Traditional instruments in public Music Secondary Schools and Universities of Greece: Methods of transmission and teaching

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Abstract: For researchers of Greek traditional music, 1988 is regarded as a landmark year, as it coincides with the founding of the first public Music Secondary School in Greece. One of the innovations of these schools was the inclusion of Greek traditional instruments in their curricula, for the first time in a state educational institution. By September 2019, there were 47 such schools operating in most major Greek cities. During the first 30 years of their existence, Music Secondary Schools seem to have made an important contribution to the field of traditional music, as reflected by the significant number of graduates who are professionally active today – either as performers or teachers. It should be mentioned that the first teachers of traditional instruments in these schools were professionally active folk musicians, who had "learned" their art orally. Interestingly, as most of them had no previous formal training in music or pedagogy, they were given the title *empirotechnis* (εμπειροτέχνης), which can be translated as "craftsperson by experience". A second attempt at the "institutionalization" of traditional music in Greece took place in 2000, when two university schools of music started offering bachelor's degrees with this specialization, meeting a workforce need for "formally trained" teachers of traditional instruments. This paper explores the shift from informal to formal music teaching and learning of traditional Greek instruments by examining related studies over the last 30 years, with a special focus on methods of transmission.

Keywords: orality, literacy, traditional music, formal music learning

Introduction

According to Zoubouli and Kokkonis, traditional music has been present in all public school curricula since the establishment of the modern Greek state in 1830. However, it seems that the presence of traditional music has always been superficial and filtered through official government policies, the aim of which was the westernization of Greece, as the newly established state was struggling to form a national identity.[1] This practice was not only limited to school music but was also a general trend at that time. According to Vouvaris, Greek composers of that period "developed a musical conception of the modern Greek state" by combining features of European art music with elements from Greek folk music, which served as the vital link between antiquity and the present.[2] The leading figure among these composers, and an influential figure in the field of music education as well, was Manolis Kalomiris (1883–1962). During a concert in 1908, Kalomiris presented his "manifesto" for the so-called Greek National School, the purpose of which should be – according to Kalomiris – "the building of a palace in which to enthrone the national soul" by combining folksong and folk rhythms with techniques invented by "musically advanced peoples".[3]

For researchers of Greek traditional music, 1988 is regarded as a landmark year, as it coincides with the founding of the first public Music Secondary School in Greece. According to Dionyssiou, one of the innovations of these schools was the teaching of Greek traditional instruments, for the first time officially in a state educational institution.[4] By September 2019, there were 47 such schools operating in most major Greek cities. During these first 30 years, Music Secondary Schools seem to have made an important contribution to the field of traditional music, as is reflected by the significant number of graduates who are professionally active today – either as performers or teachers.[5] A second attempt towards the "institutionalization" of traditional instruments in Greece took place in 2000, when two university schools of music started offering bachelor's degrees with this specialization, meeting a workforce need for "formally trained" teachers of traditional instruments.

1 Maria Zoubouli and Giorgos Kokkonis, "I scholiki mousiki ekpedefsi: Mia istoria diachronikis logokrisias" [School music education: A story of constant censorship], in *Logokrisies stin Ellada* [Censorships in Greece], eds. Dimitris Christopoulos and Pinelopi Petsini (Athens: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2016), 186.

2 Petros Vouvaris, "44 Children's Pieces on Greek Melodies by Yannis Constantinidis: A masterpiece of Mikrokosmic proportions", *American Music Teacher* 54, no. 6 (2005): 41–42.

3 George Leotsakos, "Greece III", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 10, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 350.

4 Zoe Dionyssiou, "The effects of schooling on the teaching of Greek traditional music", *Music Education Research* 2, no. 2 (2000): 145–146.

5 Alexandros Kapsokavadis, *I mousiki os "praxi fysiologiki": Ta Mousika Scholia tis Attikis* [Music as a "natural act": The Music Schools of Attica] (Athens: Gavriilidi Publications, 2017), 143, 148.

This paper explores the shift from informal to formal music teaching and learning of traditional Greek instruments by examining related studies over the last 30 years, with a special focus on methods of transmission. The author shares a personal interest in this topic as he himself learned how to play the *santouri* (a Greek instrument similar to the hammered dulcimer) as a student of the Music Secondary School of his hometown, and then he taught *santouri* in Music Secondary Schools and more recently in a university.

Traditional vs non-traditional music learning: Explaining the dipole

A researcher interested in issues related to the teaching and transmission of traditional Greek music soon finds himself/herself placed between the two poles of an imaginary dipole: literacy vs. orality, formal vs. informal music learning, modern vs. traditional, etc. These are just some of the dualisms that authors have used so far in order to describe the features of traditional music, in contrast to so-called art music.

For example, Kapsokavdakis, in order to describe the ways in which Greek traditional music is learned, has adopted Lucy Green's distinction between formal and informal music learning,[6] based on her research, in which the participants were British popular musicians.[7] According to Green, when informal music learning takes place, learners (1) play music that they choose for themselves, and therefore love and identify more easily with; (2) learn to play by ear; (3) learn alone as well as alongside friends; (4) learn in their own personal way and therefore their progress does not follow a strictly defined order; and (5) develop skills such as listening, composing, playing, and improvising in an informal way. Green has also suggested that "most folk and traditional musics of the world are learnt by enculturation and extended immersion in listening to, watching and imitating the music and the music-making practices of the surrounding community".[8] It should be mentioned that, in this case, learning does not take place in a strictly organized context; it occurs subconsciously. In his ethnography of a Bulgarian village, Rice concluded that young boys learn to play traditional instruments by observing and listening to their peers in a process that he calls "peer-oriented visual-aural-tactile learning", suggesting that learning is a collective and multisensory process, while music in this social context is learned but not taught.[9] Campbell highlights the multisensory nature of learning by using examples from different music cultures of the world, in which musicians learn by listening, observing, and imitating, making use of their aural, visual, and kinaesthetic capacities.[10]

6 Ibid., 31.

7 Lucy Green, *How popular musicians learn: A way ahead for music education* (Oxford: Routledge, 2002).

8 Lucy Green, *Music, informal learning and the school: A new classroom pedagogy* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008), 6.

9 Timothy Rice, *May it fill your soul: Experiencing Bulgarian music* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 54.

10 Patricia Campbell, *Teaching music globally: Experiencing music, expressing culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 6.

Other researchers of Greek traditional music have focused on the ways in which it is transmitted. For example, Skoulios has suggested the term *oral musical traditions*, which covers the music of Greek rural areas but also includes music idioms of urban areas, such as Rebetiko.[11] Andrikos, too, supports the oral nature of Greek urban folk music,[12] and points to the mixed character of Greek Orthodox chant, which shares both literate and oral elements.[13] The term "oral" inevitably leads to Ong's distinction between oral and literate cultures, a theoretical model that musicologists have applied to the study of music cultures as well. Ong's main contribution to the understanding of oral cultures is based on his proposition that orality is not only a different means of transmission but also a factor that shapes culture itself in a different way, compared to text in literate cultures. In order to support this viewpoint, he refers to extensive works of epic poetry, such as the Homeric epics and exemplars of Balkan epic poetry.[14] The difference between oral and literate transmission is obvious in ethnomusicologist John Baily's account of his attempt to learn how to play the *dutâr* during his fieldwork in Afghanistan back in the 1970s. According to Baily's narrative, during his stay in Afghanistan he had lessons with two different teachers. The first was self-taught but had learned music theory later in his career, while the second was more "musically literate" as he had deep knowledge of *sargam* – an Indian system of solmization – musical forms and compositions. Despite the fact that both teachers used elements of music theory in their lessons, Baily suggests that his two teachers "had developed rather different kinds of musicality, one 'intuitive' and the other 'analytical'".[15]

At this point, the author would like to draw attention to the fact that dualisms, such as modern vs. traditional or literate vs. oral, may mislead the reader into believing that there is no "intermediate situation" between the two extremes. To avoid this misconception, the reader should rather consider these dualisms as a pendulum that swings back and forth. For this reason, Swanwick avoids making a distinction between formal and informal music learning. Instead, he suggests the use of Basil Bernstein's term *framing* in order to describe any process of music learning, whether it be a formal music lesson or a jam session. According to Swanwick, *strong framing* refers primarily to formal instruction directed by a teacher, while in *weak framing* students decide how, when, and, to a certain

11 Markos Skoulios, "Proforikes mousikes paradosis ston elladiko choro: Zitimata theoritikis analysis" [Oral musical traditions in Greece: Issues of theoretical analysis], *Polyphonia* 8, no. 1 (2006): 76.

12 Nikos Andrikos, *I laiki dromoi sto mesopolemiko astiko tragoudi: Schediasma laikis tropikis theorias* [The "laikoi dromoi" in the urban music in interwar period: Treatise on the phenomenon of modality in urban popular music] (Athens: Topos, 2018), 29.

13 Nikos Andrikos, *I ekklisiastiki mousiki tis Smyrnis (1800–1922)* [The ecclesiastical music of Smyrna (1800–1922)] (Athens: Topos, 2015), 62.

14 Walter Ong, *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the word* (Oxford: Routledge, 1982), 58–59.

15 John Bailey, "Learning to perform as a research technique in Ethnomusicology", *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 10, no. 2 (2001): 94.

extent, what they will learn. Although Swanwick's suggestion appears to resemble Green's distinction between formal and informal music learning, it accepts intermediate situations, as the learning process can be of stronger or weaker framing, but not necessarily placed at one of the extremes of the pendulum.[16] Furthermore, according to Campbell, musicians in many cultures today are "the product of both tradition and change", with reference to examples of oral music traditions that are now transcribed into music notation or are taught in institutions of formal education, such as music schools, conservatories, universities, etc.[17]

Traditional music learning	*Non-traditional music learning*
Orality	Literacy
Informal music learning	Formal music learning
Learning by enculturation	Learning through organized music lessons
Learning from/with peers	Taught by a teacher
Subconscious learning	Conscious learning
Weak framing (encounter)	Strong framing (instruction)

Table 1. Traditional vs. non-traditional music learning

The teaching of traditional Greek instruments in public institutions of secondary and higher education

Music education in Greek elementary and general secondary schools traditionally has mainly focused on the teaching of concepts about music rather than on performance-based activities – such as the teaching of instruments or formation of music ensembles – which seem to play a limited role in a student's life. The gap in instrumental instruction in the Greek education system has been filled mainly by private institutions called *odia*, a term that is usually translated as "conservatories", even though these institutions are not part of the country's higher education system. This situation changed in 1988 with the founding of the Pallini Music School in Athens, the first of the 47 public Music Secondary Schools that exist today.

Music Secondary Schools (or just "Music Schools") are public schools that follow the same National Curriculum as all secondary schools, with an extended schoolday in order to accommodate an additional cycle of music-related subjects, which include individual instrumental lessons and various theoretical courses on both Western classical music and Greek traditional music. More specifically, a student who wishes to study traditional music, can attend individual lessons on a traditional music instrument of his/her choice,

16 Keith Swanwick, *Music, mind and education*. (London: Routledge, 1988), 121.

17 Patricia Campbell, *Lessons from the world: A cross-cultural guide to music teaching and learning* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991), 187.

combined with other group lessons such as Music Ensembles, Greek Orthodox chant, etc.[18] According to Dionyssiou, this was the first time that traditional music was approached as an independent subject of study by a Greek state institution.[19]

According to their founding law, the initial purpose of these special schools was the preparation and training of students who wish to pursue a career as professional musicians, without affecting general education in case they decide to follow a different path.[20] However, it seems that, in the first thirty years of their existence, the purpose of Music Secondary Schools has changed, as the majority of students – along with their parents – choose them mainly for the broader education, rather than the professional training, that they offer.[21]

According to Kallimopoulou, the inclusion of traditional instruments in the curriculum of Music Schools offered folk musicians the opportunity to earn a living from music as teachers. This fact had great consequences for the profession, gradually altering the typical profile of a folk musician from that of performer to that of teacher-performer, or even just teacher.[22] It should be mentioned that the first teachers of traditional instruments in these schools were professionally active folk musicians who "had learned" their art orally. Interestingly enough, as many of them had no previous formal training in music or pedagogy, they were given the title *empirotechnis* (εμπειροτέχνης), which can be translated as "empirical craftsperson" or "craftsperson by experience". As the number of Music Schools increased in the following years, a demand for "formally trained" teachers of traditional instruments appeared in the labour market. Meeting this workforce need was probably one of the reasons why bachelor's degree programmes with this specialization were offered by two public university schools of music, namely, the former Department of Traditional and Folk Music, Technological Educational Institute (TEI) of Epirus (the current Department of Music Studies, University of Ioannina) in Arta, and the Department of Music Science & Art, University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki.

Musicologist Giorgos Kokkonis, one of the first professors at the TEI of Epirus and the leading figure in the design of the first curriculum adopted by this institution, suggests that the term *empirical* does not underestimate the value of folk musicians but rather describes

18 Ioannis Simos, *I Mousiki Ekpedfsi sti neoteri kai sichroni Ellada* [Music Education in modern and contemporary Greece] (Athens: Edition Orpheus, 2004).

19 Dionyssiou, "The effects of schooling", 145–146.

20 N. 3345/2.9.1988 No. 1

21 Eleni Spyropoulou, "Morfes igesias sta Mousika Scholia (tis Elladas)" [Types of leadership in Music Schools (of Greece)] (master's thesis, University of the Peloponnese, 2009), 124; Amalia Ifanti and Vissaria Zorba, "Ta exidikevmena mousika scholia stin Ellada: Mia meleti periptosis" [The specialized music schools in Greece: A case study], *Vima ton Kinonikon Epistimon* 57, no. 1 (2010): 136.

22 Eleni Kallimopoulou, *Paradosiaká: Music, meaning and identity in modern Greece* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 145.

the context in which these respective musicians have been taught and teach, a context in which knowledge succeeds experience as it is achieved through practical experiences. However, according to Kokkonis:

> *This traditional method by which methods and techniques are handed down from generation to generation, mainly through a strong empirical relationship, is certainly not applicable to an academic context, because such context cannot ensure the long empirical contact between teacher and student. There, knowledge, structured knowledge, organized knowledge precedes experience.*[23]

Furthermore, according to ethnomusicologist Marios Mavroidis, one of the first teachers of traditional music in the Pallini Music School, another challenging issue concerned the students' urban background. Located in Pallini, a suburban area of Athens, the school mainly attracted students who were "children of the city" with very limited exposure to traditional music and culture. Mavroidis describes the early years of the Pallini Music School as a period of experimentation, especially for the teachers of traditional instruments. Mavroidis recalls this period in a somehow romantic and idealized way.[24] Thus, it does not come as a surprise to read his dedication to the first graduates of the school – "to remember the miracle we lived" – in his *Anthology of Greek Traditional Music*.[25]

Research on the teaching of traditional instruments in public Music Secondary Schools and universities

The inclusion of traditional musical instruments in the curriculum of public Music Secondary Schools and universities soon attracted the attention of many researchers. In 2000, Dionyssiou published the first large-scale study of this subject. It was based on her fieldwork in Music Schools between 1998 and 1999, ten years after the founding of the first Music School in Pallini. One of Dionyssiou's main conclusions was that traditional music was becoming more and more formal, and losing a great deal of its improvisatory character, a fact that the researcher attributed to the increasing use of scores in the teaching and performance of traditional music. More specifically, as her study suggests,

23 Giorgos Kokkonis, "I didaskalia ton laikon paradoseon sta Mousika Scholia kai to Tmima Laikis kai Paradosiakis Mousikis tou TEI Ipirou: Mia amfidromi schesi" [The teaching of folk traditions in Music Schools and the Department of Traditional and Folk Music of TEI of Epirus: A bidirectional relationship], in *Proceedings of the 1st Scientific Conference with subject "Music Schools in Greece"* (Athens: Panhellenic Parents Union of Music Schools, 2007), 33.

24 Marios Mavroidis, "Mousiki ekpaidefsi kai paradosi: I empiria tou Piramtikou Mousikou Gymnasiou Pallinis" [Music education and tradition: The experience of Experimental Music Secondary School of Pallini], *O POLITIS Dekapenthimeros* 11 (1995): 36.

25 Marios Mavroidis, *Anthologia Ellinikis Paradosiakis Mousikis* [Anthology of Greek Traditional Music] (Athens: Fagotto, 1994), 5.

74% of teachers of traditional instruments were teaching by the use of music notation, either Western staff (49%) or the notation system of Greek Orthodox chant (25%).[26] The findings of this study could be described as unexpected on a certain level, because in the late 1990s, all teachers of traditional music instruments were *empirotechnes*.

However, it should be noted that similar findings were also reported by Rice during his fieldwork in Bulgaria. According to Rice, when traditional bagpipe players were asked to teach in formal settings (in Music Schools, for example), they did so by using music notation, in a completely different way in comparison to how they themselves had learned to play their instruments.[27] One reason that could possibly explain this preference for the use of music notation lies in the higher status it enjoys in Western societies.[28] According to Kallimopoulou, the first teachers of traditional instruments in the Music School of Pallini felt that they had to justify their position in a context that was "terra incognita" to them, but at the same time they also had to secure their professional status, especially vis-à-vis their Western colleagues who might accuse them of amateurism.[29]

As mentioned above, the year 2000 may be seen as a second landmark year after 1988, as it coincides with the establishment of the Department of Traditional and Folk Music at the TEI of Epirus (the current Department of Music Studies, University of Ioannina), and the beginning of an undergraduate programme with specialization in the performance of traditional instruments in the Department of Music Science & Art at the University of Macedonia, in Thessaloniki. During the early years of these academic programmes, the teaching staff enthusiastically experimented with teaching methods that could "solve the problem" of the inclusion of oral traditions into a literate context. For example, the TEI of Epirus hired the 70-year-old Christos Zotos, a famous traditional musician, in order to teach *laouto* (Greek lute). The main idea was that, through their contact with traditional "practical" musicians of the old generation, students could acquire – up to a certain point – elements of tradition. In addition, classes in ethnomusicology, anthropology, ethnochoreology, and others could help them evaluate, analyze, and develop these elements.[30] According to Skotis, Zotos's teaching was based exclusively on the element of imitation, as he would ask his students to imitate his playing without using any kind of music notation. Furthermore, he asked the students to make recordings – either audio or video – to help their practice

26 Dionyssiou, "The effects of schooling", 153.

27 Rice, *May it fill your soul*, 217–219.

28 Patricia Campbell, "Orality, literacy and music's creative potential: A comparative approach', *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 101 (1989): 31.

29 Kallimopoulou, *Paradosiaká*, 140.

30 Theocharis Raptis, "I chrisi tis technologias sti didaskalia paradosiakon mousikon organon" [The use of technology in the teaching of traditional music instruments], in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference "Teaching Material and its contribution to educational practice: From theory to application in Music Education"* (Athens: GAMPET, 2009), 287, 291.

at home.[31] As Tzioumaris suggests, modern technology proved to be of primary importance for most teachers in the department, as it assisted them in blending literacy and orality in their lessons, by combining music scores and audio/video recordings.[32]

After 2005 the first graduates of these university programmes joined the teaching staff of Music Secondary Schools, a fact that provided special interest in the research conducted from that point onward. For example, in Charizanopoulos's study, the participants were 16 teachers of traditional percussion from 16 different Music Schools. Out of all the participants, 12 (66.6%) responded that they were using music notation during their lessons (method books or exercises written on the blackboard) while only 4 (33.3%) were teaching without notation.[33] Tsipouridis carried out a similar research study on the teaching of *kanonaki* (qanun) in Music Schools. As his research shows, all 15 participants were teaching *kanonaki* using music notation, 11 of which claimed that they taught exclusively by the use of notation whereas 4 stated that they used a combination of notation and oral teaching. According to one of the participants:

> *Teaching begins with a music score so that children feel safe as they have something written and readable in their hands. Subsequently, we begin the oral teaching and, depending on the skills of each student, we proceed to the rest, aiming at "independence" from notation.*[34]

These words are in accordance with Dionyssiou's conclusion that teachers of traditional instruments have found "shelter" in the use of notation, as it provides a more specific and "safe" path for their students. However, most of them seem to realize that the extensive use of notation may lead to the "classicization" of traditional music. Therefore, they try to use notation with the sole purpose of teaching the basic frame of a piece, and then they encourage students to improvise with it.[35] As another *kanonaki* teacher said:

31 Dimitris Skotis, "I didaktiki methodos tou laoutou mesa apo tis paradigmatikes periptosis ton Christou Zotou kai Dimitri Mystakidi" [The teaching method of laouto through the exemplary cases of Christos Zotos and Dimitris Mystakidis] (bachelor's thesis, TEI of Epirus, 2008), 27–29.

32 Georgios Tzioumaris, "I didaskalia ton mousikon organon sto Tmima Laikis kai Paradosiakis Mousikis tou TEI Ipirou" [The teaching of music instruments in the Department of Folk and Traditional Music of TEI of Epirus] (bachelor's thesis, TEI of Epirus, 2009), 78.

33 Charizanis Charizanopoulos, "Methodoi didaskalias ton paradosiakon krouston sta Mousika Scholia tis Elladas" [Teaching methods of traditional percussion in the Music Schools of Greece] (bachelor's thesis, TEI of Epirus, 2007), 55–58.

34 Georgios Tsipouridis, "I didaskalia tou kanoniou sta Mousika Scholia tis Elladas" [The teaching of kanonaki in Music Schools of Greece] (bachelor's thesis, TEI of Epirus, 2007), 2.

35 Zoe Dionyssiou, "Prosegisi stin didaskalia tis ellinikis paradosiakis mousikis" [Approach in the teaching of Greek traditional music], *Mousiki Ekpaidefsi* 2, no. 3 (2002): 161–162.

> *We try to establish the obligatory teaching by using notation, but without rejecting or oppressing free expression and personal embellishment of each music piece by students, always with respect to tradition that we are obliged to preserve unaltered through time.*[36]

Having conducted qualitative research in one of the five Music Secondary Schools of Athens, Psomopoulos also found that the great majority of traditional instrument teachers used music notation in their lessons. However, most of them seemed to consider notation as a sign of "weakness" for a traditional musician. In order to justify their practices, they claimed that they teach by notation only in the beginning, trying to omit it gradually as the students develop their skills. At this point, the use of technology has proven very useful, as students can record – either in audio or video format – their teachers during the lesson.[37] Athanasias conducted research on the teaching of the traditional violin in Music Schools. According to his findings, all 19 teachers who participated in the study reported using music notation in their lessons. However, 5 of them (26.3%) responded that they see notation only as a guide for the student and try to omit it when they think it is unnecessary.[38]

In Vlahava's research study, the participants were six teachers of traditional instruments from two Music Schools of Northern Greece. As in the studies mentioned above, all participants claimed that they taught with the aid of music notation, although they believe that the priority for a traditional musician is to learn to play by ear. As this study points out, not only is notation considered a useful tool but it is also an element of high status. As one participant has stated, a musician and an instrumentalist are two different things, suggesting that a "complete musician" must possess comprehensive knowledge of music with reference to knowledge of music theory and sight-singing.[39]

36 Tsipouridis, "The teaching of kanonaki", 32.

37 Alexandros Psomopoulos, "I didaskalia ton paradosiakon mousikon organon sto Mousiko Scholio Alimou" [The teaching of traditional music instruments in the Music School of Alimos] (bachelor's thesis, TEI of Epirus, 2010), 62–64.

38 Vassilis Athanasias, "To paradosiako violi stin ekpedftiki diadikasia ton Mousikon Scholion tis Elladas: Methodi didaskalias ke sygrisi me ti didaskalia tou violiou tis logias dytikis mousikis" [The traditional violin in the educational process of Music Schools in Greece: Teaching methods and comparison with the teaching of western classical violin] (bachelor's thesis, TEI of Epirus, 2011), 52–59.

39 Maria Vlahava, "I paradosiaki mousiki sta Mousika Scholia: I periptosi tou Nomou Kozanis" [Traditional music in Music Schools: The case of the prefecture of Kozani] (bachelor's thesis, TEI of Epirus, 2012), 67.

Conclusion

The entry of traditional musicians into Music Secondary Schools gradually modified their typical profile from that of performer to that of teacher-performer, or even just teacher,[40] and also changed the way of learning traditional music from a peer-oriented to a teacher-oriented process that is based on organized lessons and not enculturation, according to Rice's and Green's terms, respectively. This shift did not happen easily, as the first teachers of traditional instruments did not only have to adjust to a completely new context but also had to cope with issues such as their students' limited exposure to traditional music and their colleagues' possible disapproval.[41] These difficulties may explain the reason why these musicians started at some point to teach primarily by the use of music notation, in a completely different way to how they themselves had learned to play their instruments.[42] This practice was generalized in the following years, something that did not change even after the inclusion of university graduates in the teaching staff of Music Secondary Schools, despite their ethnomusicological background, as a number of studies suggest.

In addition to providing a sense of safety to their students, most teachers of traditional instruments seem to consider the use of notation important due to the higher status it confers on their work. This fact reveals the strength of the belief that literacy is superior to orality in Western, or at least Greek, culture. However, as most of these teachers realize, the extensive use of notation may result in the "formalization" of traditional music and the loss of its improvisatory character. Therefore, they try to use music scores only as guides to teach the basic melodic frame of a piece. Furthermore, as they maintain that the priority of a traditional musician is to learn to play by ear, they teach by notation only in the beginning, omitting it gradually as the students develop their aural skills. Finally, the use of technology has proven useful, since students can record their teachers – either in audio or video format – during lessons, a practice that combines elements of literacy and orality.

Taking all of the above into consideration, it becomes apparent that the "institutionalization" of Greek traditional instruments has changed the ways in which traditional music is both learned and performed. Concerning the instrumentalists of the new generation, the "more literate" way of learning may lead to the development of different kinds of musicality, as Baily would probably say, an evolution that is not necessarily good or bad. However, at this point, a deeper question must be posed: does the teaching of traditional instruments in formal educational settings have a positive or negative effect on traditional music? Should traditional music be taught by teachers in organized lessons? Despite the author's 15-year experience as a teacher of traditional instruments, he does not consider himself ready to provide an answer to this question.

40 Kallimopoulou, *Paradosiaká*, 145.

41 Mavroidis, "Music education and tradition", 36; Kallimopoulou, *Paradosiaká*, 140.

42 Dionyssiou, "The effects of schooling", 153.

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