

SINGING AND DANCING SOCIABILITY IN THE
ARVANITIKES COMMUNITIES OF MOUNT KITHAIRON
(ATTICA, GREECE)

ANDROMACHI OIKONOMOU
(Hellenic Folklore Research Centre, Academy of Athens)

It is common place knowledge that the rhythmic movement of the body (dancing) and metrical rhythmic speech (singing), are key constitutive elements in the make up of every society and its culture. The aim of the present paper is to examine, from an anthropological point of view both through time and presently the conditions under which songs and dances were produced in the Arvanitikes communities of mount Kithairon, Vilia and Kriekouki (Erythrai) (Attica, Greece).

This paper examines «improvised» songs and dances in the framework of their function and performance (fairs, rituals, congregations, work, etc) and the role they play in the social make up of the communities in which they are performed, as they are common cultural heritage and expressions of collective feelings, experiences and memories of local societies. Furthermore, we point out their changes and the impact on the musical-poetic and dancing tradition caused by the larger socio-economic and cultural changes that these societies underwent.

Keywords: Greece, Arvanites, dance, song, performance, sociability, ritual, feast.

It is by now common knowledge that the rhythmic movement of the body (dancing) and the rhythmic-metric speech (singing) are a component of every society and every culture. As A. Kaeppler quite characteristically notes (1992:19): “The structural systems of movement (and the rhythmic-metric speech, may we add) go beyond “folklore” or “tradition”; they help us filter into the cultural consciousness of the past and how this has developed in modern society”. In this paper, we will make an attempt to analyze the genres of these two structural elements and the function they serve in the Arvanitikes communities of Mount Kithairon, and to be more precise in Vilia and Kriekouki (Erythres).

These two communities, Vilia and Kriekouki,¹ are linked to this date with very close social, economic, cultural and kinship relations. As a result, they share

¹ Vilia is most probably a late Byzantine settlement, also known to this date as Idyllia. It became a municipality in the year 1835 with 1,334 inhabitants and by the year 1875 came to include Kriekouki as well. According to the 2001 census, Vilia has 2,252 permanent inhabitants, who mainly work in the areas of stock-breeding, resin tapping (very few of them today) and services provision, especially in the tourism sector.

Kriekouki (from the Arvanitika words *Krie*=head, *kouki*=red) is also known as Erythrai, a name lent to it from the ancient neighbouring town. According to written sources, it has been

the same singing and dancing tradition, which is an expression of their common cultural identity.

Moi sa t' gemi e sa t' ron

Ou do louen ede do k'do²

This Arvanitiko couplet, which was often sung in the local language, i.e. in Arvanitika,³ as a refrain by the women of Vilia and Kriekouki, states explicitly the close link that exists between singing and dancing, and compresses the interminable nature and the insatiable mood for dancing and singing which was typical – and still is, to a certain extent – of those Arvanitikes communities of Mount Kithairon.

Each moment, whether a long or a brief one, was an expression of collectiveness/sociability, joy or sorrow, work or rest, meeting or parting, and was also perceived as an opportunity and a way of expressing one's feelings in metric verse. Many of the songs were “performed”, they were sung on various occasions (rural works, gatherings, feasts, etc.) and were accompanied by respective dances, as they expressed collective feelings, experiences and memories of the local community.

Dancing and singing, marked by a profoundly symbolic content, are ways in which, as we will see in our ethnographic case study, the local society “appropriates”, produces and reproduces, signals and re-signals an area from a cultural point of view. This is accomplished on the one hand by means of a “conquest” (tradition, concession) of the incontestable area of manly dominance, of the market, the village square for the girls' Sunday dance (*vale e vaizazet*), the *divani*, and on the other hand by means of ritual dances and songs performed within the areas of religious feasts, distinctly delineated and turned into symbols.

Singing, i.e. the metric verbal part which is rendered in a specific rhythm of music (tune), is intertwined with dancing, thereby forming an unbreakable whole, intensified by the absence of musical instruments. These songs were also sung on

mentioned as Kriekouki ever since the 16th century. It became a municipality in the year 1875 with 1,328 inhabitants and now (in the year 2001) counts 3,105 permanent inhabitants, who work in the areas of agriculture, transport and services provision.

² *For as long as I live / I 'll dance and I 'll sing.*

³ In the regions of Attica and Boeotia, as well as in many other regions of Greece (Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, Sterea Ellada, Evoia, the Peloponnese, S. Aegean Islands, Ionian Islands, etc.) mainly during the 14th and the 15th century A.D., there were big endogamous groups (*fares*) who gradually settled there, and who came from the area known today as S. Albania; they were organized under one leader, after whom they named the area where they settled down (e.g. Liossas – Lioassa, Spatas – Spata, Mazis – Mazi, etc.). These groups, which were warlike and raised animals, upon settling down and forming permanent settlements (*katounes*), started to mingle with the local population and developed a Greek-Albanian dialect (or language), *Arvanitika*, which is still spoken to this very date in numerous villages. (For more information, see C. Biris 1998, A. Ducellier 1994).

different occasions, e.g. at the “divani”,⁴ i.e. the Sunday dance at the central square of the village, during agricultural works (e.g. harvest), even at weddings. Quite a few of them are known to a broader cultural area of the Arvanitikos population (Th. Moraitis, 2002).

These Arvanitika songs are in rhyming couplets (“distixa”) (7/syllable and 8/syllable lines), as rhymes are a basic constituent of the song. To a large extent, these are “improvised” songs, which were later on compiled to form a corpus, and are passed on from one generation to another through the music oral tradition. Unfortunately though, out of the vast music richness of these Arvanitika songs, only few of them have been saved until today, precisely because of this improvisation.

A typical feature of these songs is the soptic and quite often (self)sarcastic spirit, the profound amorous mood and the expression of numerous feelings (joy, sorrow, pain, ...) that are mainly rendered through metaphors, although dialogue is also used sometimes.

The way in which these societies perceive and interpret the environment and the elements of which it consists (flora, fauna, geomorphology) enter into the songs’ metric lyrics in the form of symbols. In the Arvanitiko song, elements from the social, anthropogenic environment (persons, houses, streets, fountains, churches) engage in a vivid, descriptive “dialogue” with elements that belong to the broader natural environment (mountains, trees, flowers, animals, etc.) (G. M. Paidousi, 1980).

The dominant theme of these songs is love and response from the opposite sex in a conservative society, which exercises strict social control over its members and plays a decisive role in selecting one’s spouse. In this way, social situations and facts that refer to persons as social subjects, who express broader collective practices, are made public and are criticized and examined.

The creators and agents of the singing-dancing tradition were mainly women, without of course this meaning that men were excluded. In the Arvanitikes communities, which are clearly patriarchal (patrilinear) in terms of how their society is organized, and bear distinct bilateral elements, women’s role and position, as well as the presence of the feminine line is significant, even if not perceived that easily. Still, it is identified at an actual level, i.e. in women’s place in the productive process (A. Economou 1986:88–89 and A. Economou 2007:154–160) and at a symbolic level, as demonstrated in this case through the rituals that involve dancing and singing.

According to the general classification, these communities present virtually all genres of songs: wedding songs, love songs, lament songs, labour songs, jingle bell songs, satirical songs, children’s songs, lullabies, songs speaking of foreign

⁴ The word “divani” (from the Turkish word “divan”) means: sofa, bed, amanes (song of bitter grief), commotion, reception area, council, balcony, elders’ meeting at and around the central square of the village. Here it is used in the last sense, as the dance took place at the central square of the village, outside of the main church (archives of the Research Centre for Modern Greek Dialects and Idioms of the Academy of Athens).

lands. Some of them have vanished completely (e.g. klepht/historic songs), while others have been incorporated into broader categories (e.g. songs speaking of foreign lands have been incorporated into dancing songs that speak about love).

The Arvanitika songs (*k'ge*) are also distinguished between dancing and non-dancing songs and are characterized by the richness of both their verbal and their music expression (G. M. Paidousi 1980, Th. Moraitis 2002). The songs (words), the music (tune) and the dance (movement) are intertwined parts of a whole that takes place at private and public events and are a social and cultural expression of the local society. However, detached from the said three aspects, as it often happens, these songs can also be performed on different occasions (e.g. agricultural works).

The dances

As far as dancing is concerned, this paper will not focus so much on the structure, form and style of the dances, but rather on their function and role in terms of shaping the local cultural identity, on their importance for the symbolic structuring of the community and finally on their sociability.⁵

Dancing is encountered in these communities either as a pure dancing event, as e.g. at the *divani*, the Sunday dance, or as an integral part of a ritual, e.g. a feast or a wedding.

In the past, dances (*vale*) were danced on occasion of some celebration (Easter, carnival, local feasts etc.), social event (engagements, weddings, christenings, etc.) or at periodically repeated events, such as the Sunday dance, the *divani*, at the central square of the village, which was the women's dance (V. Liapis 1987, Y. Hunt 2005:131–2). In the case of Vilia, the place selected was that of the old cemetery, where the Holy Church of the Saviour's Transfiguration lies today, whereas in the case of Kriekouki it was the most recently built centre of today's village, at the Holy Church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.

Only women (married and single) would dance at the big dance, the *divani*, holding hands in a circle so as to form a chain (with arms crossed), like in the Megaritiki trata, and dressed in their best set of clothes (the *bolia*) (Hatzimichali 1978).

The women would sing themselves, without being accompanied by any musical instruments. Each line was sung by the woman leading the dance, i.e. the coryphaeus (or the coryphaei) (*i pari i vales*) and was repeated by the other women; this is why the women who were placed at the head of the dance (*n'krie e vales*)⁶ were the ones who could improvise and who knew a great number of songs.

⁵ For the meaning of the dancing structure and function, see Royce 2005: 77–94.

⁶ It was a great honour for a girl to be leading the dance, and this fact was often praised through the songs.

Vaiza vin gka valea / Si agio portokalea (the girl entered the dance / like an orange).

Flouda e portokaleze / N'krie t' vales (the orange peel / at the head of the dance).

At the *divani*, the dance would start with the following typical couplet:

N' ne n' Mario e moi

*Giah edai vasiliko!*⁷

This was followed by many Arvanitika couplets, which were sang by the women while dancing, and which were also sung on other occasions, e.g. at harvest, when collecting resin etc. The songs heard at the *divani* contained strong metaphors and although pronounced in a “generalized” manner, they drew elements out of real facts and persons and were aimed at social criticism, encouraging relationships and making them known (love affairs, engagements etc.). Through their melodic words full of criticism pronounced at a public area, which was considered important to the local society, women emerge as significant regulators of social relations and in the end of society’s reproduction as a whole.

Dancing songs, given that they are danced by all inhabitants, at public and private events, have been influenced, especially during the post-war period, by the broader Greek music and dancing tradition. As a result, one can find in the area dances which are well-known throughout the Greek territory: *Syrto sta tria*, *Kalamatianos*, *Tsamiko*, small and *Megalo Kageli* which are still danced today with Greek and Arvanitika songs (some of the best known Arvanitika songs are: *Ra kampana i Papantis*, *Litse moi Litse*, *Tsaita vouts'n*, *To ta pres' kotsidet' etc.*). Feasts and dances saw the participation of both men and women who used to dance in separate circles and then, in more recent years, started dancing in mixed circles. In Vilia and Kriekouki, as well as in the broader area, there was another dance as well, danced by men only and called the *Arvanitikos* or *gerontikos* (*dance of the elderly*) or *cheimariotikos*, although this gradually faded away (V. Liapis 1987:125–129). *Kagkeli* was also considered a man’s dance in the beginning, but was later on danced by women too. Still, women play the lead role when it comes to dancing and this is indisputable (A. Hatzimichali 1978:87, V. Liapis 1987).

Out of the rituals marking a passage in one’s lifecycle, wedding dances are a component and an integral part of it, with “Isaiah’s dance” as the culminating point of the religious ritual. All intermediate stages of the wedding ritual, the passage from one stage to another, are sealed with a dance, as if the wedding itself were nothing but a dance event (V. Liapis 1980, R. Loutzaki 1983–85). The Arvanitikos wedding started and finished with *kagkeli* (small and big *kagkeli*), which was usually danced by men, while in between people danced other circular dances well-known throughout the Greek territory: *kalamatianos*, *syrtos sta tria*, *tsamikos*. The *bairaktaris*, who was usually the first brother-in-law from the side of the groom, determined the order and the place at the dance according to the unwritten, ceremonial rules in force.

⁷ N'ne n' Maria/ah, this basil!

The musical instruments played were the well-known *zygia* found in Sterea Ellada and consisting of the *davul* and *pipiza*, which was later on replaced by the clarinet and the violin, and accompanied dance events, weddings, feasts etc. In more recent years, *zygia* became a *company* consisting of three or even four musical instruments (clarinet, violin, lute or guitar, *santouri* or accordion). (P. Fourikis 1952).

Music and dance events include small, local feasts that take place at country churches and are repeated at regular intervals through the year. Two of them stand out, as they have been kept until today and are of particular importance: the feast (*panigyri*) of Saint George at Paliochori (*Sir Gergi*) and the feast (*panigyri*) of the Virgin Mary at Goura (*Sir Marie e Gkoureze or Brinieze*) celebrating the Novena of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (August 23rd) at the homonymous country churches of Vilia (M. Michael – Dede 1986, A. Economou 2004).

Both of these holy places are important, in terms of structuring the local society, and bear a profound and apparent symbolic character: the feast (*panigyri*) of Saint George is linked with the destruction of Paliochori by pirates and the symbolic structuring of Vilia, while the feast (*panigyri*) of Goura is linked with the importance and contribution of water to society's reproduction.

In fact, these feasts are rituals, where women play the lead role. Women are the ones organizing, participating, singing and dancing at initiating, ceremonial (ritual) dances through a strict ritual where roles are predetermined. Songs are to a large extent improvised couplets which are sung only on a specific day (most of them) and are followed by the respective dance without being accompanied by any musical instruments. It is the song and the dance called *Loule Sygkergianiote* (Saint-George's Flower) and *Bo-bo to Marigo* (bo-bo Maria!) or *Ela psichi mou chorepse* (*Come dance, my soul*), a title coming from the first line of the refrain which is repeated.

These symbolic practices, that quite often turn into a feast with mass participation on behalf of the community, or other times constitute strictly ritual events shared among people of the same tribe, as shown in our ethnographic case, take on a special meaning as to society's survival, social and symbolic reproduction. These religious rituals do not contribute so much to the production of a visible practical result, but to society's inner structure.

These rituals take place at "established" places, where there are significant and vital natural resources (springs, headsprings, fountains) related to the community's survival, reproduction and symbolic structure. These places are sanctified through the construction of a holy building (church, iconostasis), usually devoted to the Great Mother, the Virgin Mary, or to some patron Saint of water (Saint George, Saint Paraskevi), who protect water from the evil and harmful spirits (demons, dragons) and guarantee its public use.

The feast (panigyri) of Saint George at Paliochori

Each year until today, the feast of Saint George takes place at Paliochori, 4 km outside of Vilia, on Saint George's Day (April 23rd) or on Easter Monday. According to the tradition, as the inhabitants of Paliochori were dancing to celebrate Saint George's Day, a pirate entered the dance and spoke the following words in Greek: "all day at the dance and at night at the shore"; the inhabitants, who were Arvanites, did not understand. So, when the night came, he gave a signal to the other pirates who were hiding and they attacked the village, they looted it, took all inhabitants with them as hostages and led them violently to the ships; from there, they took them to Sicily and Southern Italy. Always according to the tradition, there was a girl who got away, as she was tending the sheep far away from the village and when she came back, she faced the village totally ravaged and started to look desperately for her only sister, shouting "*bora motrezen*" (I've lost my beloved sister). Out of despair, she fell off an abrupt rock overlooking Paliochori, which is called today "*gouri i motra bora*" (rock of the woman who lost her sister). The dance is considered to be the "kerkoporta", the unattended back door that led to the fall of the village although, in reality, this familiarity expressed by the Arvanites towards a stranger is somewhat striking, given that they were a particularly closed and endogamous society, without however being inhospitable.

After the end of the divine Liturgy, there followed a dance in the churchyard. In the past, according to data, men and women danced the local dance called *Loule Sigergianiote* (Saint George's Flower), the title of which comes from the first line of the refrain, in different circles, which also implies the separate roles that the two genders played. Yet, based on other accounts of the inhabitants, Saint George's dance was a mixed dance, i.e. men and women danced together. Throughout all these years of on-site research in the region (ever since 1981), I have seen this dance many times; however, only a few men (2 to 3) have I personally seen entering the same circle of the dance.

The dance would continue at the central square of the village in front of the church of the Saviour's Transfiguration, where the old cemetery used to be and where the new centre of the village was later constructed – dating from the 19th century. People formed a procession to cover the distance between Saint George's church and Vilia, with young horsemen going in front and women following, singing and dancing. The distance covered is symbolic, as it links the old village (Paliochori) with today's settlement of Vilia like an invisible yet powerful thread which implies their common origin and as a result enhances collective memory.

The dance is a *syrtos sta dio* and is danced with women crossing their arms, i.e. the first woman crosses arms with the second and the third, the second woman with the first and the fourth etc., like the trata dance. (R. Loutzaki 1981–82).

While women tend to "disappear" behind men (whether their father, their brother or their husband) in terms of financial productive activities, they play a

major role in society's reproduction when it comes to feasts and rituals, and more generally speaking when it comes to managing and negotiating (acting as a mediator) with what is "sacred and super-natural", where they incontestably take the lead. Women, and as a matter of fact only married women, play the lead role at the dance.

Those among them who are older lead the dance and sing the "improvised" songs in Arvanitika, which are repeated by the other women, without being accompanied by any musical instruments. The creation of these Arvanitika songs is a privilege of women, who inherit a number of songs, add new ones and pass them on to the generations that follow.

Songs are a common, indicated way of expression and of making public criticism used by women, especially married and older women, whose social status allows them to speak in public and make criticism. The songs distinguish themselves for their amorous nature, and are marked by strong lyricism in a critical and sceptic mood, without this meaning they do not contain any factual and symbolic elements. Through dialogue, they manage to deconstruct the elements and symbols of man power. The desired effect is the mutual love response of the two sexes which needs to have a happy ending, both for the purposes of society's natural and symbolic reproduction, and by extension for the sake of nature.

The feast (panigyri) of the Virgin Mary at Goura

In the case of the feast at Goura⁸, the celebration of the Virgin Mary is linked with age-old pagan rituals of an obviously gonimic content, wishing for a good year. Besides, it is well known that the celebration of female spirits (fairies) was replaced by a celebration of Jesus's Mother, especially where there is water, holy water. At the country church of the Virgin Mary at Goura, the death of the Virgin Mary is "celebrated" (nine days after the Assumption) and at the same time the Virgin Mary and mother-Earth are called upon to resurrect and bear fruit, as older women perform a ritual and an initiation, assuming the role of a mediator.

The celebration of the Virgin Mary at Goura (*Sir Marie e Goureze* or *Sir Marie e Brinieze*, i.e. of the slope) is strictly a women's celebration, with absolutely no men except for the priest and the chanter whose presence is necessary. One day before the celebration, women would go up the path that led to Goura to ornament the church and keep vigil till the next day. After the divine Liturgy, women started to dance in the churchyard. This dance was also called *vale e plakavet* (old women's dance), because only old women would take part in it (M. Michael – Dede 1986). Always based on the accounts of women who have grown old today, "only old

⁸ At the heart of Mount Kithairon, at an altitude of 720 m., under the once verdant peak of Lestori and on the important karst spring of Goura, which until recently happened to be the main and only water spring in Vilia, lies the small church of the Virgin Mary, which celebrates the Novena of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, i.e. on August 23rd.

women entered the dance” at Goura, women who knew the songs and were able to improvise.

The dance was slow and heavy, as dictated by the circumstances, celebrating the Novena of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and had a profound mystical character. As they danced, women held in their hands the fertility and fecundity of the ground that would guarantee the survival and reproduction of the entire community. Through their “improvised” songs, they were given the opportunity to express their feelings and make strong social criticism regarding the opposite sex. They have a dominating role, as they “hold” the continuation and reproduction of the community in their hands. In this way, the “inner” world of society belongs to women, as opposed to the “outer” world which is “dominated” by men.

Only married and older women participate in the dance, which lends a gonic character to this ritual, wishing for a good year. Women, through their status which is put down to their age and social role, ensure the fertility and fruitfulness of the land, they avert evil and “guarantee” the continuation and reproduction of society. At the feast of Goura, the ritual dance and the songs of the married, older women, who have passed the trying crossroads of life (coming of age, marriage, having children) acts positively with respect to the fertility of the land and dissuasively with respect to evil, thus ensuring society’s continuation and reproduction.

The Goura dance consists of two parts, the first one slow and heavy and the second one faster and jumpy. It is danced with the arms crossed, like Saint George’s dance and the Megaritiki trata. (R. Loutzaki 1981–82, A. Hatzimichali 1933). After the dance in the churchyard, women, with the priest at the head, went down the path that led to the village “in chorus”. Their first stop was at the square with the poplar tree under *Lani*, an area with water mills, where they used to wash their clothes, an area of great practical and symbolic meaning to the community; here they would sing and dance. Then, they stopped at the square of the old kindergarten, where there used to be the Headquarters of the Turkish notable, and then at the Girls’ School (*Scholio i vaisazet*). The route of the dance itself, starting from the country church of the Virgin Mary at Goura till the old centre of the village, is highly symbolic, as it links the community with the source of water supply, which is of primordial importance, and brings towards it – in a symbolic, “mental” manner – the blessing of the Virgin Mary, the reviving and fruitful power of the water that springs from the heart of the mountain and ensures the survival and development of the Vilia society.

The songs of Goura are strictly women’s words expressed in public, yet in a controlled manner, strongly characterized by social criticism which is mainly turned on the opposite sex, i.e. on men. The songs of Goura are reserved for the area where the feast takes place: in the limited area of the church, outdoors, in the (semi-public) area within the borders of the community and at the public space of the central square.

The dance held at the two religious feasts (*panigyria*) of Vilia is the core of a custom, a ritual of profoundly symbolic nature related to the structuring of the community. The dance fulfills a complex and significant role in the community, “it contributes to the community’s support and reproduction and (maybe) it can finally convey “the identity” of its members and the numerous human relations that exist among them”.

The feasts (*panigyria*) of Vilia are intra-community events, they are organized and addressed to its community and to its neighbours only, people who share the same cultural identity, aiming to enhance the local cultural identity and collective memory. The sense of the community acts as a powerful web that links all these rituals and expresses the organization and structuring of the local society through symbols. People, as acting subjects, act based on their collective identity, aiming at doing what is right and ensuring unison in the community. This feeling of a “common belonging” – which is typical of stock-breeding societies – is reinforced by the distribution of animal products by the shepherds who live in the area.

A basic feature of both of these religious feasts (*panigyria*) is that they are still, to this very date, a creation and a constituent of the community and that they play an active role within it. In a new transformed manner, they contribute to the sense of community in terms of its cohesion and renewal. They are mainly addressed to its members, whether they are permanent inhabitants of the village or they have moved to urban centres, making them feel they belong to the same community and enhancing their local cultural identity.

During the past 2–3 decades, the singing and dancing tradition, which express the broader socio-economic and cultural developments that have taken place in these communities in the last decades, have undergone major changes.

They are subject to the same stifling pressure which derives from a tendency towards the creation of a homogeneous culture and the prevalence of specific genres and ways of performing songs and dances, while the special local creation and expression is marginalized, till it is finally led to extinction, with only a few exceptions.

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The image displays musical notation and a kinetogram for the dance "Loule Sygergianiote". On the left, a vertical staff shows musical notation with notes and rests. To the right, a kinetogram consists of a vertical line with a zigzag pattern, labeled with circled numbers 1 through 6. Below the kinetogram, three rhythmic patterns are shown, labeled "Αριστερός", "Κεντρικός", and "Δεξιός". The "Κεντρικός" pattern includes the word "χορευτής" below it. A legend at the bottom indicates that a square symbol represents a quarter note (♩) and a circle symbol represents a half note (♨), with a tempo marking of ♩ = 220.

The dance "Loule Sygergianiote" from the feast of Saint-George at Paliochori, Vilia, Attica
(kinetogram by M. Koutsouba, 2005)

The image displays a musical score and a kinetogram for the dance "Bo-bo to Marigo". On the left, a vertical staff of musical notation shows a sequence of notes and rests. To the right, a kinetogram illustrates the dance's structure with a vertical line and various symbols. The kinetogram is divided into sections labeled (14) 8 and (6) 1. Below the kinetogram, three rhythmic patterns are shown, labeled Αγυρής, Κερίνο χαρυσής, and Δεγής. A legend at the bottom indicates that a square symbol represents a duration of 200 units.

The dance "Bo-bo to Marigo" from the feast of The Virgin Mary at Goura, Vilia, Attica
(kinetogram by M. Koutsouba, 2005)



Women from Vilia at the “divani” (Sunday dance) in the central square of the village, outside the church of the Savior’s Transformation (from the edition M. Papaconstantinou, *Vilia during the past 1821–1950*).



Women from Kriekouki at the “divani” (Sunday dance) in the central square of the village, outside the church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, c. 1930 (photo from the archives of A. Economou).



Riders at the feast of Saint-George at Paliochori, Vilia (2004, A. Economou).



Young girls dressed in local costumes are dancing at the feast of Saint-George at Paliochori, Vilia (1981, A. Economou).



Dance at the feast of The Virgin Mary at Goura, Vilia (1985, A. Economou).