

<sup>5</sup> *Mousiki Via Tis Mazes* (Olkos, Athens, 1972), p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> Μίκη Θεοδωράκη: *Μελοποιημένη Ποίηση. Α' Τόμος/Τραγούδια*. Athens, Ypsilon, 1998. *Β Τόμος Συμφωνικά/Μετασυμφωνικά/Ορατόρια*, 1999.

<sup>7</sup> I am thinking particularly of Seferis here. Despite his political differences with Theodorakis, Elytis recognized the quality of his music and became an enthusiastic admirer of the settings of *Axion Esti*. However even Ritsos was at first wary of the neo-rebetic settings of his *Epitafios* poems.

<sup>8</sup> The title of his 1972 book (Athens, Olkos) in which he laid down his Marxist philosophy of music and provided the interested listener with some useful information about his method of composing.

<sup>9</sup> *Canto General* has been performed before large audiences outside Greece (Cuba, Stockholm, Germany) and inside Greece, but it has never enjoyed the same broad popularity amongst Greeks as *Axion Esti*.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with the author (Meiningen, May 1995).

<sup>11</sup> Theodorakis also later categorized his Kostas Karyotakis (The Metamorphoses of Dionysus), first presented at the *Lyriki Skini*, as an opera.

<sup>12</sup> "Για την Αντιγόνη." *Βραχάτι*, 4.15.1999. (published as program notes to *Antigone*, October, 1999).

## The Creative Boldness of Mikis Theodorakis

SPYROS D. ORFANOS

Creative expression is, above all, an act of freedom.

I create means I am free-I become free.

The message of art is the message of freedom.

Mikis Theodorakis, 1972

Mikis Theodorakis is the most important Greek composer of the twentieth century. His continued creative output might make him the most important Greek composer of the twenty-first century. The sheer number of haunting melodies he has composed and the diversity of the musical forms within which he creates is breathtaking. His appeal cuts across aesthetics, class, politics and nationality.

His compositions have been recorded and performed countless of times and in almost all the continents of the world. At age 75, Theodorakis enjoys acclaim both for his notable contributions to the domain of music and for his peace efforts on behalf of humanity. In the year 2000, the government of Greece officially nominated Mikis Theodorakis for the Nobel Peace Prize. In short, he is a creator of great eminence and he has played a significant role in Greek and global relations.

The genius of Theodorakis is steeped in a creative boldness that marks his music and his politics. He is a man that takes risks. The ideas expressed in this essay are an attempt to further the understanding of the man and his work. There are three sections to this paper. First, I begin with a personal view on what makes

Theodorakis' music so appealing to Greeks. Then I will use perspectives informed by the human sciences; specifically the psychology of creativity and psychoanalysis. In the human sciences a useful distinction has been drawn between nomothetic and idiographic research. In nomothetic work the focus falls on the search for general laws, on patterns of creativity. Nomothetic research tends to be viewed as scientific. Its very nature overlooks individual idiosyncrasy. In idiographic work the focus falls sharply on the individual case study, on the biographical approach. Interpretive disciplines such as psychoanalysis are considered idiographic research. This paper relies on both approaches to inform the investigation into the creativity of Mikis Theodorakis.

#### *Theodorakis' Musical Genius*

The melodic originality and sheer quantity of Theodorakis' musical creations rival any of the great songwriters and concert composers in the history of music. Whether writing a simple song or a multiple-movement composition, it is his melodies that intoxicate and inspire. The popularity of his melodies is no doubt due to their aesthetic significance and to listener accessibility. Theodorakis' goal of "art for the masses" always required an exquisite creative balance. That is, the more unpredictable and complex the melodic structure of the themes comprising a work, the less likely they were to be listened to. In the early 1960s, he solved this problem by using Greek popular dance rhythms like the *hassapiko* and the *zeimbekiko* with their familiar musical properties. He then applied his inspired melodies to such rhythms and to great poetry such as, Yannis Ritsos' *Epitaphios*, 1960, and George Seferis' *Epiphania*, 1961. Thus, the Greek listener was confronted with something old and new, simple and sophisticated. The dialectical tension created by these polarities sparked a cultural revolution. The Greek public responded with extraordinary enthusiasm. By the mid-1960s, Theodorakis was able to introduce lengthy and complex works such as Elytis' *Axion Esti*, 1964, Kambanellis' *Mauthausen*, 1965, and Ritsos' *Romiossini*, 1966, which demanded a more sophisticated listener. But such a listener had already developed in Greece as a result of Theodorakis' earlier efforts. This was a conscious aim of the composer's.

The military dictatorship of 1967–1974, of course, with its banning of Theodorakis music and its repressive and brutal actions, brought a halt to the artistic and cultural trajectory. Following the dark years of the junta, Theodorakis continued to write haunting melodies but the seven year interruption had broken the momentum with Greek listeners and was not to be regained in quite the same way again. Being a creator, Theodorakis continued to compose and indeed he satisfied his restless muse. He wrote symphonies, religious works, operas, music for the theater, cinema and ballet, song cycles and oratorios. As he had always done, Theodorakis memorialized the past. He did not idolize and sentimentalize it. He seemed to speak directly from his soul to the soul of the listener. Not every composition was a masterpiece, but the output of most eminent creators is typically uneven in quality and popularity. It should be of no surprise to the concert enthusiast that only 35% of the total output of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven continues to have any active place in the classical repertoire.

Theodorakis' musical blend of simplicity and sophistication also attracted listeners from outside of Greece. His works have been performed throughout the world. In 1999, his opera *Electra* premiered at Carnegie Hall and excerpts from his *Canto Olympico* and *Zorba the Ballet* premiered at Lincoln Center in New York City. Unlike the eminent composer Igor Stravinsky who was increasingly embarrassed by his Russian past, which he underplayed in favor of a European cosmopolitanism, Theodorakis celebrates his Greekness.

#### *The Psychology of Creativity*

Creativity consists of the state or process of bringing forth ideas or products that are both new and valuable. Creativity is not an attribute limited to the "greats" such as Plato, Darwin, Freud, Picasso, Stravinsky, Einstein, Graham, Gandhi, Seferis, Ritsos, or Elytis. It is also a characteristic that can be found in teachers, electricians and chefs. But for the purposes of this article, I will focus on creativity as associated with the creator and his or her impact on the larger society and culture. As indicated above, Theodorakis' achievements have been public actions that have had a great impact on the Greek world and beyond.

Creativity is of wide interdisciplinary interest and psychology is but one source of understanding that has made contributions to the topic. Within the science of psychology the literature spans four core subdisciplines: cognitive processes, personal characteristics, life span development and social context. These subdisciplines are interconnected. Nevertheless, they can be discussed separately and do shed light on the creative activities of Theodorakis.<sup>1</sup>

Cognitive processes involve insightful problem solving, creative thoughts and the acquisition of expertise. Since the days of the ancient Greeks, who believed that creativity required the intervention of the muses, the creative act is often portrayed as a mysterious and even mystical process. One of the goals of psychological studies has been to remove this mystery, replacing it with a deeper scientific understanding. In 1908, Freud attempted to accomplish this by explaining adult creativity in terms of primary-process thinking, that is, as a regression to early childhood states of play.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary scientific explanations hold that the magic behind the sudden, unexpected and seemingly unprepared inspiration is rather lawful when one considers unconscious processes. Thus, the creative mind seems to engage in a long, unconscious work prior to the creative act proper. Further, it demonstrates an associative richness that abruptly crosscuts and transitions from one idea to another. Ideas are spontaneously recombined and with great speed. Anyone listening to even a simple musical composition of Mikis Theodorakis will notice his particularly well developed ability to crosscut across and integrate musical traditions involving symphonic, Byzantine, rural and urban Greek music. Moreover, he weds his music to poetry that spans many styles (i.e., social realism and surrealism) and political views (i.e., the radical leftist Yannis Ritsos and the restrained conservative George Seferis).

Psychologists have a long history of interest in the personal characteristics of intelligence and personality. Using performance on standard, individualized IQ tests as the gauge of cognitive capacity, the early research indicated that a certain threshold level of intelligence (verbal and nonverbal) was required for creativity but that beyond the threshold, intelligence bore a minimal relation with creative behavior. Newer theories of multiple intelligences are of great interest in that they include abilities that are not a standard

part of psychometric tests (e.g., musical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal intelligences). Each intelligence is associated with a specific manifestation of creativity, such as music, painting, choreography or psychology<sup>3</sup>. While the musical intelligence of Theodorakis is clearly superior, his interpersonal intelligence is evident in his many forays into political life. His political goals of social justice, peace and his personal examples of courage during, World War II, the civil war, and the 1967-1974 dictatorship directly affected the attitudes and behaviors of countless of others.

The research on the creative personality points to a reliable profile. Creative people are disposed to be independent, nonconformists, unconventional, even bohemian, and they are likely to have wide interests, greater openness to new experiences, a more conspicuous behavioral and cognitive flexibility, and more risk-taking boldness. One cannot become an eminent composer without a restless personality and wide interests. The record indicates that Theodorakis has consistently avoided conforming to the crowd. While it would take a book-length treatment to probe the evidence that would prove such a point, two examples may suffice. Following his very early success in 1960 through 1964 with songs that were based on familiar dance rhythms, recording companies urged him to continue writing the same kind of music. After all, this music had sold like no other before it in Greece. He rejected this financially self-serving approach and labored at inventing new musical forms such as the metasymphonic *Axion Esti*. He stuck to his artistic goals of creating increasingly complex Greek music. Similarly, in 1990 when Papandreou's PASOK Party was subject to serious financial scandals and state corruption, Theodorakis became a minister without portfolio in the New Democratic Party of Kostas Mitsotakis. For many, this political move from the left to the right was a betrayal, for Theodorakis this was, in part, a result of his independent personality.

It is worth noting that the idea that creative individuals are mad or suffer from psychopathology has no empirical support. Thus, Aristotle's claim that, "Those who have become eminent in philosophy, politics, poetry, and the arts have all had tendencies toward melancholia" is misleading. It is evident from the personal characteristics listed above that creators tend to be more open

emotionally. This is not, however, the same as claiming that creative individuals must suffer from mental disorders. Yet, this emotional openness may lead to the popular view of the "mad genius."

From the standpoint of life span development, birth order, early parental loss, marginality, and the availability of mentors and role models influence creative potential. Exceptional creativity does not always emerge from the most nurturant environments. It is startling testimony to the adaptive powers of the human being that some of the most adverse childhoods can give birth to the most creative adulthoods. The great creator is rarely a child prodigy. Rather, she or he is an exploratory child, born into a family that values learning and achievement, with at least one loving and supportive adult. Sometimes, the child may feel some estrangement from her or his family, a sense of marginality that never disappears and that serves as a spur for late transgressions of cultural and intellectual norms. Crucially, as a sophisticated adult, the creator also retains childlike qualities. Eventually, the creator finds his/her domain. After about 10 years of immersion in it, during which she gains mastery, she needs a new language in order to continue. Her breakthrough then occurs. However, for this decisive rupture to happen, she must have emotional and cognitive support.

While there is no record of a young Mikis Theodorakis being subjected to any serious direct personal physical or psychological trauma, he did grow up in a family that was directly familiar with the Turkish oppression and the Asia Minor catastrophe. His mother, Aspasia Poulakis, was a refugee from Tsemes, a coastal city in Asia Minor. Her experiences of displacement and loss had a profound effect. His father, Yorgos Theodorakis, has fought for Cretan independence from the Turks and had been exiled from his Cretan birthplace three times for his resistance to Turkish oppression. The intergenerational transmission of trauma is a well-documented phenomenon. Thus the extraordinary stressors experienced by Theodorakis' parents, particularly his mother, were easily communicated to the first-born Mikis and his younger brother, Yannis. It is no small wonder that when asked what is the psychology that drives him Theodorakis responds, "That's simple, since I was a youngster, I have never liked authority."<sup>4</sup>

The matter of marginality is directly applicable to Mikis

Theodorakis. His autobiographical reports do not indicate any estrangement from his family of origin. In fact, his family was extraordinarily supportive of his artistic and political activism. But, there are experiences of marginality. Indeed, the fact that he was born on the island of Chios to a mother from Asia Minor and father from Crete, and then relocated often during his childhood and adolescence throughout Greece assured that he would experience himself as a stranger ("xenos") wherever he lived.

During the 1950s, Theodorakis studied and developed his symphonic musical skills in a highly focused manner, but then seemed to need a new musical language. He found it by returning to Greece and using the urban bouzouki music that came out of the refuge, lower, oppressed Greek world. In 1960, he wrote, recorded, and championed Ritsos' *Epitaphios*. This was his first major creative breakthrough, a bold achievement that changed the course of Greek cultural life.

The question about creativity and aging has received considerable attention recently and it appears to have an optimistic answer. Numerous factors operate that help maintain creative output throughout the life span. Creators seem to display a qualitative and quantitative resurgence of creativity in their final years.

At the age of twelve, Theodorakis wrote his first song, "The small boat" based on a popular poem of his day by an unknown poet. His creative output continued unabated throughout his life despite repeatedly being sent to jail and concentration camps and being badly beaten for his political views. In his mid-sixties, he began writing three lengthy operas: *Electra*, *Medea*, and *Antigone*. Currently, he is preparing a fourth opera, *Lysistrata*, to go along with his trilogy.<sup>5</sup>

Creativity has been viewed as a process that takes place in the mind of a single individual who possesses the appropriate personal characteristics and development experiences. The popular image of the lone genius is often myth. Much, if not most, of creativity takes place in an interpersonal context and a particular artistic, scientific, or intellectual discipline. For example, in the systems view of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, creativity requires the dynamic interaction among three subsystems, only one of which entails the individual creator. The second subsystem is the domain, which con-

sists of the set of rules, the repertoire of techniques, and any abstract attributes that define a particular mode of creativity (e.g., the paradigm that guides symphonic music). The third subsystem is the field, which consists of those persons who work within the same domain, and thus have their creativity governed by the same-specific guidelines. These colleagues are essential to the realization of individual creativity, according to the system view, because creativity does not exist until those making up the field decide to recognize that a given creative product represents an original contribution to the domain.<sup>6</sup> The early close relationship between Theodorakis and the other great Greek composer Manos Hadjidakis may have acted as a spur, as did his relationships with the numerous gifted living poets of modern Greece.

While sociologists and anthropologists have argued that creativity is mostly if not entirely a sociocultural phenomena,<sup>7</sup> two findings from psychology warrant mention. Certain political environments affect the degree of creativity manifested by the corresponding population. Conditions such as warfare, anarchy, and dictatorships tend to depress the output of creative ideas. On the other hand, nationalistic revolts against oppressive rule of empire states tend to have a positive effect on the degree of creativity. Cultural diversity has also been found to facilitate creativity. This finding is consistent with a host of empirical results such as the creativity augmenting effects of ethnic marginality, bilingualism, and even exposure to ideological and behavioral dissent.<sup>8</sup> It requires emphasis that zeitgeist factors serve to raise or lower the general level of creative activity at a given time and place, but cannot easily account for individual differences in the development and manifestation of creativity. For example, the social, economic and political milieu may largely explain why the musical and cultural revolution began in Greece in the 1960s but not why Theodorakis towered over his Greek contemporaries.

### *Psychoanalysis and Music*

The nomothetic model for understanding creativity as articulated above allows for broad speculation on the life and times of Mikis Theodorakis. An idiographic model such as the psychoanalytic, allows for a different line of speculation. Psychoanalysis is

both a clinical enterprise and an applied discipline. The clinical enterprise is a powerful and compassionate form of psychotherapy. It concerns itself with the emotionally charged domains of experience and is about the practical day-to-day conduct of a person's life. Specifically, it focuses on the different domains of experience: past and present, waking and sleeping, thinking and feeling, interpersonal events and the most private fantasies. When psychoanalysis is used as an applied discipline the goal is to shed light on phenomena beyond an individual's psychology. Creators and their creations, social and political developments, and improving the quality of people's lives are often topics of applied psychoanalysis.

A sea change has pervaded the world of psychoanalysis in the last two decades. This change has led to a great shift away from many of Freud's innovations and theories, particularly the reduction of individual human and cultural phenomena to the sexual. The change has been toward an understanding that all ideas, including psychoanalytic conceptions and accumulated wisdom, are historical, linguistic, political and contextual. This sea change has been termed "relational." Relational psychoanalysis holds a strong appreciation for the complex context of relationships. The sensibility of a relational approach leads to viewing the clinical and the applied in terms of the context of relationships, both real and imagined. Thus, artistic expression comes about by being and engaging within this relational context. It does not come about as a result of sublimated sexual impulses. Sexuality may play a major role in art as it does in individual personality, but it is no longer considered the fundamental building block as Freud had proposed over 100 years ago.<sup>9</sup>

Music is a vehicle for the expression of feelings; that is, it can reveal feelings in a manner which language is unable to approach. This view is not intended to privilege music over language, it is only meant to note music's complexity. Music is about emotional expression. Elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> I have indicated that while music and literature involve complex conscious and unconscious processes, we can state (if one were inclined to reduce) that at the core of music one can find an indefinable affective/emotional reaction and that at the core of poetry one can find an indefinable cognitive/intellectual reaction. Of course, the emotional and cognitive are not truly

separate in our mental life, but it is too difficult to address both at the same time. When Theodorakis declared that his "greatest ambition was to serve poetry faithfully," he was articulating something that great composers have been doing for many centuries, namely, using music to intensify the impact of words. Wedding the two often creates a whole greater than the sum of the parts.

Mikis Theodorakis' great achievement was to integrate sophisticated poetry with popular and symphonic music and to have every worker and intellectual in Greece singing the same songs. This integration was, and continues to be, organic in the sense that the music and the poetry are both separate and connected so as to produce a holistic aesthetic experience. Others had created songs out of great poetry before Theodorakis (i.e., Bach, Schubert, Mitropoulos, Kounadis), they had even incorporated folk elements into their music, but their music did not capture the imagination of an entire nation and cross socio-economic classes. In addition, Theodorakis inspired two generations of Greek composers to participate in the development of the Greek art song and its astonishing popularity.

Psychoanalysis as applied outside of the consulting room has a long history with regard to literature (novels, plays, poetry, etc.). The application of psychoanalytic principles and concepts to music, however, is relatively short.<sup>11</sup> Early psychoanalysts believed that the gratification which music provides is based on the deep regression to the earliest stages of extrauterine development. They observed that musical communication is rooted in the very earliest preverbal phases of psychological organization, when boundaries between self and reality are not yet distinct. The mother's voice with its tonal inflections in both speech and song seems to provide many infants with their first musical experience, if an auditory stimulus can be described as having musical properties.

The mother's body is, as it were, a rhythmical engine, with pulsations of the heart and major arteries, whether the fetal auditory system has the capacity to respond to such stimuli is another question. But the possibility that musical structures (i.e., tones, melodies, rhythms) may be incorporated into the mental life of an infant seems quite consistent with the theories formulated by contemporary infant researchers and the clinical findings of

psychoanalysts.

One compelling psychoanalytic theory of music is derived from the work of the British psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott. He did not articulate a theory of music, but his notions on transitional objects and phenomena are quite applicable to music. Winnicott included the infant's use of noises, sounds, and words within the earliest notions about transitional phenomena. Extending this we can view music as a transitional object, like a pillow or a blanket or a toy. Music can be a way of maintaining a sense of security for the baby when they are separated from the mother—tunes, fragments of songs, rhymes, and familiar noises may be taken along by a child in its quest for independence, to be repeated while playing alone, during moments of solitude, or while falling asleep. Children may also rearrange the sound and rhythms they have heard, a kind of primitive interest in composing new pieces or decomposing old ones.

As children grow older, certain aspects of music often continue to be mental links or reminders of earlier experiences that had been associated with feelings or states of security, closeness, pleasure, and intimacy. One can observe this introspectively when familiar songs and musical pieces evoke strong memories and emotions of childhood situations. The process may be similar to that of mourning for something that has been lost forever. The history of music offers numerous examples of the transitional or linking properties of musical themes.

A basic tenet of psychoanalysis is that the past, the present and the future are created as mutually interacting modes of time and experience. By extension, an individual not only has a history but he or she is history by virtue of memorial activity. The past of an individual can be put to different uses: It can be forgotten, sentimentalized, idealized, fetishized, or memorialized. Governments have frequently found way of appropriating the pasts of their countries and at dangerous political times have found ways of politicizing the memorial activity. The memorial activities of many of the Greek governments of the twentieth century point to the political uses of the past. Holst-Warhaft<sup>12</sup> has argued that mourning, and by implication memorial activity, has often challenged the social and political order in Greece. She traces this back to the Greece of the sixth century BCE.

The past has been put to use by Theodorakis also, albeit in quite a different way than many of the repressive Greek governments. Many, if not most, of the great works of Theodorakis such as *Symphony No. 1* (1948-1953), *Epitaphios* (1960), *Mauthausen* (1965), and *Symphony No. 7* (1982) to name only a few, can be conceptualized as memorial art. This music succeeds in encapsulating the memorial activity as a powerful linking mechanism that does not only attach one element to the other but in so doing also recasts the past as we remember it and reshapes the present as we know it. These compositions do not just present the horrors of the past, instead they recall the ordinary scenes from the past, reinserting them in the present. They evoke the killing and execution of close friends in the context of the German occupation and the civil war (*Symphony No. 1*), a mother's lament for her son killed in a tobacco workers strike in 1936 (*Epitaphios*), a number tattooed on the arm of a girl imprisoned by the Nazi death machine (*Mauthausen*), and the courage and dignity of the female partisan Athena before and during her execution (*Symphony No. 7*). This memorial music creates a "potential space" in which the listener has an opportunity, perhaps even a responsibility to create his or her own response. In my view, this generates a certain freedom for the listener. He or she is not told what and how they should react. Theodorakis creates a climate for the lifting of the all too frequent repression and confusions surrounding such tragic historical events. He stimulates memories that governments often seek to repress. He helps the listener free himself and herself from amnesia. In the process, he memorializes the tragic events and the people involved in such events.

From a psychoanalytic standpoint, Theodorakis creates an intimate dialogue between himself and the listener. Composer and listener collaborate to create a memorializing dialogue. This dialogue affirms the powerful feelings of loss and death. It does not disassociate feelings from thinking, affect from words. As noted earlier, the music Theodorakis composes serves to intensify the meaning of the words. This has the effect, on a collective level, of lifting repression and healing trauma. It also helps healing on an individual level. He does not compose music that is distant, abstract, and inaccessible. For Theodorakis, relationships of the past are to

be memorialized, celebrated and accepted in their full human glory and tragedy. This generates a freedom for himself and those that appreciate his music.

Pablo Casals once remarked that, "the most important thing in music is not the notes." Certainly for an eminent composer like Theodorakis the musical notes are only part of his artistic expression. The other part concerns his dialogue with the listener about the past. Theodorakis' music coupled with the listener's response opens the pages of history. His creative boldness insures that the people who create such history remain a part of the present and the future.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Dean Keith Simonton, *Origins of Genius* (Oxford, 1999). I follow Simonton's treatment of the psychology of creativity closely at several points in this section.

<sup>2</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Creative Writers and Daydreaming*. *Standard Edition*. 9: 143-153. London: Hogart Press, 1961/1908.

<sup>3</sup> Howard Gardner, *Creating Minds*, Basic Books, 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Personal communication, January 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Personal communications, June 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Mikaly Csikszentmihalyi, *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention*, (New York, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> Arthur Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth*, (Berkeley, 1944).

<sup>8</sup> Dean Keith Simonton, *Greatness: Who Makes History and Why*, (New York, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Stephen A. Mitchell, *Relationality: From Attachment to Intersubjectivity* (The Analytic Press, 2000)

<sup>10</sup> Spyros D. Orfanos, "Mikis Theodorakis: Music, poetry and the creative process," *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, 1997, 14, 17-38.

<sup>11</sup> Oswald, Peter, "The healing power of music: Some observations on the semiotic function of the transitional objects in musical communication," pp 213-229. In M. A. Runko & R. Richards (eds.) *Eminent Creativity Everyday Creativity and Health*, (Greenwich: Conn.: Ablex Publishing, 1997).

<sup>12</sup> Gail Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (Routledge, 1992). For Holst-Warhaft it is women's power over mourning that is central, but she also writes about the male appropriation of such power. She offers a compelling analysis of Ritsos' *Epitaphios* and Theodorakis' setting to music as an example of this phenomena in Modern Greece.