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Echoes of Trauma in Cinematic Soundtrack: Music and the Greek Film Melodrama of the Sixties

Ecos del trauma en la banda sonora cinematográfica: La música y el melodrama cinematográfico griego de los años sesenta

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ABSTRACT

Major traumatic crises, such as the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922) and the forced uprooting of more than 1.5 million Greek people from their homelands to the Greek mainland by the Turks, have been displayed in numerous popular films of the so-called "Old Greek Cinema" of the sixties. Klak Film, a B-movies production company, specialized in low-budget cult melodramas starring Nikos Xanthopoulos, a much-loved actor and famous singer, some of which refer to the aforementioned disaster. These films reproduce the widespread Greek perception of cultural controversy between the East and the West by forming an epic musical and filmic illustration built upon conceptual generalizations and naïve representations of the past via popular/national memory of collective traumas. The paper presents Klak Film's production The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man with particular focus on its music as an example of nationalistic nostalgia that echoes previous traumatic episodes but also present-day anxieties and inconveniencies.

Key Words: Old Greek Cinema, film music, melodrama, nostalgia, trauma.



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RESUMEN

Grandes crisis traumáticas, como la Catástrofe de Asia Menor (1922) y el desarraigo forzoso de más de 1,5 millones de griegos de sus países de origen al continente griego por parte de los turcos, se han mostrado en numerosas películas populares del llamado "Cine Griego Antiguo" de los años sesenta. Como parte de esa realidad se encuentra Klak Film, una productora de películas de serie B especializada en melodramas de culto de bajo presupuesto, protagonizados por Nikos Xanthopoulos –un actor muy querido y cantante famoso–, algunos de los cuales hacen referencia al desastre mencionado. Estas películas reproducen la percepción griega popularizada de la controversia cultural entre Oriente y Occidente al formar una imagen musical y filmica épica construida sobre generalizaciones conceptuales y representaciones ingenuas del pasado a través de la memoria popular/nacional de traumas colectivos. El artículo presenta la producción de Klak Film *La Odisea de un Hombre Desarraigado* con un enfoque particular en su música como un ejemplo de nostalgia nacionalista que se hace ecos de episodios traumáticos anteriores, pero también de las ansiedades e inconvenientes del presente.

Palabras clave: Cine Griego Antiguo, música cinematográfica, melodrama, nostalgia, trauma.

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1. INTRODUCTION: TRAUMA, HISTORY AND THE OLD GREEK CINEMA

Traumatic events remain in people's memory, often aided by various cultural practices that operate as mnemonic processes of storing, retaining, and subsequently retrieving information or even formulate new interpretations of past reminiscences or impressions. According to Staniloiu and Markowitsch, "[t]he ability to remember things from the past has been viewed not only as a cornerstone for an individual's consistent feeling of trans-temporal identity [...], but also for preserving a group's identity and values" (2012, p. 103). Thus, cultural traumas need to be described, and also recognized, through public reflection and shared discourse. Trauma "is the fabric that holds together the members of these mnemonic communities" (Cappelletto, 2005, p. 5). In modern societies, mass media operate as pathways of transferring common experiences via audiovisual representations (Eyerman, 2019, p. 23). All through the 20th century, cinema has been used as a channel to address the sense of nostalgia –that implies "a sentiment of loss and displacement, but [...] also a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym, 2001, p. xiii)– because of its effective representational dynamics and embodied narrative codifications.

The Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922) and the forced uprooting of more than 1.5 million Greek individuals from their homelands has been a major turning point in the history of Modern Greece, since the idea of irredentism held an essential place in Greek national imagination. The disaster in Asia Minor was the peak of a series of military hostilities and political conflicts between the Greeks and the Turks from 1919 to 1922, as an aftereffect of the First World War. A Greek armed operation was launched at first because the Entente Powers promised Greece territorial expansion during the divide of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, this strategy was motivated by the theory of the "Great Idea", a primary concept of Greek nationalism according to which the goal of the newly established Greek state was to revive the Byzantine Empire and embrace large Greek populations and regions that traditionally belonged to the Greeks since ancient times. As Karakasidou and Tsibiridou affirm, "once more they will be ours" (2006, p. 222) was a famous Greek phrase that symbolized this tendency towards national overconfidence. And they go on, describing that "[t]exts, performances, and images serve to construct hope about the recovery of the nation's missing parts -an unfulfilled desire and an unresolved puzzle" (Karakasidou & Tsibiridou, 2006, p. 222). Subsequently, after the defeat of Greece in the Greco-Turkish War and the Great Fire of Smyrna in 1922, a population exchange between Greece and Turkey took place in 1923. Back in Greece, Asia Minor Catastrophe dramatically transformed the domestic geographic, demographic, and ideological atlas. Since then, it has remained an underlying collective ethnocultural trauma as the tragedy redefined not only the refugees' lives but the way in which they and those who received them perceived reality. The refugees' leftist political stance, exotic dialects and Anatolian customs often caused discrimination, denigration and marginalization by large parts of the local Greek population. "Much attention has been directed to the influence of the Asia Minor refugees on urban popular music [...]; while local traditions in music and dance were either enriched by the introduction of [...] regional forms from Asia Minor with the establishment of rural refugee settlements all over Greece" (Hirschon, 2003, p. 18).

This major traumatic crisis has been either straightforwardly or implicitly displayed in particular popular films of the so-called "Old Greek Cinema" of the sixties; for example, the films *Persecution* (Grigoriou, 1964), *Rootless Generation* (Tegopoulos, 1968), *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man* (Tegopoulos, 1969), and *The Refugee* (Kyriakopoulos, 1969). And this was not a random incident, because the sixties were also a controversial and ambiguous period in modern Greek history. During the sixties, Greece retained social and political instability as intense ideological confrontations and the establishment of a military regime in 1967 followed the earlier conflicts of the Greek Civil War, the Cold War Era, and the diverse nature of foreign interventions in Greek national affairs. The sixties had been a historical milestone for modern Greek society as during this period there was a notable internal migration from rural areas to major cities, as well as emigration to European and overseas countries which led to the geocultural dislocation of Hellenism. Moreover, consumption expanded, tourism increased, urban centers enlarged, and popular youth culture came to the fore. Kornetis comments that "Greece was experiencing a cultural renaissance of sorts" (2013, p. 24). As a mass cultural practice, Greek cinema encompassed and inscribed in

multiple ways current political, social, and ideological milieu, creating new fictional representations of its time.

Klak Film was a production company of the Old Greek Cinema era. Directed by Apostolos Tegopoulos, the company specialized in low-budget cult melodramas starring the much-loved actor and successful singer Nikos Xanthopoulos. These epic films reproduced the mutual Greek perception of cultural controversy between the East and the West by constructing a hybrid musical and filmic illustration of the neighbor (Turkish/Ottoman) Other as exotic, fierce, and strange, but at the same time as familiar, accepted, and likeable. They revealed a reproduction of the Other which, on the one hand, embraced certain perspectives and qualities of the (Greek) Self and, on the other, had been shaped by conceptual generalizations and naïve representations of the past through popular/national memory of collective traumas. As a cinematic genre where emotion is been exaggerated through the plentiful application of popular music, Greek melodrama was based upon the archetypal romantic narrative that included prefixed characters and intentional overacting and pointed towards an excessiveness which could directly appeal to everyday audiences. Papadimitriou (2006, p. 177) has already demonstrated that, in the context of Greek melodrama, "different characters represent positive and negative moral values, and are clearly delineated from the beginning", thus creating a predictable film form of mainstream cinema.

Since the earlier history of literary and stage, melodrama is portrayed as a conflation of music and drama. Contemporary film theorists define cinematic melodrama as a coherent aesthetic system that embodies modern (yet utopian) sociocultural and psychological tensions to attain high emotional engagement and sentimentality. Epic film melodramas usually refer to crucial themes for stabilizing the "national" Self, such as heroes, battles, historical events, etc. They count deeply on mass culture practices and encourage the concept of pan-national identity. This paper presents the most prominent Klak Film's production titled *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man* with particular focus on its music, as an example of nationalistic filmic nostalgia that echoes previous traumatic episodes such as geopolitical, ethnic, religious, and ethical conflicts but also present-day anxieties and inconveniencies.

2. THE ODYSSEY OF AN UPROOTED MAN: TRAUMA AND THE GREEK EPIC MELODRAMA

Premiered in 1969, *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man* is a Klak Film's three-hour epic melodrama of the Old Greek Cinema –i.e., the particular mode of filmic production in Greece from the fifties all through the mid-seventies which bombarded the cinema market with a huge corpus of commercial films. Sixties has been known as a prosperous phase of Greek cinematography, in which a great number of melodramas were produced. Most of them reveal concepts of national identity and stereotypical impressions of the Self and the Other through a reconstruction of the dominant national discourse. The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man was the sequel of a previous Klak Film's production The Uprooted Family. Both movies adress the adventures of Vassilis Karacoğlu, a successful –however modest– popular singer and bouzouki-player who is seeking his family after the population exchange between Greece and Turkey as a result of the Asia Minor Catastrophe. The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man is Vassilis' struggle to find and reunite his missing relatives. Hearing that his father is not dead but was

arrested by the Turks after the Great Fire of Smyrna, Vassilis joins the mission of Professor Anderson who starts from Constantinople and travels to numerous regions all across Turkey. After a lengthy and eventful journey, he finally comes across an old man nicknamed "Greek Doctor" ("Gâvur Doktor") by the locals who is the spitting image of his lost father. Having recognized each other, Vassilis tries to bring him back home. It is worth noting that Nikos Xanthopoulos plays the roles of both Vassilis and his father, Aristides Karacoğlu. These epic melodramas were produced in Greece in the period during which the country was ruled by the right-wing dictatorship of the Colonels (1967-1974). The predilection of Asia Minor Catastrophe and the subsequent issue of the incoming refugees as the main themes of the movies was not a random choice. It primarily functions as an ideological and psychological pre-construction that stirs up the audience's emotion by referring, either consciously or subconsciously, to traumatic events and reminiscences, "stressing only the destruction of the prosperous Greek communities in Anatolia by the Turks" (Papadopoulos, 2013, p. 341).

The main titles –the establishing sequence– of *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man* consist of several short shots presenting aspects of Greek urban and rural settings. The filmic images focus on cultural representations that distinguish between the Greek/Orthodox and the Turkish/Muslim identities. Furthermore, main titles reveal a focal juxtaposition of the common visions of cultural and musical aesthetics, namely "high vs. low" culture and "classical vs. popular" music. Classical music used in the beginning of the film is presented as a symphonic overture. Arranged mainly for the brass section of the orchestra, the music gives the impression of a moderate dynamism. But, all of a sudden, the instrumental composition stops rather clumsily and the soundtrack changes entirely as Xanthopoulos sings "Bournovalia" (literary, "Girl from the Bornova Region") –a typical popular song originated from Asia Minor, which brings to light the ambivalent sense of traumatic memories that followed the once-ideal impression of the "unforgettable birthplaces".

As the opening credits end, the last title appears on screen with enormous white capital letters announcing: "Being consistent, Klak Film offers a monumental movie on the traditions of the Greek people!" This self-promotive strategy points towards the underlining of the spectators' national/folk identity. In particular, this traditional song enhances the perspective of ethnic authenticity and adds a nostalgic tone as opposed to previous classical music. The first sequence of the film, which follows the opening titles, reveals the ambiguity of the song's source. The camera turns to the left and we can clearly hear the music coming out of a radio outside an old-style coffee shop where two Greek men are talking about the songs of their "lost homelands". Popular music -especially when combined with visual representations- has an instant way of recalling memories either directly or subliminally. "A popular song is like a snapshot, and has, therefore, an incredible ability to bring back memories of a particular time [...]" (Hobson, 2009, p. 41). Xanthopoulos was a much-loved actor and singer and also a second-generation migrant. Starring in melodramas, he was also prominent for representing various groups of subordinate social classes such as the workers, the refugees, and the poor. Papadimitriou (2006, p. 35) describes him as "an icon of Greek melodrama [...], who typically played the good-hearted, honest working-class young man who would sing about the sorrows of the people and the injustice of the world". Most of

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Xanthopoulos' films achieved commercial success in Greece. *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man* was screened in over twenty cinemas in Athens and Piraeus and was a super hit, selling more than 400.000 tickets (Papadopoulos, 2013, p. 349).

The film depicts three principal locations: Athens during the sixties, Asia Minor as perceived by the Greeks, and Istanbul. The film's soundtrack is of great ethnomusicological interest. It consists of several popular songs, both Greek and Turkish, in the form of diegetic musical numbers (Fig. 1). Athens is identified with Greek popular songs performed in nightclubs. Musician and composer Yorgos Manisalis wrote Greek folk songs especially for the movie, sang by Nikos Xanthopoulos and Angela Zilia –a popular songstress of the era. Yorgos Manisalis was a famous bouzouki-player and had lots in common with the film's protagonist, as they were both children of expatriated families who became famous musicians. The film also displays Asia Minor as a predominantly Greek region, while the hero travels almost everywhere in the area speaking the Greek language. It should be noted that all images of the movie indicating Turkey are not filmed locations but either postcards or studio shots. Ambiguously, Xanthopoulos (through Vassilis Karacoğlu's words) reminds the spectators that he is walking on the same streets that "witnessed both the happiness of Greeks who lived in Anatolia, but also their misfortune". This way, memories of shared trauma apply a sense of nostalgia as an ambivalent return to the good old days.



Fig. 1: Vassilis Karacoğlu (Nikos Xanthopoulos) sings to his girlfriend. (Source: Still from the film *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man*).

As mentioned above, the movie is full of diegetic musical numbers; i.e., "realistic" music, song, and dance performances whose source (either on or off-screen) is part of the filmic world. According to Karalis (2012, p. 136), the soundtracks "of the movies produced by Klak Film in particular tended to detract attention from the story", and "[t]heir tunes were monotonous, their lyrics repetitive, while performances were stylized, manneristic, and

lifeless". *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man* features several Turkish folk, popular, and traditional songs adopted for Greek audiences. For instance, the Turkish popular song "Bekledim de gelmedin" ("I was waiting for you, but you didn't come") is presented twice in the film. This is a Turkish song that legendary singers Zeki Muren and Stelios Kazantzidis had made widely known both in Turkey and Greece, respectively. In the movie, this love song is performed by Nikos Xanthopoulos for first time ever with both Turkish and Greek lyrics (Table 1). Another interesting feature of the film is the representation of music/dance performances inside Turkish nightclubs. The musicians are dressed in old-fashioned Ottoman style and accompany belly-dancers, although such shows were not performed in Turkey during the sixties –they had already been banned as early as the thirties. It is quite obvious that Turkish women are identified with the stereotypical pictures of lustful and erotic females (Fig. 2). At the end of the film, the story is transferred in real-time Turkey of the sixties. For the first time in the movie, the hero utters the present-day name of the city he wants to go (Istanbul; not Constantinople), as we hear an Arabian melody and the Islamic call to prayer.

Lyrics in Turkish	Lyrics in Greek	Lyrics in English
Bekledim de gelmedin	Σε περίμενα να 'ρθεις	I was waiting for you, but you didn't come
Sevdiğimi bilmedin	Πώς σε λάτρευα να δεις	You didn't know that I loved
Bekledim de gelmedin	Σε περίμενα να 'ρθεις	I was waiting for you, but you didn't come
Sevdiğimi bilmedin	Πώς σε λάτρευα να δεις	You didn't know that I loved
Hiç mi beni sevmedin	Με το δάκου μ' άφησες	Didn't you ever love me
Gözyaşımı silmedin	Διόλου δεν μ' αγάπησες	You didn't wipe my tear
Söyle, söyle hiç mi beni sevmedin?	Πες μου, πες μου, γιατί δεν μ' αγάπησες;	Tell me, tell me, did you ever love me?
Söyle, söyle hiç mi beni sevmedin?	Πες μου, πες μου, γιατί δεν μ' αγάπησες;	Tell me, tell me, did you ever love me?
Bir öpücük ver bana	Έλα δως μου ένα φιλί	Give me a kiss
Yalvarıyorum sana	Μια καρδιά παρακαλεί	I am begging you
Bir öpücük ver bana	Έλα δως μου ένα φιλί	Give me a kiss
Yalvarıyorum sana	Μια καρδιά παρακαλεί	I am begging you
Beni kucaklasana	Πάρε με στην αγκαλιά	Hug me
Kollarına alsana	Γιάτρεψέ μου την καρδιά	Take me in your arms
Söyle, söyle hiç mi beni sevmedin?	Πες μου, πες μου, γιατί δεν μ' αγάπησες;	Tell me, tell me, did you ever love me?
Söyle, söyle hiç mi beni sevmedin?	Πες μου, πες μου, γιατί δεν μ' αγάπησες;	Tell me, tell me, did you ever love me?
Dudağından öpeyim	Στα φιλιά σου να πνιγώ	Let me kiss your lips
Senin olsun her şeyim	Κι ό,τι θέλεις το 'χω εγώ	I'm your everything
Dudağından öpeyim	Στα φιλιά σου να πνιγώ	Let me kiss your lips
Senin olsun her şeyim	Κι ό,τι θέλεις το 'χω εγώ	I'm your everything
Biraz olsun güleyim	Χάιδεψέ με τουφερά	Let me laugh a little
Kollarında öleyim	Κι ας πεθάνω αγκαλιά	Let me die in your arms
Söyle, söyle hiç mi beni sevmedin?	Πες μου, πες μου, γιατί δεν μ' αγάπησες;	Tell me, tell me, did you ever love me?
Söyle, söyle hiç mi beni sevmedin?	Πες μου, πες μου, γιατί δεν μ' αγάπησες;	Tell me, tell me, did you ever love me?

Table 1: "Bekledim de gelmedin" song (Translation: Nick Poulakis).

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Yorgos Manisalis' father, Dimitris, wrote the original Turkish songs of the film. He was a veteran violinist who came as a refugee from Smyrna and settled down with his family in Greece. He seems to be well-informed of the music trends in the neighboring country. During the sixties, it was a common practice for Greek composers to use –sometimes even copy– songs from Turkey, Arabia, and India by adopting their lyrics to the Greek language. Furthermore, the movie was screened in a period that many Turkish films were also projected in Greek cinemas and the actors of Turkish melodramas were much-loved (Karalis 2012, p. 141). Turkish songs were also extremely popular during the fifties and sixties in Greece as many refugees were familiar with the Turkish language and could understand both the songs and the films. In this period of extensive migration, oriental melodies were by no means strange to the Greek audiences. At the same time, many Greek films and songs were extremely popular in Turkey as Greek musicians recorded Turkish songs with Greek lyrics and gave numerous concerts in Istanbul with great success.



Figure 2: Belly-dancer performing in a Turkish nightclub. (Source: Still from the film *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man*).

The film's non-diegetic music score, which belongs to the movie's framework outside filmic reality, is consistent with the conventional style of classical narrative cinema as its dynamics move parallel to the film's visual representation. Christos Mourambas, a familiar music supervisor of the Old Greek Cinema, was responsible for setting background music to the film. This is not an original composition but a fragmented selection of preexisting classical works which function in a completely different contextual way from the one that they were created for and became known at first. Mourambas' service as music accompanist, song writer, pianist of light popular music and sound engineer at the Greek National Radio Broadcasting provided him access to large record libraries with diverse kinds of music, from easy listening to jazz and classics. During that era, several minor Greek film production companies adopted compilation scores for their movies because this was a fast, effortless,

inexpensive and, at the same time, audience convincing choice for non-diegetic movie scores. Recently, Baumgartner and Boczkowska (2020, p. 8) pointed out that "[m]usic and sound, in more general terms, are both powerful cinematic devices to express traumatic events or to re-invoke traumatic episodes". *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man* makes use of classical works, which emphasize the romanticism of string melodies and harmonies as well as the tension of rhythmic and pitched percussion, according to the drama and scenic performance in order to highlight the psychological mood of the Asia Minor Catastrophe aftereffects presented onscreen or implied by the scenario of the film.

3. CONCLUSION: MUSIC, TRAUMA AND THE CINEMATIC SOUNDTRACK

The systematic reproduction of cultural connotations and identity stereotypes is a primary characteristic of *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man*. Music in the film does not serve in a pioneer way to break stereotypical cultural constructions; instead, it enriches and verifies them. Although this results in the invention of established and predefined musical and cultural formations that reinforce the qualities of national identity, popular music, song, and dance in *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man* offered a common medium which touched the sensibilities of the refugees, especially their double trauma of both their expatriation from Asia Minor but also the discrimination they suffered from the Greeks of the mainland due to their cultural differences and political beliefs. Newspapers of those days wrote that the film "was a colossal dramatic production dedicated to the people from the child of the people". As Xanthopoulos himself was a Pontic Greek, it was easier for the refugee audience to identify with the protagonist's personal odyssey. Music had been always an element of distinction between the Anatolian Greeks and the people of continental Greece, so like other forms of community performance it could operate as an extremely effective means of producing social retention and shaping identities.

The soundtrack of the film reveals an ambivalent, modernistic mode of cinematic representation, especially through the simplistic way that it tries to musically visualize the differences between the Greeks and the Turks through denotative audiovisual codes and conveys an elitist, moralistic, and nationalistic ideological attitude towards what appears to be alien to Greek culture. The film's music employs both types of audience identification: the "assimilating" and the "affiliating" (Kassabian, 2001, pp. 2-3). During the assimilating identification, the audience perceives music as a strictly controlled condition –a background score that reproduces aspects of the hegemony of the post-romantic and neoclassic tradition. In contrast, through affiliating identification spectators relate to the film's music by means of an open, totally subjective and emergent procedure. This association, which principally involves compilation scores, supports the creation of a multiform experience connected to popular songs along with their various cultural projections. In *The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man*, the use of pre-existing classical music relates to assimilating identifications while performing popular Greek and Turkish songs by the protagonist refers to affiliating identifications.

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According to the theory of collective memory and identity (Halbwachs, 1950), the past is not only preserved but, actually, recreated in people's minds, following the needs, views, and information of present to reform impressions of previous times. Different thoughts, memories, and readings of past events can be combined to establish popular memory and identity. Not only images but also sounds and music influence the way the world remembers and reconstructs many events either lived or narrated, especially the traumatic and distressing ones. Contemporary mass media have been frequently used as channels of communicating earlier painful experiences and their consequences, through audiovisual representations that ground upon a mixture of simplistic psychocultural stereotypes and ready-made symbolisms. Music in The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man, a low-budget cult melodrama of the Old Greek Cinema of the sixties, restructures historical and fictitious events and stresses the perception of cultural controversy between the Ottoman past and the Turkish/Greek present by shaping a formulaic musical and filmic sketch of an equivocal Other being exotic, wild, and strange but simultaneously familiar, consented, and, sometimes, likeable. This notion is built upon a conceptual audiovisual generalization of representing histories, narratives, and memories that nostalgically echoes the traumatic past in the ambivalent present days of the Greek people and former Asia Minor refugees.

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