Homeland as Sound and Sound as Homeland: Cultural and Personal Soundscapes in Christos Christovasilis's Short Stories¹

Panayotis Panopoulos / University of the Aegean, Greece

Translated by Vasiliki Chatzopoulou / Sitia, Crete, Greece

Peer Reviewer: Eleni Kallimopoulou / University of Macedonia

Manuscript Editors: Alexandra Balandina / Goldsmiths, University of London and Panayotis Panopoulos / University of the Aegean, Greece

Citation: Panopoulos, Panayotis. *Homeland as Sound and Sound as Homeland: Cultural and Personal Soundscapes in Christos Christovasilis's Short Stories*. Translated by Vasiliki Chatzopoulou. Ethnomusicology Translations, no. 1. Bloomington, IN: Society for Ethnomusicology, 2015.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14434/emt.v0i1.20266>

Originally published in Greek in *Dokimes: Journal of Social Studies* 13-14 (2005): 277-307.

Vasiliki Chatzopoulou was born in 1968 in Athens, Greece, where she studied and obtained a degree in English Language and Literature from the Kapodistrian University of Athens (1990). In 1993 she acquired an MSc in Mythology and Science Fiction from the Department of Comparative Literature, University of Edinburgh, Scotland. Returning to Greece in 1994 she worked as an interpreter-translator-personal assistant to Greek journalist Thanassis Lalas for the Athens newspaper *To Vima* and acted as an interpreter in interviews with such world-renowned artists and thinkers as Peter Greenaway, Tom Robbins, Harold Pinter, John Galbraith, Umberto Eco, Norman Foster, Richard Rogers, Sylvie Guillem, Gilbert & George, and Seamus Heaney. For the following five years (1996-2001), she collaborated with numerous Greek publishing houses as a literary translator. She taught "Introduction to Elements of Mythology" for the School of Tourism in Heraklion, Crete (1999-2000), and "Terminology of Nutrition and Dietology in English" in the Technological Educational Institute of Crete, Department of Nutrition and Dietology, in Sitia (2014). In 1999 she moved to Sitia, Crete, where she continues to live and work as a translator and teach English as a foreign language.

Manuscript Editor's Introduction – Alexandra Balandina

This essay is an original contribution to the ethnomusicology of literature in Greece. Concepts and perspectives from the anthropology of music, soundscape studies, and the ethnography of sound and the senses are used to approach and analyze the sound world of Christos Christovasilis's literary work. Christovasilis (1860-1937) is an important figure in the so-called "ethnographic" literary movement in Greece of the late 19th and early 20th centuries; his work is of exceptional interest concerning the presentation of sound and hearing in Greek mountain communities. Panayotis Panopoulos's sharp ear identifies the strong presence of sound in the short stories of Christovasilis, which he interprets in terms of the ethnography of the senses and the role of sound and hearing in the cultural construction of

community and personhood among Greek pastoralists. In this text Panopoulos places special emphasis on the sound of animal bells in everyday and ritual contexts, developing further his earlier ethnographic work on animal bells (see “Animal Bells as Symbols: Sound and Hearing in a Greek Island Village,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9 (2003): 639-56; and *Skyros Carnival*, photographs by Dick Blau, essay by Agapi Amanatidis and Panayotis Panopoulos, CD + DVD by Steven Feld, Santa Fe, NM: VOXLOX, 2011). More importantly, Panopoulos challenges received ideas in which text is understood as a predominantly visual, linguistic construct and he eloquently depicts how experiences of sonic imagination are culturally reproduced in text. In this way, he makes an important contribution to the ethnomusicological reading of literary text by showing how text is mediated through acoustic environment and how sound produces, surrounds, and immerses itself in text.

Translator’s Note – Vasiliki Chatzopoulou

Engaging in a task as attractive and demanding as the translation of Panayotis Panopoulos’s article into English presented a double challenge for me, as it likely would for any translator: not only did I have to tackle the academic terminology issues and maintain the personal writing style of Panayotis Panopoulos, I also had to introduce the English-speaking reader to a text of striking beauty and engaging eloquence written in the Epirus vernacular of the late 19th century. To a reader of modern Greek, the language itself is easily comprehensible, with the exception of specific words, mostly transliterated and explained with a footnote in the text. However, easily read does not mean easily translated; quite the contrary. Pondering on the possibilities of dialect, I opted for one that would be easily recognizable and rather widely used: that of the American South. Another reason for my choice was that quite often in the dialect of Epirus, mostly in the passages of direct speech as they appear in the text, some vowels are not pronounced and the words sound “chopped,” a characteristic it shares with American Southern dialects. The play between everyday English and a Southern-sounding dialect also tries to reflect—as much as possible—the subtle shift from narrator’s speech to character’s speech, which is distinct enough to outline a more “learned” usage of the narrator’s language as opposed to the language used by peasants and shepherds. A final note on the choice of specific words that may sound “out of context” or “too literary”: quite a few Greek vernaculars commonly use words deriving from the Ancient Greek language, somewhat transformed but still easily recognizable. This is the feeling I tried to convey through the use of literary words. I do hope that my efforts have been successful and that the English-speaking reader will be able to enjoy the beauty of not only the sounds, but also the overall sensation that the passages emit.

Homeland as Sound and Sound as Homeland: Cultural and Personal Soundscapes in Christos Christovasilis's Short Stories

Introduction²

In this article, I am taking on three general questions, which I attempt to examine within a specific field of reference, the *ithographía*³ of Christos Christovasilis, a minor Greek prose writer of the first half of the 20th century: What is the relative weight of visual and auditory representations in literature? How do sensory representations in literature relate to culturally specific sensory perceptions? How can sensory representations in literature be used for an ethnographic-anthropological reconstruction of a given culture's sensory model? I do not believe that it is either acceptable or feasible to attempt to provide answers of a general nature to the above questions by studying the work of a single writer. In any case, I was originally drawn to the work of Christovasilis not because of any potential typicality of his work, but due to the particular significance of the auditory channel in it. The intensity and variety of auditory representations are among the most powerful characteristics of Christos Christovasilis's short stories. In this article, I am attempting to locate the cultural components of this emphasis on the auditory and to offer an interpretation which connects the cultural parameters of auditory perceptions with the psychological ones.

The use of literary texts as ethnographic sources or data aiming at the ethnographic reconstruction of a cultural system creates certain problems, especially in the specific case of *ethnographic prose*, where the texts under examination are thoroughly conditioned by clear-cut ideological premises and, mainly nationalistic, stereotypes, to the point that *ithographía* is almost exclusively examined under this analytical-theoretical prism (Vitti 1991). However, the turn of anthropology towards the study of the writing conventions of ethnography and the exposition of the literary aspects of ethnographic texts (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Cushman 1982) has made us recognize the ethnographic dimensions of both literature and other genres; that is, we recognize that the boundaries between ethnography and other literary genres are not so strict and impenetrable (Clifford 1988). It has also decisively modified the way we perceive and use ethnographic sources and ethnographic data.

Drawing on some of the important issues introduced by the anthropology of personhood and emotions, the relatively recent anthropological studies of the cultural construction of the senses have been focused on the cultural varieties of sensory perceptions and the cultural hierarchies of the sensorium. Towards the end of the 1980s, anthropologists started focusing on the various sensory models of cultures around the globe and on discourses about the senses, placing particular emphasis on the cross-cultural analysis of the metaphorical uses of the senses (Classen 1993; Howes 1991). Another outcome of this study has been the realization that in a variety of different cultures hearing stands as a metaphor for obedience and compliance with social rules and cultural norms. To "hear" means to "understand," to "behave properly," or to "obey." People who "do not hear" are placed on the borderline or even outside the borders of culture and society (Seeger 1987; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971).⁴ The study of the cultural conceptualization and symbolism of the senses has also been focused on ritual acts whose purpose is to enhance or control the senses. The ritual piercing and decoration of ears and mouth, for example, is closely related in various cultures to cultural concepts and ideas about hearing and speaking (Seeger 1987; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971; Classen 1993). Questions raised by anthropology with regard to the senses have also led researchers to exercise radical cultural criticism on the fundamental assumptions of Western ocularcentrism (Stoller 1989; Classen 1993).

It was during the 1980s and early 1990s that the first full-range ethnographic studies on sound as a cultural system were published (Feld 1982; Seeger 1987; Roseman 1991). These studies strongly emphasize, among other things, native perceptions, evaluations, and hierarchies, both of sonic events and of researchers' recordings/representations of those sonic events (Feld 1987). Sounds that the researcher often regards as "noise" and consequently tries to remove from the recordings are not always taken as such by the members of the culture under study. This realization has multiple methodological consequences. Perceiving and recording the sounds of other cultures by following an ethnocentric, musically centered approach based on the auditory model of the "concert hall" does not allow us to grasp the rich cultural varieties of perceptions and meanings of sonic events (Feld 1982; Seeger 1987; Roseman 1991). From this perspective, examining the cultural perception of even the simplest of sounds can prove as important for the interpretation of sonic events as it is for the study of a society's music. Moreover, it can help us in a critical re-examination of the cultural perception of musical performances (Feld 1982). Within this interpretative framework, the notion of music itself should either be redefined according to the cultural meanings and symbols of each respective cultural system, or completely abandoned as an analytical category and replaced either by native terms or by broader descriptive terms such as sound.

The issues of the cultural construction of the senses and the study of sound as a cultural system meet each other in regarding sound as both metaphor and means to ritually construct and manage social order. The intense and constant presence of noise in European rituals such as the French *charivari* (Davis 1973), as well as in German *Katzenmusik* (Darnton 1991) and British *rough music* (Thompson 1991); the diverse uses of various noise-making objects and of bells within religious and secular frameworks in various communities throughout Europe (Price 1983; Corbin 1998); and the symbolic significance of sound in Carnival and rituals of the annual cycle and others related to weather-control and cosmic phenomena bring forth the role of sound and noise in the regulation of social, cosmological, and moral conflicts. Levi-Strauss has focused on the ritual and mythological importance of juxtaposing noise and silence⁵ and has proposed a general model for the interpretation of systematic noise-making in ritual ceremonies throughout the world; he contends that this structural juxtaposition is a fundamental symbolic opposition that helps not only define but also resolve social and cosmological conflicts and confirm order (Levi-Strauss 1970, 1973).

In Christovasilis's short stories, we shall come across many of the topics that have been mentioned so far. Hence, the importance of Christovasilis's prose in the anthropological study of the senses and of sound in Greek society will be made gradually evident. However, along with the writer-conveyor of cultural concepts regarding the senses and sound, we shall witness the gradual emergence of another figure: the writer-constructor-and-composer of sounds who uses these sonic representations to create a familiar, stable, and protective sonic environment. It is this figure who will lead us to certain broader interpretive observations on visual and auditory representations in the work of Christovasilis and more generally on how vision and hearing function as literal and metaphorical means of communicating with the world.

Sound and Senses in Christovasilis's Prose

When reading Christovasilis's short stories, we get trapped in a delicately woven sonic web, which is just as important (if not more important) for rendering the ambiance of the world that the writer is describing, as is the ceaselessly repeated imagery of flocks, stockyards, mountains and ravines, and the frequent reference to the senses of taste, smell, and touch. Through his narrative and dialogues, Christovasilis creates full-fledged "soundscapes," sonic environments that evoke his memories, mostly from his life as a child at his father's stockyard, or create the necessary sonic setting for narrating a tale or reporting an incident.⁶ The persistence with which Christovasilis sketches out the sonic environment in his narratives is on a par with that in Kostas Krystallis's poetry and narratives⁷ and those of other writers of ethnographic literature (*ithographia*) whose interests were focused on the rendition of pastoral life.

The main sounds represented in Christovasilis's short stories are those of nature: everyday sounds of the mountains, birds, running water, and the sounds of extreme weather phenomena as well. They also include the sounds of the stockyard, where the ringing of animal bells reigns. Finally, we "hear" the sounds of the market of the town of Yannina⁸ presented in dramatic contrast to the previously mentioned sounds, at least as far as the heroes' perception of them is concerned. Christovasilis creates the impression that the rendition (to avoid using the sensory biased term "depiction") of the Epirus shepherds' world would be impossible without constant recourse not only to how that world *appeared* but also to how it *sounded*. Indeed, if we focus on this particular matter, we must admit that Christovasilis in his short stories creates sound-wise one of the richest "worlds" of Greek literature. Let's "hear" a lengthy excerpt from the short story "Koutsoyannis⁹ at Yannina" ("O Koutsoyiánnis sta Yánnina"), which I have chosen for an additional reason: because it counters the pastoral stereotypes about Christovasilis's prose:

So, Koutsoyánnis followed Kóstas and as they proceeded towards the heart of town, the crowd grew denser and denser, the clamor louder and louder. Christians, Turks, Jews, all fussing up-and-down, here-and-there like bees at the spring. The Christians strutting tall and proud, the Turks dragging their feet and some of them even puffin' their pipe and walking all the while, and the Jews, with the large wooden trays strapped to their waist, full of goods and wares, waddled, bellowing in a chanting voice:

-Wooooooven stuffs, eeeexcellent commooooooditiies.

Seeing all this, poor Koutsoyánnis swiveled round like a weather-cock, striving to take everything in—to no avail, however, with eyes and ears wide open in the midst of what was going on all round him. He found himself inside a maze so awesome that his whole mind had been engulfed in it. He wished he had a thousand eyes to see, a thousand ears to hear. A pair of eyes, a pair of ears alone could not even begin to satisfy his curiosity.

At last, they got to Prásson's inn, at Plátonas, an inn that was unique and the most renowned in all of Epirus. That's where the greatest din, the loudest tumult was to be heard. Riders and horses swarmed in and out by the dozens. Racket and uproar and hullabaloo untold. The grocery-sellers shouted from outside:

-Spinach, beet, lettuce, parsley, courgettes, fresh broad beans. . . .

The market butchers, one on this side boomed loudly:

-Gelded kid's meeeeat.

And from the others over there:

-Raaaaam's meat.

A third in high-pitched tone:

-Lamb, poor little one.

A fourth:

-Kiiiiid.

And in the midst of all those voices, the clear and separate words of market butchers a-sellin' an' a-cuttin':

-Chop the *aghás*¹⁰ head off.

-Yank the *béys*¹¹ neck off.

-Cut off the lord's leg.

The horses' and mules' clapping on the cobblestones uphill echoed loud enough to raise the dead from their graves and in addition to all just mentioned there were other noises, subdued, from scales in the shops, loads being unloaded, horses and mules neighing and donkeys braying, the bleating of sheep, goats, lambs an' kids hauled into the market to be sold, the hacking of saddle-makers, the tapping of *tsaróhi*¹² cobblers and *koundourádes*,¹³ the clinks and clanks of blacksmiths and tinkers, the shoeing of farriers, the songs of *tsióúrides* and *bandídoi* [bohemians] who always leave their capes hanging in them inns, the gypsies ballyhooing, all creating a kind of devilish music that reached all the way down to the earth's guts and to the sky above (Christovasilis 1988:95-97).

Christos Christovasilis was born around 1855-1860 and died in 1937. He spent his childhood and adolescence in his village, Souli-Christovasíli, in the region of Kalamás, Epirus. His father was a wealthy landowner and stockbreeder with many people in his service. Christovasilis studied in Izmir and Istanbul. In 1878, he abandoned his studies in order to participate in the revolutionary movement aiming at the integration of Epirus and Thessaly into the Greek State. In 1882 he was sentenced to death, but he managed to escape to Thessaly, which was part of Greece by then; in 1885 he settled down in Athens where he worked for decades as a journalist and correspondent for many newspapers, dedicating himself to patriotic activism. In 1913 he returned to Yannina and entered politics by joining the monarchist political party, which stood in opposition to the Liberals of Eleftherios Venizelos.¹⁴ He was elected Member of Parliament twice, in 1926 and in 1935. Thus, a great part of Christovasilis's life was spent away from his homeland, where he returned as soon as circumstances allowed. All his activities (professional, literary, political) related in one way or another to his homeland and involved his patriotic pursuits.

Christovasilis's prose, contrary to the oft-cited stereotype about the simplemindedness or the naiveté of ethnographic literature, allows for a great variety of readings and alternative approaches. Of course even in the above excerpt where he cites the market sounds at Yannina, references to ethnic stereotypes are prevalent and neither the writer's ethnocentric approach nor his patriotic fervor, which characterize the body of his work, can be concealed. In this article, I shall try to convey a sense of Christovasilis's sonic world, the complex totality he composes of sonic environments or soundscapes. Christovasilis creates his soundscapes in the way a modern composer puts together prefabricated or environmental sounds. He draws on narratives, childhood memories in the mountains, and sounds of his daily life. I contend that, although his short stories are dominated by idyllic and romantic *imagery*, his sonic representations partly overcome the weaknesses of conscious ethnographic *depiction*, transcend the mannerist intentions of his writings and, while they initially might aim at providing a sonic raiment for the nostalgic representation of his childhood, ultimately have another dimension as well. Important as they may be for the rendition of the atmosphere described, sonic representations stand, in a way, at the margin of mannerist representations. The profuse sonic dimension in the prose of Christovasilis functions as a culturally defined but also strongly personal soundscape of the writer's childhood and offers a more lively, but also less ideologically charged, representation of his homeland. Escaping the restrictive bonds of mannerist rendition, the sonic representations in Christovasilis's short stories open a pathway toward interpreting the cultural dimensions of sound in Epirus's pastoral communities. In the next section, I try to capture the wide sonic range established in Christovasilis's short stories and communicate the writer's insistence on representing his sonic environment.

Sounds

Ritual transitions are either marked by the presence of distinct sounds or demand silence.¹⁵ In the autobiographical story “My Best New Year’s Day” (“I kalíterí mou archichroniá”), the “old-herdsman” tells the writer-narrator that at the moment the year changes one should not be asleep and then continues:

Ahh! ‘tis a beautiful thing my lad! There comes a tremblin’ in the Creation, a deeeep . . . deep rumble, and your ear’s got to be reeal—real light to catch it. There’s a terrible uncanny wail . . . ‘Tis no small thing, another comin’ to take away the keys o’ the world right out of your hand! Imagine, this very night another man coming in here and telling us: “Out you go from this *heimádi*!”¹⁶ I’m stayin’ here from now on, m’self!” (Christovasilis 1988:16).

Death demands silence:

-Our Master-shepherd’s passed away!
I sent Tsílias¹⁷ straight to the village to get all necessities for the funeral an’ all the herdsmen ran hearing of their Master-shepherd’s death, an’ laid out the herds all over the ridge ‘round the pen, after first muting all the *kiprokoúdouna* [bells] of the herd to stop them from ringing on that mournful, death-stricken day. . . .
In the mornin’ all herds were mute. Neither small bell nor *kípros* could be heard at all! (Christovasilis 1988: 60).¹⁸

The *pómbema*,¹⁹ a symbolic death, mixes rituals and imagery of funerals and weddings:

The moment the banished woman was stepping out of the village, no voice at all was uttered. All this crowd just stood mute and speechless. This whole scene seemed like a wedding and a funeral farewell at the same time.
. . . The train of attendants headed for the village center and the church bell started tolling dead slow at times: “claaaaaaang-claaaaaaang” like at a funeral, and at times fast: “clang-clang-clang” like at a weddin’ (Christovasilis 1954:256).²⁰

The return of an expatriate is always announced with a gunshot that the person himself fires, usually at the entrance of his village or at the door of his house, before he sees his family. In the story “The Harrowed Mother” (“I dólia mána”), the heroine makes a request to her other children when she is at the brink of death and certain that she won’t see her son return from abroad:

With this order I leave you now: When my Vasílis comes home, Godspeed, when you’re brought the happy tidings, one o’ya should come upon my very tomb an’ fire three boomin’ gunshots and shout out to me real loud:
-Maa’, Vasílis’s come home! (Christovasilis 1996:121).

When Vasílaina²¹ was given the happy tidings that Vasílis had returned even before she had met him she:

took the rifle and the bandoliers down from the wall and headed for the cemetery, to his harrowed mother’s tomb and right there she fired the rifle three times straight “bangg!” “bangg!” “bangg!” and then cried with all her might:
-Hey Maaaaa! Vasíl’s come home! (Christovasilis 1996:122).

The “three gunshots” are obviously related here to the holiness of the location in which they are “fired.” It is with “three gunshots” that the betrothal in the story “A Herdsman’s

Christmas Dream” (“Christougenniátiko óneiro pistikoú”) is also announced (Christovasilis 1988:136).

The autobiographical short story “Voice from the Clouds” (“Foní apó ta sínnefa”) refers to a strange sonic/auditory phenomenon that lies on the threshold separating the natural and supernatural. Everybody at the pen is desolate because Sióúto-Kálesios,²² the head ram of the herd, has disappeared. Suddenly:

As we were preparing the milk for the house, a voice, what a voice . . . a booming huge voice, like it was coming from *sarandápihos*’s²³ mouth, came down from the clouds and said:

-Such a ram cannot be found nowhere round here! It don’t even cross their minds that it’s in our own herd! They’ll be searchin’ for it over there an’ they won’t turn this way at all! Kalamás²⁴ be blessed, that separates us two! Hahahahahaaaaa! And then the voice stopped! (Christovasilis 1988:26).

Further down the text, the “master herdsman” of the pen provides an explanation for this phenomenon:

This here is a miracle, I’ve heard it with my own ears many a-time. You can hear words spoken and talkin’ from ten hours away, even. Sometimes, when them clouds are touchin’ the earth like happens now at Valaóra²⁵ right now, or when they are lowering towards the horizon, they take the voice and carry it an’ send it all the way to the end of their tail’s reach. You see, we been lucky . . . Our ram been located! It’s at the herd grazin’ at Valaóra! What of it? One’s property’s holy an’ one’s property cannot be despoiled easy (Christovasilis 1988:27).

The writer’s effort to render the sounds of his childhood as closely as possible is continuous. I am presenting a selection from the short story collection *Stockyard Tales* (*Diegímata tis stánis*):

Kefalás²⁶ together with three other milkers started milking: “vziarrrr! vziarrrr! vziarrrr!” (Christovasilis 1988:119).²⁷

And as he was saying these words, the mule’s *kiprí* [cast bronze bell] could be heard closer and closer all the while: “Driggg-driggg-driggg-driggg-driggg-drigggggg,” until the mule was seen far way where the pasture touches the mountain slope (Christovasilis 1988:51-2).²⁸

. . . while the sound of the bells dwindled, “krikrikrikrikriiiii,” and diffused into the air (Christovasilis 1988:73).²⁹

. . . them dogs, some bayin’ loudly “woof-woof-woof,” others barkin’ harshly “yaf-yaf-yaf” and others yet yelpin’ “yelp-yelp-yelp” (Christovasilis 1988:139).³⁰

Indeed, when he gets to the point of recording the rooster’s “voice,” his effort to render its intensity properly becomes almost anxious and covers two printed lines:

. . . while the rooster kept on crowin’.
-Cock-a-doodle-doooooooooooooooooooooooooooo! Cock-a-doodle-doooooooooooooooooooooooooooo! (Christovasilis 1988:134).³¹

Sonic Identities

The most prominent and characteristic sounds in Christovasilis's short stories are those of animal bells and the shepherd's flute.³² The constant presence of bell and flute sounds and the sonic environment they create elevate sound to a primary sensory input. Hearing turns into the dominant sense and functions as a metaphor for the perception of the world in general. In the short story "The Master-Shepherd's Death" ("O thánatos tou tsiélega"), just before passing away (or, to put it differently in order to *show* the ocularcentric *view* on things which dominates in our everyday speech, *just before he closes his eyes*), the hero tells his confessor:

-Tis on that ridge up there I want you to bury me. In the wilderness, where I lived's where I wanna be buried. Who knows . . . The dead might feel something too. Maybe, from under m' grave there, I can still hear the great bells o' sheep an' goats an' the yelling and flutes o' them shepherds. It's maybe I feel my dear goats and sheep stepping all over me (Christovasilis 1988:58).

Hearing and touch "survive" death and maybe this is why the flute and the *klítsa* (the shepherd's staff)³³ remain close to the deceased:

When the priest completed them funeral rites, in tears we lifted the corpse, laid it in its final abode, threw his widowed flute in with him too, and earthed 'im.

A herdsman broke his widowed *klítsa*, tied it into a cross and set it up at the head of the grave . . . (Christovasilis 1988:60).

The writer also places the death of the "orphaned herdsman," in the story of the same title, within the same sonic environment. Here the sounds of bells, the sound of the flute, and the baying of the hero's dog mingle to transform his death into a largely sonic image (Christovasilis 1988:73-75). In the case of the "orphaned herdsman" too, sound and hearing function as key metaphors of life and human connections to the world.

The sound of bells has a functional role for shepherds:

We had the herd up on a hill slope and from the swift and nimble clanging of the bells, one could tell without bein' a herdsman even that the sheep 'd found good pasture and they grazed greedily (Christovasilis 1988:161).³⁴

The sounds of the animal's bells and the bells themselves are used to establish hierarchies among animals, as well as among herds, stockyards, families, and communities. The ranking of animals starts at the top, with the *brostáris*³⁵ wearing the largest and deepest sounding bell of the herd.³⁶

In the short story "My Ghiossos" ("O Ghióssos mou"),³⁷ many of the themes we have so far mentioned are prominent. The story is autobiographical and action takes place at the time at which the writer was "just about turnin'" eight. On New Year's Eve, their "master-shepherd" announces that it is time they changed *Ghióssos*, the "bellwether," the leader of the goats of their herd, because he is too old and "the *kípros* is gettin' too heavy for 'im." The *Ghióssos* was:

. . . the top billy-goat of our herd . . . full grown of stature and it's why he wore the largest bell of the herd, a *kípros* with two smaller ones inside and a thick clapper inside the main bell (Christovasilis 1988:31).³⁸

The narrator's father begins a conversation with the "master shepherd" about the replacement of *Ghióssos* with another billy-goat from the herd. It concludes with the following dialogue in which the narrator intervenes with a short comment:

- . . . Now then, take the *kípros* off *Ghióssos* and put it on *Bárzos*,³⁹ and that of *Bárzos* you can put on some other billy. His one's become too small for 'im now an' his you can put on another billy that's wearin' none . . .

The *kípros* is sort of a crown for the leader of the herd, a kind of symbol of hegemony . . .

-An' *Ghióssos*, what's he gonna wear? asks the master-shepherd again.

-*Ghióssos*? Ahh! The poor old-timer! Send him to the house tomorrow an' we bleed him, bein' a holiday an' all (Christovasilis 1988:32).

The hero-narrator, upon hearing these words, starts to cry; meanwhile, their herd appears shortly after:

Poor *Ghióssos* was in the middle of the chain instead of at the top and he couldn't lift the *kípros* round 'is neck. But what a massive *kípros* that was! It was a triple *kípros*, weighing 2-3 *okádes*⁴⁰ (Christovasilis, 1988:32-33).

When the master shepherd starts taking off the bell from *Ghióssos*, the narrator intervenes:

-Don't take the bell off the beast! I yelled at the master shepherd wrathfully and commandingly, and showing respect for me he stopped fussing with the collar ring and asked me somewhat curious:

-Why?

-Why this and why that . . . I dunnow! I said. Just do as I say!

And father, himself moved by my commotion, also told him:

-The boy's right! Don't take the *kípros* off the beast! We mustn't shame 'im in the eyes of his herd that he so proudly led for all these years (Christovasilis, 1988:33).

Finally, the father asks the master herdsman to bring *Ghióssos* to their house the next morning "with his honored *kípros* still around his neck . . . D'you hear?" along with one "of the barren ones, to slay." The command is ambiguous, since the intentions of the father in relation to the fate of *Ghióssos* are not clarified. That night the narrator has nightmares regarding the removal of the bell from *Ghióssos*.⁴¹ The next morning: "*Ghióssos*' great *kípros* was heard, approachin' ever so slowly." The father quickly gives the order to slay *Ghióssos* together with the "barren one." The mother of the narrator intervenes, saying that it is too much to slay two animals on the same day, but the father answers irrefutably, telling her that one of them is to be offered to "the poor houses, to get some proper food in them today, bein' a festive day." Then the hero-narrator starts to wail mournfully saying:

-I ain't lettin' anybody slay my *Ghióssoooooos!*" (Christovasilis 1988:36).

The father insists, until the mother steps in with the solution:

You got it in your head, today of all days, to gall this child of mine with this slaying of *Ghióssos*?" (Christovasilis 1988:36).

The themes addressed by the story "My *Ghióssos*" are certainly not limited to a mannerist representation of a pastoral scene. It is neither to the power relations described in the story nor to the story's psychoanalytical aspects that I shall now turn my attention. What I would like to point out is the juxtaposition and synthesis of the cultural symbolism of sound and the personal will and action of the hero. The narrator recognizes and describes with clarity the

cultural meanings of the sounds in his environment. He tells us what the great bell means for a herd, which animal should wear it, and why. The great bell is a “symbol of hegemony” within a sonic world hierarchically ordered by analogy with human, family, and social priorities. The father steps in to affirm the sonic-cultural rule, asking his “master herdsman” to hierarchically redistribute the bells of the herd following the deposition of *Ghióssos*, who is now redundant. By saving *Ghióssos* from the removal of his bell, the narrator brings new meaning to his sonic environment, enriching the cultural parameters of the sonic world of the herd with emotional associations. He thereby creates a new soundscape which both stands as a continuation of the dominant cultural soundscape and differs strikingly from it, in that the givens of the dominant soundscape have, up to a significant point, been readjusted and acquired new emotional nuances. This new soundscape is an emotionally reconstructed cultural soundscape which reconciles the different sides of the hero’s identity.⁴²

Sonic Contrasts

The tale of Koutsoyánnis, the shepherd who goes to Yannina for the first time to buy a flute, is probably Christovasilis’s best and most delightful short story. Koutsoyánnis plays the flute better than anyone else, in part to forget his sadness over his slight disability. His musical prowess causes the envy of some other shepherds, who steal Koutsoyánnis’s flute because they consider it magical. But they immediately start arguing about who will get to keep the flute and in the end decide to break it. So Koutsoyánnis is left without a flute almost for a whole year. However:

A shepherd without a flute is a creature undone—like a church without a church-bell, like a nightingale without a voice, like a creek without its murmur, like a herd without *kiprokoúdouna* (Christovasilis 1988:80).

To make another from eagle’s bone like his old one is very difficult. In the spring when the absence of his flute becomes unbearable, Koutsoyánnis decides to charge his cousin Kóstas with the task of bringing him a new flute from Yannina, where he goes regularly for business of his own. But Kóstas says that he knows nothing about flutes: the best thing would be for Koutsoyánnis to go to Yannina one day himself to choose a flute the way he wants it. On the spur of the moment, Koutsoyánnis asks to accompany Kóstas there.

The chronicle of Koutsoyánnis’s maiden journey to Yannina is full of comical mishaps, brought about by the hero’s ignorance of the ways and customs of life in town and by the unconcealed amazement of the hero when he first sees and hears of all the wonders of the great city. Koutsoyánnis greets every person he meets and gets angry when the greeting is not returned. He starts going in and out of all kinds of shops asking whether they sell flutes; he even goes to an inn and eats, unaware that he has to pay at the end of the meal. Still, most of the comical incidents that take place are created by the incompatibility of the sensory experience of Koutsoyánnis with the sensory reality of the town. What Koutsoyánnis *did* in Yannina is not half as funny as what he *saw* and *heard* there, or rather how he saw and heard it. Here, Christovasilis finds the opportunity to systematically contrast two fundamentally different sensory ways of being—those of a country man and a town dweller. He draws upon distinct visual acoustic experiences, priorities, and symbols.⁴³ Having lost visual contact with Kostas at some point, Koutsoyánnis naturally resorts to shouting:

He paused, pondered a while, and having lost him, looked front and back, right and left. Kóstas’d vanished!! An’ then, he started yelling at the top of ‘is voice, all around:

-Heeeyyy Kóstaaaaaa! Heeeyyy Kóstaaaaaa! Heeeyyy Kóstaaaaaa! Heeeyyy Kóstaaaaaa! . . .

An' while he was yelling with all his might, the people were just strolling back'n'forth, up'n'down, and from the workshops of all kinds operating in the vicinity—blacksmiths, copper-smiths, *tsarouhi*-makers, *koundourádes*—there came the sound of their hammers “tsig, tsioug, tsiak, tsik, tsiouk,” them riders trotting swiftly up'n'down, the grocers yelling, the scuttling crowd humming like a beehive, the butchers screaming their lungs out, a great noise pouring out from one end to the other, like buffalo being slain, like monsters brawling, like dragons fighting, and drowned out all Koutsoyánnis' whoops an' wails, like the fierce ocean drowns a tiny fishing boat. Nobody listened to him, nobody heeded his yells and he kept bawling and bawling in a lamenting tone.

-Heeeyyy Kóstaaaa! Heeeyyy Kóstaaaa!

And yet, no sign of Kóstas. . . . Kóstas 'd vanished!

'Twas then that his anger overflowed and his eyes filled with tears, because he thought that the reason his cousin Kóstas couldn't hear him was this noise and tumult of the market. He cried out:

-Shut it, you worthless market of the Devil, so that Kóstas can hear me!

But the noise and tumult continued, ceaseless and insensitive to Koutsoyánnis's pain. And then, and then! Angry, sweaty, weary, out of breath, hoarse and sore of throat, Koutsoyánnis, child of the free and open air, of thicket and glen, of ridges and mountain slopes, raised both his hands in a great *mountza*⁴⁴ to everything around him saying: “There! There! There! There! You market of the Devil! There! There! There! Damn your father!”

And he started up the hill (Christovasilis 1988:104, 105-6).

Koutsoyánnis returns to the village alone, having succeeded in buying a flute but only after forming the worst possible impression of Yannina and its people. Back with his herd, he finds the familiar sounds of the bells, starts playing his new flute and regains, in practice, his momentarily shaken trust in the power of the senses:

His brother, Pávlos, sensing Koutsoyánnis' return by the flute's singing, called him from the other side of a hill:

-You back, hey Yánniiiiiii!

-I sure am, man, I sure am (Christovasilis 1988:112).

The story “Koutsoyannis at Yannina” (“O Koutsoyánnis sta Yánnina”) can be read as an allegory of the symbolic meaning of sound and hearing. Having become “muted” after the breaking of his flute, Koutsoyánnis decides to embark on a journey to another world in order to regain his “voice.” The journey offers him more than that, however. Alongside his “voice,” his sense of hearing is also reborn. Everyday soundscapes now acquire new dimensions and the hero's contribution to their formulation now sounds more active and conscious since his new “voice” is drawn, via multiple and regenerative sensory experiences, from the “noise” of the big town.

Discussion

I hope that the preceding pages have delineated the prominent position of sound in the prose of Christos Christovasilis. In what follows, I would now like to introduce certain interpretative directions as to why this occurs—interpretations which are, in fact, evoked by the presentation of the short stories.

In the pastoral communities of Epirus described by Christovasilis, sound and hearing have a prominent functional and symbolic character. The sense of hearing plays a crucial role in acquiring information, orientation, and communication on the mountains—especially at

night. Shepherds develop an extremely acute sense of hearing and with the use of bells they manage to control their animals without necessarily seeing them. Christovasilis, however, makes little use of the functionality of sound and hearing, while at the same time illuminating their symbolic dimensions. It would be more accurate to say that he stands beyond this distinction. He presents how sound is used and perceived in the symbolic acts performed in rites of passage; he establishes the importance of sound in confirming social rules and preserving the moral order of the community. In addition, he stresses the direct link between sound and power, sound and social status.

The soundscapes that Christovasilis creates resonate with the cultural dimensions of sonic events and the sense of hearing in the pastoral communities of Epirus. The blurred boundaries among the dominant sounds of nature, of the bells, and of the shepherd's flute render the margins of "music" and "natural" sounds hard to discern. The study of musical performances in the area of Epirus has not, until now, adequately focused on the close relation of musical sounds with all other sounds of the area's cultural soundscapes. Even when it has focused on other sound, it has still given pride of place to music, implying that the "art of sounds" is inherently superior to the sounds of "nature." As a result, all other sounds as well, especially the sounds of bells, are approached by using external, formal musical criteria, so both their characteristic physical specificities and their cultural meanings and symbolism are underrated (Chatzimihali 1957; Peristeris 1958; Anoyanakis 1996).

At one level, the study of Christovasilis's soundscapes shows the wide range of sonic events that we have to take into account in order to get a full sonic picture of this world. His soundscapes also exhibit a wide range of relevant cultural meanings and symbolic significations of sound and hearing. On a second level, however, his persistent focus on local soundscapes instigates another interpretation, which partly transcends the cultural symbolism of sound or, rather, subordinates it to a different function. I believe that Christovasilis recalls and recreates the sonic environment of his childhood so often and with such detail because in so doing he manages to create an "acoustic space" (Carpenter and McLuhan 1970) or a "sonorous envelope" (Schwarz 1997; Gramajo Galimany 1993) that serves as a protective ring. The concepts of "acoustic space" and "sonorous envelope" derive from communication theory and psychoanalytic musicology respectively. "Acoustic space" refers to the characteristic ability of sound to come from all sides, to surround us, to encircle us, while "sonorous envelope" refers to the capacity of certain steady and recurring sounds to engulf us, to create a special sonic "shell" in which we can abandon ourselves in safety (Bull 2002; Bull 2001).

If we specifically examine the soundscapes of bells in Christovasilis, we'll notice that they are uniform, steady, and repetitive, just as his other soundscapes stress cultural, social, or psychological stability. I believe that this is not a token of mannerist naiveté or pastoral romanticism, but that it establishes the identification of the writer with the symbolic meanings of sound in the communities of Epirus and his conscious or unconscious effort to create "acoustic spaces" and "sonorous envelopes" through his writing.⁴⁵ Christovasilis's soundscapes have the qualities of "acoustic space" and "sonorous envelope," while at the same time being culturally conditioned soundscapes. Hence, their psychological functioning becomes more complex. I deem that, if we would accept this interpretation, Christovasilis's local soundscapes should be placed on a different level from his mannerist literary *images* and that his sense of homeland, as recalled and reconstructed in the two cases, is variable.

Conclusion: Homeland as Sound and Sound as Homeland

Christovasilis in his short stories reconstructs his homeland. His *visualizations* are ethnographic *images*, which at the same time *echo* the sounds of his childhood. Ethnographic images stand as nostalgic representations that beautify and romanticize the past. The soundscapes of his childhood, however, play yet another role. They are more than just mannerist “reverberations,” they also retain a liveliness of their own, an intensity that mannerist imagery lacks. I would attribute this variance to the fact that certain sonic environments carry special characteristics, the evocation of which, even if only verbal, creates in their bearers a certain sense of familiarity and security.

The sounds that Christovasilis describes evoke a sonic protective envelope. While sight alienates us, sound embraces us. I do not believe it is by chance that the soundscapes dominant in Christovasilis’s short stories are based on the sounds of animal bells. The frequent repetition of the exact same phrases and individual sounds in any one story is also not a chance occurrence.⁴⁶ This repetition does not just reproduce a dominant expressive schema, as in many folk songs, but it also operates reassuringly and soothingly, sonically creating the feeling of security and protection from the invasion of uncontrollable “noises,” both literal and metaphorical. The omnipresence of the sound of bells, the indeterminacy of this sound, not only its repetitiveness but also its constant renewal, turns the dominant soundscapes of Christovasilis into “sonorous envelopes,” in the sense that David Schwarz uses the term. In contrast to Schwarz’s “sonorous envelopes,” however, Christovasilis’s soundscapes are also cultural soundscapes par excellence. In that sense, the sonic protective envelope they provide is based equally on the cultural meanings of the bells’ sounds and on their physical characteristics. The soundscapes provide not only a form of psychological safety, but more importantly a confirmation of dominant cultural norms and social hierarchies as well.

Homeland-as-sound is juxtaposed to the homeland of mannerist imagery. Yet sound used as sensation and experience of the familiar, of homeland, allows Christovasilis to create rich soundscapes and include in them valuable evidence about the symbolism of sound in the pastoral communities of Epirus. This helps us as readers to “listen” to his soundscapes without feeling alienated by them in the way we do by his mannerist imagery—not because we feel a certain familiarity with them, but because they resonate with the writer.

I kept for last a particularly interesting “sonic image,” a metaphor of the village as herd and the writer-narrator’s home as the head ram of the herd, a metaphor whereby the sound of the bell worn by the head ram decisively contributes to the creation of this feeling of safety and orderliness of the world, which is dominant in the narrator’s dream:

The whole village was nicely packed on the mountain slope like a well-arranged herd of sheep. Every house resembled a sheep and every hut a lamb. My house, the largest of them all, seemed as if it were a head-ram wearing the heaviest *kípros* bell and able to lead a thousand sheep behind him (Christovasilis 1996: 93).

Cultural symbolism and the personal visions of the writer comeingle in the dream, the mythical land of consolation or, as Christovasilis himself puts it at the conclusion of the story: “Oh, how more bitter it would be to live in a foreign land, if it weren’t for dreams!” (Christovasilis 1996: 99).

Notes

1 The research upon which this article is based took place while I was a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow on scholarship from the National Scholarship Foundation of Greece based at the University of the Aegean, Mytilene, Greece (November 2001 – October 2002). The first version of this article was written while I was a Visiting Fellow in the Program in Hellenic Studies at Princeton University (December 2002 – February 2003). I am grateful to these institutions for their support. My heartfelt thanks for comments and remarks on a previous version are due to Evthymios Papataxiarchis, Rania Astrinaki, Elpida Rikou, and Stella Galani. The responsibility for the final outcome is mine. For references and quotes from Christovasilis's oeuvre, see the list of References.

2 For their excellent work on translating and editing the text into English, I want to thank translator Vasiliki Chatzopoulou and ethnomusicologists Alexandra Balandina and Eleni Kallimopoulou.

3 Translator's note: *ithographía* (lit. *ethography*) is a literary genre of late 19th and early 20th century Greece which aims at representing the conditions and ways of life of the countryside, but also of the city. Cf. *prose of manners* (English), *roman de mœurs* (French).

4 The cross-cultural association of hearing with social and moral order can be interpreted on the basis of the importance of hearing for the transmission and the perception of speech, which constitutes the fundamental channel of communication in oral cultures (see Ong 1982; cf. McLuhan 1962). Recent research on the history of the deaf and deafness in Europe has also focused on the metaphorical and cultural dimensions of hearing, pointing out the marginalization of deaf people during modernity, whence hearing is related to rationality and deafness to the irrational (Mirzoeff 1995; Rée 1999).

5 Silence has been examined both as a means of communication (Basso 1972) and as a ritual act (Griffin 1972). We often come across it in situations of risk, marginality, and indeterminate social relationships.

6 The notion of "soundscape," which was introduced by R. Murray Schafer, connects and unifies in a cohesive/composite framework both sonic elements themselves and the perception and comprehension of these elements by members of a society/culture. Every "soundscape" is a production by people, who create it in the very moment they perceive it. According to Schafer and his collaborators in the "World Soundscape Project," the term "soundscape" can refer to real environments or to (abstract) constructs, such as musical compositions and sound-tape edits (Schafer 1994).

7 Trans. note: Kostas Krystallis (1868-1894) was a Greek poet from Épirus, whose work is thematically very close to that of Christos Christovasilis.

8 Trans. note: it is the provincial Greek town Ioannina, Epirus, also called Yannena or Yannina in the vernacular.

9 Trans. note: meaning "Hobble-John."

10 Trans. note: Ottoman administrative rank.

11 Trans. note: Ottoman administrative rank.

12 Trans. note: a kind of hard shepherds' shoes.

13 Trans. note: meaning shoe-makers, a word of Turkish origin, as many others in this excerpt.

14 Trans. note: Eleftherios Venizelos (1864-1936), a liberal-democrat politician and a charismatic statesman, was the major political figure of Greece in the first three decades of the 20th century. As a leader of the Liberal Party, he was elected Prime Minister of Greece several times, serving 1910-1920 and 1928-1932. Venizelos had profound influence on Greek internal and external affairs.

15 For an interesting perspective concerning the literary approach of the relation between sound and ritual passage in the work of Alexandros Papadiamantis (1851-1911, a major *ethography* writer of the era), see the analysis by A. Kalogeropoulos of the short story "The Seal's Lament" ("To moirológi tis fókias") (Kalogeropoulos 1993).

16 Trans. note: inner quarters in the plains, where shepherds take their herds during wintertime.

17 Trans. note: meaning "Look-out"

18 Both excerpts from the short story "The Herdsman's Death" ("O thánatos tou pistikou").

19 Trans. note: expulsion and banishment from the village due to some shameful act the person in question committed.

20 From the story "The Banished Woman" ("I pombeméni").

21 Trans. note: meaning Vasilis's wife. In the past, in the provinces of Greece, it was common practice for the wife to be called by reference to her husband's name.

22 Trans. note: the name of the ram means hornless with stripes on the face.

23 Trans. note: Sarandápihos (lit. forty forearms long) was a mythological giant who could step over an entire gorge.

24 Trans. note: River in Epirus.

25 Trans. note: a village in the area.

26 Trans. note: name meaning "Big-head" or "Headstrong".

- 27 From the story “The Fattened Lamb” (“To manári”).
- 28 From the story “The Master-Shepherd’s Death” (“O thánatos tou tsiélega”).
- 29 From the story “The Orphaned Herdsman” (“O orphaneménos pistikós”).
- 30 From the story “Thieves in the Pen” (“Bíkan kléftes sto mantra”).
- 31 From the story “A Herdsman’s Christmas Dream” (“Christougenniátiko óneiro pistikoú”).
- 32 For a synthetic study of animals bells in Greece, see Anoyanakis 1996. For an ethnographic study of the symbolism of bells at a mountain village on the island of Naxos, see Panopoulos 2003.
- 33 Trans. note: the klítsa was the shepherd’s staff with numerous uses. With its curved top it was mainly used to capture a stray animal, but also as a weapon, to help support the shepherd on treacherous mountain paths, to measure time (e.g., “The sun will set in a klítsa’s length”), etc.
- 34 From the story “The Two Stolen Billy-Goats” (“Ta dío klemména tragiá”).
- 35 Trans. note: the head ram or billy-goat, meaning the one that walks in front and leads the other animals of the herd.
- 36 At this point it is worth quoting a passage from the folklorist P. Giannakos: “On the day before, the shepherds will ‘arm’ the six or seven well-trimmed ghessemia [trans. note: large rams usually castrated, leaders of the herd] whose tufts of hair remain untrimmed around their feet and bellies. They arm them with large double kypriá, which sound like church bells and with their excellent musicality carry the joy, nobility and pride of the pen a great distance. To complete this musical tintinnabulation . . . to provide a bass part, they add the bibíka, a large, copper sheep’s bell, which is usually hung on a stocky ghessemi with wide curling horns so that the bell languidly and rhythmically sounds ‘bip’ ‘bip’ in the manner of a drum in a band. All these constitute the forefront of the whole pen.
- These kyprokoúdouna are made of bronze and copper by craftsmen who have their workshops in the open market and in Kaloutsia, Yannina and are renowned for their fine craftsmanship and their special musical ear. Each bell has its own sound and all together bear the musical scale of the manufacturer. They are kept on the shelves of the shepherd’s abode and are dusted on St. Lazarus’ day [4 April] to drive away snakes and lizards from the shacks and pens and illnesses and ticks from the herds. The ghessemia are chosen from among the kids and castrated; they are usually long-legged, sióuta [hornless], and of multicolored hide. The kinds preferred are the flóra [of mixed white and grey hide] and liára [of black and white hide]. Second choice are the bárza [with reddish-brown face and belly], the górba or niágra [all black], the canoúta [light grey], and the zounaráta [striped] or bália bertonáta [with a white spot on top of the head and a black back]. The best of them are adorned with a bead on the horn or the talisman of the pen around its neck.
- At dawn, near milking time, the Tsiéligas [master shepherd] makes the sign of the cross as a kind of prediction as he calls out the ghessemia and watches the way they set out. Proud, his sleeves rolled up, the master shepherd accompanies them to the border of the field, sets them on their way and then returns to load the konákia [the hut in which the shepherd sleeps and keeps his equipment]. These ghessemia, wearing a chain of bells spanning the whole musical range, are the best. They take the lead at the head of the pen together with the shepherd, who, smiling and formidable, urges them on. Behind them he entices the best herd of galária [milk-sheep], the flora [white combined with a variety of other colors—each combination of colors has a distinct name]. Numbering five hundred or so, these milk-sheep are also armed with a variety of galarokoúdouna [bells of milk-sheep]. At the back, the second shepherd holds his colovó [curtailed beast] fast with thick chains and whistles and urges the herd on with yells.
- A short distance back comes the second herd of galária, the láia [distinguished by the colors of their bodies, not their heads], also with plenty of galarokoúdouna. The láia has 4-5 second-class ghessemia at the lead, with smaller bells having their own musical range. Along with these at the head of the herd come 5-6 ghessemia rams that were not in the first herd. The best of the pen, they bear bibíkes and large sheep’s bells. Third in line come the stérfa [barren sheep], which are also about five hundred in number. Two or three ghessemia lead wearing lesser sheep’s bells. Behind them are the wildest sheep of the pen (around 350 protomarkálga [milked or bearing young for the first time]), with sparse sheep’s bells and sturdy and handsome ‘sterfáris’ [barren males]. Next come the zygoúria [year-old sheep], with a couple of sterfokálesies [barren sheep with stripes on their faces] or old galáres [milking ones] with a couple of little bells loud enough for the lambs to follow running behind them faithfully and peacefully with their zygoúriaris [herdsman of the zygoúria] proud and smiling. Behind them is the goat herdsman whose shrill voice is adapted to his wild herd and the sounds of its multitude of bronze and tin bells. And the array closes with the lame and invalid ones” (Giannakos 1954: 693-4).
- 37 Trans. note: male form, goat whose face has black or white stripes and whose body is either black or gray.
- 38 From the story “My Ghióssos” (“O Ghióssos mou”).
- 39 Trans. note: goat with reddish-brown face and belly.
- 40 Trans. note: oká (plural okádes) is an obsolete weight measurement equivalent to 1,282 grams. The weight of the kípros, therefore, should be about 2.5 to 4 kilos.
- 41 Dreams play an especially important part in the writings of Christovasilis and constitute first and foremost a field of expression for the blending of cultural models and psychological tensions.

42 A corresponding, but very different, case of emotional re-signification of the dominant cultural soundscape is described in the short story “Thieves in the Pen” (“Bikan kléftes sto mantra”), which is obviously based on widespread local oral traditions. Here, the sound of the flute is transformed into speech in the ears of a single person, the shepherd’s beloved, and in this way the fellow villagers of the shepherd are informed that he and his herd are in danger of attack by thieves (Christovasilis 1988: 144-5).

43 I shall completely refrain from dealing with the sense of sight in this short story, since that would require a whole separate study.

44 Trans. note: the moúntza is an indignant and contemptuous gesture with open palm and extending all fingers facing towards the subject matter (usually a person, or can be a thing)—stronger when performed with both hands—something like a malediction or curse, still very popular among Greek people.

45 In the following extract from a Cretan rizítiko song (lit. from the mountains’ roots, foothills), we can see and hear a related “sonic image”:

Such cooling sleep I never had in all my time in life
like that which cooled me on barren rock
when breeze I had for covering and pebbles were my mattress
and the lerákia [tiny bells, onomatopoeic word] of the lambs I had for pillow under my head
(Papagrigorakis 1956-7).

46 Indications of this can be found in the short stories “The Orphaned Herdsman” (“O orphaneménos pistikós”), “A Herdsman’s Christmas Dream” (“Christougenniátiko óneiro pistikoú”), and “Twas God-Sent” (“Ítan apó Theoú”) in the collection *Stockyard Tales* (*Diegímata tis stánis*), and in the short story “The Expatriate” in the collection *Tales of Expatriation* (*Diegímata tis xenitiás*).

References

- Anoyanakis, P. 1996. *Neoelliniká Idióphona, To Koudoúni: Apotreptikó Stoicheío – Ihitikó Antikeímeno – Mousikó Organo*. (Modern Greek Idiophones, The Bell: Apotropaic Agent – Sonic Object – Musical Instrument). Athens: Museum of Greek Folk Musical Instruments; Phoebus Anoyanakis Centre for Ethnomusicology.
- Basso, K.H. 1972. “To Give Up on Words: Silence in Western Apache Culture.” In *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings*, edited by P.P. Giglioli, 67-86. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Bull, M. 2001. “Soundscapes of the Car: A Critical Study of Automobile Habitation.” In *Car Cultures*, edited by D. Miller, 185-202. Oxford: Berg.
- Bull, M. 2002. “The Seduction of Sound in Consumer Culture: Investigating Walkman Desires.” *Journal of Consumer Culture* 2(1):81-101.
- Carpenter, E. and M. McLuhan. 1970. “Acoustic Space.” In *Explorations in Communications*, edited by E. Carpenter and M. McLuhan, 65-70. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Chatzimihali, A. 1957. *Sarakatsánoi*, Volume One, Part B. Athens.
- Christovasilis, C. 1954. “The Banished Woman.” In *K. Krystallis – C. Christovasilis*. Athens: Aetos – Vasiki vivliothiki.
- Christovasilis, C. 1988. *Diegímata tis Stánis* (*Stockyard Tales*). Athens: Nefeli.
- Christovasilis, C. 1996. *Diegímata tis Xenitiás* (*Tales of Expatriation*). Thessaloniki: Zetros.
- Classen, C. 1993. *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Clifford, J. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, J. and G. Marcus. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Corbin, A. 1998 [1994]. *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19th Century French Countryside*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Darnton, R. 1991. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*.

- London: Penguin Books.
- Davis, N.Z. 1973. "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France." *Past and Present* 50:41-75.
- Feld, S. 1982. *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Feld, S. 1987. "Dialogic Editing: Interpreting How Kaluli Read Sound and Sentiment." *Cultural Anthropology* 2(2):190-210.
- Giannakos, P. 1954. "Oi Vlâhoi sta Vouná ta Zagorísia" ("The vlâhoi on the Zagori mountains"). *Epirotiki Estia* C:693-4.
- Gramajo Galimany, N.N. 1993. "Musical Pleasure." *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 74(2):383-91.
- Griffin, K. 1972. "The Ritual of Silent Wishes: Notes on the Moroccan Sensorium." In *The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses*, edited by D. Howes, 210-220. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Howes, D., ed. 1991. *The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kalogeropoulos, A. 1993. *O Throuís tou Dératos: I Mousikí ston Papadimánti (The Swish of the Fleece: Music in Papadimantis)*. Athens: Armos.
- Levi-Strauss, C. 1970. *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology* 1. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Levi-Strauss, C. 1973. *From Honey to Ashes: Introduction to a Science of Mythology* 2. New York: Harper and Row.
- Marcus, G. and D. Cushman. 1982. "Ethnographies as Texts." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11: 25-69.
- McLuhan, M. 1962. *The Gutenberg Galaxy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mirzoeff, N. 1995. *Silent Poetry: Deafness, Sign and Visual Culture in Modern France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ong, W.J. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Panopoulos, P. 2003. "Animal Bells as Symbols: Sound and Hearing in a Greek Island Village." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9: 639-656.
- Papagrigorakis, I.I. 1956-7. *Ta Kritiká Rizítika Tragoudia*, Tomos A', *Tis Távlas kai tis Strátas (Cretan Rizitika Songs, Volume A, Songs for the Table and Songs for Walking)*. Chania: Emm. Petrakis Printing House.
- Peristeris, S. 1958. "Demotiká Tragoudia Dropóleos Voreíou Epírou" ("Demotic Songs from Dropolis, North Epirus"). *Epetirís tou Laografikou Archeiou Akademías Athinón* 9-10.
- Price, P. 1983. *Bells and Man*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rée, J. 1999. *I See a Voice: A Philosophical History of Language, Deafness and the Senses*. London: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. 1971. *Amazonian Cosmos: The Sexual and Religious Symbolism of the Tukano Indians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Roseman, M. 1991. *Healing Sounds from the Malaysian Rainforest: Temiar Music and Medicine*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schafer, R.M. 1994 [1977]. *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*. Rochester: Destiny Books.
- Schwarz, D. 1997. *Listening Subjects: Music, Psychoanalysis, Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Seeger, A. 1987. *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stoller, P. 1989. *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology*.

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Thompson, E.P. 1991. "Rough Music." In *Customs in Common*. New York: The New Press.
Vitti, M. 1991. *Ideologikí Leitourgía tis Ellinikís Ethographías (Ideological Function of the Greek Ithographía)*. Third Edition. Athens: Kedros.