

# The Peregrinations of a Princess... Urban Popular Music of the 20th Century in the Network of Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the South- Eastern Mediterranean

*Around June 1936, I Want a Princess by Panagiotis Tountas, was recorded, one of the most emblematic and timeless favourites of the rebetiko tradition. Tountas had recorded it three years earlier, with a different title, different lyrics and a different introduction. The very same melody was recorded in 1910 by Jews in Lithuania, in 1927 in Serbia, even in Romania, America and elsewhere. This article follows the path of this melody in historical discography, focusing on and studying 21 recordings. Through the examination of the discography, an effort is made to construct a model for the more than a few wandering melodies, examining various historical, social, and cultural elements of the places that convey them, in order to highlight the appropriation, from the aspect of the protagonist musicians, but also the open nature of cultural borders.*

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## Introduction

Musicology that engages with popular creations has already assumed the limitations brought about by the examination of the artistic creations, within the new reality of the nation-states and their relevant ideologies. The Greek repertoires were 'locked' within a very specific geographical and cultural framework, this of the south-eastern Mediterranean, always adhering to the now well-established origin mentality.<sup>1</sup> It started with Orthodox ecclesiastical music and folk song and much later, as a supposedly natural evolution, the otherwise forbidden, urban popular formulations followed.<sup>2</sup>

Two networks that seem to have played an equally important role have been left out of the equation in the relevant literature: The musical 'ecumenes' of the Balkans and that of Eastern Europe, regions with a dynamic presence regarding the Greek population. As is apparent from discography and historiography, both these environs constitute fundamental discussants in a much larger network than the south-eastern Mediterranean. If we add the influences from Italy<sup>3</sup> and the Jewish world (Greeks and non-Greeks, Ashkenazi, Sephardim, Romaniote), and of course the world of America<sup>4</sup> as well as that of Egypt,<sup>5</sup> which present a large bulk of Greek discography, we understand that the network is

even bigger, more complex, and much more interesting. In essence, they are parallel Greek discographies, of which the only one that we have expressed an interest in is that of Athens,<sup>6</sup> treated always as part of a closed set: that of the south-eastern Mediterranean. The last, is easily connected culturally to the Ottoman world,<sup>7</sup> which in turn, in the relevant Greek literature, is also easily connected to the Byzantine.

All the above can constitute a part of the research with intertextuality as an axis, cultural reciprocal inter-penetration and co-existence and dialogical reciprocity of all the discussants of this specified region.<sup>8</sup>

This research aims at this exact realization of the larger geographical-cultural framework, and the highlighting of the catalytic role of historical discography and the immediate need for its complete validation.

### *A wandering melody*

In the last two years, I have been studying cases of the repertoire of the regions mentioned above, that is the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and the south-eastern Mediterranean, often detecting common influences among ethno-cultural groups. The case study in question constitutes a flag-piece for the Piraeus rebetiko, the song by Panagiotis Tountas *I Want a Princess*.<sup>9</sup>



**Figure 1:** The record label of *I Want a Princess* (Kounadis archive).

This version was recorded by HMV, around June of 1936 in Athens, sung by Stellakis Perpiniadis. The record was also reissued in the USA on RCA Victor's Orthophonic label,<sup>10</sup> a few months later, approximately in October of 1936, something which is probably attributed to the popularity of the song. The centrality which popular music acquires is an issue which discography can undoubtedly make a major contribution to. In the circles of rebetiko fans (for example the 'rembetiko forum' [www.rembetiko.gr](http://www.rembetiko.gr), and on the music stage), and the relevant literature – perhaps spurred on by the comment of Petropoulos (1996: 170) – support that the piece 'smells of Tsalous from afar', to cite an expression I came across, since Giovan Tsalous himself probably played one of his tambouras-style instruments, as Tony Klein has correctly noticed in one of our conversations, in the recording (on the label it mentions: 'The Giovan Tsalous band').<sup>11</sup>

Because more comparisons with other recordings are to follow, it was deemed useful to document in musical notation the main core of the melody of the lyrics, without documenting the reoccurring idiomatic embellishments, the 'sauce' which is a necessary and seamless component in popular music performances. In order to facilitate the reading and comparison, all the cases have been documented in the D tonality. Thus, in the melody of the lyrics of *I Want a Princess*, we hear Perpiniadis singing the following melodic line (see Music transcription 1). The song is recorded between G sharp and A Minor and in a tempo where the crotchet is equal to about 80 bpm. It is most likely of course, that the piece was rendered in A, but speed issues in the original recording and mastering may have resulted in a different pitch when played back at 78 rpm. It could also be the result of deviations in the reference tone during tuning.<sup>12</sup>



**Music transcription 1:** *The melody of I Want a Princess sung by Perpiniadis.*

At this point, it is impossible not to mention the inspiration for the birth of the 'princess', the song in question. In 1936, Greek society read the press, with bated breath, following the development of an unprecedented romance, between the sister of the king of Iraq, Princess Azzah Faisal and the Dodecanesean, from the island of Symi,<sup>13</sup> hotel employee, Tasos Charalambous.<sup>14</sup> The romance started about a year earlier, in 1935, during the Princess's holidays in Rhodes; it led to the couple's elopement and their secret marriage in 1936, after Azzah's conversion to Christianity. In the end, the marriage ended for reasons beyond their personal feelings (diplomatic relationships, inheritance issues concerning the management of Iraq's oil wells etc.). In fact, the journalists were informed about the incident because of the charges filed by Azzah's sister to the police. Azzah left a letter to her sister, with whom she was holidaying, saying she had eloped with her beloved. Unquestionably, if one is to study the reports of the time, Tountas's song lyrics are redefined:

In Greece I cannot  
 find a woman  
 there are many pretty ones  
 but mama they are poor

I want a princess  
 from deep Morocco  
 with gold coins aplenty  
 once a woman

Came by here last year  
 looking for a husband  
 without me knowing  
 oh, mama bless me

She saw me down in Piraeus  
 at Tselepis's with company  
 and since then she is in love with me  
 and she sends me money too

She will make me king  
 far away in Barbary<sup>15</sup>  
 and all she has will be mine  
 oh, mama bless me

Eighteen carriages with gold coins  
 cocaine and hashish  
 every type of hookah  
 diamond and gold-plated

She will buy me a baglama  
 of pearl and gold  
 and anything else I want  
 oh, mama bless me

Five hundred Dervishes  
 will be filling our hookah bowls  
 so we can smoke sweetly  
 in our golden chamber

Some of the newspaper headlines beginning 28 May 1936 continued for quite some time in the following manner:<sup>16</sup>

**ΕΝΑ ΠΑΤΑΓΩΔΕΣ ΕΙΔΥΛΛΙΟΝ**  
**Η ΕΠΙΔΟΞΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΡΑΚ ΠΡΙΓΚΗΠΙΣΣΑ ΑΛΖΑ ΦΕΪΖΑΛ**  
**ΑΠΗΓΑΓΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΥΜΦΕΥΘΗ ΕΝΑ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΚΑΜΑΡΙΕΡΗΝ!**  
**ΠΩΣ ΕΡΩΤΕΥΘΗ ΤΟΝ ΠΤΟΧΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΝΑ ΓΙΝΗ ΣΥΖΥΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΒΑΠΤΙΣΘΗ**  
**ΑΙ ΛΕΠΤΟΜΕΡΕΙΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΡΩΤΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ. - ΑΜΥΘΗΤΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΝΥΜΦΗΣ**  
**ΕΠΕΜΒΑΙΝΟΥΝ ΜΑΤΑΙΩΣ ΑΙ ΞΕΝΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΙ**

#### AN ASTONISHING ROMANCE

THE ASPIRING QUEEN OF IRAQ PRINCESS AZZAH FAISAL KIDNAPPED AND MARRIED A DODECANESE VALET! HOW SHE FELL IN LOVE WITH THE POOR GREEK AND TO BECOME HIS WIFE SHE BECAME BAPTIZED. ALL THE DETAILS OF THIS EXTRAORDINARY LOVE STORY. THE BRIDE'S INCREDIBLE FORTUNE. INTERVENTION OF FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN VAIN

**Figure 2:** Newspaper headline of The Acropolis, 28 May 1936.

**ΕΝΑ ΠΑΤΑΓΩΔΕΣ ΕΙΔΥΛΛΙΟΝ**  
**Η ΕΠΙΔΟΞΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΡΑΚ ΠΡΙΓΚΗΠΙΣΣΑ ΑΛΖΑ ΦΕΪΖΑΛ**  
**ΑΠΗΓΑΓΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΥΜΦΕΥΘΗ ΕΝΑ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΚΑΜΑΡΙΕΡΗΝ!**  
**ΠΩΣ ΕΡΩΤΕΥΘΗ ΤΟΝ ΠΤΟΧΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΝΑ ΓΙΝΗ ΣΥΖΥΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΒΑΠΤΙΣΘΗ**  
**ΑΙ ΛΕΠΤΟΜΕΡΕΙΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΡΩΤΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ. - ΑΜΥΘΗΤΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΝΥΜΦΗΣ**  
**ΕΠΕΜΒΑΙΝΟΥΝ ΜΑΤΑΙΩΣ ΑΙ ΞΕΝΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΙ**

#### UPHEAVAL IN THE CAPITAL

THE PRINCESS OF IRAQ KIDNAPPED BY A GREEK!!  
THE MARRIAGE TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY IN ATHENS  
THE ROMANCE OF THE WEALTHY PRINCESS WITH AN EMPLOYEE OF HER HOTEL. – THEIR MEETING IN RHODES AND ARRIVAL IN ATHENS – ERUPTION OF THE SCANDAL – THE WEDDING IN ELLINIKON.

**Figure 3:** Newspaper headline of The Ellinikon Mellon, 28 May 1936.

Coming back to the recording of ‘princess’, again rebetiko circles revealed that Tountas had used the same melody again, about three years before *I Want a Princess*, with the singer Kakia Mendri. This earlier recording was titled *Oldster*,<sup>17</sup> recorded by Odeon in Athens, circa 1932, a recording reissued by Columbia on 1 March 1934.<sup>18</sup> In this first appearance of the melody in Greek discography, we see a different introduction from that which we know from Perpiniadis’s version. Both the introduction of *Oldster*, and that of *I Want a Princess*, constitute additions by Tountas, and are the only part of the piece which do not resemble the rest of the recordings that will be discussed further below. Otherwise, the vocal parts in both these Greek recordings are almost identical, as far as the rhythm-melody structure of the music line is concerned. *Oldster* was rendered in D Minor, in a tempo where the crotchet is equal to about 72 bpm.



**Figure 4:** The label of the reissue in America of the song Oldster (Kounadis archive).

It should be noted that Kakia Mendri, renowned disease of the Greek 'elafró' scene,<sup>19</sup> was born in Odessa in Crimea of the Russian Empire in 1912, and came to Greece in 1917, that is at the age of five, after the outbreak of the Ukrainian-Soviet war. As we shall see further down, Odessa was an important hub in the network that discography allows us to construct.<sup>20</sup> We should not forget that Odessa maintained a very dynamic Greek community. One of the most important events was that of the establishment of the *Filikí Etaireía* (φιλική εταιρεία, the society of friends) in 1814, with the aim of preparing and organizing the activities for a Greek revolution of independence of the Greek Peninsula regions, against the Ottoman authority.

Years later, another Greek recording came to light, this time from Turkey, sung by Mitsos Kyriakopoulos and the orchestra of Fehmi Ege, a recording conducted by Turkish Columbia circa 1938–1939.<sup>21</sup> Here the rendition is more theatrical, with intense impressionistic elements in both the vocals and the orchestra. The orchestration, the performance speed and the singing practices are all especially interesting. The lyrics are slightly adapted compared to *I Want a Princess*. The piece was rendered in the tonality of F sharp Minor. However, its very quick tempo (a crotchet is equal to about 92 bpm) may

be a testimony to problems during reproduction and its conversion into a digital file. The melodic line of the lyrics presents certain adaptations compared to the line of the previous ones, without suggesting, however, a new arrangement or new identity of the work:



**Music transcription 2:** *The melody of Princess, sung by Kyriakopoulos.*



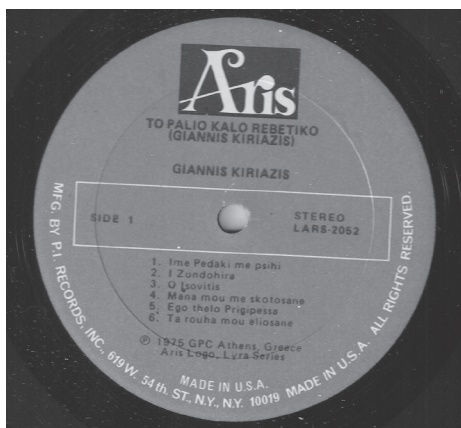
**Figure 5:** *The label of the recording of Princess (Kounadis archive).*

These are the three, now well known, recordings – historical performances of this musical melody – in the Greek world. The recording of Giannis Kyriazis is also noted, recorded in Athens in 1975, in a now new aesthetic framework.<sup>22</sup> The period is now characterized by the intense presence of the electrified sound, from the performance to the orchestration of the drum set, electric and/or electro-acoustic guitars, keyboard etc. Furthermore, the vocal practices differ from the older generations, since the Greek urban popular music forms fused with far more idioms from abroad. One of the most interesting mergers was without a doubt that of the arabesque.

It is surprising that in the notes and on the label of the 1975 release, the piece seems to be a composition by Kyriazis himself. Despite this, the record was reissued in 2009 on a CD, compiled by Giorgos Tsambras, with Panagiotis Tountas credited with the piece. It is rendered in the tonality of E Minor, and in a tempo of where the crotchet is equal to about 75 bpm. In addition, small differences in the lyrics are observed, as well as subtle changes in the main melody:



*Music transcription 3: The melody of I Want a Princess, sung by Kyriazis.*



**Figure 6:** The labels of the 33 rpm records by Giannis Kyriazis, which contain the cover of I Want a Princess (Greek and foreign releases, Gioglou Archive).

Let us note that the alleged composer, Tountas, was born in Ottoman-occupied Smyrna (today Izmir<sup>23</sup>), possibly in 1886, or earlier.<sup>24</sup> We have reports that he travelled and lived in Egypt, Ethiopia, and elsewhere. Our few sources report that from 1924 to 1931 he was the

artistic director of the Greek branch of Odeon in Athens, or at least some important person who made decision for the company regarding popular repertoire, and from 1931 to 1941 and worked for the Greek branch of British Columbia.



**Figure 7:** Panagiotis Tountas in the 1930s (Kounadis archive).



**Figure 8:** The label of Gib mir Bessarabia (Schwartz archive).

About three years ago, Tony Klein kindly sent me a recording, in which the melody of ‘princess’ sounds identical, in the first 50 seconds of the song. This is a recording conducted roundabout October 1946 in New York, on behalf of Columbia. Performers: Aaron Lebedeff and his orchestra Sholom Secunda. Recording title: *Gib mir Bessarabia*,<sup>25</sup> that is, ‘Give me Bessarabia’.

Lebedeff was born in 1873 in Gomel,<sup>26</sup> in present-day Belarus, and Secunda in 1894 in Alexandria in the province of Kherson,<sup>27</sup> in present-day Ukraine. Both regions were then part of the Russian Empire. Both Lebedeff and Secunda were Jews born in regions densely populated by Jews. Secunda migrated with his family to America in 1906–1907, at the age of 13, due to the continual pogroms against the Jewish population in Russia. In New York, where his family settled, he initially acquired a reputation as a child prodigy *khazn*, that is; as an underage cantor of exceptional vocal abilities in the synagogue. With the passage of time, he studied music and went on to a career as a composer, musician and conductor.<sup>28</sup>

As a singer, Lebedeff toured the world and gained great popularity as an actor, reaching his peak in performances in Warsaw. In 1920 he too migrated to America, first passing through both China and Japan, journeys that rendered him multilingual.<sup>29</sup> The lyrics of *Gib mir Bessarabia* are in Yiddish, that is, the Semitised Slavicised language of East European Jews, a dialect used mainly by the Ashkenazi Jews. Rendered in G Minor, in a rather ad libitum mentality concerning the rhythmic structure of the melody, whose transcription follows:



**Music transcription 4:** *The melody of Gib mir Bessarabia.*

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Here I shall make a parenthesis to mention again the descent of Kakia Medri, who as was mentioned before, was born in Odessa. Undoubtedly, the network of the three cities, that is the places of birth of Mendri, Lebedeff and Secunda, seems to conceal some special relationship. If we also take into account the reference to Bessarabia, then the network becomes even more interesting.

Continuing with the search for the course and the history of the music for 'princess', and using one of the most modern tools of musicology, a comment on a YouTube posting of the Lebedeff recording reads: 'There is a song in Serbian, Moja mati cilim tka (My mother is weaving a kilim, a rug), sung to the first part of this tune'. From this point on, we unravel the (endless evidently) skein of this wandering melody.

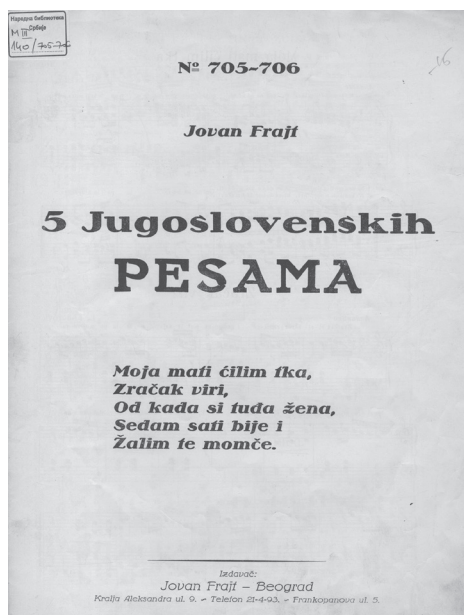
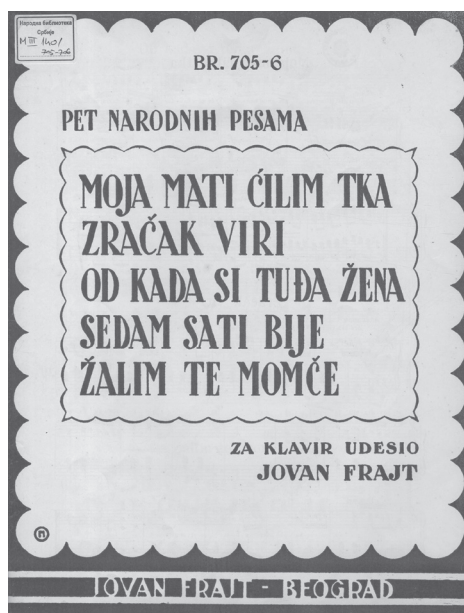
In Serbian discography, I have detected six historical recordings of the same song. I managed to find audio for three of these. In two, Mijat Mijatović sings, and in the third, which was recorded in America, Edo Ljubić sings. The song seems to be extremely popular in the Serbian repertoire. It has seen a multitude of covers of various aesthetics, even up to the present, and it has circulated in collections, sheet music for various instruments, etc.<sup>30</sup>

The first transcription and printing of sheet music was done in the 1920s, by the publishing house Jovan Frajt. Two further publications in popular songs (narodnih pesama) compilations followed, which seem to use the first transcription-version.



**Music transcription 5:** *The melody of Moja Mati Čilim Tka, by the performer Mijatović.*

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**Figure 9:** The publications of *Moja mati čilim tka* (National library of Serbia, National Library of Serbia, Music Manuscript, Printed Music and Audiovisual Department, [www.nb.rs](http://www.nb.rs)).

Mijatović was born in Belgrade,<sup>31</sup> in 1887, a lawyer by profession. He was a prominent persona in song and he integrated popular melodies into scholarly schools of the region (we see him recording even in Prague<sup>32</sup>). Mainly though, he was the child of national radio, with which he built an important career. The recording with Columbia<sup>33</sup> was made probably in July 1927 and was reissued in America circa 1930–1931.<sup>34</sup> Accompanying him was the Gypsy orchestra of Dušan Popaz. The performance of Mijatović slightly deviated from the historical transcription. The piece is rendered in the tonality of F sharp Minor and here too I detected problems with the revolution speed of the record and/or its digitization. The orchestration was quite symphonic, and the performance practice is characterized by a personal, *ad libitum*, style without some rhythmic clarity, and a rather lyrical vocal style, however, with evident popular characteristics. The whole aesthetic is close to Lebedeff's performance.



**Music transcription 5:** The melody of Moja Mati Čilim Tka, by the performer Mijatović.

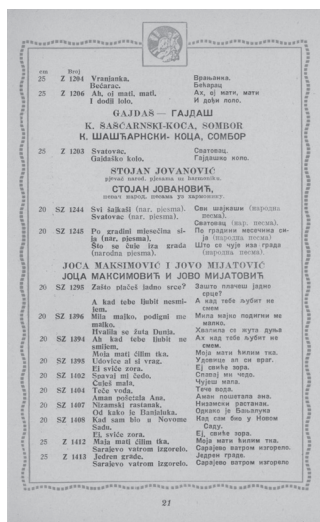
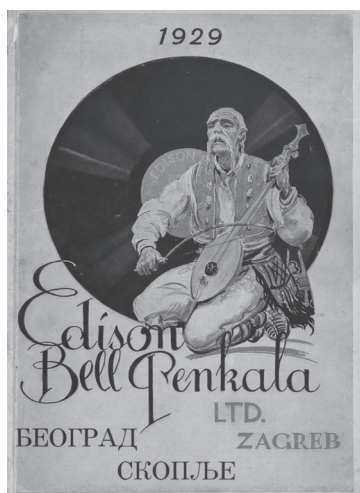


**Figure 10:** The recording label of Moja Mati Čilim Tka, by Mijat Mijatović (Jackson Archive).

The aesthetically similar recording of Edison Bell Penkala Electron (in the tonality of F sharp Minor this time),<sup>35</sup> was made in Zagreb, possibly in 1929, since we see the title of the song in the annual company catalogue. Participating in this recording was the Gypsy orchestra of Gj. Gjorgjevića. In both recordings the title of the song is: *Moja Mati Čilim Tka*, that is 'My mother is weaving me a rug'.



**Figure 11:** The record label of *Moja Mati Čilim Tka* by Edison Bell Electron, by Mijat Mijatović (National Centre of Digitization of Serbia, [www.ncd.org.rs](http://www.ncd.org.rs)).



**Figure 12:** The cover and the page of the commercial catalogue of Edison Bell Penkala Electron of 1929, which includes the recording *Moja Mati Ćilim Tka*, by Mijat Mijatović ('Sounds of the Past' [www.mz.nsk.hr/zbirka78/en](http://www.mz.nsk.hr/zbirka78/en); Music Collection, National University Library of Zagreb, [www.nsk.hr](http://www.nsk.hr)).<sup>36</sup>

The third Serbian recording, of which we have audio documentation, was performed, as mentioned before, by Edo Ljubić in Chicago,<sup>37</sup> 3 February 1942. I have not found the catalogue code yet, and after communicating with Dick Spottswood, an expert in ethnic historical discography in the USA, we can surmise that the record remained unissued.

Ljubić, born in 1912 in Donji Vakuf, in present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina, built a career as a singer on the radio and in the recording studios early on. The outbreak of WWII found him in America, where he had moved in 1939 to oversee the musical program at the Yugoslav Pavilion at the New York World Fair. He remained in America, where his career as a star in *tamburitza* – that is, popular music of Yugoslavia – took off.<sup>38</sup> Ljubić's performance, in contrast to that of Mijatović, is rhythmic, in a tempo where a crotchet is equal to about 75 bpm, and was rendered in the tonality of C Minor. Despite the rhythmic context, there are many points at which we observe intense *retardanti*, *farmati* and generally toying with the tempo.

♩ ~ 75

AD LIBITUM

A TEMPO

**Music transcription 6:** The melody of *Moja Mati Ćilim Tka*, performed by Ljubić.

In Serbian discography, I detected references to and documentation of three additional historical recordings, with the same title. They are the following: Dokica Tomić, Odeon A 192821 – 5066, 1928–1929; orchestrated by the accordionist Joca Maksimović, Edison Bell Electron SZ 1394, early 1929; Stanoje Janković, HMV BW2336 – AM 2071, Belgrade, 30 March 1929.



**Figure 13:** Odeon catalogue, 1939, containing the recording of Tomić (National Library of Serbia, Music Manuscript, Printed Music and Audiovisual Department, [www.nb.rs](http://www.nb.rs)).

At this point it is necessary to make another parenthesis, mentioning the case of Dimitris Semsis, the famous ‘Salonikios’ (from Salonique/Thessaloniki) from the discography of the rebetiko tradition. Semsis was born in Ottoman-occupied Strumitsa in 1883.<sup>39</sup> Note that Tountas, composer of the Greek ‘princess’, was born in 1886, so the two rebetiko protagonists were almost the same age. As verified by Perpiniadis, singer of the most popular version of ‘princess’, in his biography written by Kostas Chatzidoulis, the three of them had a very good and dynamic cooperation. In addition, he mentioned that Semsis played ‘Turkish, Arab, Serbian, Spanish, Romanian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Gypsy’ (Chatzidoulis, 1979: 13). Semsis signed a contract with Columbia in 1927, and soon after with HMV, he too in some position of artistic director (note Tountas’s term of service from 1924 to 1931 at Odeon, and from 1931 to 1941 at Columbia). In 1936, the year HMV recorded ‘princess’, Semsis was artistic director, while Tountas had the same position at the Greek branch of British Columbia. These two labels belonged to the same Greek branch-office of the Lambropoulos Bros. Semsis, like Tountas, was a seasoned traveller. Circa 1896, based on the narratives of his daughter Eleni Nikolaidou to Lisbet Torp, he worked as a musician in a circus, which made a stop in Belgrade, the capital of the then Kingdom of Serbia (Torp, 1993: 16).

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**ГРАМОФОНСКИХ ПЛОЧА**  
**20 см. РАДИО-ПЛОЧЕ КОМ. 26 д.**

<p><b>Црквени хор</b> SZ Воскресеније са аџоншама 1323 Кресту Твојему SZ Христосе Воскресе 1326 Јелици</p> <p><b>Шепец</b> SZ Ко лепа сам 1320 Ђони на Конгу SZ Повратак (Риторно) 1372 Што марим ја а ред и морал</p> <p><b>Најчувенији квартет Певачког Друштва „ЛИСНИСКИ“</b> SZ На стражи 1240 Поглед, В Недоложно око SZ Расти, расти ружо мала 1416 Поглед наведе страже SZ Мало ја, мало ти 1415 Мир</p> <p><b>Хор са Војном Музиком:</b> SZ За моје пријатеље 1398 Љубим те наша дико</p> <p><b>Софка:</b> SZ Зудфо, мори Зудфо 1307 Чувеш, чувеш Секо SZ Али паша на Херцеговини 1310 Хеј рујна Зоро SZ По месечини крај Шимшира 1308 Поштала Ана Пеливана</p> <p><b>Дечије хорске песме:</b> SZ Лети пчела малена 1305 Имали смо дворац SZ Медвед бере јагоде 1306 Седи јеже покрај пели</p> <p><b>Хармонишаш Максимовић:</b> SZ Моја мати килин тва 1394 А кад тебе љубит не смем SZ Удовице ал си враг 1395 Хеј свије зора</p> <p>№ 850 Ramona Miss Annabela Lee</p>	<p><b>Увертира</b> № Вилем Тел 813 I и II део № Фауст 833 I и II део № Увертира „1812“ 835 I и II део SZ Песник и Селяк 1373 I и II део</p> <p>SZ Просијо сам проју 1354 Што нам радионај дило стари SZ Ој јесенске дуге ноћи 1417 Марјане, Марјане</p> <p><b>Кателбај:</b> № In a Monastery Garden 812 In a Persian Market</p> <p><b>Ањолети - тенор:</b> SM Ay, Ay, Ay 1012 The Quiero</p> <p><b>The Havalian Revelles:</b> № Wallons 814 Hilo March</p> <p><b>Танго: са певањем</b> № Miniera 84 Poveri Saltimbanchi</p> <p><b>Фокс-трот: оријенталски</b> № Persian Rosenbud 801 Leonora № Una Lagrima 1381 Primavera</p> <p>SZ Ја љубим Вашу руку Мадам 1362 Редукција</p>
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**ЕДИСОН БЕЛ ПЕНКАЛА Д. Д.**  
Београд. Тел. 45-69 (Академија Наука Пасаж) 1-1

**Figure 14:** An advertisement in the Serbian newspaper Vreme, 28 April 1929, which contains the recording of Maksimović (National Library of Serbia, Music Manuscript, Printed Music and Audiovisual Department, [www.nb.rs](http://www.nb.rs); and University Library Svetozar Markovic Digital Collection, Belgrade, [www.unilib.rs/istorijske-novine/search](http://www.unilib.rs/istorijske-novine/search)).

Неколико најбољих југославенских плоча «His Master's Voice»

Ст. ЈАНКОВИЋ, члан Ческо-југославне Оперне (Београд)  
 АМ. 1709 Блатско мило  
 Опој сам се  
 АМ. 2071 Моја мати љезим тка  
 Јако да се наплатила  
 МУЗИКА КРАЉЕВЕ ГАРДЕ  
 АМ. 1104 Потпура за које при-  
 јетеле 1 и II  
 ТЕОДОРА АРСЕНАВИЋ (лт),  
 члан Нар. Позоришта  
 АМ. 1101 Пошла Бана на воду  
 Савлада дозе  
 МИЈАТ МИЈАТОВИЋ (адиолит)  
 АМ. 830 Све се кунуло и пресејаном  
 да знам море моме  
 АМ. 2109 Далуч оркем  
 Пометала Ана Пеливана

Ст. Јанковић.

## Најлепше популарне мелодије,

најбољу националну музику, свирану или певану од најистакнутијих уметника — добијете само на плочама «His Master's Voice»

СВАКО воли да чује музику своје земље — оне драге популарне песме које разнежују срце и које су никле у његовом родном крају.

Благодарени плочама и грамофонима «His Master's Voice» можете слушати најбољу југославенску музику, свирану или певану од уметника који је изводе искључиво за «His Master's Voice».

Тражите од заступника «His Master's Voice» да Вам да потпуни каталог националне музике.



## «HIS MASTER'S VOICE»

ЗВАНИЧНА ПРОДАВНИЦА  
 „HIS MASTER'S VOICE“  
 Кр. Двор. Лифер.  
 Јевта М. Павловић и Компанија  
 Телефон бр. 17-61. БЕОГРАД Кн. Михајлова 41.

**Figure 15:** HMV advertisement in the Serbian newspaper *Vreme*, 11 June 1930, showing the recording of Janković (National Library of Serbia, Music Manuscript, Printed Music and Audiovisual Department, [www.nb.rs](http://www.nb.rs); and University Library Svetozar Markovic Digital Collection, Belgrade, [www.unilib.rs/istorijske-novine/search](http://www.unilib.rs/istorijske-novine/search)).

At this point in ‘princess’s’ wandering, I corresponded with Tony Klein, English collector of historical discography. He was the one responsible for the great revelation. He informed me that in the CD compilation titled ‘Chekhov’s Band, Eastern European Klezmer music from the EMI archives 1908–1913’, compiled by Michael Aylward and Joel Rubin, there is a recording titled *Karaite Medley* (Караимскія попури).<sup>40</sup> This is an instrumental piece recorded by Zonophone, March 1910 in Vilna,<sup>41</sup> the present-day capital of Lithuania, Vilnius, then under rule of the Russian Empire. The orchestra of the

municipal theatre of the city plays in the recording, conducted by Meir Mordukh Stupel. Karaism is a particular religious dogma of Judaism. It was never popular nor had many followers. In any case, Lithuania constituted the informal base of Karaism.<sup>42</sup>

In this potpourri, the last melody performed was again that of 'princess', in its most special and singular rendition, as far as its phrasing and rhythmic structures are concerned. Based on our sources, perhaps none of the melodies from the potpourri constitutes a traditional melody of Karaism. In any case, this is the oldest recording I have detected.



**Figure 16:** The labels (both sides of the record) of the recording by Zonophone (Aylward Archive and EMI Archive Trust, [www.emiarchivetrust.org](http://www.emiarchivetrust.org)).

A wind instrument orchestra, brass and woodwind, performed the piece in the tonality of G Minor. The recording was made by a mobile crew. Despite this, the quality of the sound is quite good, and the performance seems to have been rehearsed quite well.



**Music transcription 7:** The melody of the Karaite Medley.

Based on the discography dating, the next recording is one that Martin Schwartz pointed out, originating from the Ukrainian-interest repertoire, recorded in America. Specifically, the Ukrainian orchestra of Dymytro Kornienko, who recorded in New York, circa June 1929, the instrumental piece titled *Rumunka Kolomyjka* (Румунка коломийка).<sup>43</sup>



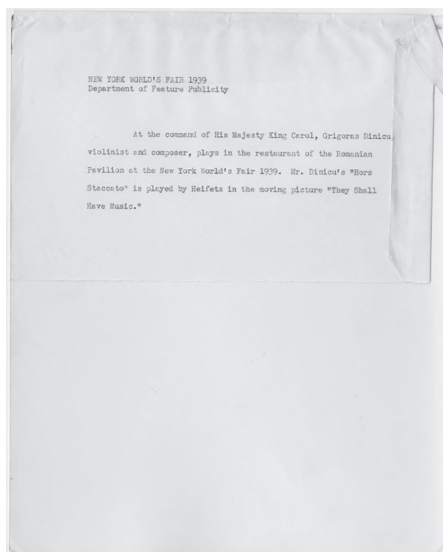
**Figure 17:** The record label of Okeh of Rumunka Kolomyjka (Schwartz archive).

The *kolomeyka* seems to be a Ukrainian dance of the rural repertoire, while Kolomeya<sup>44</sup> is a region in south-western Ukraine.<sup>45</sup> Kornienko, born 1888 in Kiev, Ukraine, immigrated to America at the end of 1923. In his registration on the ship *Byron*,<sup>46</sup> which he boarded in Constantinople, he declared Russian nationality and Batumi,<sup>47</sup> a city in present-day Georgia, bordering on Turkey in the Black Sea, as his previous place of residence. The actualization of this orchestra of Kornienko was complex, clearly a scholarly product, with bold orchestration and signs which testify to a well-organized and well-rehearsed ensemble. What is impressive is the fact that in this specific potpourri, since again we are dealing with a composition of various melodies, we hear another melody well known in the Greek and Romanian repertoire, that of *Karotseris* (καροτσέρης, wagoner – in Romanian repertoire 'hora morii', that is, the hora of the mill). The latter boasts a history similar to that of 'princess', and undoubtedly deserves an extensive article on its own course (see Kokkonis, 2017: 148). The piece is heard in the tonality of D sharp, in a tempo where the crotchet is equal to 120 bpm.



**Music transcription 8:** *The melody of Rumunka Kolomyjka.*

We move on to another case in historical discography, to a place where the violin rules, where the Gypsy presence is most dynamic. The epicentre is Romania, which is where our next recording comes from, kindly provided by Tony Klein. The violin is that of the Gypsy Grigoraș Dinicu, born in 1889 in Bucharest,<sup>48</sup> popular globally for his performance genius. Dinicu was one of the most important protagonists for the emancipation of the Gypsies in Romania, a movement empowered in the early 20th century. In fact, in the first convention of the General Union of the Gypsies of Romania, conducted on 8 October 1933, he was appointed Honorary President of the Union.<sup>49</sup>



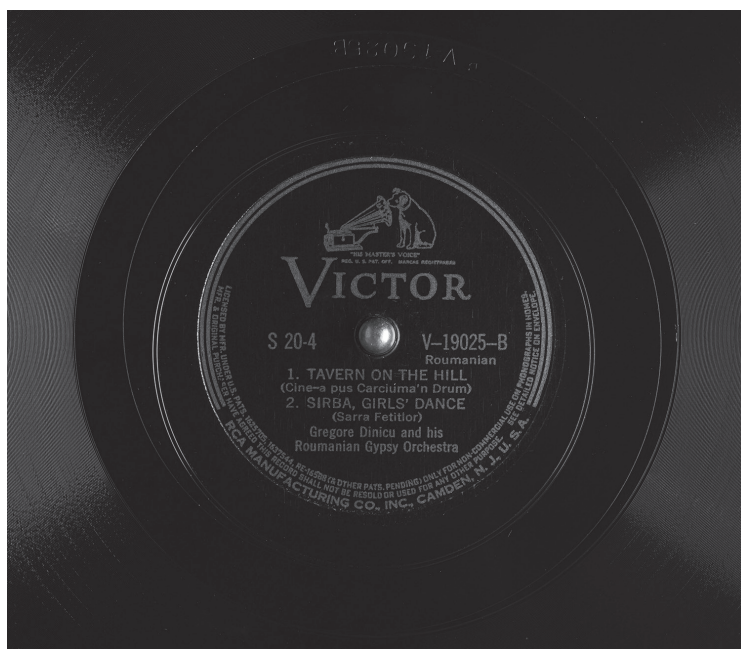
**Figure 18:** Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. «Romania Participation – Grigoras Dinicu (violinist and composer) performs» New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed August 25, 2021: <https://on.nypl.org/2Wh1uNJ>.

The documentation of the specific recording is rather problematic. According to the available evidence, this is a recording conducted on 28 February 1939 by Gramophone in Bucharest. Perhaps the recording was issued directly and exclusively in America. The instrumental piece is titled:<sup>50</sup> *Cine-a Pus Carciuma-n Drum*, that is, he who planted the

tavern in the street', based on the translation advice of Speranța Rădulescu, or 'tavern on the hill', based on the American label of Victor.<sup>51</sup> Again, this is a potpourri. In the first part, the melody we are interested in is performed, slightly abstract rhythmically, and then it goes on to join up with a hora.<sup>52</sup> The piece is performed in the tonality of D Minor.



**Music transcription 9:** *The melody of Cine-a Pus Carciuma-n Drum.*



**Figure 19:** *The American label of Dinicu's recording (from <https://archive.org> from the channel 'Jakej').*

From the archives of the Hungarian Parliament and the Musicology Institute come the next three, non-commercial recordings actualized by Kiss Lajos, Lévaýné Gábor Judit and Tari Lujza, recording Karsai Zsigmond, Lebó Sándor and Turla Péterné Telekán Teréz respectively. These are three vocal recordings, without the accompaniment of an orchestra and, possibly, by amateur singers.

The first recording, with the initial lyrics 'Cine-a făcut crâșma-n drum, mândrulița mea' (translation: Whoever built this tavern here, my love), was made on 4 January 1955,<sup>53</sup> in the village of Pécel<sup>54</sup> in Hungary. In the recording card, the village Lőrincréve<sup>55</sup> in present-day Romania is listed as the place of origin. In this recording we see a different rhythmic organization of the melody, something which has probably to do with the violin repertoire of the broader region. The piece is rendered in the tonality of D Minor, in a singular eight-beat rhythm, something which is probably connected to some popular dance. The dialect is listed as 'Erdely', which could be translated as 'Transylvanian', while in the field of nationality 'Roman' is noted. The researchers, together with the recordings, document in musical transcription as well the performances, a practice evidently connected to the tradition left by Béla Bartók.



**Music transcription 10:** The melody of the recording with Karsai Zsigmond.

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 Román tánc  
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 /Utána elfűtyült/  
 Énekelte és fűtyült Karsai Zsig, Lőrincréve  
 esülték. Román tánc. Hármasház Jászok: egy leány  
 és két lány.

ed. 12, 12, 16, 12 AP 1105 e 1 (5) 5  
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**Music transcription 11:** The transcription of the recording with Karsai Zsigmond (Institute for Musicology, Hungary, [www.zti.hungaricana.hu](http://www.zti.hungaricana.hu)).

The second recording, with Lebó Sándor and with the initial lyrics 'Kövecses tó partján sírdogál valaki' (translation: Somebody is crying on the banks of a rocky lake), was made on 3 May 1955,<sup>56</sup> in the village Bácsbokod,<sup>57</sup> again in Hungary as well. The place of origin of the song, however, the village Naszvad<sup>58</sup> in present-day Slovakia, is stated. This performance is more epic, with fewer embellishments, and jumps between C sharp and the tonality of D Minor.



**Music transcription 12:** The melody of the Lebó Sándor recording.

Handwritten musical score for 'Kövecses tó partján sírdogál valaki'. The score is written on a single page with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 84. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score includes several measures of music, with some measures marked with '1)' and '2)' indicating different versions or variations. The lyrics are in Hungarian and describe a scene by a lake.

Handwritten notes at the top right: 1) 5 (5) Naszvad (Kovácsok) fűzők, bácsbokod (1955) Lebó Sándor (1955) Kís. László, 1955 P. 3.

Handwritten notes at the bottom left: 3-4. sorra kezdő 3-4. sorra kezdő

Handwritten musical score for 'Kövecses tó partján sírdogál valaki'. The score is written on a single page with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 92. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score includes several measures of music, with some measures marked with '1)', '2)', and '3)' indicating different versions or variations. The lyrics are in Hungarian and describe a scene by a lake.

Handwritten notes at the bottom left: 1) 2) 3) 4) 5) 6) 7) 8) 9) 10) 11) 12) 13) 14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20) 21) 22) 23) 24) 25) 26) 27) 28) 29) 30) 31) 32) 33) 34) 35) 36) 37) 38) 39) 40) 41) 42) 43) 44) 45) 46) 47) 48) 49) 50) 51) 52) 53) 54) 55) 56) 57) 58) 59) 60) 61) 62) 63) 64) 65) 66) 67) 68) 69) 70) 71) 72) 73) 74) 75) 76) 77) 78) 79) 80) 81) 82) 83) 84) 85) 86) 87) 88) 89) 90) 91) 92) 93) 94) 95) 96) 97) 98) 99) 100)

**Music transcription 13:** The transcription of the Lebó Sándor recording (Institute for Musicology, Hungary, [www.zti.hungaricana.hu](http://www.zti.hungaricana.hu)).

The third recording, with Turla Péterné Telekán Teréz and the initial lyrics 'Šti tiu bade cerice', is more modern and is conducted on 29 January 1978, in the village Elek,<sup>59</sup> in present-day Hungary, exactly on the border with Romania, in the southeast.<sup>60</sup> The piece is

rendered in the tonality of E Minor, to the rhythm of 7/8, also pertaining to some popular dance. A characteristic of this performance is the interval between the seventh and eighth degree in the endings, which is permanently found between the tone and the semi-tone. Furthermore, the fourth degree seems to be slightly higher than its well-tempered state.



**Music transcription 14:** *The melody of the recording with Turla Péterné Telekán Teréz.*

Due to the fact that they are research type recordings and not for commercial discography, it must be noted, and this is something that is generally true: we cannot know if the specific melody has been recorded for commercial discography with other titles and in other forms (orchestral or songs). In the Hungarian recordings, on the Institute for Musicology website, the initial lyrics of the song are given as the title. Possibly, the songs entered earlier or later into commercial discography, with other titles.

Similar scenarios may be true within the corpus of commercial recordings. We find, that is, the same melody with different titles. After all, as mentioned earlier, such a case is evident within the Greek corpus of commercial recordings. Initially, the melody with the title of *Oldster*, then as *I Want a Princess* and then as *Princess* (and as we shall see further down, we see a fourth title too). This phenomenon seems to be the rule in orchestral versions, or generally in orchestral folk-popular pieces. From place to place and from village to village, from musician to musician or from musical families to musical families, from time period to time period, from repertoire subcategories to repertoire subcategories even from context to context within which some piece is performed and functions, it often changes name and presents a remarkable diversity, which may start with the title itself and go up to the details of each of its implementations.

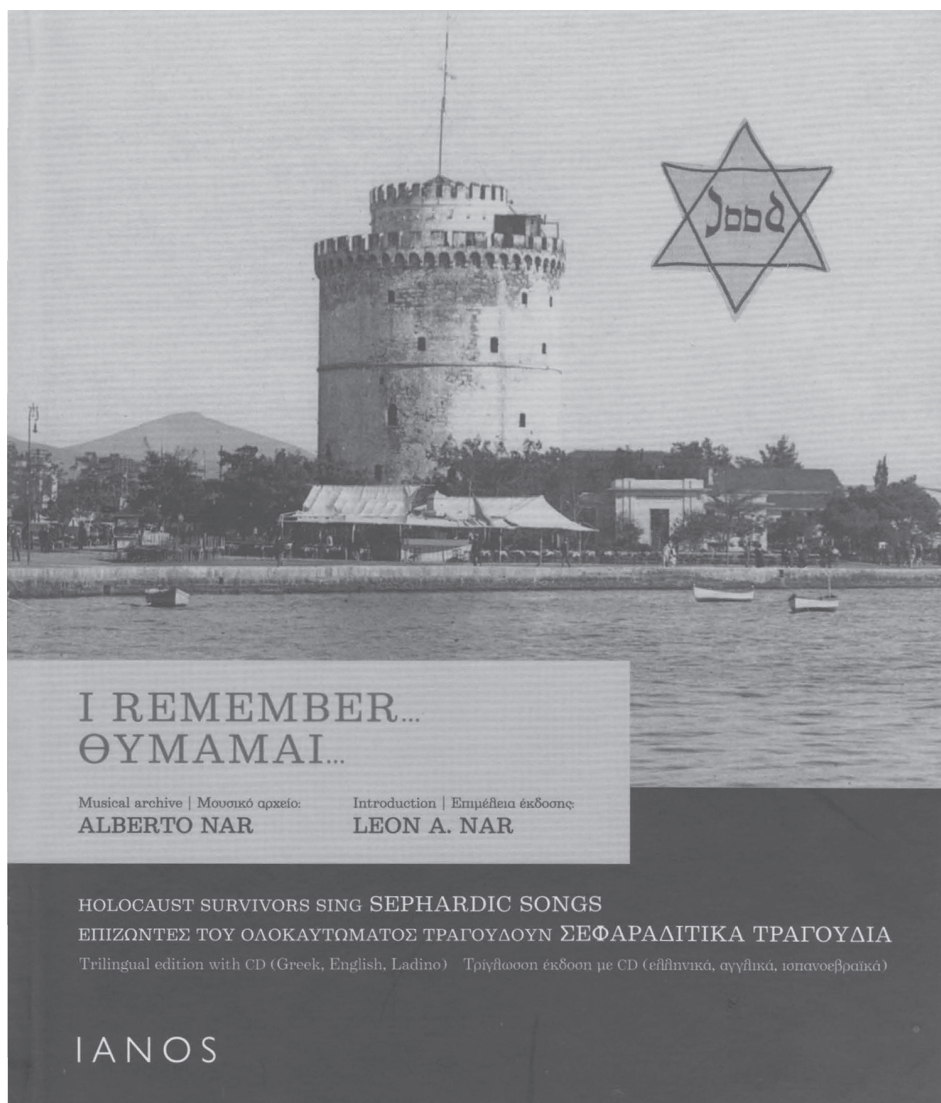
To return to Greek discography, in 1975 the following interesting event took place: Haris Alexiou recorded a song of Vasilis Vasileiadis, an innovative composer of the time, with lyrics by Pythagoras. The collector Kostas Chatzidoulis calls Vasileiadis a 'notorious thief of rebetiko songs' (1979: 38). The song performed by Alexiou is titled *What's it Called* (πως το λένε, pos to léne), and uses the same melody as 'princess', with different lyrics.<sup>61</sup> Vasileiadis orchestrated the piece within the aesthetic framework of the period (but with his personal signature evident), and added a new introduction. Tountas and Vasileiadis were the only ones of the musicians involved, in the recordings I detected, who added an introduction to the melody, and did not use some part of the melody as an introduction. Both Tountas and Vasileiadis, revealed the tools used by the composer in the composition (boasting, at the same time, their personal skill), when they used an existing musical melody, which did not seem to have some introductory part. In other words, in such cases, the introduction part seems to be the only opportunity for the composer, in order to show off his virtuosity, regarding the composition. To add, that is, a new composition to the old,

which will bond harmonically, trying to show that this is the ‘reality’ of the musical work. Additionally, together with the also fundamental fields of orchestration, performance and narration of the story of the song, the musicians reveal, in the end, their skill in a very important chapter, which concerns popular music: the appropriation of ‘foreign’ material and its ‘naturalization’ in the world of each composer. Such cases emphasize the fluidity seen in popular music, which concerns both the part of composing and the part of performing.



**Figure 20:** The label of the song *What's it Called* (Gioglou archive).

The last case comes from the field recordings conducted in the 1990s by Alberto Nar in Thessaloniki. Nar recorded elderly Greek Jews, residents of Thessaloniki. Regarding these recordings, a book accompanying by a CD has been recently published by his son, Leon (Nar 2020). Alberto wished to save some of the most popular songs of the Jews living in the city, the ones who survived the Holocaust. In this archive we find a song titled ‘Decidi de me kazar’, which means ‘I’ve made up my mind to marry’. Once again, this is the melody which interests us, performed by Rabbi Moshe Haleyoua.<sup>62</sup> The lyrics are in Ladino, that is, the Judeo-Spanish language spoken by Sephardic Jews of the Ottoman Empire, written by Moshe Kazes, as mentioned by Nar in two of his studies, who credits the melody of the song to Panagiotis Tountas (1985: 208–209 and 1997: 298–300 and 208).



**Figure 21:** The cover of the Book – CD: Remember... Holocaust Survivors Sing Sephardic Songs. Thessaloniki: Ianos, 2020.

### *Epilogue*

The historical discography findings, collected up to now, which use the melody in question, are 21. The table below lists each one of these recordings, together with certain discographical information (see Table 1).

**Table 1:** Discographical listings of the ‘princess’ melody.

	Title	Label	Matrix	Catalogue	Rec. place	Rec. date	Singer
1	Karaité Medley	Zonophone	X 60861	14505 b	Vilna	1910 March	Instrumental
2	Ardeleanca	Columbia	84956	E 4410	New York	1918 or 1919	L. Aureescu
3	Moja Mati Cilim Tka	Columbia	H 2162	D 30987		1927 July 13-15	Mijat Mijatovic
4	Moja Mati Cilim Tka	Edison Bell Electron	Z 726	Z 1412	Zagreb	1929 ca	Mijat Mijatovic
5	Moja Mati Cilim Tka	Odeon	A 192821	5066		1928-1929 ca	Dokica Tomić
6	Moja Mati Cilim Tka	Edison Bell Electron		SZ 1394	Zagreb	1929 (before April)	Instrumental
7	Moja Mati Cilim Tka	HMV	BW2336	AM 2071	Belgrad	1929 March 30	Stanoje Janković
8	Rumunka Kolomyjka	Okeh	15588	W 402436	New York	1929 June	Instrumental
9	To gerontaki	Odeon	GO 1916	GA 1671 (A 190486)	Athens	1932 ca	Kakia Mendri
10	Ego thelo pringipessa	HMV	OGA 377	AO 2319	Athens	1936	Stellakis Perpinidis
11	Pringipessa	Columbia (Turkey)	CTZ 5684	RT 17385	Istanbul	1938-1939	Mitsos Kyriakopoulos
12	Cine-a pus carciuma-n drum	Gramophone	0HR476	JB-293	Bucharest	1939 February 28	Instrumental
13	Moja Mati Cilim Tka	Victor	BS 074030-1		Chicago	1942 February 3	Edo Lubich
14	Cine-a pus carciuma-n drum	Electrecord		1547	Romania	1945	Ioana Radu
15	Gib Mir Bessarabia	Columbia	CO 37069	8242 F	New York	1946 October ca	Aaron Lebedeff
16	Cine a facut	unofficial rec / hungaricana	--	--	Pécel (Lőrincréve)	1955 January 4	Karsai Zsigmond
17	Kövecses tó partján sírdogál valaki	unofficial rec / hungaricana	--	--	Bácsbokod (Naszvad)	1955 May 3	Lebő Sándor
18	Pos to lene	Minos	7XGO 6321	MINOS 5578	Athens	1975	Haris Alexiou
19	Ego thelo pringipessa	Zodiac		ZS 8165	Athens	1975	Giannis Kyriazis
20	Ști tiu bade cerice	unofficial rec / hungaricana	--	--	Elek	1978 January 29	Turla Péterné Telekán Teréz
21	Decidi de me kazar	unofficial rec / Alberto Nar's recs	--	--	Thessaloniki	1990s	Mose Halegoua

It is quite possible that in the future many more recordings using the specific musical theme will be revealed. Several melodies enjoy similar popularity, something that undoubtedly indicates those characteristics which compose what we would call today ‘a hit’. Why has music such as that of princess, karotseris – the Romanian hora morii or hora de la moara or la moara la harta-scarta,<sup>63</sup> mysirlou,<sup>64</sup> den se thélo pia (δεν σε θέλω πια, I don’t want you anymore) – the Neapolitan ‘Mbraccio a mme,<sup>65</sup> i voskopoula (η βοσκοπούλα, the little shepherd girl) – the Sephardic Una pastora,<sup>66</sup> to páploma (το πάπλωμα, the quilt) – the Ottoman-Turkish Hamsi koydum tavaya and the Sephardic La madre comprensiva,<sup>67</sup> and so many more, been recorded and covered so many times? What does the music of ‘princess’ have that it encourages musicians from Lithuania, Serbia, Ukraine, Greece, Hungary, Slovakia and Romania to include the melody in their local and translocal repertoire and to record it commercially, selling it as ‘Greek’, ‘Serbian’, ‘Romanian’? Which are the performance characteristics that construct an ala Serbian, ala Greca, ala Gypsy and ala Jewish aesthetic, playing, in other respects, the ‘same’ melody? Ultimately, how similar is this melody in each of its actualizations and how similar is the narrative and its message, after its appropriation and its ‘translation’?

The case study in which we engaged brings to the surface something which international bibliography has extensively covered: The need for organized and fully documented discography archives. A documentation which must definitely include the acoustic dimension as well, that is, the sound, which will cater to the needs of common melody searches. Through these cases, we rediscover the history of places and their people, filling in the gaps in our knowledge and rethinking what we know up to now. In the Greek world, research concerning the rebetiko and generally urban popular music has gone through many stages. Visiting sites of discography and repertoire, which never interested us in the past in the obviously ‘small’ discography and research world in which we moved, may open up even more the field of research, if nothing else following the ‘open’ cultural borders revealed through the study of discography.

### Acknowledgments

I must express my heartfelt thanks to certain persons, without whose help this research would not have borne fruit. The following persons, with solidarity and fellowship regarding research, offered and continue to offer crucial information concerning the historical discography of the regions they study, offering part of the material from their collections as well: Martin Schwartz, Panagiotis and Leonardos Kounadis and the new virtual museum ([www.vmrebetiko.gr](http://www.vmrebetiko.gr)), Nikos Dionysopoulos, Hugo Strötbaum, Joel Rubin, Richard March, Andrei Sora, Vesna Aleksandrovic and the National Library of Serbia, Music Manuscript, Printed Music and Audiovisual Department, [www.nb.rs](http://www.nb.rs); the National Centre of Digitization of Serbia, [www.ncd.org.rs](http://www.ncd.org.rs); and the University Library Svetozar Markovic Digital Collection, Belgrade, [www.unilib.rs/istorijske-novine/search](http://www.unilib.rs/istorijske-novine/search); Richard Spottswood, Charles Howard, Tony Klein, Michael Aylward, Rivka Havassy, Josh Horowitz, Dževad Hadžić, Pekka Gronow, Risto Pekka Pennanen, Ayhan Aktar, Cemal Ünlü, Tanja Mihalić and the Music Collection of National and University Library of Zagreb, [www.nsk.hr](http://www.nsk.hr), 'Sounds of the Past' [www.mz.nsk.hr/zbirka78/en](http://www.mz.nsk.hr/zbirka78/en); Leon Nar and the Alberto Nar archive, the Greek Literary and Historical Archive of Thessaloniki, [www.elia.org.gr](http://www.elia.org.gr); Thanasis Gioglou, Kostas Vlisidis, Marija Dumnić, Speranța Rădulescu, Dževad Hadžić Jackson, Nikola Zekić, George Moysidis, Joanna Hughes and the archive of EMI Archive Trust, Mátyás Bolya and the Sound Archives at the Institute for Musicology Hungary, [www.zti.hungaricana.hu](http://www.zti.hungaricana.hu).

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## Endnotes

1. The issue discussed by the article constituted part of the paper presented in Greek by the author at the conference titled ‘Urban popular music’, co-organized by the Centre of Historical and Folklore Research ‘Apollon’ Karditsa, of the Department of Music Studies of the University of Ioannina and the Prefecture of Thessaly, Regional Union of Karditsa, which took place 18–20 October 2019 in Karditsa. The papers presented at the conference were published as proceedings in Greek: Kokkonis, George, and Sonia Koziou. ‘Astikes laikes mousikes.’ *Proceedings of the 7th panhellenic conference (18–20 October 2019)*. Centre for Historical and Folklore Research ‘O Apollon’ Karditsa – University of Ioannina, Department of Music Studies, 2020.
2. For an example of the Greek reality, see Ordoulidis (2021).
3. Both for culturally in general and musical specifically, see for example: Herzfeld (2002); Kallimopoulou (2009); Tsetsos (2011); Michail (2014); Erol (2015); Kokkonis (2017); Ordoulidis (2021).
4. See Fabbri (2016).
5. See Bucuvalas (2019).
6. See Kalyviotis (1995).
7. The two projects by Aristomenis Kalyviotis are excluded, which, while engaging in the prevailing network, concern the musical life and historical discography of Smyrna (2002) and Thessaloniki (2015).
8. See Buchanan (2007).
9. For reciprocal inter-penetration and co-existence and dialogical reciprocity, see Ordoulidis (2021). For intertextuality see Zoubouli and Ordoulidis (2018).
11. *Εγώ θέλω πριγκιπέσσα* (ego thélo pringipéssa, I want a princess) HMV OGA 377-1 – AO 2319, Athens, circa June 1936, <https://youtu.be/-rryJLwV7wo>. The sources used for the documentation of the historical discography in the present article are the following: Spottswood (1991), *Discography of American Historical Recordings* ([www.adp.library.ucsb.edu](http://www.adp.library.ucsb.edu)), archives and dates of collectors

and researchers mentioned in the acknowledgements section in the end, the research of Hugo Strötbaum (<http://www.recordingpioneers.com>), the archive of AHRC Research Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music (CHARM, [www.charm.kcl.ac.uk](http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk)), the archive of Alan Kelly ([www.kellydatabase.org](http://www.kellydatabase.org)), the archive of Björn Englund and Rainer E. Lotz 'Online Discography Matrix Blocks used by the Carl Lindström AG' ([http://www.lotz-verlag.de/online-disco-lindstroem\\_matrix\\_blocks.html](http://www.lotz-verlag.de/online-disco-lindstroem_matrix_blocks.html)), and the archive of Yuri Bernikov ([www.russian-records.com](http://www.russian-records.com)).

12. *I Want a Princess*, Orthophonic S 364-A, circa October 1936.
13. On issues regarding the connections between the bouzouki and tambouras see Kourousis (2013).
14. Such issues have already been adequately commented on, in the relevant literature, in the field of historical discography (see for example: Nannestad, 1984; Pennanen, 1995 and 2005; Cook, Clarke, Wilkinson, and Rink, 2009).
15. The island of Symi: <https://goo.gl/maps/GMd8z22CfwXKtPZ87>.
16. In the specific time period, the Dodecanese islands were under Italian rule. The group of Dodecanese islands were joined to the Greek State in 1946.
17. Araby or Barbary: 'Barbary States: Sixteenth-century term for states of North Africa's Mediterranean shore. Morocco and the Ottoman Empire provinces of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which ranged along the southern coast

of the Mediterranean Sea, became known in the West as the Barbary states beginning in the sixteenth century. In the West, they became synonymous with Corsair raiding and the so-called Barbary pirates, who waged the Barbary wars against ships of Christian states until 1821' (Mattar, 2004: 401).

18. The discovery of the newspaper headlines was courtesy of Kostas Vlisidis. Tasos Haralambous's son, Nikos Haralambous, appeared on the show 'The Time Machine' (η μηχανή του χρόνου, i michaní tou chrónou) about the incident: <https://youtu.be/zvpCtsUTABs>.
19. *Γεροντάκι* (gerontáki), GO 1916 – GA 1671 (A 190486), Athens, circa 1932, <https://youtu.be/nMFT4fXI5Jc>. I should mention the documentation problem detected regarding the singer. In the relevant literature of the friends and collectors of the rebetiko it is claimed that the singer of the song in question is Ismini Diatsenti (or Diatsente, or Diatsentou) and not Kakia Mendri, whose name, according to this literature, we see incorrectly printed in the American re-release of Columbia (see Figure 4). The Odeon label is yet to be found.
20. *Gerontaki*, Columbia (America, electrically re-recorded using the Odeon record), W 131112 – G 7073-F, 1 March 1934.
21. The 'elafró' (ελαφρό) could be translated as 'light song'. It is a stylistic category of the urban song, in which a singular and very interesting syncretism between the urban popular and the more scholarly

- forms is observed. For example, folk/popular-like melodies and rhythms/dances with a more complex and standardized orchestration and a richer instrumentation are used. Often, the protagonists are literate musicians, who participate in recordings or even appear on the music stage of the popular genres.
22. The location of Odessa: <https://goo.gl/maps/X2quYbLxppdWhjJt8>.
  23. *Πριγκιπέσσα* (pringipessa, princess), Columbia (Turkey) CTZ 5684 – RT 17385, Constantinople, 1938–1939, [https://youtu.be/zhW6tCOlh\\_g](https://youtu.be/zhW6tCOlh_g).
  24. *I Want a Princess*, Zodiac YZP 88051 – SYZP 88051 / SYLP 3027, Athens, 1975, <https://youtu.be/Z5Qbd6NVuSE>.
  25. The location of Smyrna: <https://goo.gl/maps/Ptt6GB61LWUAkJ8G6>.
  26. For Tountas, see Gekas (2018).
  27. *Gib mir Bessarabia*, Columbia CO 37069 – 8242 F, New York, circa October 1946, <https://youtu.be/XIcQ8m0wAsk>.
  28. The location of Gomel: <https://goo.gl/maps/7BCUYtdamf5cTYFi7>.
  29. The location of Alexandria in Kherson: <https://goo.gl/maps/VJfNQB6sEmnqJbZaA>.
  30. For Secunda see: Greene (1992: 127–128); Whitfield (2001: 1–2) and the page ‘Jewish Music Research Centre’, in the Secunda entry: <https://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/sholom-secunda>.
  31. For Lebedeff see: Greene (1992: 102–103) and the page ‘Jewish Music Research Centre’, in the Lebedeff entry: <https://jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/aaron-lebedeff>.
  32. A characteristic of the popularity of the song is the fact that in the Serbian newspaper Pravda, 12 December 1932, we read that a concert is to take place in the town of Nitra of present-day Slovakia (then Czechoslovakia) with music of Yugoslavian repertoire. In the concert this particular song was performed. In fact, the reporter mentioned that the song was the composition of some Todorović... (University Library Svetozar Markovic Digital Collection, Belgrade, [www.unilib.rs/istorijske-novine/search](http://www.unilib.rs/istorijske-novine/search)).
  33. The location of Belgrade: <https://goo.gl/maps/8uvheZtWo68JFik28>.
  34. See the research of John Milmo, based on the archives of Alan Kelly, <https://bit.ly/2DC5pYs>. For Mijatović, see Mijatović (n.d.: 13); and Bogojević at al (2019: 171, 173, 182–184).
  35. *Moja Mati Ćilim Tka*, Columbia H 2162 – D 30987, circa July 1927, <https://youtu.be/oEn11BL010E>.
  36. *Moja Mati Ćilim Tka*, Columbia (USA), 130129 – 1178 F, 1930–1931.
  37. *Moja Mati Ćilim Tka*, Edison Bell Electron Penkala Z 726 – Z 1412, Zagreb, circa 1929, <https://cutt.ly/rrixxrt>.
  38. The Edison Bell Penkala commercial catalogue may possibly have mistakenly matched catalogue code Z 1412 to the list of recordings by Jovo

- Mijatović, who has the same surname as Mijat Mijatović. In the latter's list, on pages 29–30 of the same catalogue, the specific song title does not exist. Despite this, the record label mentions both the name of Mijat, and the catalogue code Z 1412.
39. *Moja Mati Ćilim Tka*, Victor BS 074030-1, Chicago, 3 February 1942, <https://youtu.be/N9Xx7ws7nGk>.
  40. For Ljubić, see March (2013: 126–128); and Bogojević et. al (2019: 185).
  41. The location of Strumitsa: <https://goo.gl/maps/5A2khR8zwgriSQbCA>.
  42. Караимскія Попурри, Zonophone, X 60861-60862 – 14505 a-b, Vilna, March 1910, <https://youtu.be/aTZR6AUcyGo>. It is worth noting that the medley is featured on both sides of the record, as is seen in the labels below (see Figure 17).
  43. The location of Vilna: <https://goo.gl/maps/XP5vSgzwfxfkGDZD6>.
  44. For Karaism, not only regarding musical issues but also generally historical and cultural, see Polliack (2003).
  45. *Rumunka Kolomyjka*, Okeh 15588 – W 402436, New York, June 1929, <https://bit.ly/37VmiBM>.
  46. The location of Kolomeya: <https://goo.gl/maps/PBGkP4RXYVKf1hsm6>.
  47. See Nahachewsky (1991).
  48. The indication for the existence of the listing is due to Tony Klein. See [www.libertyellisfoundation.org](http://www.libertyellisfoundation.org).
  49. The location of Batumi: <https://goo.gl/maps/cvwL6khKg97U9dKN6>.
  50. The location of Bucharest: <https://goo.gl/maps/4MHuTwrX8QL36rw28>.
  51. See Slonimsky (2001: 886) and Achim (2004: 154–155). Interestingly and remarkably, historically, it should be mentioned that photos of the time show Dinicu participating in events at the 1939 New York World Fair but probably never hearing or meeting Edo Ljubić, who also performed at the Fair. This is the year Gramophone recorded *Cine-a pus carciuma-n drum*, the melody we are interested in. Three years later, as mentioned, in 1942 Ljubić also recorded the same melody, with the ala Serbian aesthetic he knew.
  52. It should be mentioned that I detected another recording of the melody in Romanian discography, this time with lyrics. The song is performed by Ioana Radu, born in 1917. Electrecord 1547, 1945: <https://youtu.be/iffbqh6tJF0>. By the time this article was under review for publication, Leonardos Kounadis has kindly shared his finding of another recording from the Romanian music world: *Ardeleanca*, Columbia 84956 – E4410, New York, 1918 or 1919: <https://bit.ly/2ZMAWSz>.
  53. *Cine-a pus carciuma-n drum*, Gramophone 0HR476 – JB 293, Bucharest, 28 February 1939, [https://youtu.be/HIIqwGmp3\\_8](https://youtu.be/HIIqwGmp3_8).
  54. For the hora, and the popular rhythmic-dance realities of the broader regions of Romania, but also its relationship with the likewise well-known reality of the chasapiko of the Greek world, and the bulgar of the

- Yiddish one, see Feldman (2016: 350) and Kokkonis (2017: 133–161).
55. The page of the song on the website of the Institute of Musicology: <https://bit.ly/2Y0mu7y>.
  56. The location of Pécel: <https://goo.gl/maps/CkGceqMCutzEsQRY8>.
  57. The location of Lőrincréve: <https://goo.gl/maps/ZDR2ENjWiFUqChT1A>.
  58. The page of the song on the website of the Institute of Musicology: <https://bit.ly/2OYd3BB>.
  59. The location of Bácsbokod: <https://goo.gl/maps/henQdUukVSf3oqKaA>.
  60. The location of Naszvad: <https://goo.gl/maps/xNzuNq21oXyuyZoE6>.
  61. The location of Elek: <https://goo.gl/maps/1hMwqXzsat9xG6Gn8>.
  62. The page of the song on the website of the Institute of Musicology: <https://bit.ly/3eo2gv8>.
  63. *What's it Called*, Minos 7XGO 6321 – MIN 5578, Athens, 1975, <https://youtu.be/ydENYXk29AM>.
  64. File NAR.006 – track 31. Also available in Nar, 2020: CD track 22.
  65. For some examples, see: <https://bit.ly/3h1tytd>.
  66. For some examples, see: <https://bit.ly/3gPMkUe>.
  67. For some examples, see: <https://bit.ly/3gHzVl8>.
  68. For some examples, see: <https://bit.ly/3fk2rJn>.
  69. For some examples, see: <https://bit.ly/2W99vkp>.