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*Pages on the Crisis of Representation:
Nostalgia for Being Otherwise*

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MAYPH ΓΑΤΑ: THE TRAGIC DEATH AND LONG
AFTER-LIFE OF ANESTIS DELIAS

‘But first
the ghost of Elpenor, my companion, came towards me
He’d not been buried under the wide ways of earth...
we’d left his body... unwept, unburied...
and I called out...
“...how did you travel down to the world of darkness?”’

– Homer, *The Odyssey*¹

‘Εκεί στη Δραπετσώνα ήταν τα μπουρδέλα που τα λέγανε Βούρλα. Από εκεί μια αμαρτωλή γυναίκα
τον συνήθισε στην πρέζα μέχρι που καταστράφηκε, μέχρι που πέθανε στο δρόμο [...]’²

– Lazaridis in Hatzidouulis *Ta Nea* 12/10/76

‘Γεια σου Ανέστη, μαύρη γάτα.’

– from the recording of the song, ‘Το σακάκι’ (1935)

While still a young boy, Anestis Delias or Delios³ had been forced to flee his native Smyrna with his family in the wake of the Catastrophe.⁴ He was probably then no more than ten years old. He grew up in the refugee neighbourhoods of Piraeus, the son of a highly respected, Asia Minor musician⁵, and eventually became a proficient bouzouki player in the 1920s and 1930s. He achieved some popular acclaim and success with the recording of a number of ‘original’ songs during the 1930s. Under the Metaxas regime he was exiled to the island of Ios for drug addiction. Sometime during the German Occupation he died,⁶ probably from heroin and cocaine addiction. That is the bare outline of what is known about this enigmatic figure and it emerges mostly from oral testimony recorded, for the most part, decades after Delias’ death, in the 1970s, 1980s and more recently, in the early 2000s with the publication of interviews with Delias’ sister and one of his girlfriends.⁷ Despite these additional testimonies, much of the information about him still remains contradictory although there seems to be agreement in certain key events of his life, but not much more.

Delias' recorded songs testify to a remarkable talent, at least in his mastery of the bouzouki. The lyrics of these same songs, however, which might offer further insight about him, present us rather with more questions than answers. Likewise, there are a few photographs that shed only a little light on his story. Firstly, the famous photograph of the 'τέτρας' from the early 1930s⁸ in which Delias appears as a handsome dark, youth, with soulful eyes and a nondescript expression. He has a slight build, is well-dressed and is cradling his bouzouki. Two other photographs taken with friends presumably just a few years later that again depict a dark young man with a slight (almost frail) build, still presentable, but prematurely aged. In one he is smiling,⁹ in the other there is an air of muted despair and sadness around him.¹⁰ The bouzouki is with him in one photograph but not in the other. This is the only visual evidence we have.

The aim of this article is to analyse the image or depiction of Anestis Delias since the post-war period up to the present in the context of a mythification process which it seems most Greek popular musicians become subject to, in varying degrees, especially once they are deceased. That process does not appear to need much evidence or detail in order to create a well-defined image. Rather, as arguably, myth itself does, this process thrives from the ambiguities and unknowns, the gaps, and the differing versions of the same story. The image of Delias, in particular (but not exclusively), is one created from shadows, essentially coming to life decades after his death. Despite this or rather because of this, Delias' image is far from insubstantial. He has been presented for at least forty years as the tragic but talented youth whose innocence led to his undoing. A victim of a woman of suspect morals and of his own inherent weakness, he succumbed to drug addiction and lost his life in heart-rending circumstances. The essence of his image is one of beauty, talent and loss. The underlying 'moral' to his story has always been one of excesses but no commentator yet has condemned him outright. There is always a sense in the commentaries that he is more of a passive victim than an active perpetrator. Somehow it wasn't his 'fault'. It was either the woman or the narcotic or society which did 'it' to him. His only weapon, as it were, was his music. This is, therefore, a very appealing image, inherently and classically tragic, and since no contemporary of his has been recorded as actually indicting Delias, it is this image which has endured and been re-invented by succeeding generations. It is an image subject to constant renewal and permutation, still healthy and vital in 2008, with no immediate termination date in sight.

DELIAS AND THE POPULARISATION OF *REBETIKA*

Since Delias' designation as a *rebetis* is integral to his image and since it is the *rebetika* genre which dominates and has a tremendous impact on Greek popular music in the immediate post-War period it is appropriate to begin this analysis with a short introduction to the pertinent features of the genre which form the framework to the evolution of Delias' image. While it is noteworthy that the mythification process I am examining is not limited to musicians of a particular musical genre in Greece, it is nonetheless undeniable that in the post-War period the greatest interest of most popular representations and commentaries are invariably on *rebetika* or *laika* musicians – both genres having become emblematic, since the 1960s, of quintessential Greek music.

Generally speaking, the history of *rebetika* and its musicians is characterised by a paucity of reliable, documented information and a prevalence of contradictory, oral sources which are essentially concentrated in one particular period of time, namely the post-Junta period. This, in turn, has had a lasting impact on the images of the musicians involved with this music. In fact, it was the *rebetika* renaissance of the 1970s which helped establish the image of Delias (who had, prior to this, been largely forgotten) and a number of other lesser-known *rebetika* musicians such as Róvrtakis, Roukounas, and Mouflouzélis. It was also the period that added various new dimensions to the already well-established image of famous popular musicians such as Tsitsanis. It is therefore no surprise that an obscure artist such as Delias would be figuratively and literally 'dug up' on the wave of this new national obsession.

The ascendancy of the genre, at least in terms of its commercial recording success, had begun in the 1930s and flourished, despite the Metaxas government's censorship laws of 1937¹² which curtailed the recording of those songs whose themes were considered unacceptable and whose music was deemed oriental.¹³ Certain changes in *rebetika*, especially in terms of thematic content, ensured their survival in the post-war period¹⁴ but did not prevent them from continuing to be at the centre of controversy stoked primarily (but not exclusively)¹⁵ by left-wing commentators in the late 1940s and 1950s¹⁶ who questioned the Greekness of *rebetika*, and their contribution to modern Greek culture and identity. Could the music of *rebetika*, which had distinct Eastern elements, be classified as Greek?¹⁷ This question was at the heart of the controversy over *rebetika* because specific interpretations of the history of Greek popular music could be used to legitimise claims for cultural continuity and reinforce a sense of national identity¹⁸.

From the late 1960s onwards it was basically a non-issue, although it is also true to say that many of the articles which appeared in the 1970s still focussed on convincing the reader of the Greekness of *rebetika* and on obliterating any suggestion that the origins of the genre was in any way foreign.¹⁹ Another issue related to the genre was the question of its class origins and most importantly its low-life connections in terms of the content of the songs and the traditional audiences and creators of these songs.²⁰

Naturally, the ramifications of these different historical and political perspectives of *rebetika* had a great impact on the presentation of the image of the *rebetis* musician. Until the early 1960s the majority of commentators considered the *rebetes* musicians to be highly suspect, opportunistic, vulgar individuals whose prime concern was to make money to the detriment of Greek culture. With the exception of Tsitsanis, Kaldaras, Papaioannou and Hiotis, the majority of *rebetes* musicians were uniformly and regularly criticised. The turning point came with the acceptance of Theodorakis' new *entechno laiko tragoudi* (which was based on *rebetika*) as genuine Greek music²¹. This was followed by the re-discovery of *rebetika* in the 1970s and their steady climb to legitimisation and final apotheosis as the prototypical expression of popular Greek culture (and hence identity).²²

By the early 1970s, after several years of bouzouki-mania in Greece²³, there was a resurgence of interest in the genre from which bouzouki music stemmed and from then on the popular press in particular tended to focus on the exponents of the genre, its history and its sociological and cultural importance.²⁴ In particular, many articles appeared about the history of *rebetika*²⁵ re-naming the Turkish or Eastern element as ancient Greek in origin²⁶. *Rebetika* were now seen to be as Greek as Byzantine hymns and demotic songs.²⁷

The issue of the Greek identity of *rebetika* was therefore basically solved, to the extent that by 1977 they began to be politicised and presented as Resistance songs and the *rebetes* as national heroes.²⁸ All this reinforced the gradual mythification of the genre and its exponents. The fact that for so long it had been a controversial genre worked to the advantage of those wishing to promote it and, consequently, it was represented in cult-like fashion as an extreme expression of individualism, heroism and resistance to the Establishment. By the 1970s and 1980s *rebetika* had become absorbed into mainstream Greek culture principally due to the writers and commentators of that period. Furthermore, the claims being made about *rebetika* and *rebetes* were seen as historical reality, which could be elaborated on.²⁹ Recently

deceased *rebetes* were the focus of dedications, while others who had died many years earlier were the subject of completely new interpretations and evaluations.³⁰ Either way, death helped the mythification process enormously.

In some ways the 1970s revival of interest in 'original' *rebetika* and *rebetes* from the 1930s and 1940s was a purification process. The original 'authentic *rebetika*' were thought to have very little connection with the travesties of commercialised music which were being performed in the clubs in the 1970s,³¹ hence the number of references to old rebetes as sources of knowledge and representatives of a rich Greek popular heritage which needed to be passed down to the next generation.³² As such, a purer, older form of popular culture, previously despised, was re-interpreted as prototypically Greek; underlying this new interpretation was also the nostalgia for a past, pristine age.³³

Allegedly born among the lowest classes and abhorred from the outset by the Westernised Greek ruling classes especially for their 'Anatolian' content³⁴, *rebetika* came to represent authentic Greek music, culture and art in the 1970s and 1980s. The musicians who represented this genre were an integral part of this renaissance. Certainly, the calibre, creativity and renown of musicians such as Tsitsanis and Vamvakaris significantly added to the overall credibility of the genre. However, for the most part, the re-creation of the genre's image in the 1970s was founded on insubstantial, often unverifiable and contradictory information. In cases such as those of Delias, even fundamental facts such as birthdates proved to be elusive and ultimately irrelevant to the appreciation of their respective tales. The lack of any documented evidence merely added to the mystique and romance of *rebetika*, and further encouraged the mythification process, which took hold of the genre and thus transformed it.

SOURCES

The sources for Delias' life, as already indicated, are few and far between. Primary sources include recorded songs, contemporary advertisements and photographs.³⁵ The preponderance of information, however, comes from recorded interviews of his contemporaries (colleagues, close friends, family members), which began to be published in magazines and newspapers in the 1970s. I have chosen to work from articles published in four newspapers, all representative of a different political ideology: *Ta Nea*, *Rizospastis*, *Avgi* and *Ellinikos Vorras*. These articles are supple-

mented by others from magazines and some academic journals. In addition, there is the work of the early rebetologists such as Schorelis and Petropoulos whose seminal work,³⁶ again in the late 1960s and early 1970s helped spark the obsession with *rebetika* which has now almost become a national past-time. They, too, recorded their own interviews with *rebetes* and provided their own commentaries. There are the increasing number of biographies and autobiographies of *rebetes*³⁷ which have de facto become a unique sub-genre in Modern Greek letters. These works began to appear in the 1970s, partly ‘cashing in’ on the popularity of the genre and partly to offer a more substantive record of the life and work of a group of musicians who were already elderly. None, so far, have appeared wholly about Delias although there have been a number of lengthy articles devoted exclusively to him in the last five years in a number of periodicals. Furthermore, there has been a fairly prolific production of documentaries about Greek popular musicians since the 1970s and it seems to have become an accepted mainstay of Greek television entertainment. Interestingly, the television versions of *rebetes’* lives does not differ significantly from the written, excepting that in the last decade, it has been noted, that both the written and visual mediums seem to be attempting more ‘realism’ in their presentation of their subjects³⁸ – but only insofar as the myth is not drastically impinged upon. Finally, the two most significant fictional³⁹ versions of the life of *rebetes* is Ferris’ 1983 feature film, *Rebetiko* and the ET television production of the 13-part series *Minore Tis Avgis* in 1986. While neither of these works explicitly refers to Delias, the latter production, in particular, depicts a character that seems to be a ‘sanitised’ representation of Delias.⁴⁰

A perusal of the Internet brings up about 4000 websites which mention Delias⁴¹ however the vast majority are devoted to advertisements about CDs, which feature his songs (and the downloading of those songs) or discussions about *rebetika* and *rebetes*. He is highlighted in many discussions about the ‘underground’ and ‘illicit’ nature of the *rebetika* world; his youth is emphasised as is the fact that he is ‘the only major *rebetika* figure to succumb to hard drugs’.⁴² Not surprisingly, in the era of world and global music, he is also described as the ‘Keith Richards of the *rebetes* but he was not that lucky and died young’.⁴³ The themes of the outcast, the outsider, the non-conformist and the victim of unjust persecution which pervade many of these sites are in keeping with traditional stereotypes of *rebetika* and *rebetes*. In fact, it would be more surprising not to find Delias figured prominently in such sites. But while his name is listed alongside those of Markos Vamvakaris and his handful of

well-known songs, which include – ‘Μες της Πόλης το χαμάμ’, ‘Το σακάκι’, ‘Πόνος του πρεζάκια’ – there is the well-known absence of information as well. Only the sparsest outlines of his life are offered, if they are offered at all.

His life story is documented in the German and Greek versions of the infamous *Wikipedia*, but does not appear in the English version. Interestingly the German and Greek versions bear the same contradictory details, especially with regards to the date of his death, as do all other biographical articles. The German *Wikipedia* even gives the month of his death: July, 1944.⁴⁴

In essence, Delias’ existence on the Internet is completely in keeping with his existence in other sources. There is no dramatic departure from his established image, but rather an emphasis on his music and the more dramatic aspects of his short life. Sometimes he is attributed songs which none of the other commentators have attributed to him⁴⁵ but there are no other significant additions. Considering how much the Internet is driven by the interests/concerns of young people, it is not surprising to find his involvement with drugs an important part of the Internet presentation, but, again, this is nothing new.

To sum up, the sources for Delias’ life include an abundance of oral testimony given by other musicians, friends or colleagues (mostly years after the events) whose memories about Delias’ life often differ, particularly in the details. There is little consensus about his exact age, about his family members, about his movements in the 1930s, about which songs he actually composed or indeed, in which year he actually died. The essential outline of his life however does not get contradicted. Not very much from these testimonies can be substantiated via other records, excepting in the case of Delias’ musical recordings and his medical record. However, it can be said, that where two or more people are saying very similar things, independent of each other, there is a greater sense of plausibility in their words. Nonetheless, the researcher is working in the dark, in more ways than one.

‘MAYPH ΓΑΤΑ’: REFUGEE, MUSICIAN, ADDICT AND EXILE

Anestis Delias’ short life-span covers two significant events in modern Greek history: the Asia Minor Catastrophe and the German Occupation of Greece. His father, a shoemaker by profession, had also been a well-known professional musician in Asia Minor and was known as ‘μαύρη γάτα’. Years later Anestis, who bore a striking physical resemblance to his father, was accorded the same epithet by his fellow

musicians. Dimitris Ifantis suggests that the epithet was doubly problematic on a psychological level: the cat symbolising both cunning (survival) and bad luck, but more importantly, the epithet itself was a subliminal reminder of the father's fate (in all its ramifications) being passed onto the son.⁴⁶ Likewise, the fact that most members of the Delias family (originally Delios) were musicians, including Anestis' mother (who sang beautifully), reinforced a significant musical lineage and heritage.⁴⁷ After fleeing from Smyrna on the eve of that city's sad demise, most of the family ended up in Piraeus where Delias grew to manhood.

This has been the standard account of his early life until very recently⁴⁸ when an extensive interview with one of Delias' surviving sisters definitively altered or at least filled in some more gaps in the narrative. According to Eleni Delia-Pandari, the youngest sibling of the Delias family, born in Piraeus shortly after the family's arrival there in July 1922 (two months before the Catastrophe) Delias senior had stayed behind in Smyrna and been killed by the Turks. Anestis was only a young boy at the time but nonetheless the eldest and only son who had his widowed mother to care for plus two younger sisters.⁴⁹ Delia-Pandari's insistence that her father was no longer alive and certainly not living with them in Piraeus stands in stark contradiction to the testimony of other (earlier) accounts which implicitly refer to the father, suggesting he was in Piraeus, and one account which actually says that both of Delias' parents did not long survive him, having died of a broken heart.⁵⁰ Another account given by a former girlfriend, singer Daisy Stavropoulou, and published recently⁵¹ explicitly refers to Delias' father as being alive. She claims that she visited the Delias family home often and got along very well with the immediate and extended family, but she never actually met Delias' father. This is a bizarre account as it is virtually impossible to imagine the closeness⁵² to the family that she describes and her complete ignorance of such a fundamental fact. It is nevertheless another sign of how difficult it is to piece any details of his life together with any certainty and precision.

It is somewhat (but not much) easier when we examine his work in music. Delias' career as a musician began in the early 1930s and became firmly established when he became a member of the first professional 'λαϊκή ρεμπέτικη ορχήστρα'⁵³ performing in Piraeus. There is stronger corroboration of the events of this period of his life mainly through the dates of recordings and through advertising associated with the appearance of this quartet. Moreover, this has long been seen as a turning-point for both the popularisation and legitimisation of *rebetika* and is therefore referred to by many commentators. Delias' collaboration with the other members of the famous

«Τέτρας» began in 1933 and was to continue, in one way or another, for several years. His earliest solo recordings began in 1935 and continued until 1937.⁵⁴ According to the release document issued by a doctor from the Dromokaiteion Psychiatric Hospital (where Delias had been given a detoxification treatment) in February 1944, Delias had been an addict for nine years.⁵⁵ If this document is to be believed, this places the start of his addiction to 1935 or at the latest early 1936, coinciding with the beginnings of his solo recording career. Of the twelve songs⁵⁶ that we associate with Delias, interestingly, two were recorded in 1935, six were recorded in 1936 and four were recorded in 1937. Two momentous events in his life, heroin addiction and recording success, therefore overlap. While Stavropoulou attests to his continued composing activities after this period⁵⁷ and his appearance as a musician on other singers' records, by 1938 Delias' solo recordings had ceased. This was partly due to the strict Metaxas censorship laws of the time or, more likely, to his growing drug dependency. In any case, by 1938 he had been sentenced to eighteen months' exile to the island of Ios because of his heroin use. Michalis Yenitsaris, our main source for this period, vividly describes Delias' continuing substance abuse on Ios.⁵⁸

After his release from the island (probably in mid-to-late 1939) Delias' life was apparently dominated by his relationship with the prostitute, Skoularikou, their shared addiction and his itinerant life-style.⁵⁹ A number of Delias' friends and colleagues describe his continued attempts to work as a musician, his attempts to end his addiction and his gradual, tragic decline. The vast majority of commentators agreed that during the Occupation, Delias died of starvation, undoubtedly aggravated by addiction.⁶⁰ As mentioned earlier, there has been no agreement on the year in which he died or any knowledge of the details of his death, but most accounts describe his corpse being found on the street and picked up by one of the municipal carts responsible for clearing the streets of dead bodies during the Occupation.⁶¹ Possibly the most poignant aspect of this sad story is that Anestis' song, 'Ο πόνος του πρεζάκια', recorded eight years earlier (in 1936), seems to have been a tragic prophecy of how he would die: 'η πρέζα μ' έκανε στους δρόμους να πεθάνω'.

AN IMAGE CREATED FROM SHADOWS

The vagueness of many of the details of Delias' life and, indeed, his death, is an essential prerequisite to the development of his image. Delias is, in fact, the paradigm of image being created out of a dearth of information and assuming a vigour and a solidity that

is comparable to the image of any living, contemporary musician. The very absence of firm evidence about Delias' life and work has stimulated the mythopoetic tendencies of his various biographers who have given the shadowy figure of Delias substance and form. His death and the circumstances which led to it, as recounted by many sources and inferred from his songs, form the core of an essentially simple, but inherently tragic story. The image that emerges from the story is not only presented by most of the commentators in moving terms but also incorporates other well-known and accepted images, symbols and archetypes. The gentle, handsome young musician, who is destroyed by a drug addiction that was not even of his own choosing, but rather a consequence of his trusting a woman of ill-repute,⁶² resonates with other images of betrayal, lost innocence and life's injustice. Delias' complete destruction and the ignominy of his death on the streets form the tragic end to an already tragic tale.

The story is in some ways reminiscent of a fairy-tale or a parable because of its stark simplicity and its heavily moralistic connotations. Moreover, its misogynistic overtones are consistent with one main theme of the *rebetika* songs of this period: Woman as the Image of Cruelty.⁶³ Similar to the Garden of Eden myth, man is born innocent, but falls because of a beguiling serpent (heroin) whose instrument is the already beguiled woman.⁶⁴ It is true that Ifantis debunked this particular aspect of the Delias 'myth' by going so far as to suggest that it was Delias who introduced heroin to Skoularikou⁶⁵ and not the other way round, however it is too early to say whether this will overtake the earlier image. Certainly, Delias' sister reiterated the original Eden myth in her 2005 interview by naming not just one 'wicked woman' involved in the destruction of her brother, but two.⁶⁶

It is these nuances that seem to give impact to Delias' story and to the image with which he has come to be associated. He is the victim who cannot save himself. He is innocence overtaken by evil. He is also a symbol of so much lost youth during the German Occupation of Greece, and inadvertently, he thus serves as a reminder to the average Greek of past horrors and injustices.⁶⁷ All of this is made more poignant because he was also a musician and he died young. The death of a musician, as already indicated, often transforms his/her image. Delias is a prime example of how a firmly entrenched image can become definitive once the musician has died. His youth, good looks and perceived and/or reputed virtues highlight the wasted potential, the music that he still might have created (which by implication, would have served the needs of his nation), as indicated by the following tributes from his friends and colleagues, Mathesis:⁶⁸

Αυτό το παιδί πήγε άδικα και έγραψε κάτι τραγούδια μετά, που δεν πρόλαβε να τα κάνει δίσκους [...]

and Yenitsaris:⁶⁹

Αν ζούσε αυτός, θα έκανε πολύ μεγάλο όνομα και θ' άφηνε εποχή.

This was reiterated by Schorelis:⁷⁰

Το Ανεστάκι ήταν αστείρευτη πηγή έμπνευσης και ασφαλώς θα πρόσφερε ακόμα όσο λίγοι στο ρεμπέτικο [...]

It is not enough, however, for the musician to experience tragedy in his/her life or to die young in order for this transformation of image to occur. There must be something remarkable about his/her character which heightens the sense of waste and injustice that tragedy usually inspires. In addition, there must be a human frailty of some kind at work that prevents a non-tragic resolution to the story. Certainly, Delias' personality and his life, as it has been presented to us, fit this category. In his case, his weakness is represented as innocence and helplessness, strongly suggesting the image of the Child. It is no accident, I believe, that so many of the sources call him 'Ανεστάκι' or 'Ανεστάκο' or 'Το Ανεστάκι'⁷¹. He is often called 'παιδί', 'παιδί φίνο', 'παιδάκι', 'παιδί κορίτσι'⁷². Vamvakaris⁷³ described him as:

Ένα παιδάκι καλό ήτανε, όμορφο, φτωχό ήτανε τότε εκείνο τον καιρό. Το πρόσεξα εγώ, το πρόσεξαν και κάτι άλλοι και το 'χαμε μαζί μας.

Remarks like this are indicative not only of the often patronising and condescending tone which his contemporaries adopted towards him, supposedly because of his affliction, but also because of the perceived weakness of his child-like character and their concomitant sense of protectiveness towards him.⁷⁴

His physical beauty is remarked on constantly and without envy and, probably, is a further testimony to his perceived innocence and purity.⁷⁵ Likewise, Delias' extreme sensitivity, innate goodness, gentleness and innocence are repeatedly attested to. It is one of the few consistencies to appear in the various sources, as is his extreme vulnerability to others and his impressionable nature. Vamvakaris,⁷⁶ for example,

claimed that one positive aspect of Delias' impressionability was his bouzouki-playing:

Εγώ τον έβαλα [...] μπροστά να μάθει μπουζούκι κι όπως και έμαθε [...]

while Keromytis,⁷⁷ in contrast, cited this quality as the cause of Delias' downfall:

Και έτσι αφού τον έκανε πρεζάκια [...] και έγινε θύμα της ηρωίνης, τότες εκδηλώθηκε και αυτή [η Σκουλαρικού], ότι πίνει και γίνανε αντάμα.

Delias' qualities as a musician are also portrayed in much the same way as his personality, that is, as somehow unadulterated. According to his contemporaries, there was talent, purity, even genius in his capabilities as a composer and musician. S. Perpiniadis⁷⁸ said of him:

Ήταν υπέροχος συνθέτης και πολύ καλός, στο μπουζούκι, πολύ πιο καλός και από το Μάρκο και από όλους τους άλλους, στο παίξιμο.

This was echoed by Yenitsaris,⁷⁹ who said that had Delias lived 'δεν αποκλείεται να έφτανε και τον Τσιτσάνη' and by Tsitsanis⁸⁰ himself, who believed that Delias 'Είχε μπροστά του ένα σίγουρο μέλλον, γεμάτο από επιτυχίες'. The instrument-maker Lazaridis⁸¹ called Delias 'ο πιο καλός' and Petropoulos⁸² reported the words of others who said: 'έπαιζε υπέροχο μπουζούκι'. He was therefore a master musician with great talent who came from a family of musicians who, it seems, had had formal musical training.⁸³

According to Mathesis,⁸⁴ Delias' talent was allegedly exploited by his contemporaries, especially when he became an addict:

Μια μυτιά, ένα τραγούδι, έδινε τότες τ' Ανεστάκι [...] άμα θα πω τι πήρανε απ' τον Ανέστο και πώς του πήρανε τα τραγούδια, θα κάνετε όλοι σας στροφή 180 μοιρών.

and even more so after his death.⁸⁵ The dimensions of his personal tragedy, therefore, make him a model of exploitation and betrayal, a victim because of his virtue, particularly since he was not himself exploiting the prostitute who supposedly introduced him to heroin: 'Δεν την εκμεταλλευόταν. Ήταν πέρα απ' αυτά'.⁸⁶

This depiction of Delias' virtuous nature, despite his terrible weakness, is typical of most of the extant versions of his character and life. The point made by Schorelis that Delias was beyond, that is, incapable of, untoward behaviour is significant. The addiction that dominated his life did not directly harm anyone except himself (except perhaps his family). Nonetheless, this wilful self-destruction on his part is the only cause for criticism that his friends, colleagues and other commentators have of him: 'Το Ανεστάκι πλήρωσε την αδυναμία του',⁸⁷ 'Αλλά ήταν κουτός, ελαφρό μυαλό, παιδάκι',⁸⁸ '[...] και τον εφυλάγαμε να μη μας φύγει [...] αλλά αυτός δεν άκουε κανένα'.⁸⁹ He is presented as both seemingly bent on self-destruction and as a victim of circumstances and of the evil intent of those around him. In effect, he was incapable of overcoming his problem.⁹⁰

Damianakos⁹¹ claims that 'Η ιστορία του ρεμπέτικου είναι, λοιπόν, η ιστορία του Ελληνικού υποπρολεταριάτου σε μια υπό εκβιομηχάνιση κοινωνία'. Delias could be considered to be representative of that sub-proletariat, a group in society powerless against the forces of Capitalism which were overwhelming it.⁹² Its only refuge at that time (1922-1940) seemed to be escape from life's pain. For Delias the escape was heroin, and, ultimately, death. And if he represents the fringe-dwellers or 'outcasts' of society that Damianakos describes, then part of his image will always then be that of the underdog, the perennial victim. Considering how much of recent Greek politics has been perceived to have been played out, Delias' tragedy is remarkably consonant with his societies, even long after, or rather, especially after, his death.

SONGS

This is the crux of the matter. Delias' image was established and his own myth put into place posthumously in the context of the rebetika revival of the 1970s and the aftermath of the fall of the Junta. To my knowledge, no commentary or description of Delias dates from the time that he lived. The only sources are the songs written by him or by others, which are, at best, unreliable and subject to much interpretation. Batis, for example, made reference to Delias⁹³ (or perhaps his namesake, Artemis)⁹⁴ in his song 'Ζούλα σε μια βάρκα μπήκα'⁹⁵ in which four musicians are described (Markos, Batis, Delias and Stratos) out somewhere, smoking hashish:

[...] Να φουμάρει, βρε, κι ο Αρτέμης / βρε, όπου πάει και το φέρνει

Presumably, it is Delias who is presented here as the supplier of the drug. In hindsight, it may come as no surprise to us that in 1936, when this song was recorded, Delias was involved with hashish. The point is, so were many, if not all *rebetes*.⁹⁶ R overtakis also made this abundantly clear: ‘Για τους παλιούς ο χασικλής ήταν λεβέντης και παλληκάρι σ’ αντίθεση με τον πρεζάκια και ‘βελονάκια’.⁹⁷ Our only contemporary reference⁹⁸ to Delias is therefore ambivalent or at the very least, extremely limited. And yet, it soon becomes clear that much of his biography appears to have been based on the songs that he performed.

Delias’ own songs are even more problematic in that there is so much uncertainty about their originality, and of Delias’ role in their creation. Petropoulos⁹⁹ cites, for example, two versions of ‘Από τότε που άρχισα’,¹⁰⁰ traditionally considered Delias’ original work. Petropoulos calls one of them, ‘Παλιό χασάπικο’, implying that it is the original source of Delias’ version. Kounadis and Papaioannou,¹⁰¹ however, vehemently repudiated Petropoulos’ similar claims about the ‘real’ authorship of other Delias songs (for example, ‘Κουτσαβάκι’, ‘Αθηναίισα’ and ‘Βρε μάγκα το μαχαίρι σου’¹⁰²) and insisted that they were, indeed, Delias’ original compositions.¹⁰³

Part of the image of Delias as the *Tragic Youth* whose addiction killed him has been based on the common perception that the song ‘Από τότε που άρχισα’ was autobiographical.¹⁰⁴ If the source of Delias’ song was indeed an older, traditional song, then the credibility of that perception is substantially diminished. In 1975, however, Gail Holst claimed that Delias had started using heroin nine years before his death¹⁰⁵ (which roughly coincides with his recording of this song in 1936¹⁰⁶) and this has now been borne out by the hospital evidence cited in Ifantis’ 2007 article (see footnote 55). In the absence of irrefutable evidence it remains uncertain whether Delias was a heroin addict by the time the song was recorded. However, it is nevertheless true that it seems to have been close to the period when he did indeed become an addict. Ifantis, in his provocative analysis of Delias has concluded that the song clearly shows the psychological mind-set of addiction and could only have been written by someone who knew what it was like to succumb to heroin and knew how it felt to be socially ostracised as a result.¹⁰⁷

There may be truth in what he says, however, Delias would not have been the first nor the last artist who was able to enter another’s world (without yet being a part of it) through the power of empathy, imagination and creativity. And certainly as an Asia Minor refugee growing up in 1920s Piraeus he would have had his fair share of social ostracism.

The same uncertainty exists with the song ‘Βρε μάγκα το μαχαίρι σου’ which Petropoulos claims was an adaptation of a song first recorded by Katsaros in 1920.¹⁰⁸ This is contradicted by Kounadis and Papaioannou¹⁰⁹ and by Mathesis, who gave a long-winded account of how the song was composed in 1934 by Delias and his friends.¹¹⁰ Similarly, it is stated that the lyrics of the well-known Delias song, ‘Μεσ της Πόλης το χαμάμ’ were written by Delias’ father.¹¹¹ These ambiguities render the lyrics of the songs somewhat useless as a source for biographical facts except that from their themes we can at least infer that Delias was very much a typical composer of his musical genre at that time. The preoccupations of the relatively few songs we know to be his are social inequality and injustice, tekes life and hashish-smoking, drug addiction, having a good time, the life and ethos of the μάγκες.¹¹² There is both humour and pathos evident in some of the songs (‘Τον άντρα σου και μένα’, ‘Το σακάκι’), but this in itself is not very revealing. Furthermore, Delias is not so highly praised for his talents as a lyricist, but rather for his skills as an original composer and a superb instrumentalist.¹¹³ The lyrics of his songs are therefore an inadequate source for Delias’ biography, even though it appears that this is exactly how they have been used.¹¹⁴

DEATH AND RESURRECTION

The only other sources that can be used are the testimonies of Delias’ contemporaries who, nevertheless, speak to us years after his death. Prior to that, if the newspaper articles, in particular, are any indication, there is virtually no mention of the musician, Delias. Understandably, a young musician who appeared on a relatively small number of records and who performed at a time when the bouzouki and rebetika were considered distasteful, would never find his way into the pages of any major newspaper. It appears that while his death during the Occupation and at such a young age led to the later romanticised versions of his life which I have examined, his significance as an artist was not strong enough for him to rate even one mention in the 1950s and 1960s. Of course, this may also be due to his connection with heroin. As late as 1971, Yiannis Papaioannou¹¹⁵ refused to go into any details about Delias’ death: ‘Μη ρωτάτε [...] Δεν μας νοιάζει’. Whether this reluctance was due to Papaioannou’s own sense of respect or fear of the censorship is not clear. Moreover, when Yenitsaris mentions Delias to Hatzidoulis¹¹⁶ as he is recounting his own story, he has to remind Hatzidoulis about whom he is speaking, indicating how little-known to the general public Delias was: ‘[...] αυτόνε που είπα ότι έπαιξε καλό μπουζούκι και που δούλευε στου ‘Σαραντόπουλου’ με το Μάρκο, τον Μπάτη και τους άλλους’.¹¹⁷

Only in the mid-1970s, after the fall of the Junta and relative relaxation of the censorship, when *rebetika* became fashionable again, did the image of Delias begin to appear in any coherent, sustained fashion for the first time. With the professional resurrection of the surviving old *rebetes*¹¹⁸ came the resurrection of Anestis Delias. Virtually all of the major sources come from the 1970s. Certainly, a consistent image does emerge, even if the facts are vague, but the question must be asked: How much of it is a reflection of a prior image of Delias and how much of it is a product of the 1970s generation and its needs? For the old surviving *rebetes* respectability and universal admiration were suddenly theirs. By linking their names to a deceased musician whose image was taking on mythic form, they naturally added prestige to their own image. Even Tsitsanis, who by the late 1970s presumably did not need further glorification, nevertheless referred to Delias and his remarkable talents as a way of confirming his own credentials as a founding father of *rebetika*.¹¹⁹

Likewise, Keromytis incorporated his own presentation of Delias¹²⁰ in a depiction of a past world filled with danger, suffering, but also heroes.¹²¹ In order to emphasise the heroic element amidst the squalor and sordid world that had been associated with *rebetika* for decades Keromytis took the image of Delias and added a further dimension: that of the Social Activist. He claimed that the songs with drug themes (*χασικλίδικα*) which the *rebetes* had been writing 40 or 50 years before, were not written as a confirmation of the drug life-style, but rather as a warning against it: 'Γράφαμε χασικλίδικα για [...] προειδοποίηση'.¹²² Delias' famous song 'Ο πόνοσ του πρεζάκια' was therefore cited as an example of an anti-narcotics song and Keromytis claimed that that was Delias' purpose in writing the song.

These are quite remarkable claims and clearly show how much these surviving *rebetes* were striving to attain respectability at last. Where they could vindicate even shadowy and slightly suspect figures like Delias, they were, in a sense, vindicating themselves. While this particular image of Delias has not been as enduring¹²³ as the others, certainly, it appears to be another off-shoot of the Romantic image which seems to have evolved around this time. In 1989 a reviewer in *Rizospastis*¹²⁴ described the work of Anestis Delias and Yiovan Tsalous in these value-laden terms:

Και οι δύο [...] περιέγραψαν συγκινητικά και ουσιαστικά το τεράστιο πρόβλημα των ναρκωτικών που τότε διακινούσαν μαζικά και με μεγάλη ευκολία οι έμποροι [...]

A social consciousness was imposed on the two artists that may or may not have existed in them; their understanding of the world was described in late twentieth century Marxist terms and from the perspective of a world heavily laden with our nightmarish drug problem. Their own social context was, needless to say, entirely different. D.K.'s article in *Rizospastis* (25/1/89) clearly shows, however, how firmly entrenched the tragic image¹²⁵ of Delias had become:

'Ο Πόνος Του Πρεζάκια' [...] Ένα τραγούδι που έμελλε να γίνει αυτοβιογραφικό μια και τον Ανέστη Δελιά, είναι γνωστό, ότι τον μάζεψε με το κάρο η αστυνομία [...]

Moreover, his significance as an artist was now absolutely assured. D.K. further claimed that the LP record of Delias songs which had just been released was: 'κυριολεκτικά απόκτημα για τον ακροατή που αγαπά το ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι, θέλει να γνωρίσει κάτι ακόμα για την ιστορία του [...]'. Both Delias and the *rebetika* genre had apparently thus gained social respectability. Moreover, every successive re-issue of a musician's songs allows his/her image to be constantly re-constructed and re-contextualised. Interestingly, and despite the continued elaboration of Delias' image, there is still no general agreement on the date of Delias' birth although the date of his death may now be placed in 1944. Indeed, the sources fail to give specific dates for most of the events of his life. All we really have are anecdotes, vague stories told by old men (and women) looking back nostalgically or vague stories told by young men/women looking for heroes. His biography abounds with contradictory statements and seeming inaccuracies. Gail Holst,¹²⁶ for example, claimed that Delias died clutching his bouzouki, while Keromytis said that Delias sold everything, bouzouki included, to finance his addiction.¹²⁷

Dimitris Ifantis' 2007 article based on 1989 interviews with Stratos Payioumtzis' wife, Zoe,¹²⁸ and borne out by hospital documentation has emerged to finally fill in some of those missing details. Payioumtzis is listed as Delias' guardian on the Dromokaiteion Psychiatric Hospital admission forms, where Delias was admitted in early February 1944.¹²⁹ Prior to his admission, Delias had been cared for by Payioumtzis and his wife. After Delias' release, on 28 February, he refused to return to the Payioumtzis home and probably died several months later. The 'Black Cat' had run out of 'lives' or so it seemed. Escaping Smyrna's fire, surviving Piraeus' squalor, Ios' privations

and the final indignity of a brutal foreign Occupation, Anestis Delias was finally defeated by the sum of all these traumas, his only refuge for nine years being the opiate which finally killed him. Ifantis makes the valid point that Delias was luckier than most addicts in that he had his music as a creative outlet – a means of giving voice to his angst. But in the end it wasn't enough.

The absence of Delias' family in all the accounts of his final days is highly revealing on a number of levels.¹³⁰ But even more revealing is the fact that this particular account finally saw the light of day in 2007, eighteen years after Zoe Payioumtzis was interviewed (Stratos had died in 1971) and nearly thirty years after Schorelis and Petropoulos published their first accounts of Delias' story. And while the new information is welcome, nothing contained therein has altered the myth – on the contrary, it has revitalised it.

In terms of the image that has been created over the last forty years, the bare outline still seems to be enough. The imagination does the rest. As a result, Delias' image has proved to be one of the most potent and enduring. On a more universal level, his image is tied with the familiar one of tragic genius/artist cut short or caught up in self-destruction. The idea that the good and the beautiful die young is central to the appeal and poignancy of Delias' image. The details are of secondary importance.

The 1970s rebetika renaissance rescued Delias from the darkness and made a hero of him. This process continued comfortably throughout the 1980s and 1990s, although Petropoulos did express some contrary reactions against the mythopoetic preoccupations (which, in some ways, he instigated) of many *rebetophiles*.¹³¹ These solitary, sulky reactions, however, cannot significantly affect Delias' image particularly at this stage of its evolution. A 2001 article quite naturally placed Delias in the company of the other 'μεγάλους ρεμπέτες'.¹³² Other recent articles have reinforced his image as *Victim* in the context of our current society's growing understanding of drug addiction and greater empathy for its outcasts and vulnerable members.

As long as Delias' songs continue to exist and his records are re-issued it is unlikely that Delias will ever be allowed to sink back into the oblivion from which he came. The image of the *Tragic Youth* and his fatal addiction is too compelling and resonates too powerfully in our own troubled times. Furthermore, the absence of established fact from Delias' short, tragic existence gives future commentators unending scope for more elaborations and re-constructions of his life and most importantly, his image.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Homer, *The Odyssey*, Robert Fagles translation, London, Penguin Books, 1999, Book 11. 59-63.
- 2 K. Hatzidoulis, 'Φοβόμαστε να φτιάξουμε μπουζούκια', *Τα Νέα* 12/10/76.
- 3 T. Schorelis, *Ρεμπέτικη Ανθολογία*, vol. 1, (2nd ed.), Athens, Πλέθρον, 1977, p. 307; K. Hatzidoulis, *Ρεμπέτικη Ιστορία 1*, Athens, Νεφέλη, n.d., p. 57; Singer Daisy Stavropoulou in K.Hatzidoulis, 'Νταίζυ Σταυροπούλου 1939-1941-1946-1982-1994 Ανέκδοτο αυτοβιογραφικό ντοκουμέντο', *Λαϊκό Τραγούδι* 3, Απρίλιος 2003, p. 29, claims that Delias changed the name himself so that he could be different from the rest of his musical clan.
- 4 Elias Voliotis-Kapetanakis, *Μάγκες αλήστου εποχής 24 'ρεμπέτικα' πορτρέτα*, Athens, Μετρονόμος, 2005, p. 348.
- 5 Panagiotis Delias was famous for playing *santouri* as had been his father before him. His brother, Michalis (Delias' uncle) played violin.
- 6 Until quite recently, Delias was said to have died in 1941 (Schorelis 1977), 1943 (Vamvakaris 1978) or 1944 (Yenitsaris 1992). There was no consensus in the sources. The publication of Dimitris Ifantis' 2007 article (see D. Ifantis, 'Ανέστης Δελιάς Μια αληθινή φιλία με την οικογένεια του Στράτου, η νοσηλεία και το τραγικό τέλος', *Λαϊκό Τραγούδι* 20, June-July, pp. 16-20 and *Λαϊκό Τραγούδι* 21, October-November, pp. 63-75) may have finally established the correct year of death (1944) through the revelation of hospital documents referring to treatment received by Delias in February, 1944.
- 7 Voliotis-Kapetanakis, 2005, op.cit.; K.Hatzidoulis, 2003, op.cit.
- 8 Voliotis-Kapetanakis, 2005, p. 349.
- 9 Ibid., p. 353. Voliotis-Kapetanakis has included a fourth photograph (p.350) dated 1930, however, I think he is wrong saying Delias is in this one. The musician he identifies as Delias bears no resemblance whatsoever to the other photographs we have of Delias.
- 10 Ibid., p. 355; Yenitsaris, 1992 has also printed this photograph (presumably it is his?) and it is given a 1938 dating.
- 11 The image of the great Cretan *lyraris* (lyra-player), Andreas Rodinos (1912-1934), for example, a contemporary of Delias, who also died in his youth, has evolved into that of an almost archetypal Orpheus-like musician, especially amongst many Cretan musicians.
- 12 S. Gauntlett, *Ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι. Συμβολή στην επιστημονική του προσέγγιση*. Athens, Εκδόσεις του εικοστού πρώτου, 2001, p. 157.
- 13 Many bouzouki players had been exiled by Metaxas for their alleged use of hashish during this period See D. Christianopoulos, *Ο Βασίλης Τσιτσάνης και τα πρώτα τραγούδια του [1932-1946]*, Thessaloniki, Εκδόσεις Διαγωνίου, 1994, pp. 12-13) and bouzouki music, despite its commercial success, was still considered suspect.
- 14 The most common explanation for what then happened is that basically *rebetika* ceased to exist and *laika* were born. *Laika* omitted drug or underworld themes, although, in most other respects (melody, musical instruments, dance rhythms and the exponents), they were virtually identical with *rebetika*. Tsitsanis seems to have played an instrumental part in this process. For a deeper discussion of this problematical issue see T.P. Anastasiou, *Παιδάκι Με Ψυχή Και Ζηλεμένο 329 τραγούδια του Βασίλη Τσιτσάνη*, Trikala, Πολιτιστικός Οργανισμός Δήμου Τρικκαίων, 1995, pp. 15-20; D. Michael, 'Tsitsanis and the Birth of the 'new' Laiko Tragoudi', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies (Aust. & NZ)* 4: 55-96.

- 15 The controversy crossed political ideological boundaries, although Left and Right rejected/accepted *rebetika* for different reasons. See for example, the articles of a conservative – D.Psathas, ‘Στα ‘Μπουζούκια’, *Ta Nea* 10/09/48; D. Psathas, ‘Μπουζουκάλ’, *Ta Nea* 20/6/55; Compare with similar views of left wing commentators such as V. Arkadinos, ‘Η Ελληνική Μουσική Δημιουργία Και Τα Ζωτικά Προβλήματα Της’, *Avgi* 22/9/59 and 23/9/59; A. Xenos, ‘Επιστολή Στον Ριζοσπάστη’, 4 Φεβρουαρίου, 1947. In G. Holst, *Δρόμος για το Ρεμπέτικο*, Athens, Denise Harvey, 1977, pp. 141-143.
- 16 The debate was also taken up by the right-wing newspaper *Ellinikos Vorras* which published several articles in 1954 by different commentators who, like their left-wing counterparts, could not agree about the genre. See D. Christianopoulos, ‘Δημοσιεύματα Για Τα Ρεμπέτικα 1947-1968’, *Διαγώνιος* 2 (1979), pp. 174-208.
- 17 See S. Spanoudi, ‘Η Εορτή Του Παρνασσού’, *Ta Nea* 11/6/48; F. Anoyianakis *Rizospastis* 28/1/47. In Gail Holst, *Δρόμος για το Ρεμπέτικο*, Athens, Denise Harvey, 1977, pp. 139-141; N. Politis *Rizospastis* 23/2/47. In G. Holst, *Δρόμος για το Ρεμπέτικο*, Athens, Denise Harvey, 1977, pp. 143-145; D. Psathas, ‘Υπόγειοι Παράδεισοι’, *Ta Nea* 24/11/51; D. Psathas, ‘Κοσμικές Ταβέρνες’, *Ta Nea* 28/11/51; D. Psathas, ‘Μπουζουκάλ’, *Ta Nea* 20/6/55; V. Papadimitriou, ‘Το Ρεμπέτικο και οι σημερινοί θιασώτες του’, *Ελεύθερα Γράμματα* 1-2, (January-February 1949) pp. 48-52. Indeed the whole national identity issue was couched in terms of the East-West debate in modern Greek culture which seems to have been present since the inception of the modern Greek state. See T. Hatzipantazis, *Της Ασιάτιδος Μούσης Ερασταί*, Athens, Στιγμή, 1986. In the post-War period and in the context of the debate about *rebetika*, the old East-West conflict was revived and resolved only when *rebetika* were accepted as authentic Greek songs in the 1960s and 1970s.
- 18 Writers as different as Anoyianakis, *Rizospastis* 28/1/47, Politis, *Rizospastis* 23/2/47, M. Hatzidakis, ‘Ερμηνεία και θέση του λαϊκού τραγουδιού’, *Ελληνική Δημιουργία* 3(1949), pp. 460-462 and S. Spanoudi, ‘Οι Κόσμοι Της Λαϊκής Τέχνης Ο Τσιτσάνης’, *Ta Nea* 1/2/51 claimed that *rebetika* were definitely Greek since they contained elements of Byzantine and demotic musical traditions. N. Politis, echoing Anoyianakis, insisted that the modern Greek would find his lost identity in *rebetika* because they were a continuation of ‘τη μουσική μας παράδοση’ and an expression of the national spirit/soul.
- 19 See, for example, T. Veinoglou, ‘Ελληνικότερες οι ρίζες του ρεμπέτικου’ pts. 1-3, *Ta Nea* 10-12/5/76; K. Hatzidouulis, ‘Το Μπουζούκι δεν είναι τούρκικο όργανο’, *Ta Nea* 11/10/76; K. Hatzidouulis, ‘Τα Ρεμπέτικα Της Αντίστασης’, *Ta Nea* 12-15/4/77.
- 20 This situation provoked derisive comments from writers who refused to see the genre as representative of any form of Greek culture (D. Psathas, ‘Νυχτερινή Αθήνα’, *Ta Nea* 21/11/51; D. Psathas, ‘Τα Μπουζούκια’, *Ta Nea* 22/11/51; D. Psathas, 24/11/51 & 28/11/51; and who could not forget the underworld connections that the genre was still thought to have (Psathas, 24/11/51; D.Psathas, ‘Μουσική Οιστηρηλασία’, *Ta Nea* 3/8/55; Xenos, *Rizospastis* 4/2/47; *Avgi*, ‘Το ‘ρεμπέτικο’, 20/9/53; Arkadinos, *Avgi* 23/9/59.
- 21 The appearance of Theodorakis’ music for *Επιτάφιος* in 1959, with its considerable use of the bouzouki, was the starting-point for this process. His deliberate use of popular traditions coupled with his Western musical training offered an example to modern Greeks of how both cultural traditions could be brought together in a creative, new way. Psathas, for example, was forced to accept the *rebetika* he previously despised because of Theodorakis’ erudition and ability to ‘raise’

- the aesthetic level of the genre. See D. Psathas, 'Λαϊκή Μουσική', *Ta Nea* 9/8/62. Eventually, the Left also succumbed to this interpretation. See V. Arkadinos, 'Η Μουσική του Μίκη Θεοδωράκη Στον 'Επιτάφιο' Του Γ. Ρίτσου', *Avgi* 18/10/60; S. Dromazos, 'Το Λαϊκό Μας Τραγούδι', *Avgi* 5/4/61; *Avgi*, 'Μια έρευνα για το λαϊκό τραγούδι', 1/4/61 and 2/4/61; *Avgi*, 'Ανεπανάλυπτη η χθεσινή επιτυχία της συναυλίας αντιπολεμικού τραγουδιού', 1/4/67.
- 22 See, for example, K. Tachtsis, 'Ζεϊμπέτικο, Ένα Δοκίμιο', *Πάλι* 2-3 (1964). In G. Holst, *Δρόμος για το Ρεμπέτικο*, Athens, Denise Harvey, 1977, pp. 202-209. This gradual development was not without its critics. In fact, a kind of uneasiness about these songs remained, evident in the various articles in *Rizospastis*, for example, until at least the early 1970s. See K. Tsopol, 'Τα προβλήματα των μουσικών και της ελληνικής μουσικής ζωής', *Avgi* 29/1/65; *Rizospastis*, 'Κριτής της καλλιτεχνικής δημιουργίας είναι ο λαός', 21/12/75; Z. Skaros, 'Οι διαστάσεις του ρεμπέτικου', *Rizospastis* 12/3/76.
 - 23 Bouzouki-mania in Greece during the 1960s and early 1970s was a by-product of the popularisation of bouzouki music, especially in internationally successful films such as *Zorba the Greek* and *Never on Sunday*. See P., 'Ο Μάνος Χατζηδάκης ανάμεσα στις προσωπικότητες του 1963. Κατέκτησε την φήμη με τα μουζούκια', *Ta Nea* 1/4/63; *Ta Nea*, 'Η... Κλυταιμνήστρα στα μουζούκια', 18/1/65; *Ta Nea*, 'Αθηναϊκή Ζωή', 9/9/68; *Ta Nea*, 'Ο κ. Τάσκα στα μουζούκια', 12/1/70; *Ta Nea*, 'Ο Μπάρναρντ σπάζει', 10/11/72.
 - 24 L. Papadopoulos, 'Βασίλη Μάρου: Το μουζούκι', *Ta Nea* 20/8/73; *Ta Nea*, 'Ωδείο ρεμπέτικης μουσικής και συναυλίες με...πούλμαν', 19/2/75; D. Tsallapatis, "Συνύπαρξη των παλαιών ρεμπέτηδων με τους νέους", *Ta Nea* 13/9/75.
 - 25 Its validity as a Greek form of music was no longer the central issue and it appears that the writers of these articles were concerned with the wider acceptance of the genre and the dissemination of 'facts' and greater knowledge to this effect. See *Ta Nea*, 'Αχ, η Ρόζα Εσκενάζυ [...]', 26/2/77; *Rizospastis*, 'Ένα από τα μεγαλύτερα συγκροτήματα του ρεμπέτικου τραγουδιού [...]', 11/11/76; *Rizospastis*, 'Μια 90άχρονη ρεμπέτισσα χορεύει και τραγουδάει', 26/2/77; *Rizospastis*, 'Σειρά για τους ρεμπέτες', 14/1/83.
 - 26 Veinoglou, *Ta Nea* 11/5/76; 12/5/76; Hatzidoulis, *Ta Nea* 11/10/76; E. Papadimitriou, 'Ο μουσικός μας πλούτος', *Rizospastis* 7/5/76.
 - 27 K. Vergopoulos, 'Μερικές Θέσεις Πάνω Στο Ρεμπέτικο Τραγούδι', *Η Αυγή* 25/12/74. In G. Holst, *Δρόμος για το Ρεμπέτικο*, Athens, Denise Harvey, 1977, pp. 231-237; *Rizospastis*, 'Εκδήλωση για το ρεμπέτικο', 28/8/76; The left-wing press made a remarkable ideological turnaround by focusing less on the exponents of the genre and more on what the genre itself was thought to represent, that is, the ultimate victory of the lower classes (M.M.P., 'Στην Αθήνα Πριν 100 Χρόνια Οι ρίζες του 'ρεμπέτικου' τραγουδιού', *Rizospastis* 3/6/75; Dim.K., 'Στις ρίζες της λαϊκής μουσικής παράδοσης και του τραγουδιού', *Rizospastis* 13/5/77; El.Kap., 'Το λαϊκό τραγούδι εκφράζει τους νέους της δουλειάς', *Rizospastis* 7/4/82. In contrast, the more conservative press was interested in promoting the cultural continuity and the Greekness of *rebetika*, especially through a multitude of articles about the exponents of the genre. See P. Athanasiadis, 'Μάρκος Βαμβακάρης: Ο άνθρωπος που έβγαλε τα μουζούκια απ' τη λάσπη', *Ellinikos Vorras* 8/10/67; G. Yiannakopoulos, 'Ο Βασίλης Τσιτσάνης Και Το Λαϊκό Μας Τραγούδι', *Ellinikos Vorras* 21-22/6/60; *Ellinikos Vorras*, 'Απέθανε χθες ο λαϊκός συνθέτης Μ. Βαμβακάρη', 9/2/72; *Ellinikos Vorras*, 'Δίσκοι Μίχ. Γενήτσαρης "Ένας Ρεμπέτης Τραγουδά"', 27/3/77; *Neos Kosmos*, 'Βίκη Μοσχολιού Η Ρεμπέτισσα', 7/7/80; G. Xanthoulis, 'Στα ίχνη του Μάρκου', *Neos Kosmos* 7/1/82; P. Geramanis, 'Οι κομπανίες;

- Εμπόριο...’, *Neos Kosmos* 20/10/83; *Neos Kosmos*, ‘Ρεμπέτικα απ’ την Απόδημη Κομπανία’, 1/10/87; *Neos Kosmos*, ‘Πώς Μάγεγα Τον Μάρκο’, 12/5/88.
- 28 Hatzidoulis, *Ta Nea* 12-15/4/77. On the basis of a few songs written during the Occupation and a few oral accounts Hatzidoulis transformed the *rebetis* into the archetypal modern Greek resisting foreign invasion and trying to maintain his/her own distinct cultural heritage.
- 29 See K.Tsaousidis, ‘Η Θεσσαλονίκη μέσα από τα ρεμπέτικα’, *Ta Nea* 11/6/88; D.K., ‘Δίσκοι, απόκτημα’, *Rizospastis* 25/1/89. For more recent comments see P. Geramanis, ‘450 ρεμπέτικα σε 23 CD!’, *Ta Nea* 27/1/99; H. Pontidas, ‘“Εμεινε φτωχότερο το ρεμπέτικο”, *Ta Nea* 12/5/05.
- 30 The untimely death of such great *rebetes* as Vamvakaris and Papaioannou (1972) probably helped in the re-assessment of *rebetika* that was already under way and, possibly, hastened their absorption into mainstream Greek culture.
- 31 M. Mathioudakis, ‘Και νέα σφαγή σε λαϊκό κέντρο’, *Ta Nea* 23/4/73; M.Mathioudakis, ‘Ο φονιάς ακόνισε το μαχαίρι του πριν χτυπήσει’, *Ta Nea* 24/4/73; M.Mathioudakis, ‘Η επιθετικότητα του θύματος και το κρασί αιτίες του φόνου’, *Ta Nea* 25/4/73. These articles are a testimony to the fact that by the early 1970s the notorious excesses of modern-day *bouzoukia* venues were set in direct contrast with the courageous, impoverished and highly talented forefathers of the genre.
- 32 M. Foteinos, ‘Θα σωθεί το Ρεμπέτικο;’, *Rizospastis* 14/12/74; *Ta Nea* 19/2/75, 26/2/77; G. Christofilakis, ‘Απ’ τους ‘Ρεμπέτες’ μέχρι τις ‘Νταλικές’, *Ta Nea* 3/2/85.
- 33 In fact, this seems to have been a strong selling point in the promotion of re-issues of recordings (see *Ta Nea*, ‘Το Παλιό Καλό Ρεμπέτικο’, 23/8/75; *Ta Nea*, ‘Μια συλλογή παλιών τραγουδιών ‘Ρεμπέτικη Ιστορία’, 12/9/75) where little or no comment was made on the contents of the records. The emphasis, rather, was on the myth of old *rebetes* and the presentation of *rebetika* as authentic expressions of Greek popular culture ‘αυθεντικές εκτελέσεις από κομμάτια σταθμούς στην λαϊκή μουσική παράδοση του τόπου’ (*Ta Nea* 12/9/75). By the 1980s, this tendency had faded somewhat, but not completely (see Christofilakis *Ta Nea* 3/2/85). The existence of uncritical reviews of records, concerts or books is further evidence of the continuing mythification process that the genre underwent. Interestingly, left-wing commentators used this same uncritical and myth-making approach in reviews in order to underscore political messages about the role music could play in social revolution (see Dim.K., *Rizospastis* 13/5/77).
- 34 A 2003 article in *Rizospastis* (‘Οι συνθέτες της Σμύρνης και της Πόλης’, 23/8/03) which describes the history of Greek music in Asia Minor indicates how the Anatolian or Eastern element is no longer even vaguely threatening to Greek identity, but rather an intrinsic part of it.
- 35 Theoretically, Delias’ police record would provide essential details about his arrest and exile.
- 36 T. Schorelis, *Ρεμπέτικη Ανθολογία*, 4 vols. Athens, Πλέθρον, 1977-1981; E. Petropoulos, ‘Τσιτσάνης: 30 χρόνια–1000 τραγούδια’, *Εικόνες* (7 Οκτωβρίου 1966); E. Petropoulos, *Ρεμπέτικα Τραγούδια*, (2nd ed.) Athens, Κέδρος, 1983.
- 37 There are far too many now for me to list. There are numerous works of varying quality on significant musicians/composers such as Theodorakis, Tsitsanis and Kazantzidis, but there is also a plethora of works on other popular musicians from virtually every musical genre. Initially, their value as sources was very limited as they tended to be hastily put together, a pastiche of poorly documented photographs, interviews, panegyrics and anecdotes. One notable exception is M. Yenitsaris, *Μάγκας Από Μικράκι*, (επιμέλεια Σ. Gauntlett), Athens, Δωδώνη, 1992.
- 38 The publication of Lefteris Papadopoulos’ collection of 1970s interviews in 2004 (L. Papadopoulos, *Να συλληφθεί το ντουμάνι!* Athens, Κατσανιώτης, 2004) is part of this trend. The contents of

these interviews are remarkable for the information about the narcotics industry in pre-War Greece and the clear and strong connection between *rebetes*, *rebetika* and hashish. No white-washing is attempted and it is understandable why Papadopoulos has only been able to publish these interviews recently.

- 39 It should also be noted that in January, 1999, a four-hour doco-drama entitled ‘Τέτρας, η ξακουστή του Πειραιώς’, was presented by ET1, allegedly based on the lives of the four members of the first professional bouzouki group (Markos, Stratos, Batis and Delias). Unfortunately I have not been able to access it directly, however, judging by the descriptions in the newspapers and by my own prior acquaintance with many such documentaries on Greek musicians, the series seemed to be following the predictable formula of sparse information juxtaposed between lots of song performances and anecdotes from old-timers or the more recent generation of musicians and rebetologists. See V. Loumbrinis, ‘Ερχεται η θρυλική «Τέτρας»’, *Ta Nea* 11/12/98; *Rizospastis*, ‘Η ξακουστή του Πειραιώς’, 24/1/99.
- 40 The narcotics element is essentially absent from the story.
- 41 4,090 on October 16, 2008.
- 42 <http://blog.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=blog.view&friendID=320209666&blogID=353160030>, accessed 14/02/08)
- 43 <http://en.world.freemusic.cz/index.php/kristi-stassinopoulou-stathis-kalyviotis/>, accessed 14/02/08
- 44 http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anestis_Delias, accessed February 14, 2008).
- 45 For example, the American band, *Ziyia*, which performs Greek and Balkan music, has listed a hitherto unknown Delias song as part of their repertoire. The song, ‘Μεσ την Φυλακή’, is said to have been written (music and lyrics) by Delias.
- 46 Ifantis, October-November, 2007, p.66.
- 47 Hatzidoulis, n.d., p. 57; Voliotis-Kapetanakis, 2005, op.cit.; it is Delia-Pandari who first talks about her mother’s great talent as a singer, adding a new even stronger dimension to Delias’ musical inheritance. She also mentions for the first time that Delias had served in the navy in 1933 as part of his obligatory military service. Keromytis in Papadopoulos 2004 also says Delias was called up and sent to Albania in the late 1930s (?). These details did not appear in the earlier accounts of Delias’ life.
- 48 Voliotis-Kapetanakis, 2005, op.cit.
- 49 Stelios Keromytis in Papadopoulos, 2004, pp. 50-51, describes Delias’ three (not two) sisters, the youngest being a widow called Niki, who was murdered. Since Eleni Delia-Pandari mentions her sister, Stella (who went to live in America) and no other, is it safe to infer that there were only two Delias sisters and that Keromytis is simply telling a great story? Or should we add the missing sister to the same list which the missing father is on?
- 50 S. Perpiniadis claims that Delias’ parents died ‘από τον καημό του Ανέστου’ (in Hatzidoulis, n.d., p. 31). Daisy Stravropoulou confirms this ‘fact’ and says she went to the mother’s funeral but not (not surprisingly) the father’s.
- 51 Hatzidoulis, 2003, op.cit. Although published in 2003, this article is based on interviews conducted in 1982.
- 52 Moreover, this is flatly contradicted by Delias’s sister’s account who describes Stavropoulou as yet another addict (!) who had a very destructive influence on her brother. See Voliotis-Kapetanakis, 2005, op.cit., p.352. Of course the argument that could be used against believing

- the sister's account is the fact that by the mid-1930s when Delias' life became so difficult, his sister Eleni was still only twelve or thirteen years old. Her account must therefore be strongly influenced by the words of others, one imagines, particularly those of her mother and her sister, Stella, who was six years older than her.
- 53 As described in a contemporary advertisement re-printed in E. Petropoulos, *Ρεμπέτικα Τραγούδια*, (2nd ed.) Athens, Κέδρος, 1983, p. 642.
- 54 See D. Maniatis, *Η εκ περάτων δισκογραφία γραμμόφωνου*, Athens, Greek Ministry of Culture Publications, 2006, for full details of all Delias' recordings for Columbia (Greece) and HMV (Greece).
- 55 Ifantis, June-July, 2007, p.16.
- 56 They are as follows: 'Το χαρέμι στο χαμάμ' (1935), 'Το σακάκι' (1935), 'Ο πόνος του πρεζάκια' (1936), 'Ο Νίκος ο Τρελάκιος' (1936), 'Ο φιγουρατζής' (1936), 'Μάγκες πιάστε τα βουνά' (1936), 'Κουτσαβάκι' (1936), 'Σούρα και μαστούρα' (1936), 'Αθηναίσα' (1937), 'Τον άντρα σου και μένα' (1937), 'Ουσάκ μανές (Την ξενιτιά, την ορφανιά)' (1937), 'Ραστ νεβά μανές (Μονόν εγώ γεννήθηκα αμαρτωλός)' (1937).
- 57 Hatzidoulis, 2003, pp.29-30; also, Ifantis, October-November, 2007, p. 63.
- 58 Yenitsaris, 1992, pp. 56-58.
- 59 Hatzidoulis 2003, pp. 29-31; Papadopoulos, 2004, pp. 45-8; Voliotis-Kapetanakis, 2005, pp. 354-356.
- 60 M. Vamvakaris, *Αυτοβιογραφία* (επιμ. Α. Βέλλου Καϊλ), Athens, Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση, 1978, p. 151; Keromytis in K. Hatzidoulis 'Γράφαμε χασικλίδικα για... προειδοποίηση', *Ta Nea* 22/6//76; Yenitsaris in P. Kounadis, 'Ανέστης Δελιάς 1912-1944' [Cover Notes], *Αφοί Φαληρέα* 98 Z1/2999/88, 1988.
- 61 Schorelis, 1977, p. 307; Hatzidoulis, 2003, p. 31.
- 62 Keromytis in Hatzidoulis *Ta Nea* 22/6/76; Hatzidoulis, *Ta Nea* 12/10/76.
- 63 O. Révauld D'Allonnes, *Le Rebetiko, La Creation Artistique Et Les Promesses De La Liberté*, Paris, 1973, pp.155-156; T. Spyridaki, 'Η γυναίκα στα μάτια των ανδρών' in N. Kotaridis (ed.), *Ρεμπέτες και Ρεμπέτικο Τραγούδι*. Athens, Πλέθρον, 1996, pp. 104-108; V. Loumbrinis, '30 Ερωτήσεις Μιχάλης Γενίτσαρης', *Ta Nea* 9/5/01.
- 64 Schorelis, 1977, vol. 1, p. 307; Vamvakaris, op.cit., p.150; G. Holst, *Road to Rembetika*, Anglo-Hellenic Publishing, 1975, p. 38; Yenitsaris in Hatzidoulis n.d., op.cit., p.164; Keromytis in Kounadis 1988, op.cit.; E. Petropoulos, *Το Άγιο Χασισάκι*, Athens, Νεφέλη, 1987, p. 94. It is interesting to note that in virtually all the accounts of Delias' story no-one expressed any sympathy for the prostitute Skoularikou, who was also said to have died from her own addiction during the Occupation. See Vamvakaris 1978, p. 151; Hatzidoulis in V. Tsitsanis, *Η Ζωή Μου, Το Έργο Μου* (επιμέλεια Κ. Χατζηδουλή), Athens, Νεφέλη, 1979, p. 233; note, however, that according to Schorelis 1977, p. 307, she was still alive. At no point (until recently) was she also perceived to be a victim, but rather the principal victimiser of Delias. Interestingly, Vamvakaris did mention another good bouzouki-player, Nikos Karydakias, who was also a heroin addict, very close to Delias, and a significant influence on him: 'Αυτοί οι δυό πάντα πηγαίνανε μαζί γιατί ο ένας τον άλλονε έδινε κι εκάνανε την ίδια δουλειά' (Vamvakaris 1978, p.152); see also Yenitsaris' account of Delias' other close drug-addict friend, Spyros, on Ios in Yenitsaris, 1992, pp. 57-59.
- 65 Ifantis, October-November, 2007, p. 65.
- 66 Voliotis-Kapetanakis, 2005, p. 352.

- 67 Yenitsaris in Hatzidoulis n.d, pp. 162-163.
- 68 Hatzidoulis n.d, p.104.
- 69 Hatzidoulis n.d., p.164.
- 70 Schorelis, 1977, p. 308.
- 71 Schorelis 1977, p. 307; Yiannis Papaioannou, *Ντόμπρα Και Σταράτα* (επιμέλεια Κ. Χατζηδουλή), Athens, Κάκτος, 1982, p.39; Hatzidoulis *Ta Nea* 12/10/76.
- 72 Yenitsaris and Mathesis in Hatzidoulis n.d., pp. 163-164, 104, respectively; Vamvakaris 1978, pp.150-151; Papaioannou, 1982, p. 73; Keromytis in Kounadis 1988, op.cit. and in Papadopoulos, 2004, op.cit, p. 34; Stavropoulou in Hatzidoulis 2003 calls him ‘το παιδάκι μου’ while his sister in Voliotis-Kapetanakis 2005 simply says: ‘Πολύ καλό παιδί’.
- 73 V. & P. Kounadis, ‘Μια Ανέκδοτη Συνέντευξη Του Μάρκου Βαμβακάρη’, *Τετράδιο*, August, 1974.
- 74 It is true that other musicians are also periodically called ‘καλό παιδί’, etc. but in the case of Delias this is a standard descriptive phrase.
- 75 In fact, he was called ‘Artemis’ by many of his colleagues because of his resemblance to another *μάγκας* called Artemis who was well-known for his good looks (Mathesis in Hatzidoulis, n.d., p. 99).
- 76 Vamvakaris, op.cit., p.150.
- 77 In Kounadis 1988, op.cit.
- 78 In Hatzidoulis n.d., p. 24.
- 79 In Hatzidoulis n.d, p.164.
- 80 Tsitsanis 1979, p. 18.
- 81 Hatzidoulis *Ta Nea* 12/10/76.
- 82 Petropoulos 1983, p.138.
- 83 Holst 1975, p. 38; S. Zannos, ‘Rembetica: Greece’s unique jazz’, *The Athenian*, August 1987, p. 24.
- 84 In Hatzidoulis n.d., p.104.
- 85 K. Roukounas, *Κώστας Ρούκουνας (Σαμιοτάκι)*, (επιμέλεια Τ. Σχορέλη & Μ. Οικονομίδη), Athens, 1974, p.36; Yenitsaris in Hatzidoulis n.d., pp. 163-164. Nonetheless, according to a former waiter at Sarandopoulos’ where Delias had worked with Markos and the others, Delias left the group because he was being paid less than the others and therefore felt he was being cheated (Hatzidoulis n.d., p. 60).
- 86 Schorelis 1977, p.307.
- 87 Schorelis 1977, p.308.
- 88 Papaioannou 1982, p.73; Keromytis in Papadopoulos 2004 gives an extraordinary account of how Delias was introduced to heroin (in his sleep) and duped into believing that his withdrawal symptoms were actually signs of an (unnamed) illness which needed treatment (hence the continued use of the white powder).
- 89 Vamvakaris 1978, p.150.
- 90 Yenitsaris in Hatzidoulis n.d., p.163; Yenitsaris 1992: 58; Schorelis 1977, p. 307.
- 91 S. Damianakos, *Παράδοση Ανταρσίας Και Λαϊκός Πολιτισμός*, Athens, Πλέθρον, 1987, pp. 147, 155.
- 92 S. Mavroeidis in a 2007 article insists that musicians like Delias were products of a harsh socio-economic reality. The themes of their songs and their sometime illicit activities are evidence of

- their battle to survive in that world, not of their attempt to be real ‘μάγκες’ or to preserve a particular sub-culture. S. Mavroeidis, ‘Τα περίξ των Ζωνιανών’, *Avgi* 15/11/2007.
- 93 Yiannis Kyriazis made this claim in T. Schorelis, *Ρεμπέτικη Ανθολογία*, vol. 2, (2nd ed), Athens, Πλέθρον, 1978, p.212.
- 94 In fact, he was called ‘Artemis’ by many of his colleagues because of his uncanny resemblance to another μάγκας called Artemis who was well-known for his good looks (Mathesis in Hatzidoulis n.d., p. 99). Interestingly, G. Mouflouzelis in his autobiography, *Όταν Η Λήγουσα Είναι Μακρά*, (επιμέλεια Φ.Μεσθεναίου), Athens, Δωδώνη, 1979, p. 45, implies that Delias was not being referred to in that particular song, but rather the other Artemis.
- 95 Schorelis 1977, p.179.
- 96 Vamvakaris 1978, p.154; Yenitsaris in Hatzidoulis n.d., pp. 163-164.
- 97 G. R overtakis, *Γιώργος Ροβερτάκης (επιμέλεια Τ. Σχορέλη & Μ. Οικονομίδη)*, Athens, 1973, p. 4.
- 98 Another near-contemporary, albeit fictionalised reference to *rebetes* and drug addicts can be found in a short story by Karagatsis, entitled ‘Η Μεγάλη Εβδομάδα του πρεζάκη’, published in 1945 in the collection, *Πυρετός*. See S. Gauntlett, ‘The sub-canonical meets the non-canonical: *rebetika* and inter-war Greek literature’, *Κάμπος Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 13, 2005, pp. 89-101.
- 99 E. Petropoulos, *Τα Μικρά Ρεμπέτικα*, (2nd ed.), Athens, Κέδρος, 1984, pp. 13, 39.
- 100 Also known as ‘Ο πόνος του πρεζάκια’.
- 101 P. Kounadis and S. Papaioannou, ‘Δίσκο Του Ρεμπέτικου’, *Μουσική* 37, (December 1980), pp. 22-29.
- 102 Also known as ‘Ο φηγουρατζής’.
- 103 Unfortunately, because their emphasis is on proving that these songs (which were also recorded by other artists in the USA) were first recorded by Delias in Greece they make no mention of ‘Από Τότε Που Άρχισα’, either because it was not re-recorded in the USA or because they did not have enough evidence to prove that it was Delias’ original work.
- 104 Schorelis 1977, p. 308; Petropoulos 1983, p. 138; Kounadis 1988; D.K., *Rizospastis* 25/1/89.
- 105 Holst 1975, p. 38.
- 106 See Maniatis, 2006, for accurate recording dates for Delias’ songs.
- 107 D. Ifantis, October-November 2007, pp. 64-65; See also S. Gauntlett ‘Περιθωριακοί αυτόχειρες Ρεμπέτικο και αυτοκτονία’, *Αρχαιολογία & Τέχνες* 100, Σεπτέμβριος, 2006, pp. 42-48, for a discussion on the self-destructive tendencies inherent in the life-style of many *rebetes*, as revealed through their songs.
- 108 Petropoulos 1983, p. 190.
- 109 Kounadis & Papaioannou, 1980, pp.22-29.
- 110 In Hatzidoulis n.d., p.102.
- 111 Hatzidoulis n.d., p. 57.
- 112 A. Nikolaidis (‘Παναγιώτης Τούντας Ο πρωτοπόρος της ελληνικής δισκογραφίας’, *Rizospastis* 1/6/03) claims that it is these themes which made Delias and other *rebetes* musicians victims of the Metaxas censorship in 1937. In Delias’s case, it may have actually ended his recording career.
- 113 S. Perpiniadis in Hatzidoulis n.d., p. 24; Tsitsanis 1979, p. 18; Yenitsaris in Hatzidoulis n.d., pp. 163-164; the whole question of who wrote ‘Κάβουρας’ must be seen in this context. The argument that Delias could not possibly have written the song because he died (supposedly) before Kavouras died is not relevant to what the sources tell us. One possible and plausible explanation is that Delias wrote the music to the song and used different lyrics. When Vamvakaris allegedly

- stole that music he merely added other lyrics which referred to the death of Kavouras and thus created the song 'Κάβουρας'.
- 114 Ifantis, 2007, is the latest (and possibly greatest) proponent of this approach, giving a sensitive and highly original analysis of the song lyrics as a way of understanding Delias and his life.
- 115 Papaioannou 1982, p. 73.
- 116 Hatzidoulis n.d., p. 158.
- 117 They may not even be Yenitsaris' actual words, but rather a product of Hatzidoulis' clumsy editing.
- 118 S. Damianakos, 'Το Ρεμπέτικο Τραγούδι Συνθέτει Ένα Πολυεδρικό Κοινωνικό Φαινόμενο', *Ta Nea* 17/5/73; *Ta Nea*, 'Επανερχονται Δριμυτεροί', 6/11/73; *Ta Nea*, 'Ωδείο ρεμπέτικης μουσικής και συναυλίες με... πούλμαν', 19/2/75; *Ta Nea*, 'Το Ρεμπέτικο Τραγούδι Διαμαρτυρία και παράπονο...', 4/6/75.
- 119 Tsitsanis 1979, pp.17-18.
- 120 K. Hatzidoulis, 'Αφού δεν χορεύουν... πώς παίζουν μουζούκι;', *Ta Nea* 21/6/76; K. Hatzidoulis, 'Γράφαμε χασικλίδικα για... προειδοποίηση', *Ta Nea* 22/6/76.
- 121 In this he was no different from many others. See K. Hatzidoulis, 'Ρόζα Εσκενάζυ: Μου είχε μπει ο διάλος μέσα', *Ta Nea* 15/6/76; K. Hatzidoulis, 'Τα Ρεμπέτικα Της Αντίστασης', *Ta Nea* 12/4/77; K. Hatzidoulis, 'Στις ΡΙΖΕΣ του ρεμπέτικου', *Ta Nea* 27/7/76; *Rizospastis*, 'Οι ρίζες του ρεμπέτικου', 3/6/75; *Rizospastis*, 'Μια 90άχρονη ρεμπέτισσα χορεύει και τραγουδάει', 26/2/77; *Ta Nea*, 'Τον αποχαϊρέτησαν με το τραγούδι', 21/11/85.
- 122 Hatzidoulis, *Ta Nea* 22/6/76.
- 123 In fact, by the 1990s and 2000s it seems to have been dropped altogether.
- 124 D.K., *Rizospastis* 25/1/89.
- 125 Kounadis (1988) had already said about Delias 'έμελλε να γίνει η τραγικότερη μορφή στη σύντομη ιστορία των ρεμπέτικων τραγουδιών'.
- 126 Holst 1975, p. 38.
- 127 Hatzidoulis *Ta Nea* 22/6/76.
- 128 Ifantis, June-July, 2007.
- 129 Ifantis, October-November, 2007.
- 130 Eleni Delia-Pandari says she was a newly-wed at the time, and had (it is implied) lost contact with Anestis. She says he died in 1944 but is uncertain of the details. Delias' mother had pre-deceased him and his other sister, Stella (who moved to America in the 1950s), is not mentioned very much in this particular narrative.
- 131 In *To Άγιο Χασισάκι* (1991, pp.11-12) Petropoulos undermines the commonplace image of *rebetes* as exemplary Greek heroes by pointing out how many of them were not, in fact, Greek nationals. He includes Delias in this list claiming that 'ο Ανέστης και άλλοι δεν έχουν να επιδείξουν πολλές ελληνικές περιγμημένες'. He then goes on to describe the circumstances of Delias' addiction almost contemptuously (p. 94), using Delias' story to highlight the essential difference between the hashish takers and the drug addicts. According to Petropoulos, the former despised the latter because of their fundamental weakness. Moreover, and most importantly, their addiction meant that the drug addicts were not true *μάγκες* or *ρεμπέτες*.
- 132 V. Loumbrinis, *Ta Nea* 9/5/01; This is echoed in 2003 by an unnamed writer in *Rizospastis*, 'Η κλασική περίοδος του ρεμπέτικου', 11/5/03.