki. Accordingly, in casual meetings and gatherings of Orfean Harmony, these people along with their children were/are always more than welcomed and were/are considered as part of Orfean Harmony’s family.

*Figure 36 The food!*
As Achilles was grilling the meats, and as Odysseus’s wife re-filled our glasses with wine, beer, and refreshments, the sponsor of Orfean Harmony arrived with his personal assistant to join the festive atmosphere. The members of Orfean Harmony were more than excited to celebrate this important day with him, as he is considered part of Orfean Harmony’s family as well. Once the sponsor and his assistant sat at the table, Odysseus brought a small jar filled with water and ten lightened candles. This signified the initiation for the celebratory ritual of Orfean Harmony’s 10th anniversary. Odysseus made the first speech, and wished that in the 20th anniversary, Orfean Harmony would be even stronger and with all of its members nearby. He also wished for Orfean Harmony to get a permanent space for rehearsals, performances, and other activities—such as philosophical discussions and educational presentations. Soon after this brief speech, the sponsor gave to Odysseus a symbolic gift for the ensemble’s ten years: a beautiful candlestick in the shape of a musical pentagram upon which the words: “Orfean Harmony 2007-2017,” were written (see figure 38). The candlestick passed from each one of the artists and their family members, and was accompanied by humoristic comments such as, “Ha
ha! Like the Olympic torch!” During this process, the sponsor thanked each one of the artists for giving life to his musical collection of ancient Greek instruments.

The day got hotter, around forty degrees Celsius, and we all moved gradually inside the house. Odysseus suggested to watch the video of Orfean Harmony’s performance in Rotonda, which took place just a few months ago. As we were watching the video, many comments took place regarding the sound of the instruments, the singers, and the actors, as well as the space of that performance (see figures 39-40). These comments addressed issues for improving the ensemble’s performances and initiated a big discussion on various issues related to Orfean Harmony’s future—such as, the creation of Orfean Harmony’s official profile online in both Greek and English, a professional recording by one of the members of the ensemble, the possibility to find a space for rehearsals and performances from people who are willing to help Orfean Harmony, the potential for the ensemble’s performances in abroad, the creation of specific costumes for public performances, and to become a ΚΟΙΝΣΕΠ (Social Cooperative
Enterprise) or NGO. In summary, Orfean Harmony was discussing and dreaming about its future. The conversation was vivid and passionate and came not only from the members of Orfean Harmony, but also from the husbands, wives, the sponsor, and the sponsor’s assistant.

![Watching the video](image)

*Figure 39 Watching the video*

Just before the sponsor left, Odysseus gathered everybody in-between the kitchen and the small yard and asked us to sing together the Epitaph of Seikilos. Everybody knew the lyrics and music, and hence, they all sang it together, while some enriched the original melodic line with
second and third voices. Indeed, this was a very beautiful moment, which seemed to mean a lot to everyone who was there.

Before I left Odysseus’s house, I took some wine and sat at the yard in front of a small table. Achilles, Ektoras, and Melopomene joined me and exchanged opinions on various topics such as various religions, UNESCO, the Elginia marbles of Parthenon, the musical pieces that Orfean Harmony performs, as well as the comments that the audience gives to Orfean Harmony’s members after the performances. This was a very friendly and pleasant discussion during which agreements and disagreements co-existed peacefully. In fact, the disagreements were opening the path for further discussions which led to the next topics. As one of the artists said, “[after these conversations] I feel refreshed, but also problematized about multiple things.”

In between these conversations, humoristic comments, teasing, and laughter brought a sense of euphoria and hope. As it was getting late, we all thanked Odysseus and his wife for their hospitality and left around 9:00pm filled with joy and hope for the future.

8.2 Sonic-chronotopes of Dreaming Together

During Orfean Harmony’s casual and friendly meetings, the human and non-human actants of the ensemble interact in various ways. For example, while the musical instruments were not physically present in Odysseus’s country-house, they participated in multiple narratives, while their images and sounds were visually and aurally received through Orfean Harmony’s past performance on the video (see figure 39). This video initiated long conversations and discussions which created particular sonic-chronotopes that flirted with the ensemble’s imaginations about the future; a future of cohesion, a future filled with artistic production, a dreamed future! The desire for this future ignited further social action within Orfean Harmony’s environment, as the ensemble sought ways to realize parts of these dreams. For example, the
ensemble has initiated efforts to acquire costumes for public performances, Orfean Harmony managed already to find a space for rehearsals, and there have been actions for the realization of Orfean Harmony’s performance in Napoli, Italy. Thus, these sonic-chronotopes work in favor of the ensemble’s function within and beyond Thessaloniki’s artistic environment.

In addition to the above, Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes in casual and friendly meetings are critical for the artists further bonding and solidarity as these are based on the element of ‘dreaming together.’ ‘Dreaming together’ were the words that I wrote in a piece of paper—just a few days before the gathering in Odysseus’s house—below the words music, ancient Greece, artistic expression/productivity, humor, solidarity, support, and sociality. I was trying to understand what factors hold the non-human actors of the ensemble together in times of crisis, when Achilles accidentally looked at my paper and said, “Dreaming together goes first! This is why we are still here!” Observing multiple friendly meetings and being present in Odysseus’s country-house that day, I understood what the participant was talking about. In these gatherings, Orfean Harmony produced sonic-chronotopes of dreaming together, which are filled with hope for a better future. The experience of dreaming together generated collective emotions of joy and euphoria, and brought further relaxation, laughing, teasing, and warmth, which in turn fed new rounds of sonic-chronotopes and created a feedback system.

Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes of dreaming together constitute a form of a collective critical response to Greece’s crisis, as these breed sparks of hope during moments of hopelessness. These sonic-chronotopes are heterotopic in nature, as they invert the negative feelings related to financial struggles, unemployment or partial employment, unstable living conditions, overwhelming stress, fears, and frustration, and hence, they become creators of hope
for the future. Thus, hope serves as catalyst for the ensemble’s cohesion in times of despair, and signifies the desire for change within Greece’s contemporary society.

According to the above, Orfean Harmony’s casual and friendly gatherings participate in processes of the group’s formation and re-formation, in which human and non-human actants are found at the state of interaction (Latour 2005). This interaction produces particular sonic-chronotopes of dreaming together, which fill the human subject with positive feelings for the future, and inspire further interaction within Orfean Harmony’s framework. Thus, these sonic-chronotopes serve as non-human actants as well as they reinforce the ensemble’s sustainability in time of crisis. To that end, here, as in the previous chapters we see how sonic-chronotopes, such as soundscapes and chrononotopes (Samuels 2004; Feld 1982; Samuels et. al. 2010), act as dynamic and flexible forces, that participate in the creation and re-creation of cultural realities and meanings.
9 CONCLUSION

I had just finished the interview with Leto, and I was walking towards the door when she said, “Wait! I need to add something more, very important. Orfean Harmony is a type of psychotherapy, when you don’t feel well. It is an outlet, it is balance, this.” This reminded me the words of three more participants:

Kleio: [Orfean Harmony] is the oasis in all of this that happens around you [the economic and ethical crisis]. It is like a small islet inside the Pacific where all of these things happen.

Ares: [Participating in Orfean Harmony] helps me to relax, to forget. I have given my time, but it fills me.

Alexander: [Orfean Harmony] is my friendly environment.

As I left Leto’s house, I was thinking these words: psychotherapy, outlet, balance, oasis, forget, filling, friendly. Words that purport desire for healing, escape, harmony, order, and support. Words that signify the need to escape from a reality that crashes your strength, your dreams, your hopes. Within Orfean Harmony, the members of the ensemble feel that they heal themselves from the crash, and they re-fill themselves with energy to keep up during the harsh times of crisis. They seek to find order and harmony in a friendly environment; an environment filled with re-invented images, voices, and sounds of an imagined, mythological, real, foreign and familiar distant past; an environment filled with sonic-chronotopes of resilience. As the financial Greek crisis produces mixed images, voices, and sounds that breed feelings of disorder and imbalance, the artists of Orfean harmony seek to produce sonic-chronotopes of resilience that generate feelings of order, harmony, and hope for the future.

9.1 Sonic-chronotopes of Resilience

This thesis examined Orfean Harmony as a network of performing artists to illustrate how it functions within Thessaloniki’s, and in extension Greece’s, turbulent environment of
financial crisis and social upheaval; an environment filled with strikes, demonstrations, and disordered sounds, voices, and images. The Actor-network theory (Latour 2005) allowed us to zoom into the multilayered processes of this group’s formation and re-formation since 2007, and focus on the primary human and non-human actants of this ensemble: the founding members, the instrumentalists, the singers, the actors and actresses, the sponsor, the ancient Greek instruments, the sound (music, voice, and language), the lyrical, philosophical, and theatrical texts, and the finances. Accordingly, the establishment and re-creation of this network from 2007 to this day (2018), is the result of various and complex interactions among the ensemble’s human and non-human actants, which work at multiple levels with flexibility and adaptability.

The love for music, ancient Greek heritage and culture, the fascination with an ancient past, and the existence of a musical collection of ancient Greek instruments were the primary factors that united and brought together the human actors of Orfean Harmony; as Fox (2004:39) has examined, the ways in which people imagine their cultural past and history inspire present and future imagination, and thus, fuel further cultural expressions. Furthermore, the essential financial contribution and social support of the sponsor of the ensemble, the voluntary participation of the ensemble’s members, and the affiliations of Orfean Harmony with other networks were and are critical factors for the sustainability of this non-profit and voluntary artistic network in the years of Greece’s fiscal crisis. At the same time, external factors, such as unemployment or employment under unstable working conditions worked and work both in favor and against the ensemble’s stability; these factors foster some of the artists to exercise their artistic agency within this musical group, while, at the same time, these urge some other members to leave Thessaloniki, or Greece, in search of a better future.
Orfean Harmony’s human and non-human actants participate in a feedback relationship, which contributes to the production of sound-time-space frameworks, in public (performances) and private settings (rehearsals, music-making practicing at home, and meetings). These sound-time-space frameworks constitute a particular type of chronotope (Bakthin 1981), the sonic-chronotope, which emphasizes on the sonic component of chronotopic experiences; thus, the sonic-chronotope is grounded in the ability of sound in general, and music and song in particular, to influence and construct human experiences (Denora 2001; Feld 1982; Samuels 2004; Fox:2004; Turino 1999). The participation of the ensemble’s non-human actants, such as the musical instruments, texts, and sound (music, voice, and language) in the production of sonic-chronotopes is undeniable, as these partially define and direct the human-non-human interaction and experience (Gibson 1986 (1979)); here we see the vital role of non-human entities within social networks (Latour 2005).

Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes are charged with sounds, voices, and images of a re-invented, imagined, mythological, and real Greek past that blend with sounds, voices, and images of a postmodern Greek present and future. These components are defined by elements of heterochronony (Foucault 1986), as these allow the construction of a place that invites the blending of time-components. In the context of a sonic-chronotope approach, the anthropological frameworks of ‘language about music’ and ‘language in music’ allowed us to examine: how the members of Orfean Harmony talk about music and sounds charged with elements of an ancient Greek time and place that contradict Greece’s contemporary environment, and how the texts and language of Orfean Harmony’s performed songs—also charged with elements of an ancient Greek past—influence both the members and audiences of this ensemble. In public performances, this time-blending calls both the performers and the audience of this ensemble
into subjective imaginary time-space journeys, away from the frustrated noises of the Greek crisis and everyday struggles. As a member of the audience said, “In the performances, you feel this, this that Aristotle says “δια ελέους και φόβου περαίνονσα” (“through pity and fear”), this catharsis.” In private settings, Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes nurture physical, emotional, and spiritual transformation, and produce feelings of calmness, relaxation, revitalization, and hope based on music-making experiences of sociality, solidarity, and support. Thus, Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes alter temporarily Thessaloniki’s everyday urban environment (in public performances), and act as agents of social change that foster emotional transformation (in both public performances and private settings).

According to this ethnography, the sonic-chronotope constitutes a non-human entity—defined by the unity of sound, time, and space—that has the ability to influence and interact with the human subject. In the context of Orfean Harmony, the sonic-chronotope acts as a dynamic force on the feelings and emotions of both the members and audiences of the ensemble. Thus, it interacts with the human-subject in ways that work in favor of the ensemble’s function in times of crisis. Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes are non-human entities that serve as both products of the ensemble’s social network, and as important actants of this network. Here we see how the products of social realities may transform to actants that work towards the re-production of social formations within particular socio-cultural environments. Orfean Harmony produces sonic-chronontopes of heritage, utopia, transformation, and dreaming together, which: promote and re-invent aspects of Greek heritage by suggesting new aesthetics related to music-making practices; construct imaginary ideal societies where order, harmony, and balance dominate;

38 This part refers to Aristotle’s definition of tragedy: “Tragedy is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete. And of certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper catharsis or pugnation, or these emotions” (Butcher 1951:240).
produce positive feelings and emotions in body, spirit, and soul; and breed dreams and hope for the future. Thus, Orfean Harmony’s sonic-chronotopes act as forces of resilience, as these temporarily respond to the disorder and disharmony of Greece’s crisis.

According to the above, ANT’s framework along with the theoretical perspectives of soundscape, chronotope, ‘language about music,’ and ‘language in music’ revealed how these interdisciplinary theoretical structures combined produce knowledge related to the ways in which artistic ensembles function in times of crisis and social upheaval. This ethnography illustrated that multiple processes and interactions among human and non-human entities foster the formation and re-formation of a music-making artistic network, based on the production and consumption of sound-time-space settings. In times of crisis, music-artists consciously and unconsciously seek to create and experience sonic-chronotopes to escape in better ‘places.’ They seek to create what is missing from their every-day lives; they seek to produce what society cannot give them. And it is in these imaginary places, where artists experience emotional transitions, which foster their desire for exercising further artistic agency within turbulent socio-cultural environments, and thus, influence the public urban experiences of other citizens.

One of the artists of Orfean Harmony beautifully said, “Orfean Harmony is a βίωμα (living experience), emotions, efforts, all of these,” and another member said, “all of these that the ensemble express, it is with music and poetry. Because, music and poetry are the ideal vehicles to express all these.” Yes, Orfean Harmony is all these that the author cannot articulate or include in this thesis. And since music and poetry are the means to transfer ‘these,’ let the author’s lyrics in *Ode to Orfean Harmony* sing to the reader39.

39 See Appendix A.2 (p.159).
REFERENCES

AAA Ethics Blog.


[http://ethics.americananthro.org/category/statement/].

Abu-Lughod, Lila.


Aggelopoulos, Georgios.


Agha, Asif.


Alexandrakis, Othon.


Appadurai, Arjun.


Archick, Kristin.

Athanasakis, Apostolos N. and Wolkow, Benjamin M.


Bakalaki, Alexandra.


Bakhtin, M. M., and Holquist, M.


Basso, Keith H.


Basso, Keith H., and Steven Feld.


Bates, Elliot.


Bemong, Nele, and Borghart Pieter.


Bell, Catherine.


Bernard, H. Russel.

Black, Steven P.


Blommaert, Jan.


Bourdieu, Pierre.


Brandão, Luis A.


Briggs, Charles L., Mantini-Briggs, C.


Butcher, S. H.


Cabot, Heath.

Callon, Michel.

Castaneda, Marcello.

Denora, Tia.

Duranti, Alessandro.

ELSTAT (Hellenic Statistical Authority).


European Central Bank.


European Communities.


European Union.


Faudree, Paja.


Feld, Steven.

Feld, Steven and Donald Brennies.


Feld, Steven and Aaron A. Fox


Feld, Steven, and Aaron A. Fox, Thomas Porcello, and David Samuels.


Forum, E. Y.


Foucault, Michel, and Jay Miskowiec.


Foundoulakis, Konstantinos et al.


Fox, Aaron


Ganti, Tejaswini.


Gemenetzi, Georgia.

Gibson, James J.


Goutsios, Dionysis and George Polymeneas.


Graan, Andrew.


Guano, Emanuela.


Hagel, Stefan.


Harrison, Rodney.

Harvey, David.


Hatzidaki, Ourania and Goutsios Dionysis.


Husserl, Edmund.


IEO.


Jacobs-Huey, Lanita.


Knight, M. Daniel.


Knight, M. Daniel and Charles Stewart.


Koutsoulelou, Stamatia.


Latour, Bruno.


Latour, Bruno, Woolgar, S., and Salk, J.


Lewis, Michael.


Logan, Norman.


Mathiesen, Thomas.


Bloomington, In: Indiana University Press.
1999. *Apollo’s Lyre: Greek Music and Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.*

Matsaganis, Manos. Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press.


Mazower, Mark.


Montoya, Ainhoa.


Mylonas, Harris.


Narayan, Kirin.


Navaro-Yashin, Yael.


Öztürk, Serdar.

Papadimitriou, Lydia.

Rakopoulos, Theodoros.

Rikou, Elpida and Io Chiavara.

Rozakou, Katerina.

Samuels, David.

Samuels, David W. and Lousie Meintjes, Ana Maria Ochoa, and Thomas Porcello.

Spradley, P. James.
Swinehart, Karl F.


Tsakalotos, Euclid and Christos Laskos.


Turino, Thomas.


Tzanelli, Rodanthi.


Varoufakis, Yannis.


West, Martin L.


Wirtz, Kristina.


Wolfe, Alvin W.
2011. “Anthropologist View on Social Network Analysis and Data Mining.”

*Social Network Analysis and Mining* 1(1):3-19

Wulff, Helena.


Wyplosz, Charles and Sylvia Sgherri.


Zaimakis, Yannis.

APPENDICES

Appendix A HYMNS

*Appendix A.1 Hymn to Dionysos Bassareus and Triennial*

“Come Blessed Dionysos,
bull-faced god conceived in fire,
Bassareus and Bacchos,
many-named master of all.
You delight in blood swords,
you delight in the holy Maenads
as you howl throughout Olympos,
all-roaring and frenzied Bacchos.
Armed with the thyrsus, wrathful in the extreme,
you are honored
by all gods and all men
who dwell upon the earth.
Come, blessed and leaping god,
bring abundant joy to all”
(Athanasakis and Wolkow 2013:39).
Appendix A.2 Ode to Orfean Harmony

Nights the days
stands the look sleepless
I fumble the memories
the bittersweet, *eros*
unheard, on the sea misleads
the ship of Odysseus
foreign places, foreign smells
the amulet on the chest I kiss
and I sing for you

I sing for light, poetry
and temples are hanging on the high forests
where only the nymphs walk
next to the graves of heroes
the lament of Orpheus never ends
in darkness, human
death, life, Seikilos sings,
and I sing
the old times
same the pain, same the laughter, same the land
but elsewhere I step, away, away
from the enhanced forests of Olympus
in these waters far away, the Muses do not come

and I sing for you, I sing
I light the candle to fit everything
before the end, to have the time
for those that happened, for those that will
before, after
sorrow, hope?
the look of young Achilles, how he stared at me
to sing for you, and the skies open to finish what was made
humans now
low in the depths of the deserted sanctuary
no one leaves, no one comes
only Zephyrus in whispers tickles my ear

I listen now, I listen
I don't sing anymore
I don't write
With my eyes sealed
I feel the rush of the despotic ancient sea
upon the mountains, to weep
upon the mountains, to call
upon the mountains, “Sing!”