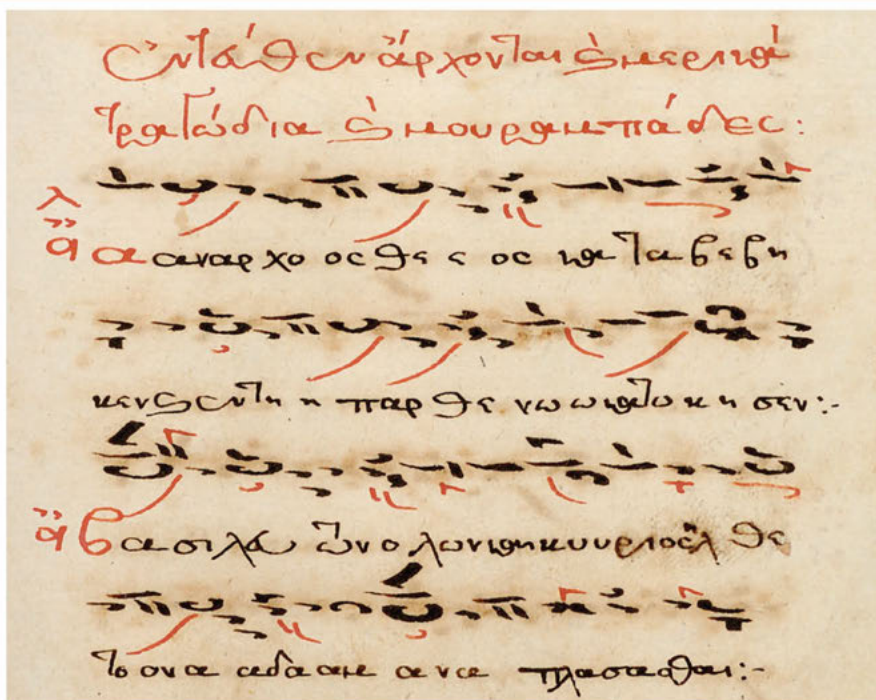


Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)

Kyriakos Kalaitzidis



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Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts
as a Source for Oriental Secular Music
(15th to Early 19th Century)

by
Kyriakos Kalaitzidis

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Acknowledgements

The idea for this English edition of Kyriakos Kalaitzidis' Ph.D. thesis came into being during the conference entitled "Writing the History of "Ottoman Music"", which was organized by the Orient-Institut Istanbul in cooperation with the State Conservatory for Turkish Music of the Technical University Istanbul in November 2011. We had planned to invite Kyriakos Kalaitzidis to share his experience as a performing musician, but he proposed a paper on Ottoman music in post-Byzantine music manuscripts. As it turned out almost none of the Turkish and international experts on Ottoman music in attendance had ever heard about this research and these sources. The paper itself caused a true sensation: By mining diverse post-Byzantine manuscript collections in libraries and monasteries for the first time, Kyriakos Kalaitzidis discovered about 4,200 pages of previously unknown notations of secular Greek, Ottoman and Persian music.

After the publication of two known collections of Ottoman art music prior to the 19th century, Ali Ufki's *Mecmua* and the collection of Cantemir, these new sources promise a third outstanding historical corpus of compositions. The English translation of Kyriakos Kalaitzidis book, however, is only a first step. All these newly discovered notations need to be transcribed and carefully edited, a project that might last for years. As Kyriakos Kalaitzidis points out several times in his book, there are many fields that urgently require further and more detailed research.

Beyond the notations also the Greek perspective on Ottoman music history will be new and refreshing for many scholars and students working on Ottoman music. We hope that this book convinces many of them to enforce a Turkish-Greek cooperation in the field of traditional music.

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Martin Greve,

Istanbul, August 2012

Preface

My occupation with the music of the Near East lead to an understanding early on, of the significance of the music manuscript tradition as a source for secular music. I gained some of this understanding through the preparation of the audio CDs “Zakharia Khanendeh”, “Petros Peloponnesios” and “Secular Music from Athonite Codices of Byzantine Music”. And so, in September 2004, when I accepted the kind encouragement of professor G. T. Stathis to write a doctoral dissertation, the “subject matter” was already ripe to a great degree. Consequently, the topic of the thesis and the scope of the musical material to be examined, were defined in collaboration with G.T. Stathis as supervising professor.

From the initial stages of this work, the disproportion when comparing the source material to the relevant literature became apparent – the former being considerably rich, and the latter of limited extent and poor. Therefore, making the music manuscripts the focal point of this research, and utilising the available literature as a supplement to this, was deemed the most appropriate method with which to progress. The steps that followed are below:

- Location and collection of literature relevant to the topic.
- Study, indexing and cross-referencing of facts and information.
Location of manuscripts and loose leaves of codices containing secular music, resulting in the compilation of an analytical table.
- Photography and digitisation of the source material.
- Writing of an analytical descriptive catalogue for each manuscript.
- Development of a “General Plan” for the dissertation.
- Authoring of the work.

This work covers the primary and secondary aspects of the topic and is aimed at both experts in the field, as well as a wider audience with interests in musicology.

During the development of this work, many debts of gratitude were accumulated. As a small gift in return, I would like to express my gratitude towards my supervisor, Professor G. T. Stathis, for his encouragement, trust, advice, suggestions, corrections, and in-depth discussions on issues related to this work.

I owe many thanks to the other members of the tripartite committee also, professors Lambros Liavas and Achilleas Chaldaiakis, for their advice and suggestions. The contribution of Professor Thomas Apostolopoulos was most helpful. Among other things, I am indebted to him for enabling my first contact with the secular music manuscripts, for a wealth of advice and corrections, as well as for his unwavering support throughout the development of this work.

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The directors and staff of the library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople; the director of the National Library of Greece, Ms. Ketī Kordouli and the Department of Manuscripts and Incunabula; the late Penelope Stathi, academic associate of the Research Centre for Medieval and Modern Hellenism of the Academy of Athens; the director of the Gritsanis Library, Father Panagiotis Kapodistrias; the librarians of the Holy Monastery of Iviron, Monk Theologos and of the Holy Monastery of Agiou Pavlou, Father Nicodemos, and monks Father Kyriōn of the Holy Monastery of Panteleimonos and Father Gregorios of the Holy Monastery of Gregoriou; the abbot of the Holy Monastery of Leimanos, Archimandrite Nicodemos; the director of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, Professor George Martzelos and the staff of the Department of Manuscripts; the department of Music Studies of the University of Athens for granting access to the library of Konstantinos Pachos; the Gennadius Library director, Maria Georgopoulos, and Ms. Katerina Papatheofanous; the managers of the Historical and Palaeographical Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece and of the Hellenic Literary Archive, as well as Agamemnon Tselikas and Dimitri Portolos; the managers of the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest; and the deputy director Şehvar Beşiroğlu, professor Mehmet Bitmez and the library staff of the Turkish Music State Conservatory and of the Centre for Advanced Studies in Music in Istanbul; Markos Dragoumis and the Musical Folklore Archives; the library staff of the Cité de la Music and Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris, the library of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens; the Centre of Sinaitic Studies of the University of Athens, the Library of Byzantine and Medieval History (AUTH) and the Library of the Theological School (AUTH).

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I will always be indebted to my Byzantine chant teacher, Eleftherios Georgiades, former Archon Lambadarios of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

My brothers Pantelis and Panagiotis, my elders in both age and in learning, stand as great examples for me. The work would not have been completed without the ongoing support of my wife, Vasiliki Nevrokopli, and the patience of our daughters, Kalliope and Fotini.

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Kyriakos Kalaitzidis

Thessaloniki, July 2012

Introduction

In the preamble of *Alexiadis*¹, Anna Komnene poetically describes the power of history and the written word, which encompass and encircle people, things, and events, preventing them from drifting into the depths of oblivion, along the rapid flow of time. This description, written by a highly educated individual, who came from the same intellectual environment that gave birth to the *psaltic* art, highlights the importance of music notation and the manuscript tradition in the study of the phenomenon that is the topic of this book, namely, the presence of secular compositions within the post-Byzantine codices of the *psaltic* art tradition.

This book focuses on an aspect of the manuscript tradition of *psaltic* art that is more or less unknown to date, while also investigating fields relating to the music outside the ecclesiastical Greek musical heritage and those of the related music traditions of the Near East.

The beginnings of the use of music notation in ecclesiastical music are identified around the middle of the 10th century.

“Neumatic notation or *parasimantiki* was born of the Byzantine spirit and civilization and is a sophisticated system, literally an audio alphabet, an offspring of the Greek alphabet of letters, for the perfect expression of monophonic music”².

Today, scattered in public and private collections around the world and with the great majority being found in Greek libraries, there are around seven thousand three-hundred, Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts preserved.³ This book is concerned with the use of this system of writing, that is, that of Byzantine *parasimantiki*, for the notation of music outside of the ecclesiastical Greek tradition, that is, the secular music, of the Greek, as well as the Persian, Ottoman and

¹ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάδα*: Annae Comnenae, Alexiadis, Libri XV, 714-19, ed. Ludovicus Schopenus, volumen II, Bonae, Impensis ed Webere, MDCCCL XXVIII (1878). This reference here is from the modern Greek translation by Alois Sideri, published by Agra, Athens, 1990.

² Stathis 2005. An extensive bibliography relevant to the topic of Byzantine music is provided by G. T. Stathis 2009:68-69. See also Stathis 1993, Psachos 1978. A series of doctoral dissertations written in the last fifteen years address the topic of notation and its *exegesis*. See for instance, Apostolopoulos 2002, Anastasiou 2005, Chaldaiakis 2003, Karagounis 2003.

³ This is not a definitive number as research continues to bring to the surface previously unknown manuscripts. A catalogue of libraries whose collections contain Greek codices was published in the middle of the 20th century by M. Richard (*Repertoire des Bibliothèques et Catalogues de Manuscrits Grecs*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1958 (I) & 1964 (II)). Extensive catalogues of both music manuscripts and general manuscripts containing music have been published by A. G. Chaldaiakis 2003:58-72, Karagounis 2003:82-88 and E. Giannopoulos, *Ἡ ψαλτική τέχνη, λόγος καὶ μέλος στὴ λατρεία τῆς ὀρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας*, Thessaloniki 2004, pp. 313-355.

Arabic traditions. The wealth of these manuscripts constitutes a significant source, in terms of both folk music and art music, of the written inheritance of the nations of the Near East. Ongoing research in the field frequently shifts the chronological boundaries of the music sources at hand further back in time. Through the passing of the centuries, a significant number of manuscripts and single folios within codices, around 2,100 folios or 4,200 pages, which contain notated secular music, have been accumulated.

The study of this source material brings to the surface a wealth of data and information touching on many, differing fields, such as, the study of musical form, modal theory, rhythm, and notational systems. As well as this, the life and works of people who were active in the realm of secular music, and the relationships and commonalities of the musical societies of the Near East, are highlighted. Finally, it is significant to note the contribution the study of the source material makes towards topics of history, sociology and philology, which are afforded the opportunity of being approached from a different perspective.

The Term “Secular Music”

A survey of Greek literature and discography of recent years reveals an increasing use of the term “secular music” in order to define the music outside of religious worship. The meaning of secular, however, in the context of music, in the Greek language, appears introduced as a translation of the correlating English and French terms, which gradually acquired particular weight in the West after the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.⁴ Because of socio-cultural developments related mainly to the phenomenon and process of secularization (or in the French case to the more radical principle of “laïcité”), in the West, religious expression took place on the margins of societal and artistic life, and acquired the descriptive title “religious”, which eventually came to be clearly distinguished from the term secular.⁵ In contrast, in the Orthodox Near East, where the phenomenon under investigation was born, the world and cosmos, nature, people, social life and art, were viewed from a holistic perspective. According to this perspective, there is no distinction between sacred and temporal, holy and unholy, religious and secular. Every aspect of life, both private and public, demonstrates the unity between the universe and God’s plan. Everything is sanctified and reveals God’s glory. To a large degree, moreover, the beginnings

⁴ The earliest use of the term “Secular Byzantine Music” is found in Wellesz 1961, and more specifically in pp. 78-122, and in the chapters “The pagan background” and “Music in ceremonies”.

⁵ See for example, among others, Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, New York: Doubleday, 1967; and the more recent, Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*, Cambridge, MA-London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

and the evolution of music, like every art form (with the exception of those that appeared in the 19th and 20th centuries such as photography, cinematography and video art), are connected to religious expression. As Ananda Coomaraswamy, and later the Greek essayist Zisimos Lorentzatos maintain,⁶ in the traditional societies of the East – or even in the West before the Renaissance and the Enlightenment – art, it seems, mainly serves the worshipping community and religious faith – the metaphysical axis of life and society – referring to the metaphysical centre of the world. According to this analysis, art imitates the divine models or archetypes, trying to make the invisible, that is, the divine harmony, visible and tangible. As a result, “art, music... and the areas of cultural creativity in general, are inseparably connected with religious fervour”⁷, while, as the leading philosopher and musicologist Theodor Adorno writes: “the language of music... contains a theological dimension”⁸. The above is recapitulated by the great Russian film director, Andrei Tarkovsky when he noted that: “art is a confession of faith”⁹.

In the printed publications of the 19th century, the term “κοσμική μουσική” (secular music), is not encountered, but rather the terms “ἐξωτερική” (*exoteriki*), which translates to “external”, and also “θύραθεν”¹⁰ (*thyrathen*), meaning “outside”, occur. These terms accurately signify the notion of non-ecclesiastical music. Occasionally they are used to indicate the music of non-Orthodox Eastern nations (Stathis 1979:26), even though from the study of the source material it is evident that secular music is perceived as one entity, and as one common cultural asset, without ethnic or religious distinctions. Non-ecclesiastical music is named external or secular, revealing the music’s placement and regard.

Secular music was not considered unsuitable for, or not in harmony with worship. It was simply the music of the formal ceremonies of the Byzantine palace

⁶ A. Coomaraswamy, 1977, “Medieval and Oriental Philosophy of Art,” in: R. Lipsey (ed.), *Coomaraswamy 1 : Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism*, Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 43-70; Z. Lorentzatos, “*The Lost Center*” and *Other Essays on Greek Poetry*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, passim.

⁷ B. Gioultsis, *Κοινωνιολογία της Θρησκείας*, Thessaloniki 1996, pp. 96-97.

⁸ T. Adorno, *Η κοινωνιολογία της μουσικής*, transl. T. Loupasakis, G. Sagkriotis, F. Terzakis, Athens 1997, p.15.

⁹ Interview in the Greek newspaper *Κυριακάτικη Ελευθεροτυπία* (December 8, 1996). For more on this topic see P. Sherrard, *The sacred in life and art*, Ipswich: Golgonooza Press, 1990; Z. Lorentzatos, “*The Lost Center*” and *Other Essays on Greek Poetry*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980; *Περί ύλης και τέχνης*, essays by P. Sherrard, A. M. Allchin, Timothy Ware, C. Putnam, Jean Onimus, Olivier Clément, Paul Evdokimov, Athens 1971; Of special interest for this topic are the views of Bishop Kallistos Ware, *The Inner Kingdom*, Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2000, pp. 59-68, and Apostolopoulos 1999:18-21.

¹⁰ The term “θύραθεν”, that is, “outside” is often used in Byzantine literature to refer to non-Christian philosophical tradition and culture. See, N. Matsoukas, *Ιστορία της φιλοσοφίας*, Thessaloniki, 1980; Herbert Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία. Η λόγια κοσμική γραμματεία των Βυζαντινών*, vol. 1, MIET, Athens, 1994, pp. 37-122.

and the Hippodrome of Constantinople¹¹, and of the imperial and other celebratory processions. It was the music heard at the dinners, suppers, symposia, and various other forms of entertainment and banquets.¹² And hence, the emergence of the phenomenon that is the inclusion and preservation of “secular” music within the ark that is the ecclesiastical music manuscript tradition can be understood.

The above distinctions are deemed necessary in order to establish a use of the term secular music in this book. The notion of secular should not be construed as antithetical to religious, given that what is being discussed is an era during which every manifestation of personal and communal life was steeped in sincere religious sentiment and intense metaphysical angst, to such a degree that, emperors frequently abandoned their throne and authority and withdrew to monasteries becoming monks¹³. Distinction must be made from worshiping, clerical and ecclesiastical but not from religious. Steven Runciman notes that:

¹¹ Depending on the circumstance, in this book, the historical name, “Constantinople”, and the contemporary, “Istanbul”, are used to refer to the city. For the official and unofficial names of the city see, among many: Georgacas, Demetrius John (1947), “The Names of Constantinople”, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* (The Johns Hopkins University Press) 78: 347–67; Shaw, Stanford Jay (1976): *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Necdet Sakaoğlu (1993/94b): “Kostantiniyye”. In: *Dünden bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Türkiye Kültür Bakanlığı, İstanbul; G. Necipoğlu “From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Kostantiniyye: Creation of a Cosmopolitan Capital and Visual Culture under Sultan Mehmed II” Ex. cat. *From Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital*, June 5 - Sept. 4, 2010, Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum. İstanbul (2010) p. 262.

¹² Stathis 1979:26, notes that the separation between ecclesiastical and “external” music as concepts “is formalised in the 8th c., when the *Octoechos* was established for ecclesiastical – Byzantine *melopoeia* by John of Damascus”. See also fn. 4 on that same page. Finally, in the field of literature, the great Greek writer and novelist Alexandros Papadiamantis characteristically states in his narrative “Ρεμβασμός του Δεκαπενταγούστου” (*Άπαντα*., vol. 4, p. 86, edited by N. D. Triantafyllopoulos, Athens 1982): “They loved music very much, both ecclesiastical and external [secular]”.

¹³ Many kings and queens of Byzantium are mentioned in the “Synodicon of the Seventh Ecumenical Council for Orthodoxy” where it is stated that they “exchanged the earthly kingdom with the heavenly one” (see *Τριώδιον*, publ. Φῶς, Athens 1983, pp. 155-166). C. P. Cavafy beautifully outlines this custom in his poem “Manuel Komninos”:

Ὁ Βασιλεὺς κύρ Μανουὴλ ὁ Κομνηνός

...

Παληρὲς συνήθειες καὶ εὐλαβεῖς θυμᾶται
κι ἅπ’ τὰ κελλιά τῶν μοναχῶν προστάζει
ἐνδύματα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ νὰ φέρουν,
καὶ τὰ φορεῖ, κ’ εὐφραίνεται πὺν δείχνει
ὅψι σεμνὴν ἱερέως ἢ καλογήρου.

Emperor Manuel Komninos

...

he remembered an old religious custom
and ordered ecclesiastical vestments
to be brought from a monastery,

while E. Jammers claims that:

In the same vein, worth noting is the instrumental relationship between external, or secular music, and ecclesiastical¹⁶. The origins are found in the relationship and cross-influences between the *psaltic* tradition and ancient Greek music in regard to the theoretical system, the notation and the metrical system. While, later on, the Fathers of the Church adopted external, that is secular, melodic elements unchanged, and indeed from theatrical scenes and the Hippodrome, in order to counter-act the heresies¹⁷.

In the manuscript traditions of the Byzantine period, acclamations – *akta* and *phemai* – towards the emperors in ceremonies and at feasts at the Hippodrome and the palace, but also inside the churches and within the context of worship, are encountered; a custom which survives later as well in the form of acclamations towards leaders, tsars, voivodes, etc.¹⁸ In addition, secular music is often re-

K. P. Kavafis, *Tā poiήmata (1897-1918)*, ed. G. P. Savvidis, Athens 1995, vol. 1, p. 51 and C. P. Cavafy, *Collected Poems*. Translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, ed. George Savidis, revised edition, Princeton University Press, 1992.

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flected in the *kratemata*. Special mention must be made of the carols, the alphabetic *acrostic* songs, and other songs of religious content, such as, the Cappadocian songs of Easter, those of Aziz Alexios, those of the Holy Sepulchre and others still which,

“entail the closest link between secular and ecclesiastical music, as their thematic content and their usage warrant the borrowing of analogous and related elements of ecclesiastical music”¹⁹.

In addition, great Despotic and Theometric feasts, as well as feasts of saints, constituted an important reason for entertainment and recreation. After the conclusion of the Holy Services, the congregation would celebrate with song and dance, a custom that survives without interruption to a great extent and great intensity to our day.²⁰

Apart from the comparative study of the general characteristics and the structural elements of the *psaltic* art and secular music, which reveals various cross-influences, indicative as well of the parallel development of these two musics, is a wealth of events, customs and traditions. It is known, for instance, that the emperor himself, along with his military escort, took part in the Procession of The Gifts,²¹ during the Great Entrance in the Divine Liturgy. Therefore, the adoption of liturgical forms from the protocol of the Byzantine Court is observed once more.²² Also observed, is the participation of the highest secular au-

echos plagal II (Panteleimonos 971, 256); *Eis aṓθέντην*, *echos* IV Polychronion...of all Moldo-Wallacia Ioannin Voivode (Xeropotamou 268, 158v).

¹⁹ Apostolopoulos 2000:469. For more on alphabetic acrostic songs see Kakoulidis 1964. For a first introduction to the religious songs of Cappadocia see also E. Anagnostakis – E. Baltas, *Ἡ Καππαδοκία τῶν “ζώντων μνημείων”*, Athens 1990.

²⁰ See P. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμὸς*, vols. 1-6, Athens 1948-55, pp. 215-217, where relevant source references are provided. Also of interest is the description by N. Iorga about the established three day long celebration of Easter with the sounds of folk instruments at the Ecumenical Patriarchate and on the streets of Ottoman Constantinople, his source obviously being the relevant text of Kaisarios Dapontes (*Ἱστορικὸς κατάλογος ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων (1700 – 1784)*, in K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 3, pp. 131-133): “Constantinople still lived an intensely Christian life. Just as in the Byzantine era, when at Easter, the members of the various guilds, led by the fur merchants and the butchers, danced for three days on the streets to the sounds of folk instruments and drank to the Resurrection of Christ. To gain permission for this, two thousand red dyed eggs were sent via the Protosyngelos [Translator’s note: the *Protosyngelos* is the administrative head of a diocese or archdiocese and an assistant priest to the Bishop or Archbishop] from which the Sultan kept his portion. In the Patriarchate itself they would step out into the courtyard to give the signal for the start of the dancing. The guilds would come to take the blessing of the head of the Church before they started the festivities, in which people from other faiths, including Turks, took part as observers”. N. Iorga, *Byzance après byzance*, Bucarest: L’Institut d’Etudes Byzantines 1935, p. 229.

²¹ Karagounis 2003:48. See also: Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des Cérémonies*, Paris 1967, pp. 168-169.

²² Kallistos Ware, Bishop of Diokleia, *The Inner Kingdom*, Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2000, pp. 59-68.

thority in one of the holiest moments of Orthodox worship, as in the case of Emperor Theophilus circa 830, who

“composed stichera, and having given them to chanters he would encourage them to chant them, and he loved to conduct in festive celebrations” (Chrysanthos 1832:XXX & XXXI).

In yet another example, often at royal meals the chanters of Hagia Sophia, the *Hagiosophites*, and those of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the *Hagioapostolitai*, chanted the *vasilikia* – the praises to the king,

“remaining silent while the two silver reed instruments were played”²³.

In the post-Byzantine period, at the boundaries of secular music, lies the genre of *kalophonic heirmoi*, especially those composed originally for non-liturgical use “chanted at the end of the service and at joyous occasions”²⁴, and “at a friend’s table”²⁵. The custom of chanting at friendly gatherings and meals seems to be fairly old and continues to our day when chanters congregate. Indeed, Angelos Boudouris calls the presence and performance of the chanters of the Great Church at the formal meals of the Patriarch an “ancient tradition”²⁶:

“The patriarchal chanters, apart from their church duties, also had other duties and whenever the Patriarchs gave formal meals, then the musical choirs, a kind of a patriarchal musical ensemble, could be found in a special adjacent room under the leadership of the *Protopsaltes*, chanting various pieces suitable for the occasion often taken from the corpus of *kalophonic heirmoi*.”

The eminent Greek writer Alexandros Papadiamantis, very elegantly, gives a similar account in Skiathos in the 19th century:

“Then the songs started. First the *Christos Anesti*, then the secular”²⁷.

Also, the Metropolitan of Perge, Evangelos, records a related event which took place in the old Great Archdeaconate office in Istanbul in the 1960’s, where, after the conclusion of Sunday’s Divine Liturgy in the patriarchal church, the Archon Protopsaltes of the Great Church, Thrasyvoulos Stanitsas, sang the *segâh beste* by Hânende Zacharias in a mystagogical manner.²⁸ Along the same lines is the account given by Samuel Baud-Bovy during his visit to the Holy Monastery of Stavronikita, Mt. Athos, in the early 20th century. There, the best chanter of Mt. Athos, according to Chrysanthos, the Metropolitan of Trapezounta,

²³ Koukoules 1948-55:197, where relevant source references are provided.

²⁴ This label is found in many *kalophonic heirmologia* or at the beginning of a section of *kalophonic heirmoi* in *Anthologies* and *Papadikes*.

²⁵ *Kalophonic heirmos* Ὁ χορτάσας λαόν by Petros Bereketis which is included in a great number of manuscripts.

²⁶ A. Boudouris 1934-1937:287 & 156 where related references can be found.

²⁷ A. Papadiamantis, “Εξοχική Λαμπρή”, *Άπαντα*, vol. 2, p. 132, critical edition by N. D. Triantafyllopoulos, Athens 1982.

²⁸ E. Galanis Metropolitan of Perge, “Εκ Φαναρίου...” *Β’ Αειδίνητον Όφλημα*, Athens 1997, pp. 244-247.

“Fr. Synesios, moved from the Cherubic Hymns to the Lagiarni, from the Lagiarni to love songs, arriving at the amanedes...”²⁹.

With all that has been presented above, it becomes clear that the existence of secular music in the manuscript codices of ecclesiastical music is a natural consequence of an open, outward-looking and free musical civilisation, harmoniously integrated into a broader sensibility and perspective of things both of this life and beyond.

Delineation of the Material under Investigation

The musical material under investigation concerns secular music, in other words, the music outside of the church and holy services, both instrumental and vocal, excluding genres which are directly related to the ecclesiastical or are dependant on it, even when they are chanted outside the church, as for example the *kalo-phonic heirmoi*, the *methodoi*, the *phemai* and the *polychronia*. Of course, in the corpus of ecclesiastical music, a great number of *kratemata* are encountered, in the headings of which, references to national names, musical instruments, and foreign words of unknown meaning, can be found. For example:

Persikon (Persian), *Atzemikon*, *Ismailitikon* (Ismaili), *anakaras*, *sourlas*, *viola*, *simantira*, *tasnif* etc.

Their non-ecclesiastical names, on the one hand, and their particular melodic character on the other, give reasonable cause for speculation. The question of whether they are purely secular music or whether they are ecclesiastical *kratemata* with secular musical influences must be asked. In order to develop a relevant classification, two criteria were established: a) the existence of foreign language syllables in the body of the text, and b) the musical form.

The existence of non-Greek language syllables in *kratemata*, such as:

Ντιλ ντος τι γιαλλαλλι ντος τουμ για λα λλα λλα λλε

Τοστουμ γελελα... τζανιμε ντιλ ντιλ ντιλ ερ χε ταννι... ρινετινε ζουφλιγε

Αρ γι γι α το γγο γγο γγορ ρι γγι

Ntil ntos ti giallalli ntos toum gia la lla lla lle

Tostoum gelela... tzanime ntil ntil ntil er che tanni... rinetine zouflige

Ar gi gi gi a to ngo ngo ngor ri ngi

excludes their relationship with worship and indicates a secular piece.

²⁹ S. Baud-Bovy 1967:9. The former librarian of the Holy Monastery of Stavronikita and current librarian of the Holy Monastery of Iviron Fr. Theologos confirmed during the course of this research that notebooks with folk song transcriptions by Fr. Synesios are in existence. (Translator's note: An *amanes* (pl. *amanedes*), is a vocal genre from the Greek folk music tradition characterised by extended, melismatic musical lines, typically on one or two verses of text. Its nature is one of a sung lament with themes often revolving around love, loss, displacement and suffering. It is generally an improvisation and usually technically demanding.)

The study of musical form also enables or excludes the classification of a *kratema* as belonging to the corpus of secular music, according to the existing data from the field of Arabo-Persian and Ottoman music. It is a general observation that the *kratemata*, despite any influences from secular music or any melodic similarity with it, belong in terms of form, to the body of ecclesiastical music. However, a future focussed study could possibly reveal hidden non-ecclesiastical elements within certain *kratemata*, as for example that of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou³⁰.

Theoretical treatises on *makams* and *usûls*, with the only exception being the *seyir*, which appears in the treatise of Kyrillos Marmarinos, since it contains music scores and not just theoretical discussion, were deemed beyond the scope of this book. The study of the excluded theoretical treatises could become the subject of other research, since the focus of this book is primarily on the repertoire.

The chronological bounds of the material under investigation extend from the 15th century through to the year 1830. The codex NLG 2401, dating from the early 15th century, contains the oldest notated secular melody, a Persian song on f122v. Hence this date, that is the early 15th century, is taken as the terminus post quem. Possible discovery of other older manuscripts could move the chronological bounds further back in time. The year 1830, which was when the first printed publication of secular music recorded in Byzantine *parasimantiki*, a collection titled *Εὐτέρπη* (*Euterpe*)³¹, was produced, is taken as the terminus ante quem. The production of manuscripts of course does not cease with the publication of *Euterpe*. Noteworthy manuscripts exist later than 1830, such as MIET 37, RAL 2238, RAL 561, LKP 169/309, LKP 170/310, Philanthidis/CAMS, and others. However, the success of the publication of *Euterpe*, resulted in the circulation of other printed collections and consequently lead to the evolution of the written tradition of secular music into the printed tradition. The 19th century, from 1830 onwards, is the “golden” era of printed publications of secular music, a topic that, however, lies outside the scope of this book.

³⁰ Chalatzoglou's *kratema* in *echos varys* does not have titles, nor foreign language syllables or any other indication suggesting it may be secular music. However, it is either a complete transcription of a composition by Persian Dervîş Ömer (according to Plemmenos (2003:11-14, 251-252), or an ecclesiastical *kratema* influenced to a very great degree by the Persian pioneer (G. G. Anastasiou, 2005., pp. 452-455). On this issue, see also Anastasiou 2005:445-460, in section “Θύραθεν ἐπιδράσεις”.

³¹ The translation of the full title of the book is as follows: “A book called Euterpe containing a collection of the newest and sweetest external melodies, with the addition at the end of some Romaic [Greek] songs in Ottoman and European style, transcribed into the New System of Music by the most musical Theodore Phokaeus and Stavrakis Byzantios, meticulously edited and corrected line by line by the most musical teacher Chourmouzios Chartophylax, one of the inventors of the aforementioned system, generously funded by the transcribers themselves. Printed at the Galata based house of Castro, Constantinople, 1830”.

Survey of the Relevant Literature and Audio Recordings

The number of academic works directly related to the topic of this book is disproportionately small in comparison to the great volume of primary sources, which span 2,221 leaves or 4,442 pages in total. This reveals, both the novelty of the topic, and the number and variety of issues and challenges particular to this topic.

The first observation of the existence of secular music in the manuscripts of *psaltic* art, is attributed to Spyridon Lambros on the occasion of his discovery of the thirteen songs from MS Iviron 1203b. In his article titled “Δεκατρία δημῶδη ἄσματα μετὰ μουσικῶν σημείων ἐν Ἀγιορειτικῷ κώδικι τῆς Μονῆς τῶν Ἰβήρων” (Lambros 1914:423-432) he accounts the discovery itself, giving a first description of the songs along with a transcription of the verses accompanied by some explanatory comments, as well as a first attempt of *exegesis* made by the *Protopsaltes* Andreas Tsiknopoulos. The discovery made a great impression upon Athenian musical circles. The thirteen songs of Iviron triggered a series of musicological and philological studies, speculations, transcriptions, interpretations and reviews. Many years after Lambros’s discovery, B. Bouvier published a philological study of the songs in French and in Greek (Bouvier 1955:72-75, Bouvier 1960), which then led to a review of his work by Stilpon Kyriakidis (1962). D. Mazarakis (1967, 1992) attempted the difficult task of the *exegesis* of the songs from the old notation into the new, and a transcription into staff notation, without particular success. In the first edition (1967), S. Baud-Bovy wrote the foreword and B. Bouvier wrote the epilogue. A little later, D. Conomos published a “re-evaluation” of the songs, transcribing them into staff notation, on the basis of the *exegesis* principles of the Copenhagen school of thought,³² while Egon Wellesz (1959:883), a little before, had dedicated a short article to the topic, in the journal, *The Listener*.

Gregorios Stathis comments on Mazarakis’s *exegesis* (Stathis 2001a), while much earlier, with his monumental work of analytical cataloguing of music manuscripts found at Mt. Athos, he uncovered a great number of secular melodies scattered in *Papadikes*, *Anthologies*, *Kratemataria* and other such references (Stathis 2009). Amongst them, especially noteworthy, is his discovery in 1972 of the oldest song notated in Byzantine notation, dated 1562, (Iviron 1189) which was presented at the conference of the Academy of Athens on the 4th of March 1976 (Stathis 1976) along with the voluminous anthology of Nikeforos Kantouniaries (Vatopediou 1428).³³

³² D. Conomos, “The Iviron Folk-Songs. A Re-examination“, *Studies in Eastern Chant* 4 (1979), pp. 28-53.

³³ Stathis 1983b, the collective volume of the proceedings of the International Conference “Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis” (September 1982) *Acta Scientifica*. Also published in Greek (Stathis 2001c).

Miloš Velimirović (1973), in a two-page article, questions the existence of Persian music in MS NLG 2401, while scattered references to the existence of secular music within *psaltic* art manuscripts are made in texts by: H.J.Q. Tillyard (1935), S. Baud-Bovy³⁴, L. Vranousis (1995), M. Dragoumis (1979/80, 1993, 1998), P. Erevnidis (1998), G. Anastasiou (2005), E. Giannopoulos³⁵ and Nicolae Gheorghîță³⁶. In recent years, J. Plemmenos (1998, 1999-2000) has dealt with the topic as well, presenting articles of interest in terms of cataloguing the “Mismagia of ELIA”, the so-called manuscript of Raidestinios of MFA and RAL 927. Moreover, frequent relevant references are made in his book “*Το μουσικό πορτραίτο του Νεοελληνικού διαφωτισμού*”, while his main work on the topic is his book “*Ottoman Minority Musics: The Case of 18th Century Greek Phanariots*” (2010).

The discography relevant to the topic is poor. A first presentation of Phanariot songs can be found on the album *Gregorios Protopsaltes* of the THE INSTITUTE OF BYZANTINE MUSICOLOGY, under the direction of the Archon Protopsaltes of the Great Church, Thrasyvoulos Stanitsas and of Gregorios Stathis.³⁷ The performances are based on the manuscript of Dochiariou 322 and are presented without instrumental accompaniment. Christodoulos Chalaris and Petros Tambouris have also attempted to make use of the manuscript sources in their CDs, with debatable aesthetic results based on questionable academic conclusions. The CDs of the cultural organisation “En Chordais”, with the main contributors being Thomas Apostolopoulos and Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, is noteworthy. In 1998, they produced *Secular Music from Athonite Codices of Byzantine Music*³⁸, which contains songs from MSS Ivion 1203b, Xeropotamou 262 and Dochiariou 322. This was followed by two discs, both part of the series *Great Composers of the Mediterranean*, being Hânende Zacharias³⁹ and Petros Peloponnesios⁴⁰. Lastly, Chatzimichelakis released an album⁴¹ with songs from MSS Ivion 1203b and Xeropotamou 262, the transcriptions of which were based on the *exegesis* of Mazarakis.

³⁴ Apart from the foreword of D. Mazarakis's work, see also Baud-Bovy 1980, 1984.

³⁵ E. Giannopoulos, “Συλλογή Εξωτερικών Ασματών”, *Ταξίδι στον κόσμο των χειρογράφων*, catalogue of manuscript exhibition of Gennadios Library, published by the Greek Palaeographical Society, Athens 2004, pp. 100-101.

³⁶ Gheorghîță 2010, and especially chapter “Secular Music at the Romanian Princely courts during the Phanariot epoch (1711-1821)”.

³⁷ *Γρηγόριος Πρωτοψάλτης (1778 - 1821)*, G. T. Stathis (texts – ed.). Chanting by choir of *psaltai* directed by Archon Protopsaltes Thrasyvoulos Stanitsas. Series *Βυζαντινοί και μεταβυζαντινοί μελωργοί 2* [IBM 102 (I-II)], Athens 1976.

³⁸ “En Chordais”, *Secular Music from Athonite Codices*.

³⁹ “En Chordais”, Zakharia Khanendeh.

⁴⁰ “En Chordais”, Petros Peloponnesios.

⁴¹ G. Chatzimichelakis (ed. and texts), *Άλλοτες όταν εκούρσεναν*, Reconstructions of secular post-Byzantine music of 16th and 17th c. from Athonite manuscripts, Produced by the Municipal Conservatoire of Petroupolis, 2006.

Part One

I The Sources

List of Sources in Chronological Order

In this section, the available sources are classified in chronological order. The method of presentation is as follows:

Listed in order are: the name of the library, the index number and the total number of folios or pages. In the case of manuscript fragments, loose folios or pages, only the number of folios or pages which contain secular music are indicated, followed by the specific folios or pages in parentheses, for example: (662r - 683v). Moreover, an approximation of the date of writing is given with the greatest possible accuracy and, where it exists, the title is also given, for example: “Μελπομένη” (*Melpomene*). Dimensions are mentioned only for self-contained codices and not for fragments, loose folios or pages. Finally, the scribe is mentioned and also a very brief description of the contents is offered.¹

15th c.

Booklets, fragments and loose folios

1. NLG 2401, 15th c. f. 122v, scribe not recorded². “Persikon”, *Ar yi yi a to go go gor ri gi*.

16th c.

Loose folios

2. Iviron 1189, 16th c. (1562), ff. 120r-127v, scribe Leontios Koukouzelis the Hieromonk. The oldest notated Greek folk song *Χαίρεσθε, κάμποι, χαίρεσθε*, and a Persian Music Section.
3. Leimonos 259, 16th c. (1572), ff. 184r-185v, scribe Gabriel Hieromonk. Persian *tasnif* of Abdülkadir [Marâghi].
4. Olympiotissis 188³, 16th c., ff. 12v-13, scribe not recorded. Poem by Georgios Therianos “Περὶ τοῦ θανάτου ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ φοβῇτε τὸν ἀποχωρισμὸν τοῦ σώματος”.

¹ During the course of this research, an analytical catalogue of all available sources was constructed, which will be published in due course. The catalogue also contains relevant bibliographical references for each source.

² According to Politis (1991:396), the manuscript originates possibly from the Holy Monastery of Prodromos, Serres.

5. Megistis Lavras E4, 16th c. (Chatzigiakoumis 1980:151), ff. 244r-245v, scribe not recorded. A piece without a title *dir teroudilli terella*.

17th c.

Booklets and loose folios

6. Iviron 1054, 17th c. (early), f. 172r, scribe Makarios. The folk song *Αγριοπούλι μερώθον μου*.
7. Xeropotamou 262, 17th c. (early), ff. 211v-212v, scribe not recorded. Three folk songs.
8. Sinai 1327, 17th c. (early), ff. 190r-191r, scribe not recorded. Compositions by Theophanis Karykis and Iosaph the New Koukouzelis.
9. Megistis Lavras E9, 17th c. (1666), ff. 141v-142, scribe Iosiph Hieromonk. Unclassified genre composed by Theophanis Karykis.
10. Iviron 1203, 17th c., ff. 176v-178r & 239v-240v, scribe Athanasios Katepanos. Two compositions of unclassified genre (one by Theophanis Karykis).
11. Iviron 1203b, 17th c., f. α¹-4v, scribe Athanasios Katepanos. Thirteen folk songs.
12. Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 17th c. (1680), ff. 111v-112r, scribe Kosmas the Macedonian. Unclassified genre composed by Theophanis Karykis and *Ατζέμικον έρωτικόν* by Kosmas the Macedonian.
13. Iviron 1080, 17th c. (1688) – early 18th c. ff. 94r-94v & 130r-131r, scribe Kosmas the Macedonian. Two compositions of unclassified genre (one by Theophanis Karykis).
14. Gritsanis 8, 17th c. (1698), pp. 323-345, scribe Kyprianos Hieromonk of Iviron. Alphabetic *acrostic* Christmas song *Αναρχος Θεός καταβέβηκε*, “*mourambades*” (*murabbas*), *semâ'is* and other works of unclassified genre.
15. Koutlounousiou 449, 17th c. (1690-1700), ff. 205v-206r, scribe Daniel the Monk. Compositions of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis.
16. NLG 897, 17th c., ff. 425v-427r, scribe not recorded. Compositions of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis.
17. NLG 941, 17th c., ff. 404r-405v & 411r-412r, scribe not recorded⁴. Compositions of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis and *Ατζέμικον έρωτικόν*.
18. NLG - MHS 399⁵, 17th c., scribe not recorded. Compositions of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis.

³ The following is written in the heading of the codex: “Typikon of the ecclesiastical service of the Holy Lavra of our God-bearing father Savas in Jerusalem”.

⁴ The codex dates from the 17th century and is found in the catalogue of Sakellion (1892:170). On examination of the writing style it is concluded that the codex is the work of two different scribes.

⁵ The codex is not numbered.

18th c.

Codices

19. Gritsanis 3, 18th c. (third quarter)⁶, 255 ff., dimensions 23.5 x 17 centimetres, scribe Petros Peloponnesios. Art music of Constantinople (mainly *peşrevs*, *semâ'îs* and *terkîbs*).
20. LKP (dossier) 60, 18th c. (third quarter), 53 ff., dimensions 17 x 11.1 centimetres, scribe Petros Peloponnesios. Art music of Constantinople (mainly *peşrevs*, *semâ'îs* and *terkîbs*).
21. LKP (dossier) 137, 18th c. (third quarter), 40 ff., dimensions 36.6 x 12.4 centimetres, scribe Petros Peloponnesios. Art music of Constantinople (mainly *peşrevs*, *semâ'îs* and *terkîbs*).
22. RAL 927, 18th c. (third quarter), 86 ff., dimensions 15 x 10 centimetres, Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).

Booklets, fragments and loose folios

23. Iviron 949, 18th c. (early), f. 175v, scribe not recorded. *Beste Mezil iste*.
24. Xeropotamou 329, 18th c. (early)⁷, ff. 196v-197r, scribe not recorded. Two works of unclassified genre (probably *bestes*).
25. Iviron 988, 18th c. (1734), ff. 389r-389v, scribe Dimitrios Anagnostis. Composition of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis and the *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade* by Balasios the Priest.
26. Great Meteoron 416 (first half 1730 - 1735), f. 56a. Composition of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis.
27. Dionysiou 579, 18th c. (1742), ff. 302r-302v, scribe Theodosios of Nafplion. "Atzemikon" *Itzeloum pate, isachiperizantem*.
28. HESG 305, 18th c. (1749), ff. 94r-101v⁸, scribe Kyrillos Marmarinos. Seventy-one *seyirs* of *makams*⁹.

⁶ Regarding the dating of the secular music manuscripts of Petros, the following must be noted: It is known that Petros arrived in Constantinople just before 1760. It is reasonable to assume that it took some time for him to connect to the musical circles of the Ottoman court, where he was taught secular music. Therefore, Petros must have written these manuscripts in the period between the middle of the 1760's and his death in 1778.

⁷ Usually, the date given by G. T. Stathis (1975) at the beginning of the description of each manuscript is taken into account. Here, the information is drawn from the end notes, and in particular from pp. 188, 189.

⁸ These folios concern only the melodies which reveal the structure and movement of each *makam* (*seyir*). The treatise in total occupies ff. 88r-103r.

⁹ Popescu-Judetș – A. Ababi Sirli (2000), list seventy three. But this is not the only mistake. The numbering in their publication starts from f. 77a instead of the correct 94r.

29. Koutlounousiou 446, 18th c. (1757), ff. 517v-518v & 521r-522r, scribe Theoklitos the Monk. Composition of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis and the “Atzemikon” *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade*.
30. Panteleimonos 994, 18th c. (middle), ff. 323v-325v, scribe not recorded. One *semâ’i* and one *beste* by Kyrillos Marmarinos.
31. Timios Prodromos 93, 18th c. (first half), ff. 251r-251v, unknown scribe. *semâ’i* by Kyrillos Marmarinos.
32. Panteleimonos 1012, 18th c. (1768), ff. 241r-242r, scribe Michael Drakos. Composition of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis.
33. NLG 2175, 18th c. (1768), ff. 814v-816v & 835r, scribe not recorded. Composition of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis and the “beautiful Atzemikon”, *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade*.
34. Agiou Pavlou 132, 18th c. (1774), pp. 814-816, scribe Dimitrios Lotos. “Atzemikon” *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade*.
35. Xeropotamou 330, 18th c. (1781 - 1782), ff. 378r-380r, scribe Dimitrios Lotos. Two works of unclassified genre (one by Theophanis Karykis).
36. Iviron 997, 18th c. (around 1790), ff. 162v-168r, scribe not recorded. Eleven *taksîms* by Petros Peloponnesios.
37. NLG 2225, 18th c. (second half), ff. 119v-120v, scribe not recorded. “Ερωτικὸν Μπαλασίον” *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade*.
38. Gennadius 725, 18th (fourth quarter), ff. 73r¹⁰, 74v, scribe not recorded. Two Phanariot songs.
39. Iviron 1038, 18th c. (late), ff. 662r-666r, 670r-673v & 681r-683v, scribe not recorded. One *beste* and one *peşrev*.
40. LKP 123/270, 18th c., ff. 23v-35r¹¹, scribe Kyrillos Marmarinos¹². Sixty-seven *makam seyirs*.
41. S. Karas 32, 18th c., ff. 161v-169r, scribe Athanasios Iviritis. “Good *murabba*”
42. S. Karas 38, 18th c., ff. 296a-296b, scribe not recorded. A composition of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis.
43. LKP 45/195, 18th c. (late), ff. 551v-552r, scribe not recorded. A composition of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis.
44. Xeropotamou 305, 18th c. (late 18th - early 19th c.), ff. 310v-315v, scribe Damaskinos Monk Agraforendiniotis. A work of unclassified genre by Theophanis Karykis. Two *bestes* and eleven *taksîms* by Petros Peloponnesios.

¹⁰ The codex bears the scribe’s note on f. 156v: αψξθ’ (1769). It is of mixed content and written by a main scribe and two or three others. It contains notes dated between 1769 and 1791. The aforementioned information, in conjunction with the fact that the two songs are written in the older notation, place its origins in the fourth quarter of the 18th century.

¹¹ These folios concern only the melodies which reveal the structure and movement of each *makam (seyir)*. The treatise in total occupies ff. 18v-37r.

¹² On inner cover Br the following note by K. A. Psachos is found: “Autograph of Kyrillos Bishop of Tinos from Marmara. Precious”.

19th c.

Codices

45. RAL 925, 18th c. (late 18th or early 19th), 82 ff., dimensions 16 x 11, scribe Nikeforos Kantouniaries. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs as well as others).
46. LKP 19/173, 19th c. (early, circa 1800), 160 ff., dimensions 18 x 12, scribe Petros Byzantios. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs and six *şarkıs*).
47. RAL 784, 19th c. (early, circa 1810 - 1812¹³), 270 ff., dimensions 17 x 11, scribe Nikeforos Kantouniaries. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
48. Iaşı 129, 19th c. (1813), dimensions 20,5X15,1 / 12+346+9 pp., scribe Nikeforos Kantouniaries. Art music of Constantinople (predominantly Phanariot songs), Arabic and Gypsy songs as well as others.
49. ELIA¹⁴, 19th c. (early, likely in 1816), 107 ff., dimensions 19 x 12, scribe Evgenios, further details unknown. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
50. Vatopediou 1428, MS “Melpomene”, 19th c. (1818 - 1820¹⁵), 5 + 417 pp., dimensions 20 x 16, scribe Nikeforos Kantouniaries. Art music of Constantinople (predominantly Phanariot songs), Arabic and Gypsy songs as well as others.
51. Stathis, 19th c. (circa 1820), 47 ff., dimensions 18 x 12, scribe Ioannis Konidares. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs, *şarkıs* and others).
52. Gennadius 231, 19th c. (1820-1830 roughly), 80 ff., dimensions 16.5 x 11.4, scribe not recorded. Art music of Constantinople (predominantly Phanariot songs).
53. LKP 152/292, 19th c. (1827), 400 pp., dimensions 18 x 12, scribe Ioannis Pelopidis. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs, *bestes*, *taksıms* and *şarkıs*).

¹³ It contains songs of Gregorios whom he addresses as Lambadarios. Gregorios served as Lambadarios of the Great Church from the early 1800s until 1819. However, Nikeforos wrote codex Iaşı 129 which appears more methodologically advanced and closer to Vatopediou 1428 in 1813. Hence, it is concluded that the manuscript was written in the period after 1810 and before 1813.

¹⁴ The manuscript does not have an index or listing number.

¹⁵ On the heading, the date 1818 is given, but the information on f. 349 supports the conclusion that its writing was completed in 1820 (Verses of the philosopher Govdelas to his highness master Michael Gregorios Soutsos, composed by the Protopsaltes of Constantinople Gregorios and sent to Iaşı in 1820).

Booklets, fragments, loose folios

54. Gregoriou 23, 19th c. (1800), ff. 187v-189v, scribe not recorded. Heirmos Ismailitikos *An yi pon gerpe epentzi rouzy sohpet*.
55. RAL 653, 19th c. (early), ff. 33r-40r, scribe not recorded. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
56. Xeropotamou 299, 19th c. (circa 1810), pp. 534-543, scribe Nikeforos Kantouniaries¹⁶. A series of eleven *taksíms* by Petros Peloponnesios.
57. CAMS, P2, 19th c. (early), 48 pp., scribe not recorded. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
58. CAMS, P1, 19th c. (early¹⁷), 16 pp., scribe Nikeforos Kantouniaries. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
59. NLG 2424, 18th c. (early), f. 114r, unknown scribe. One Phanariot song.
60. LKP 2/59a, 19th c. (first quarter), 8 ff., scribe Gregorios Protopsaltes. Art music of Constantinople (*pesrevs*, *semâ'îs* and *terkîbs* with relevant commentary).
61. LKP (dossier) 58, 19th c. (first quarter), 8 pp., scribe Gregorios Protopsaltes. Art music of Constantinople (fragment from an instrumental composition with relevant commentary).
62. LKP (dossier) 59, 19th c. (first quarter), 8 pp., scribe Gregorios Protopsaltes. Art music of Constantinople (two *bestes* and one *yürük semâ'î*).
63. LKP (dossier) 76, 19th c. (first quarter), 4 pp.; scribe Gregorios Protopsaltes. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
64. LKP (dossier) 81, 19th c. (first quarter), 4 ff., scribe Gregorios Protopsaltes. Art music of Constantinople (the *kâr* by Georgios Soutsos).
65. Dochiariou 322, 19th c. (circa 1825), ff. 93r-96v, scribe not recorded (Stathis 1975:366). Art music of Constantinople (eleven Phanariot songs by Gregorios Protopsaltes and one *şarki*).
66. Xenophontos 146, 19th c. (1825), f. 140v, scribe not recorded. One Phanariot song by Gregorios Protopsaltes.
67. NLG - MHS 722, 19th c. (1819), ff. 386v-389r, scribe Chourmouzos Charophylax. The composition of unclassified genre by Theofanis Karykis, explained.

¹⁶ This conclusion is drawn by G. T. Stathis (1975:150-151), by comparing the writing style of Xeropotamou 299 and Xeropotamou 295, 318 and Vatopediou 1427. Additionally, without further comments he attributes the codex to Nikeforos (Stathis 2001c:616).

¹⁷ J. Plemmenos (1999-2000: 99-100) places authoring around 1815 on the basis of two arguments: a) "Before 1816, Nikeforos was occupied with the writing of ecclesiastical music manuscripts" and b) due to the "coincidence" of Nikeforos and Germanos of Old Patras being in Constantinople at the same time, as evidenced in the verses of two songs. This reasoning however, is proven incorrect since Nikeforos was occupied with secular music even before 1816 as clearly documented by the date of Iaşi 129, being 1813. His two other early manuscripts, RAL 925 and 784 also date from the early 19th century.

68. Archdiocese of Cyprus 33, 19th c. (first half), 3 ff., scribe not recorded. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
69. LKP (dossier) 73, 19th c. (first half), 16 pp., scribe not recorded. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
70. LKP (dossier) 89, 19th c. (first half), 16 pp., scribe not recorded. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
71. LKP (dossier) 93, 19th c. (first half), 4 ff., scribe not recorded. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).
72. LKP (dossier) 117, 19th c. (first half), 16 pp., scribe not recorded. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs).

Quantitative Classification by Century

The above catalogue shows the impressive volume of secular music transcriptions in the manuscript tradition of ecclesiastical music. It is likely that upon completion of the analytical cataloguing of all the, approximately, 7,300 manuscript codices of *psaltic* art, more folios, pages or autonomous codices of secular music will surface.

The available source material is around 2,100 folios or 4,200 pages. The vast majority is found in self-contained collections of secular music, only approximately 10 percent surviving in individual folios or pages of codices containing ecclesiastical music, and as fragments or booklets. Essentially, the secular music sources originate from the post-Byzantine period, with the exception of NLG 2401, which dates from the 15th century.

Classification by Genre

The table above offers an overview of the sources on the basis of the chronological order and their grouping into self-contained codices, fragments and individual folios or pages. A different processing and presentation of the material enables an alternative viewpoint, whereby the following groupings are obtained:

1. Folk songs:

Ivion 1054, 172r; Xeropotamou 262, 211v-212v; Ivion 1203b, 176v.

A total of three codices.

2. Mixed content: Folk songs, unclassified genres and possible *bestes*, *taksîms* etc.:

Ivion 1189, 120r-127v; Gritsanis 8, 324-345; Xeropotamou 305, 310v-315v.

A total of three codices.

3. Works of undetermined genre by known composers:

Leimonos 259, 184r-185v; Olympiotissis 188, 12v-13v; Megistis Lavras E9, 141v-142v; Ivion 1203, 176v-178r & 239v-240v; Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 111v-112r; Ivion 1080, 94r-94v &

130r-1301r; Koutlounousiou 449, 205v-206r; NLG 897, 425v-427r; NLG 941, 404r-405v & 411v-412r; NLG - MHS 399; Iviron 988, 389r-389v; Koutlounousiou 446, 517v-518v & 521r-522r; Panteleimonos 1012, 241r-242r; NLG 2175, ff. 814v-816v & 835r; Agiou Pavlou 132, 814-816; Xeropotamou 330, 378r-380r; NLG 2225, 119v-120v; S. Karas 38, 296a-296b; LKP 45/195, 547v.

A total of nineteen codices.

4. Anonymous works of undetermined genre:

NLG 2401, 122v; Megistis Lavras E4, 244r-245v; Iviron 949, 175v; Xeropotamou 329, 196v-197r; Dionysiou 579, 302r-302v; S. Karas 32, 161v-169r; Gregoriou 23, 187v-1879v.

A total of seven codices.

5. Art music of Constantinople (*peşrevs*, *semâ'îs*, *şarkıs*, *seyirs* etc.):

HESG 305, 94r-101v; Gritsanis 3, 250 ff., LKP (dossier) 60, 53 ff.; LKP (dossier) 137, 40 ff., Panteleimonos 994, 323v-325v; Timios Prodromos 93, 251r-251v; Iviron 997, 162v-168r; Iviron 1038, 662r-666r, 670r-673v & 681r-683v; Xeropotamou 299, 534-543; LKP 169/309, 40 ff., LKP 2/59a, 8 ff.; LKP (dossier) 58, 8 pp.; LKP (dossier) 59, 8 pp.; LKP 123/270, ff. 23v-35r.

A total of fourteen codices.

6. Art music of Constantinople (Phanariot songs):

RAL 927, 86 ff.; RAL 925, 82 ff.; RAL 653, 33r-40r; Gennadius 725, 73r, 74v; ELIA, 107 ff.; RAL 784, 270 ff., Gennadius 231, 80 ff.; CAMS, P2, 48 pp.; CAMS, P1, pp. 16; NLG 2424, 114r; LKP (dossier) 76, 4 pp.; LKP (dossier) 81 4 ff.; Dochiariou 322, 93r-96v; Xenophontos 146, 40v; Archdiocese of Cyprus 33, 3 ff.; LKP (dossier) 73, 16 pp.; LKP (dossier) 89, 16 pp.; LKP (dossier) 93, 4 ff.; LKP (dossier) 117, 16 pp.

A total of nineteen codices.

7. Art music of Constantinople (mixed content: Phanariot songs, *peşrevs*, *semâ'îs*, *şarkıs*, *taksîms* etc.):

LKP 19/173, 160 ff., Iaşi 129, 367 pp.; Vatopediou 1428, 422 pp.; Stathis, 47 ff.; LKP 152/292, 400 pp., Dochiariou 322, ff. 93r-96v.

A total of six codices.

Commentary – Evaluation of the Sources

From the study of the total available manuscripts, fragments and individual folios of codices containing secular music, a variety of interesting pieces of information can be ascertained and a series of useful conclusions reached. In the following pages, a brief presentation and evaluation of this material as a source of secular music is offered.¹⁸

¹⁸ The secular music manuscripts lend themselves also to investigation from perspectives other than musical; particularly, literary. From such research, important conclusions could be drawn in relation to the language, the orthography, the meter and more. That, however,

The Oldest Surviving Manuscript Containing Secular Music

The oldest sample of secular music written in Byzantine notation and also the oldest notated sample of Persian music, survives on **f. 122v** of **NLG 2401** dating from the late 14th to the early 15th century (see plate 1). It is the “persikon” (Persian) *Ar yi yi yi a to go go gor ri gi* in *echos* IV. Unfortunately, no other indication (genre, *makam*, rhythmic cycle, composer etc.) is mentioned in the heading.

The Oldest Transcriptions of Folk Songs

The following four codices contain the oldest transcriptions of folk songs. They are **Iviron 1189**, ff. 120r-127v; **Iviron 1203b**¹⁹, f. 176v; **Xeropotamou 262**, ff. 211v-212v and **Iviron 1054**, f. 172r. The content of these four codices has occupied researchers more than any other such source, and owing to this, there are not an insignificant number of studies related to the topic.²⁰

The oldest manuscript, Iviron 1189, is dated from 1562 (see plate 2), and the scribe is Leontios Koukouzelis (Stathis 1976). In the eight folios containing secular music one folk song is found, the *Χαίρεσθε κάμποι, χαίρεσθε* (125v-127v), as well as a section of Persian music (120r-125r). The other three codices date from the early to the middle of the 17th century, and exhibit great ambiguity as to their content. Xeropotamou 262 contains three songs, two of which are also found in Iviron 1203b. Iviron 1054 contains one song, which also exists in Iviron 1203b. Even though it appears to be the latest of the three, the Iviron 1203b codex is preserved in a particularly poor condition. It was written by Athanasios Katepanos, contains thirteen songs, and essentially, is the first collection of notated folk songs – possibly a part of a larger one that does not exist anymore.²¹ The songs are presented simply – with few details. Only the *echos* is stated and in the few instances where more information is given, it is poor:

Ὀργανικόν [Instrumental] (Iviron 1203b, 1r & 2r / Xeropotamou 262, 212r), *ἐτοῦτο ἐποιήθη εἰς τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Μπόσνας* [this was created for the conquest of Bosna] (Iviron 1203b, 3r).

Ἔτερα, τὰ ὅποια λέγονται εἰς εὐθυμίας καὶ χαρὰν [Other songs, which are sung in times of merriment and joy] (Xeropotamou 262, 211v).

exceeds the scope of this work. It can only be hoped that relevant studies will emerge in the future.

¹⁹ Fairly recently, after preservation works, the collection received the label “b” (1203b) to differentiate it from 1203, where, in the binding of which, the folios with the songs were found.

²⁰ See Introduction, pp. 24-25.

²¹ Stilpon Kyriakidis (1978:322) appears indeed certain about this version.

Occasionally performance instructions are given:

Τοῦτο λέγεται εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ *Χαίρεσθε* [This one is sung at the end of *Χαίρεσθε*], [*echos*] *plagal IV* (Iviron 1189, 127r).

Λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως [This one is sung as well, like this] (Xeropotamou 262, 211v).

Finally, with a few exceptions (these being Iviron 1054 and the first folio of Iviron 1203b), at the end of each song the rest of the verses are provided in text only.

Two Persian Works from the 16th Century

As already mentioned, the Iviron 1189 codex discussed above includes a section of Persian music. No identifying details are given and the *echos* indications in four places may reveal four different compositions, or four parts of a self-contained work. The codex **Megistis Lavras E4**, of unspecified scribe, dates from the same century. On ff. 244r-245v a heading-less fragment of a Persian composition survives, without indications of identity or even *echos*. The fragment is dominated by the non-lexical syllables of *terennüm*, while the verses, given as text only at the end, are the same as those existing at the end of the Persian section of Iviron 1189.

The Oldest Compositions of Secular Music from Known Composers

The oldest works of secular music written in Byzantine notation by known composers are preserved in MSS Leimonos 259 and Olympiotissis 188. Both were written during the 16th century, MS **Leimonos 259** dating from 1572 (see plate 3). The scribe is Gabriel Hieromonk. On ff. 184r-185v it contains a Persian *tasnîf* by Abdülkadir Marâghî:

Persian *tasnîf* by Abdülkadir, this was written at the command of the great master by Mr. Gerasimos of the monastery of Xanthopoulon, introduction, *echos I*, *Aaaa giarimen Eteterou drante Ritina Tillilir nteni ntiza*

This piece is of particular interest, firstly because Marâghî is a leading musical personality for both Persians and Turks, and secondly because this is his oldest surviving work which was indeed preserved in notation from that era. Additionally, this particular work does not survive in any other source. From the heading, two other notable pieces of information are extracted: a) The transcription happened at the “command” of the “great master”, that is, either a Byzantine emperor or an Ottoman sultan and b) the first transcriber, was Mr. Gerasimos²² from the Monastery of Xanthopoulon (first half of the 15th century).

²² For more information on hieromonk Gerasimos see Karagounis 2003:241.

MS **Olympiotissis 188** written in the 16th century by an unspecified scribe contains the oldest composition of post-Byzantine secular music by a known composer on ff. 12v-13v. It is a work of educational content by Georgios Therianos from Chania with the initial verse *Κόσμε 'χε γειὰ κ' ἀφήνοσε κ' ἀποχωρίζομέ σε*. The composition is in *echos* plagal I and is provided also with the explanatory subtitle “On death, when the soul fears the separation of the body” (“Περὶ τοῦ θανάτου ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ φοβῇτε τὸν ἀποχωρισμὸν τοῦ σώματος”).²³

Two More Compositions by Known Composers in a 17th Century Manuscript

MS **Sinai 1327**, dating from the early 17th century, contains a work by Theophanis Karykis (ff. 190r - 190v), and one by Ioasaph the New Koukouzelis (ff. 190v-191r).²⁴ The two works have approximately the same length, that is, one and a half pages of music score, and are found only in this specific manuscript. Any indications of *makam* and *usûl* are absent. If the composer references are valid, the first one is the only work of Karykis with verses in the Persian or Ottoman languages and the second is the only evidence of Ioasaph's occupation with secular music.

The First Collection of Art Music

The codex **Gritsanis 8** (see plate 5) was written by hieromonk Kyprianos Iviritis in 1698. On pp. 323-345 it contains a section of secular music, which is labelled with the phrase “And here begin some songs and *murabba's*”. The collection contains the important alphabetic *acrostic* song on the birth of Christ *Ἀναρχος Θεὸς καταβέβηκε* and a series of compositions of art music. Chronologically, it is the second oldest collection of secular music and the first containing art music. In the song headings only the *echos* is provided and not the *makam* or the *usûl*. For the first time, however, a definition of the genre is found in the terms *murabba'* (“μουρεμπάς”) and *semâ'i* (“σουμαΐ”). There are also the adjectives *secular non-Greek* (“ἔθνικὸν βαρβαρικόν”), *non-Greek* (“βαρβαρικόν”), and *Islamic* (“μουσουλμάνικον”).

Twenty-eight Manuscripts with Content of the Same Genre

In this section, a group of manuscripts with common characteristics that allow their classification and study as a group is examined. These manuscripts are

²³ Information about the existence of this specific work is due to professor G. T. Stathis.

²⁴ For an analytical presentation of the manuscript see D. K. Balageorgos, F. N. Kritikou, *The Byzantine Music Manuscripts – Sinai, Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων στὴν βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁρους Σινᾶ*, Athens, vol. 1, 2008, p. 589-592.

twenty-seven in number and they contain works of ecclesiastical music, with the exception of a few folios of secular music. They are grouped here separately from other manuscripts because:

1. They contain some folios with secular music, typically one to two, and are not thus self-contained collections of secular music.
2. They date from the middle of the 17th through to the late 18th century, at which time another category of manuscript appears, like the collections of art music of Constantinople by Petros Peloponnesios, and the collections of Phanariot songs.
3. The transcriptions do not concern folk songs but compositions of art music, which are provided either with composer names or anonymously, and without any inscription pertaining to their specific genre, *makam* or rhythmic cycle.
4. At a first glance of the available analytical catalogues of the above manuscripts, it is observed that these secular melodies are often written in *Kratemataria*, or in sections of *kratemata* inside *Anthologies*, *Papadikes* and *Mathemataria*.

The above manuscripts can possibly be divided into two groups. The first, and larger of the two, contains twenty-two manuscripts, and essentially includes three compositions. The manuscripts in chronological order are as follows:

Megistis Lavras E9, Iviron 1203, Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, Iviron 1080, Koutlounousiou 449, NLG 897, NLG 941, NLG - MHS 399, Xeropotamou 329, Iviron 988, Great Meteoron 416, Dionysiou 579, Koutlounousiou 446, Panteleimonos 1012, NLG 2175, Agiou Pavlou 132, Xeropotamou 330, NLG 2225, S. Karas 38, Xeropotamou 305, LKP 45/195, NLG - MHS 722.

What follows is a list of the three compositions and the sources within which they are found:

1. [Composition of undetermined genre] *Anene... Doustum yelela... janim del del del er be tanni tanni... rinetine zulfé...* Theophanis Karykis, *echos plagal I*.

Megistis Lavras E9, 141v / Iviron 1203, 176v / Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 111v / Iviron 1080, 94r / Koutlounousiou 449, 205v / NLG 897, 425v / NLG 941, 404r / NLG - MHS 399 / Iviron 988, 366v / Great Meteoron 416, f. 56a / Koutlounousiou 446, 517v / Panteleimonos 1012, 241r / NLG 2175, 814v / Xeropotamou 330, 378r / Xeropotamou 305, 310v / LKP 45/195, 551v / NLG - MHS 722, 386v (see figure 4).

2. [Rast *beste*] *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade Kosmas the Macedonian*²⁵, *echos plagal IV*.

Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 112r / NLG 941, 411r / Xeropotamou 329, 197r / Iviron 988, 389r / Dionysiou 579, 232r / Koutlounousiou 446, 521r / NLG 2175, 835r / Agiou Pavlou 132, 814 / Xeropotamou 330, 379r / NLG 2225, 119v / S. Karas 38 / Xeropotamou 305, 311r. (See figure 11)

²⁵ For the authorship of the composition see the chapter titled “Catalogue of Secular Compositions”, p. 81, fn. 22.

3. *Ei ki mpertos titan bha me ain oki tariiii, echos varys.*

Ivion 1080, 130r / Ivion 1203, 239v / Xeropotamou 329, 196v²⁶.

A first simple observation is that these compositions are often copied from codex to codex. In a few of the codices, two or three compositions co-exist, while in some others only one of the compositions is found. Up to now, thirteen manuscripts have been identified containing the composition of Karykis and twelve with that of Kosmas. These works are characterised by the scribes as *persikon* (“πέρσικον”), *atzemikon* (“ἀτζέμικον”), *nai* (“νὰι”), *ethnikon* (“ἔθνικόν”), meaning secular, etc. That is, they continue the naming practice commonly used in the genre of *kratemata*. However, even though the scribes transcribe or copy these types of pieces, they do not appear adequately familiar with this kind of music. This is deduced by the fact that they are unable, as indeed were the older scribes, to recognise and determine a specific genre of secular music. They do not indicate the constituent parts, that is, the genre’s inherent sections. They only list the *echos* according to the rules of ecclesiastical music but not the *makam* or *usûl*. These elements, which determine the identity of a work, are stated for the first time clearly and in full by Petros Peloponnesios.

The second group consists of the manuscripts of **Ivion 949**, **Panteleimonos 994**, **Timios Prodromos 93**, **Ivion 1038**, **Gregoriou 23**, and **S. Karas 32**. These six manuscripts are examined separately because they cannot be fully included in the main group. Chronologically, they are distant from each other, since the first of them dates from the late 17th century, and the fourth, from the 1800s. They exhibit some of the general characteristics of the main group, but there are also some differences. The transcriptions here also concern art music compositions, with the difference that in some of them a specific recognisable genre (*beste*, *semâ’î* etc.) is mentioned. The main difference, however, is that each of these works are found in only one codex. They are not found in other manuscripts of ecclesiastical music either because they were not copied, or if they were copied, they did not survive to our day.

Specifically, on f. 175v of **Ivion 949**, the *beste* genre is clearly indicated for possibly the first time: “*Beste Mezil iste*”²⁷. Absent are any indications of *makam* and *usûl* and only the *echos* is given. The piece occupies half of the 30.4 x 29.4 centimetre page, but the transcription seems complete and although there is no written indication, its two constituent parts are easily discernible. And, at the end of the first part, one more verse is given as text only.

The codex **Panteleimonos 994** presents a *semâ’î* and a *beste* of Kyrillos Marmarinos (ff. 323v-325v). As a matter of fact, they are the first works of art music

²⁶ This particular piece is also preserved in codex Ivion 1189 as part of a broader section of Persian music.

²⁷ After extensive research, the composition is here attributed to Kemânî Yorgi. For more information see the chapters “Catalogue of Secular Compositions” and “Composers”.

of Constantinople, in Byzantine sources, attributed to their composer – a music teacher in the field of the *psaltic* art. In the heading, the name of the composer, the *makam* and the *echos* are mentioned. Moreover, the genre is given, though incomplete, as *semâ'î*, without clarification as to whether it is an *ağır semâ'î* or a *yürük semâ'î*:

This is the work of Mr. Kyrillos former bishop of Tinos, which is called *semâ'î*, in Turkish *hüseyinî*, music and words of the Persians, *echos* I.

The same *semâ'î* is also preserved on ff. 251r-251v of MS Timios **Prodromos 93**, without, however, giving the name of the composer.

Unfortunately the full composition contained in the codex **S. Karas 32** was not available and for that reason the information pertaining to it is currently incomplete. The codex contains a composition of secular music without title, *usûl* or *makam*, which starts from f. 296b. The scribe, Athanasios Iviritis, gives only the indication “This is a good *murabba'*, *echos* plagal IV”.

The codex **Gregoriou 23** contains a work titled “*Heirmos Ismailitikos An gi pan ngerpe epentzi rouzy*, *echos* I” (ff. 187v-189v). Either it is a copy from another older manuscript or the scribe is isolated from the reality of their time, being unable to distinguish, firstly, the genre and also of course, the *makam* and the *usûl*.

Lastly, the codex **Iviron 1038**, in which the works appear to be written in three sections, is examined. The first and the second sections (ff. 662r-666r & 670r-673v) are in the main body of the codex but they exhibit differences in the writing style. In the second, the characters are of bigger size than the first and they occupy fewer lines on the paper. The third section (ff. 681r-683v) is written in an additional booklet bound with the rest of the manuscript, the writing style of which is quite different. We have therefore a manuscript with three small sections of secular music written by at least two or three hands. The main body of the codex dates from the early 18th century while the added booklet from later in the same century. The content of the three sections is as follows:

662r *Echos* I *Yeyeli yeyela*

663r Arabic beste, *echos* plagal I, *Segringoulingoulou*

664r *Echos* I, Bagipakerpe, until f. 666r

670r Beste named Nai, *echos* IV, *Ormatipichereitzcha*

670v *Echos* I, *Tzismimistontou*

671r [*Echos*] I, *Tzakpoutempchoupen*

671v [*Echos*] I, *Saliniskairvischives*

672r Another... difficult of mine, [*echos*] I, *Yar kimin canesi*

672v [*Echos*] I, *Yar Efendim pedeteriya*

673r [*Echos*] I, *Yar byzyfeta*, until f. 673v

681r Named Isach Sakili, also known as *karapataki*, written by Mr. Ioannis Protopsaltes at the exhortation of the Most Holy Metropolitan of Heracleia Mr. Gerasimos, copied

from the autograph of Mr. Ioannis Protopsaltes himself. The *makam* is considered *hicâz* by the Persians and [echos] palgal II by us. *eterelelelele*

Mülazime teterela

682r *Orta hâne teterela*

682v *Mülazime teterela*

683r *Son hâne teterela*

683v Again the same, then *mülazime*

The study of this manuscript yields a number of very interesting findings:

1. The genres of *beste* and *peşrev* are mentioned.
2. The national names “Arabic” and “Persian” are used. However, in both cases Ottoman origin is implied. The poetic text of the *beste* is given in Ottoman, and not in Arabic or Persian. The name of *makam hicâz* is indeed etymologically of Persian (or Arabic) origin, however it is certain that the scribe (or the scribes) of this particular manuscript were made aware of this from their cultural osmosis with the Ottoman Turks, and not with the Arabs or the Persians.²⁸
3. “*Beste* named *nai*” indicates that the favoured term, *nai*, for the definition of *kratema* is used. Perhaps the genre of *beste* is still confused with the *kratemata*.
4. On f. 672r the phrase “Another... difficult of mine” is found. Therefore, we can assume that it is a composition of the scribe.
5. The f. 681r, where the *peşrev* of Ioannis Protopsaltes is prefaced, is of particular interest. The genre (*peşrev*) is given together with the corresponding *echos* and *makam*. According to a custom of the time, the *peşrev* has a name, and is called *Isach Sakili* or *karapataki*. The story behind the composition is given, that is, that it was written by Mr. Ioannis Protopsaltes at the exhortation of the Most Holy Metropolitan of Heracleia, Mr. Gerasimos, and witnesses the existence of an earlier codex, an autograph of Ioannis, from where this one was copied.
6. The inherent structure of the same piece is also presented, consisting of the following parts: *mülazime* / 682r *orta hâne* / 682v *mülazime* / 683r *son hâne* / 683v again the same, then *mülazime*.

The First Transcriptions of Makam Seyirs

The manuscript **HESG 305**, dated 1749, is an autograph of Kyrillos Marmarinos. On ff. 94r-101v it contains seventy-one *echoi* or *makam seyirs* as they are called in the Ottoman:

Clarifying which and how many *echoi* each *makam* comprises, and what is its progression from beginning to the end.

²⁸ For more information see chapter four “Composers: Works with Names of Ethnic or Religious Origin”.

Even though these theoretical issues do not fall within the scope of this work, this manuscript is of interest since the notated musical descriptions of the *makams* by Kyrillos, are the oldest transcriptions of *seyir* in Ottoman music.²⁹ The section in which the *echoi* are presented, consists of seventy-one paragraphs. Every paragraph starts with the name of the *makam* and continues with a textual description:

Rast, beginning from its own *perde* and via the *geveşt perde* descends to ‘*aşırân*, and then ascending it goes via *rehâvî*, *rast*, *dügâh*, *segâh*...

Subsequently followed by one or two lines of notated score showing the basic progression of the *makam*:

A copy of Kyrillos’s work is included in **LKP 123/270**, which dates from the 18th century (see figure 12). On ff. 23v-35r, sixty-seven *makam seyirs* are presented, that is four less than HESG 305.³⁰

Four Autograph Codices of Petros Peloponnesios

They are LKP (dossier) 60, which has 53 folios, LKP (dossier) 137, with 40 folios, Gritsanis 3, with 255 folios, and RAL 927, with 86 folios. They were written in the third quarter of the 18th century, and they are significant because of their content. The first three contain art music of Constantinople, mainly *pesrevs*, *semâ’îs* and *terkîbs*, and the fourth contains Phanariot songs. They are the earliest codices with a purely secular musical content,³¹ constituting the beginnings of the rich output of other such codices, seen in the following decades. Coupled with the fact that they were written by Petros Peloponnesios – leading composer of ecclesiastical music, superb *exegetes*, active musician in both ecclesiastical as well as secular music, and most importantly in regard to the topic at hand, notable and experienced codex writer – their significance is magnified. Their analytical cataloguing and study brings to the surface a wealth of extremely important details. Extensive mention will be made of these codices not only because of their significance but also because there has not been any other relevant publication devoted to their investigation.

In particular, codex **Gritsanis 3**, has already attracted the interest of academic circles. The information contained in the two catalogues compiled of the manuscripts in the Gritsanis library (Adamis 1966-67:313-365, Papagiannopoulos

²⁹ Popescu-Judetzi – A. Ababi Sirli 2000:18. On the *seyir* and the specific transcriptions see below pp. 221-222.

³⁰ According to the catalogue of Gertsman (1996), Kyrillos’s theoretical treatise as well as some Phanariot songs are included in MS St. Petersburg 127. Gertsman dates this codex in the middle of the 19th century, thus it was outside the scope of this work.

³¹ With the exception of one *Kalophonic Heirmos* in Gritsanis 3 and a few folios with fragments of ecclesiastical music in LKP (dossier) 137.

1937), is unclear. In his article “Πέτρος Λαμπαδάριος ὁ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος”, G. T. Stathis (1983:117-118) presents some initial indications of the existence of secular music in this particular codex, which is attributed to Petros. Finally, two pieces from Petros’s transcriptions have been recorded by “En Chordais” in the albums of the series *Great Mediterranean Composers*. They are *bestenigâr peşrev* by Hânende Zacharias³² and the *terkîbs* in various *echoi* of Petros Peloponnesios³³ from the *exegesis* of T. K. Apostolopoulos.

The codex is most important for the study of secular music for many reasons. Firstly, its size (255 folios) and its dimensions (23.5 x 17 centimetres) allow the preservation of a great number of pieces (around two-hundred works of art music) revealing both the breadth of the repertoire mastered by Petros and also his deep knowledge of that music. Secondly, its content spans a very wide time frame, from the 15th century at least, if not earlier, until the time the codex was written, which is the third quarter of the 18th century, enabling researchers to trace the past through the surety of written sources. Thirdly, it preserves works of known great composers as well as many other anonymous pieces, significantly widening the repertoire of the art music of Constantinople. And finally, it is of special interest to the study of musical form and of music theory, due to the wealth of information contained within it.

Nevertheless, the manuscript is characterised by a great untidiness of both the writing style, and the organisation of the repertoire. An extensive and repeating sequence of different writing styles is traced throughout. A number of works are written with particular care, using two colours, in calligraphic script, with easily readable characters, elegant initials, clear information and indications pertaining to musical form, composer, *makam*, *usûl*, *echos*, *martyria* etc. (See plate 6)

Other works, on the other hand, are particularly badly written and hard to read, in a single colour, and with incomplete headings and many smudges. (See plate 8)

The organisation of the content does not follow some logical order, either by *echos* – *makam*, or by composer. Additionally, it was not possible to discern some sort of macro-form, such as the *fasıl*.

Of the compositions contained in the codex, some are presented with the name of their composer; the majority however, are presented anonymously. During the research and writing of this book, a few pieces were identified and consequently attributed to their composers. The earliest composers identified in the codex are:

Abdülkadir Marâghî (1353 - 1453), Mehmet Ağa [Kul] (- 1580?), Hasan Can (1490 - 1567), Gazi Gıray Han II (1554 - 1607 and Seyf el-Mısırî (16th c.).

³² Track No. 2, “En Chordais”, Zakharia Khanendeh.

³³ Track No. 5, “En Chordais”, Petros Peloponnesios.

Followed in chronological order by:

Hacı Kasım (- 1600 ?), Emir-i Hac (- 1600? or second half of the 16th c.), Ağa Mu'min (17th c.?), Ali Beğ (17th c.?), Rıza Ağa (- 1650?), Solakzâde Miskâlî Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebi (- 1658), Murad Ağa [Şeştârî], (1610 - 1673), Şerîf (? - 1680), Küçük Hatib (- 1700?), Reftâr Kalfa (- 1700?), İtrî (Buhûrîzâde Mustafa Efendi and/or Çelebi) (1638? - 1712), Dimitri Cantemir (1673 - 1723), Kasım [Mehmed] (- 1730?), Abdurrahmân Bâhir Efendi [Arabzâde] (1680 - 1746), Es'ad Efendi [Şeyhülislâm Mehmed, Ebû-İshâk-zâde] (1685 - 1753), Hânende Zacharias (18th c.), Hızır Ağa (? - 1760), Tanburi Haham Musi (Moshe) (? - 1770?), Kemânî Yorgi (early - middle 18th c.), Ahmet Ağa [Musâhib Seyyid, Vardakosta] (1728? - 1794).

In addition to the above twenty-five composers which proved possible to identify³⁴, Petros transcribes works from at least nine others including: Pappas, Ousta Yiesefin, Ismail Tzaous, Antonis (Antoninin), Atriznin (or Arizouni) Tamburi, Peligratzoglou, Tamburi Hacı Omer Ağa, Tziohatzoglou, Hocanmasinin. The fact that these composers are not known from other direct or indirect sources, but are explicitly and clearly mentioned by Petros, presents opportunities for further research into the personalities that contributed to the development of this important musical heritage. Moreover, a great part of the repertoire consists of anonymous works, many of which may be by Petros himself.

With regard to the genres, the vast majority of pieces in the codices are instrumental compositions, like *peşrevs* and *semâ'îs*. Vocal compositions are limited to a few fragments of Phanariot songs in the first and last folios of the codex (1v-3r, 7r, 254r-255r), and to about ten other works, such as *kârs*, *bestes*, *yürük semâ'îs* and others of so far undetermined form³⁵. It is worth noting that none of the vocal compositions mentions the name of the poet – lyricist.

The manuscript **LKP (dossier) 60**³⁶ is also quite poorly written, but readable. Only black ink is used, with the exception of ff. 36r-37r, where the scribe appears to make some small corrections with red ink. It is attributed to Petros by comparing its writing style with Gritsanis 3, and the rest of his surviving autographs. In this manuscript as well, Petros does not follow a method of organising the content with the criterion of *echos* or *makam*, or the composer. However, in the titles he provides performance instructions as well as quite satisfactory information about the *makams* and *usûls* such as:

³⁴ On the issues concerning the identification of composers, see more in the relevant chapter, pp. 135-136.

³⁵ The codex also contains one piece of ecclesiastical music, the *Kalophonic Heirmos* of Hânende Zacharias *Οὐρανὸς πολύφωτος* in *echos varys* (6v).

³⁶ The manuscript, as well as LKP (dossier) 137, is described analytically in the catalogue created and prepared for publication by G. T. Stathis with the title “Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς – Τὸ Ἀρχεῖο Γρηγορίου Πρωτοψάλτου τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Κωνσταντίνου Ψάχου”.

- 11r *Peşrev makam karcıgar, diyek* from *rast teterela terelela*
the *mülazime* from *segâh teterela terelela*
2nd *terkîb* from *segâh teterela terelela*
3rd *terkîb* from *rast teterela terelela*
4th *terkîb* from *segâh teterela terelela*
orta hâne from *segâh teterela terelela*
11v the *son [hâne]* from *nevâ teterela terelela*

Despite its relatively small size, the manuscript is of special interest because it contains significant and rare types of compositions, many of which have unusual names and are not found in other manuscripts, for example:

- 1r The *küll-i külliyyât hüseyinî usûl aksak*
15r *Sabâ değışme*, the *son hâne hafîf* from *diügâh*
18r *Beyâtî devrikebîr*, starts from *nevâ* and *beyâtî*, called *bebram*
39v *Hüseyinî şükûfezâr, nazîrent, diyek* from *diügâh*
47r The *büyük nevâ çenber* from *nevâ* (see figure 9)

Extensive reference to these compositions will be made below. Moreover, quite an impression is made by the existence of a piece titled “hindilerin” (“χινητηλέρήν”), which reveals its Indian origin³⁷. The composers named in the manuscript are:

Behrâm Ağa [Nefiri] (- 1560?), Rıza Ağa (- 1650?), Muzaffer (Sâatçî Mustafa Efendi) (- 1710?) and Hasan Ağa [Benli, Tanbûrî, Musâhib-i Şehriyârî] (1607 - 1662).

Finally, here as well, more works are presented anonymously, and of course many of them are possibly the compositions of Petros himself.

The manuscript **LKP (dossier) 137**, is, in its entirety, particularly poorly written and untidy. The writing is in a single colour and is very careless. Its content consists of secular music transcriptions though some fragments or whole ecclesiastical pieces can be found scattered in various folios. Most works are vocal; probably *bestes*. Absent here as well, is any logical and consistent classification by either *echos* – *makam*, by composer or by genre. Basic indications (*makam*, *echos*, composer, *usûl*) are generally omitted as are the analytical details appearing in Grîtsanis 3 and in LKP (dossier) 60. The pieces start with a simple mention of the *makam*.

Very few details can be extracted about the composers and nothing about the poets of the vocal works. References are made to Tanbûrî Haham Musî (Moshe) (? - 1770?) and Emir-i Hac (- 1600? or second half of the 16th century). Again here, most works are anonymous and many of them are possibly by Petros himself.

It is worth noting that the content of these three manuscripts is not identical, neither does it overlap. No work present in one codex can be found in the other two, hence each manuscript is complementary to the others. Despite the irregu-

³⁷ See p. 156 for more.

larity that characterises them from the point of view of outer appearance as well as content, it is reasonable to view these three manuscripts as one very important source. Petros produced around three hundred and fifty autographed folios, preserving a large part of the repertoire of the art music of Constantinople. In contrast with MS Gritsanis 3, which appears to have started with loftier aims as a work of transcription, MSS LKP (dossier) 60 & 137 have the appearance of music notebooks. This is easily discerned both by the comparison of the dimensions of each manuscript (23.5 x 17 centimetres for Gritsanis 3, 17 x 11.1 centimetres for LKP (dossier) 60, and 36.6 x 12.4 centimetres for LKP (dossier) 137), and the great attention given to appearance, as well as the care taken, which to a great degree defines Gritsanis 3. This detail however, does not diminish the importance of the other two manuscripts.

In these three manuscripts Petros transcribes the repertoire generally heard in the Ottoman court, revealing, in parallel, his deep knowledge of that tradition. Petros transcribed what he heard, what he was taught and what he composed and sang or played on *ney* and *tanbur*. He transcribed his own works, the works of his contemporaries, but also of those much earlier than him, as preserved by the oral tradition of the Ottoman court. In conclusion, it can be supported with certainty that these three manuscripts created by Petros, constitute a precious source for the study of the art music of Constantinople. Together with the collections of Bobowski and Cantemir, they are the most important sources of the repertoire of the Ottoman court, from the 15th until the middle of the 18th century.

The fourth autograph of Petros containing secular music, is **RAL 927**. It is the earliest manuscript containing the genre of “Phanariot songs”³⁸, and its content became the basis of a series of later music collections, some of which copied it to a great extent³⁹. It is a notebook⁴⁰ of unusual length and dimensions, with writ-

³⁸ Plemmenos (2005-2006) attributes the manuscript to Petros, a view which the author of this work is in agreement with. As mentioned above, fragments of Phanariot songs are found in the first and last folios of Gritsanis 3 (1v-3r, 7r, 254r-255r), but it is not known which codex precedes the other. In any case, the content of this particular manuscript contains Phanariot songs exclusively, hence it can be considered essentially the first. On the genre of Phanariot songs see more in the chapter “Genres of Secular Music” pp. 245-255.

³⁹ Plemmenos (1998:16-17) notes that its content was copied in manuscripts RAL 653, ELIA, CAMS P1 & P2 and Vatopediou 1428. To those, LKP 19/173 and Iaşi 129, can be added, which obviously Plemmenos was not aware of. In the same article, J. Plemmenos supports that RAL 784 contains exactly the same songs as RAL 927, but that claim is incorrect. Most of Petros’s songs found in RAL 927 do not exist in RAL 784, neither in RAL 925. Nikeforos, seemed to have based his writing of Vatopediou 1428 and of Iaşi 129 on RAL 927, since many songs are found in both manuscripts. During the writing of RAL 784 and of RAL 925, he was probably unaware of the collection, or he didn’t use it. By comparing the content of Vatopediou 1428, with other manuscripts containing Phanariot songs, it is concluded that Nikeforos must have copied many songs from the anthology of Petros Peloponnesios (RAL 927) and from the anthology of Petros Byzantios (LKP 19/173). For example:

ing resembling a draft more than a finished manuscript, however, still discernable and legible. An inconsistency is observed here as well with regard to the organisation of the content as initially the layout of the songs does not follow any classification method⁴¹ (see plate 10).

However, from f. 14r onwards, Petros generally follows a method of grouping the songs by *makam*, according to their base note, and their natural sequence on the Turkish scale. That is, he begins with *yegâh*, then lists all *hüseynî-‘aşîrân* together, all *irak*, all *rast* together and so on. Moreover, the *usûls* are given either with quantitative signs such as *ó 2*, *ó 2 ó i*, or with names such as *sofyan*, *semâ’î*, etc. In general, the above reveals that Petros was rather undecided as to which method to follow in the organisation of his material and the manner of its presentation or, most significantly, the pieces were draft transcriptions to be organised and presented in final codices, which he eventually did not produce.

Άλλο δὲν εἶν’ νὰ συγγίξη, τόσον καὶ νὰ μ’ ἀφανίξη, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal II* heptaphonic, *şelnâz*, *sofyan*, RAL 927, 61r / LKP 19/173, 116r / Iaşi 129, 213 / Vatopediou 1428, 218.

Ἀμὺν ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια σου κι ἀπ’ τὰ πικρά σου λόγια, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos IV*, *isfahân*, *semâ’î*, RAL 927, 54r / LKP 19/173, 95r / Iaşi 129, 141 / Vatopediou 1428, 127.

Ἐπῆρα τὴν ἀπόφασιν πλέον ἀπ’ τὸ πουλί μου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos IV*, *beyâtî*, *semâ’î*, RAL 927, 57r / LKP 19/173, 87r / Iaşi 129, 114 / Vatopediou 1428, 105.

Μὲ πόθον ὑπερβολικόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal I*, *sabâ*, *sofyan*, RAL 927, 29r / LKP 19/173, 40r / Iaşi 129, 169 / Vatopediou 1428, 174.

Μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶναι ἀφευκτος σχεδόν, Petros Byzantios, *echos varies* diatonic, *evîç-bûselik*, *ó 2 ó i*, LKP 19/173, 136r / Iaşi 129, 52 / Vatopediou 1428, 30.

Ἐνὸς ρόδου θεωρία, Unspecified composer, *echos plagal II*, *hicâz*, *sofyan*, RAL 927, 12v / LKP 19/173, 64r / ELIA, 81r / Iaşi 129, 202 / Vatopediou 1428, 206.

An examination of the above songs shows that the notation is similar.

- ⁴⁰ Its dimensions are 10 centimeters wide and 15 centimeters high, and it is bound at the top end of the page. That is, the pages do not turn right to left, instead they turn from top to bottom. On f. 86v the following noteworthy annotation is written by a different hand: “for that *metzmai* [*mecmu’a*], he [Petros Byzantios] gave the son of the late protopsaltes of the Great and Holy Church of Christ a woollen overcoat from Vienna in the year 1808 in Iaşi, which the departed had been given from the earlier departed Mr. Petros the Peloponnesian, since the above mentioned protopsaltes is the more recent Petros Byzantios who became a pupil of the former lambadarios Petros Peloponnesios, for everyone's information, he has special songs”.

Generally, such anthologies were usually called “Μιζμαγιές” (*Mizmagies*), a corrupted version of the Arabic word *mecmu’a*, meaning, a collection of the poetic texts of vocal compositions. Of course, apart from the music manuscripts, where complete Phanariot songs are preserved, there are also many anthologies of poetry where only the text is given, without musical notation. A basic bibliography on the topic is given in the chapter “Genres of Secular Music”.

- ⁴¹ On the first folio (6r) text only verses are found without a title. After that, the model followed is “one page to one song” where only the music is given (7r) or the music followed by text only verses (6v, 7v). This is followed by songs where the verses are given only as text (ff. 8r-10r, 11r), while on f. 10v a song is inserted with both text and music. From then on, each song is given with its notated melody and also with all its proceeding verses in text only, except for ff. 24r, 31v, 32r, 37, 48r, 57v where only the music is given.

Additionally, no composer names are mentioned in the manuscript. Nevertheless, for many of the songs it can be argued with certainty that they were compositions of Petros himself, since they are clearly attributed to him in other codices.⁴² Finally, some pieces are listed anonymously in other sources as well, therefore it cannot be excluded that they are indeed the works of unknown composers.

The Autograph Collection of Petros Byzantios

The manuscript **LKP 19/173**, dating from the late 18th to the early 19th century, is an autograph codex of Petros Byzantios (see figure 13). It has 160 folios containing art music of Constantinople, being mainly Phanariot songs. The first mention of the manuscript as well as its authorship is found in the *Φόρμιγξ* journal in the article of K. Psachos (1911), “Πέτρος ὁ Βυζάντιος Πρωτοψάλτης τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ σωζόμενα αὐτοῦ χειρόγραφα”. The *makam*, the *echos* with its *martyria* and the *usûl*, with quantitative signs such as ὁ 2, ὁ 2 ὁ 1, are found in the heading of every song. The genre is only mentioned for *şarkis* and for *nakis ağır semâ’î*. The name of the composer is not given for any of the pieces. However, it contains eight songs by Petros Byzantios himself, ninety-seven songs by Petros Peloponnesios, three by Iakovos Protopsaltes, one by Ioannis Protopsaltes, one by Athanasios Dimitriadis, while for forty-three songs the composer is unspecified, as is the case for the six songs existing in Turkish. The content of the manuscript is quite influenced by RAL 927⁴³ and presents similarities, in regard to the order of the songs, to the manuscripts of ELIA, CAMS P2 and Vatopediou 1428⁴⁴. Additionally, the codex has many blank pages, ninety in total, all of them verso. Perhaps Petros left them blank to add the verses later, something that eventuated at a later time by a different scribe.

Four sections can be clearly discerned in the codex:

a) ff. 1r - 119r, b) ff. 120r - 149v, c) ff. 150r - 158v & d) ff. 159r - 160v. In the first section and only there, Petros follows an organisational method for the rep-

⁴² For more information see the catalogue of works of Petros, in the chapter titled “Catalogue of Secular Compositions”, pp. 89-98 where references to all available sources are listed for each song individually.

⁴³ It should be noted that there are songs by Petros Peloponnesios, which are not found in RAL 927. Thus, it can be concluded that the scribe did not simply copy the manuscript but either used another, or many other manuscripts, as a basis for this one, or that he transcribed some melodies from memory. With regards to Vatopediou 1428, mention must be made of the song *Ὅλα τὰ πράγματα καιρόν, πῶς ἔχουν εἶναι φανερόν* (Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II, *hümayîn, sofyan*) which is written twice in LKP 19/173 and twice in ELIA. The two versions have small differences between them, but these differences are reproduced as follows:

1st version: LKP 19/173 f. 76r & ELIA f. 39r,

2nd version: LKP 19/173 f. 74r & ELIA f. 40r.

⁴⁴ See below.

ertoire reminiscent of the corresponding method of RAL 927, but with greater consistency. In the second section, he seems to have missed some songs which he later lists unordered and without an organisational method. In the third section, five *şarkıs* and one *nakış ağır semâ'î* are found, while in the fourth, four more Phanariot songs exist, one of which is incomplete. The codex is also missing initials, which appear to have been left out during its initial authoring.

Four Codices and One Fragment of Secular Music by Nikeforos Kantouniaries

The codices RAL 925, RAL 784, Iaşi 129, Vatopediou 1428, the fragment CAMS P1, and pp. 534-543 of the codex Xeropotamou 299, are all by Nikeforos Kantouniaries. The four codices contain mainly Phanariot songs, as well as other vocal genres, *şarkıs*, *bestes*, *ağır semâ'î*, *yürük semâ'î*, Gypsy and Arabic songs, and many more. The CAMS fragment exclusively contains Phanariot songs. The folios of the Xeropotamou codex contain a series of eleven *taksıms* by Petros Peloponnesios. The secular music manuscripts of Nikeforos have been studied by J. Plemmenos in a number of his articles⁴⁵; while in particular for Vatopediou 1428, a relevant article has been published by G. T. Stathis⁴⁶, who was the first to bring this most important codex to light.

Codex **RAL 925** is the earliest secular music manuscript of Nikeforos Kantouniaries. It has 82 folios and exhibits a relative untidiness with regard to its content and its general appearance. The songs are listed in a rough order and in some cases text only verses are interspersed without notation. The headings mention the names of *makams* but not *usûls*. In addition, the songs are listed anonymously except for those attributed to Iakovos Protopsaltes (Yiakoumakis Lambadarios)⁴⁷. Two songs have descriptions pertaining to geographical regions, one of them bearing the description *Wallachian* (“Βλάχικον”) and the other, *Frankish* (“Φράγγικον”). Moreover, in contrast to MSS RAL 784, Vatopediou 1428 and CAMS P1, the codex does not contain any songs of Nikeforos himself, a fact that leads to the conclusion that he had not yet begun composing verses. In general the collection bears the characteristics of a first attempt, which shows Nikeforos's immaturity as a collector of songs and unfamiliarity of secular music in general. This as well as the rest of the palaeographical observations, support that this is the earliest one of his four codices of secular music.

Codex **RAL 784** appears to be the second earliest manuscript containing secular music by Nikeforos Kantouniaries (see plate 14). It has 270 folios and contains around two hundred songs. Its general appearance clearly indicates that more

⁴⁵ See relevant reference in the Introduction, p. 25.

⁴⁶ See relevant reference in the Introduction, p. 24, fn. 33.

⁴⁷ Nikeforos also mentions the names of Kemânî Yorgi, Mustafa Ağa and Sultan Mahmud, but he does not provide notated works of theirs, just text only verses.

care was taken with it in comparison to RAL 925. Kantouniars here attempts to follow a classification method, grouping the *makams* on the basis of the *octoechos*, however, some inconsistencies are observed.⁴⁸ In addition, apart from the *makam* and the *echos*, he lists the *usûl* as well. He lists the names of the composers, including for his own songs. At the end of each song the verses are listed as text only. In many songs, he seems to ignore the composer or he is just not sure:

- 109r Unspecified composer; *segâb makam*, [echos] IV *legetos*, *usûl* ó 2, Ἡ ἀβέβαιος κινεῖται, τύχη πάντα καὶ μμεῖται. In “Melpomene” he attributes it to Petros Byzantios;
- 127r Petros Byzantios; *türkî bicâz makam*, [echos] *plagal* II, *usûl* ó 2 ó i. In “Melpomene” he lists it as of unspecified composer.
- 132r Unspecified composer; *nihavent makam*, *echos* *plagal* IV, *usûl* ó 2, Τί φοβερὰ καὶ σκοτεινὴ καὶ τῶν κακῶν νύκτα κοινή. In “Melpomene” he attributes it to Petros Peloponnesios.
- 134v *Hicâz makam*, [echos] *plagal* II, *usûl* ó 2 2 ó i, Τὰ θέλητρα ποὺ ἔχεις ἀγάπη μ’ φυσικά. In this manuscript he does not mention any composer, in “Melpomene” he mentions Petros Peloponnesios.

Codex **Vatopediou 1428** is the largest and most complete collection of Phanariot songs, even though its content is not limited to this genre (see plate 15). In its 422 pages it contains about 250 songs and encompasses nearly the whole compositional output of Phanariot songs. In the beginning of the codex, Kantouniars adds the following description, which deserves to be commented upon:

Melpomene, namely the book containing semâ'is, şarkis and bestes previously scattered here and there and subsequently collected by Nikeforos Kantouniars of Chios, archdeacon of the Patriarchal throne of Antioch and teacher at the common music school of Iaşi, in the holy, reverend and famous, due to the holy icon of the most holy Theotokos, the most miraculous one, monastery called Golia, during the abbotsip of his most holiness saint bishop of Irinoupolis, Mr. Gregorios, the Ephesian. 1818 in the month of November. Archdeacon of Antioch, Nikeforos.

Nikeforos titled the collection *Melpomene* (“Μελπομένη”), which is the name of the muse of poetry in Greek Mythology. He must have written it over the period between 1818 and 1820. The year 1818 is explicitly found in the heading, but the information on p. 349, seen below, leads to the conclusion that its writing was completed by 1820 at the earliest (Stathis 2001c:618).

Verses of the philosopher Govdelas for his highness master Michael Gregorios Soutsos, composed by the already protopsaltes of Constantinople Gregorios and sent to Iaşi doubly, 1820

⁴⁸ For example, the pieces extend to around two rounds of the *octoechos*. It is possible that Nikeforos decided to include more songs at some point, and continued the transcription in that way.

The two-year period seems long for an experienced scribe such as Nikeforos. A few weeks or even days would be adequate. It is reasonable to question why Nikeforos delayed completing the manuscript for so long. An attempt to answer this question is made below.

The codex, which is preserved in very good condition, has a seemingly appearance and is written with particular care. At the beginning of each *echos*, the scribe decorated the top part of the page with a floral design, and each song with elegant initials. Apart from the attention to the aesthetic of the manuscript which is obvious at first glance, the organisation of the material is discerned to be clearly much more methodical in comparison to Nikeforos older manuscripts. Another difference of this manuscript, compared to Nikeforos's other manuscripts, is that his writing style in the plain text verses is much improved. Nikeforos organises the layout of the repertoire on the basis of the *octoechos*. Within each *echos*, he lists the songs, grouping them initially by *makam* and then by composer. It is essentially the earliest manuscript in the Byzantine sources whose content is organised in such a way. Finally, in between *echos* groups, Nikeforos leaves a few blank pages, obviously to have the ability to make necessary additions of songs, without disturbing the order of the eight *echoi*.

The phrase “*scattered here and there and subsequently collected*” states that, according to Nikeforos, the (mainly Phanariot) song material, was scattered, unordered and unclassified. It appears that Kantouniaries knew of other, older manuscripts containing secular music pieces, which he took into account for the compilation of *Melpomene*. The scattered material was collected by the laborious effort of Nikeforos himself. Indeed, many of the songs of the collection were notated by him. The word “*etonisthi*” (“*ἐτονίσθη*”) or “*tonisma*” (“*τόνισμα*”)⁴⁹ meaning notated or transcribed, appears often in the titles of the songs. See examples below:

- 38 *Şarki*. Letters and music by the famous *chanopaziate* royal dervish Ismael the *mousaipsis*. Transcribed (*Etonisthi*) by Nikeforos archdeacon, *makam 'uṣṣak*, *echos I*, *usûl sofyân Chintzri-ale chalim diyer güm ei ledivach*
- 85 *Aravikon* transcription (*tonisma*) of Nikeforos archdeacon as he heard it. *Makam çâr-gâh*, *echos III*, *usûl ó 2*, *Baydâ biş-ša'ri-l-abyaḍ*

Nikeforos systematically uses that particular terminology for the lesser-known pieces (Arabic, *Taousanika*, Gypsy, Italian, French etc.) in order to state those specific pieces are his own transcriptions. These terms are contrasted with the terms “*melos*” (“*μέλος*” meaning melody), as well as “*melourgithentes*” (“*μελουργήθη-ντες*”) and “*emelourgithi*” (“*ἐμελουργήθη*”), meaning “*melody created by*”, which are generally used in the headings of Phanariot songs. It would seem, that he wants thus to make his mark on, and highlight his contribution to, the transcription of

⁴⁹ For more on the term *tonisma* (τόνισμα) and the manner in which it is used in the psaltic art see chapter “Historical Overview”, pp. 67-68.

the secular repertoire. Therefore, the use of these terms implies, that for the construction of the collection, he copied many Phanariot songs from other manuscript collections, he organised the content of his collection (as described above) based on his own methodology, he added his own songs to verses again of his own or by others, and enriched the whole collection with many other songs and transcriptions of melodies, making it an exemplary secular music collection. A supporting piece of evidence confirming this is his own testimony, as reliable codex scribe, that two of the songs of the collection were transcribed by Gregorios Protopsaltes:

- 337 *Şarkı* by Hânende Ahmet A ğ a Saraili. Transcribed by Gregorios Lambadarios in the new system, *makam nikrız*, *echos* plagal IV, *usûl* ó 2, *Ach cihan payin*
- 334 By Yiangos Ağa of Siphnos. Transcription of the Lambadarios. *Makam nikrız*, *echos* plagal IV, *usûl* ó 2, *Mê tās ζωηράς ἀκτίνας τῶν ὥραιων σου ματιῶν*

All works bear complete titles that adhere to the same logic: name of composer and poet where it exists, followed by *makam* name and initial *martyria* of *echos*. The rhythmic cycle, that is the *usûl*, is given either with its name or with the symbols used by the Greek music teachers. All pieces start from the beginning of the page and, except in very few cases, all song verses are given in plain text. Given all of the above, each song is presented in its completeness. In the last pages of the codex a table of contents is found, listing the songs in alphabetical order based on the initial verse and accompanied by the number of the page on which they are written.

The composers referenced in the manuscript are: Petros Peloponnesios, Petros Byzantios, Iakovos Protopsaltes, Gregorios Protopsaltes, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, Archon Postelnikos Georgios Soutsos, Ismail Dede Efendi, Ioannis Protopsaltes, Athanasios Dimitriadis, Manuel Protopsaltes, mouzikantes Skouloumbri Chios, Yiangos Ağa of Sifnos and Ahmet Ağa [Musâhib Seyyid, Vardakosta]. Additionally, in song headings he mentions the names of the following poets: Athanasios Christopoulos⁵⁰, Germanos bishop of Old Patras, Alexandros Sophianos, Dimitrakis Mourouzis, Iakovos Protopsaltes⁵¹, Archon Postelnikos Georgios Soutsos, Beyzade Yiangos Karatzas, Ismail Dede Efendi, Petros Peloponnesios, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, Archon Megalos Komisos Theodorakis Negris, archdeacon Kyrillos, Tzelepis Yiakovakis Roizos, Antonios Photinos (Doctor), Nikolakis son of Souloutziaris Eliaskos, Alekos Balasidis, Selim III⁵² and Govdelas the Philosopher.

⁵⁰ Some of the songs are clearly attributed by Nikeforos to Christopoulos, while in others he simply gives the name of the anthology of poetry from where they originate “ἐκ τῶν λυρικῶν” or “ἐκ τῶν βακχικῶν” which are also works by Christopoulos.

⁵¹ Apart from his own songs, verses of his are also found in songs by others, e.g. on p. 3. Verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes Byzantios. Music by Petros Peloponnesios Lambadarios *makam hüseyinî*, *echos* I, *usûl* ó 2, *Τὸ ὥραϊον πρόσωπόν σου σχηματίζει οὐρανόν*.

⁵² Selim III wrote the verses in Turkish. According to Nikeforos they were translated into Greek and music was composed to them “by some unknown composer”, or according to the scribe of LKP 152/292, 14, by Gregorios Protopsaltes.

Such references aid in the attribution of songs to composers, when the same songs appear in other manuscripts where the composer is not mentioned. Of course, there are many anonymous songs here as well. Anonymity however is explicitly stated, a fact that ascertains that the scribe has not forgotten or missed the name, but that the piece is indeed by an unknown composer. Hence, in the general catalogue of works, many of the songs were identified and attributed to composers owing to the explicit descriptions of Nikeforos.

The genres contained in the codex are given by the scribe himself at the beginning of the codex: “Melpomene, namely book containing *semâ’îs*, *şarkıs* and *bestes*...”. Included in the above, is also the genre of Phanariot songs, which is not explicitly stated by the scribe. Phanariot songs are the majority in number, while *şarkıs*, *bestes*, *ağır semâ’îs*, *yürük semâ’îs* and *kârs* are very few. Moreover, most of these are presented again with Greek verses, therefore they can also be classified as “Phanariot songs”. Completely absent are transcriptions of instrumental compositions such as *peşrev*, *saz semâ’î* or *taksım*. There are Arabic songs – a rare occurrence for the 19th century, and, totally unexpectedly, there are also Italian, French, Gypsy and “Taousianika” songs. Finally, the codex includes other noteworthy transcriptions such as three Islamic hymns⁵³, calls of travelling salesmen⁵⁴, as well as the melody of the Laosynaktis’s call to church⁵⁵.

In the genre of Phanariot songs, Nikeforos does not intersperse performance rubrics, because he obviously does not deem them necessary. The form of Phanariot songs was adequately clear and known. For the more complex genres he indicates only the change between parts: *beyti*, *nakarat*, *miyân*, *nağme* and others. Finally, the collection contains many distichs without music notation, that is, in plain text.

As previously mentioned, the writing of the codex took place over a period of at least two years, raising the question of what may have delayed the completion of the codex to this extent. One explanation is that perhaps the delay was due to the fact that the scribe’s aim was to compile a collection as complete as possible in terms of content and aesthetic. It seems Nikeforos regarded “*Melpomene*”, which was his last manuscript relative to his others containing secular music, as the culmination of his whole effort to transcribe and preserve the secular music of his environment, and as a serious monumental work of collecting and transcribing a great part of the repertoire of his time, including his own personal compositional output. His personal aesthetic criteria obviously played a significant role in the creation of the collection. However, compared to his earlier collections, there is an evident qualitative difference. This difference is due to his accumulated experience and maturity as a musician and codex scribe. Nikeforos

⁵³ See pp. 10, 213, 284 of the MS and on p. 115 of this book, in the analytical catalogue of works.

⁵⁴ See p. 64, 187 of the MS and on p. 117 of this book, in the analytical catalogue of works.

⁵⁵ See p. 187 of the MS and on p. 117 of this book, in the analytical catalogue of works.

appears determined and sure about the aim and the significance of this particular work; he seems to be conscious of the fact that he leaves behind an ark of secular music. This can indeed be witnessed by the few lines in the codex's heading. Hence, for the implementation of such an ambitious plan, the quality of the final result, rather than the time it took to complete it, was of particular importance. Indeed, for the sake of completeness, he left many blank pages at the end of each *echos*, in order to append songs that he missed or that he learnt later on. He also built the table of contents at the end of the codex and chose a codex of large dimension and multiple pages, for the writing of his collection.

The codex **Iași 129** presents great similarity to that of Vatopediou 1429, in regard to the method of organisation of the content and the transcribed songs, as well as its general appearance. It has 367 pages and mentions 1813 as the year of writing, that is, five to six years earlier than "*Melpomene*", where the method of presentation of the works is clearly improved. Elegant initials can also be seen here in the beginning of each song. Additionally, each song occupies one page. After the notated music, the rest of the song verses are written in plain text. The order of works is to a great extent the same in both codices, even though the headings in Vatopediou 1428 are more comprehensive and more complete.

In this manuscript, four songs of Nikeforos, which do not exist in any other manuscript, are found. They are copied as is, in the analytical catalogue:

- 147 ex /// transcription by Nikeforos archdeacon. *makam segâb*, [*echos* IV] *legetos*,
usûl ó 2 ó i, *Δέν την πονεῖς τη νιότη μου*
 Of the gypsies. Transcription by Nikeforos, *makam arabân beyâtî*, [*echos*] IV soft chromatic (*phthora*) , *usûl* ó 2, *Ikidetour gilirali*
 Plain text verses 2nd, 3rd, 4th, *nakarat*, the same in Greek Greek *Ἐλα ζουρνά μ', ἔλα νὰ σὲ πῶ*
- 315 *Ἀπονεῖ ἡ κάθε γλῶσσα*, music by Nikeforos, *makam mâbûr*, *echos* plagal IV
frangikon
- 182 *Exomeritikon*, transcription by Nikeforos. *makam hisar* , *echos* plagal I,
Ἄν κι αὐτὸ τό 'καμε βλέπεις

The above few observations are listed here due to the manuscript's great similarity with Vatopediou 1428. In this codex, it appears that Nikeforos is moving towards consolidating the organisational method of a secular music collection.

CAMS P1: This fragment dates from the early 19th century⁵⁶ and has 16 pages. The songs contained within it are generally also found in the rest of Nikeforos's

⁵⁶ Plemmenos (1999-2000:99-100) places authoring around 1815 on the basis of two arguments, a) "Before 1816, Nikeforos was occupied with the writing of ecclesiastical music manuscripts" and b) due to the "coincidence" of Nikeforos and Germanos of Old Patras in Constantinople at the same time, as seen in the verses of two songs. This reasoning is proved wrong since Nikeforos was occupied with secular music even before 1816 as is clearly documented by the date of Iași 129, being 1813 .

manuscripts. The following two songs are an exception however, preserved only in this particular fragment:

Ἔρωτος ὅλη ἡ δόξα ιδιώματα, [unspecified composer], *echos* varies heptaphonic, *ενίς, sofyan*, CAMS P1, 12.

Μέσα σὲ πέλαγος βαθύ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *bicáz*, CAMS P1, 16.

To those, the following must be added:

Μετὰ ἀσπλαχνίας ἄκρας καὶ μεγάλης ἀπονιᾶς, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I pentaphonic, *acem*, verses by Germanos of Old Patras, CAMS P1, 2.

which is also found in Vatopediou 1428, but composed in a different *makam*:

Μετὰ ἀσπλαχνίας ἄκρας καὶ μεγάλης ἀπονιᾶς, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *mâbûr, frengi*, verses by Germanos of Old Patras, Vatopediou 1428, 317.

From these few pages, any organisation of the content based on *makams* cannot be discerned. Indeed, Nikeforos gives one notated song, immediately followed by another, then another, and so on, without listing the plain text verses, resulting in each page having up to three songs. In the headings he mentions *makams*, and *usûls*, and the initials are calligraphic. Some songs mention the composers: Georgios Soutsos, Iakovos Protopsaltes and Nikeforos himself; and Yiangos Karatzas and Soutsos are mentioned as poets. For the rest of the songs, Nikeforos does not add the indication “anonymous” or something similar, as he commonly gives in other manuscripts.

Concluding this section on Nikeforos’s manuscripts, it must be noted again, that he himself often highlights his contribution to the transcription of secular music by using the terms “tonisma” (“τόνισμα”) and “etonisthi” (“ἐτονίσθη”), meaning “transcribed by”, in song headings. Nikeforos was rather “ostracized” by the *psaltic* and ecclesiastical circles. It is worth noting that his own songs survive only in his autographed codices. Other, later manuscript collections do not contain any songs by Nikeforos⁵⁷.

Three Codices with the Eleven Taksîms of Petros Peloponnesios

Eleven transcribed *taksîms* by Petros Peloponnesios are preserved in three codices dating from the late 18th to the early 19th century. Specifically, the codices are: Iviron 997, Xeropotamou 305 and Xeropotamou 299. They contain the oldest *taksîm* transcriptions in Byzantine notation and they are either compositions of Petros himself or transcriptions made initially by Petros and later copied by other scribes. They are a series of eleven *taksîms* in eight *echoi*, one for each *echos*,

⁵⁷ The only exception being the song *Ἥλιος λαμπρὸς νῦν φαίνει* in manuscript RAL 2238, 13r.

except two in *echos* III, two in *echos varys* and two in *echos plagal* IV, which bear the heading:

“Proemia, that is *taksîms* in Turkish, pieces composed by Mr. Petros Peloponnesios”⁵⁸

The oldest codex containing the *taksîms* of Petros is **Ivion 997** (ff. 162v-168r) dating from the 18th century. **Xeropotamou 305** (ff. 310v-315v) follows, written by Damaskinos Agraforendiniotis, dating from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century. The *taksîms* are found immediately before the series of *kalophonic beirmoi* that conclude the codex. The *Persikon* of Karykis and one *beste* precedes them. Lastly, is **Xeropotamou 299** (pp. 534-543), which was written around 1810 by Nikeforos Kantouniaries⁵⁹.

*One Manuscript and a Few Folios with Phanariot Songs
from the Late 18th – Early 19th century*

The oldest codex containing a few individual folios with Phanariot songs is **Gennadius 725**⁶⁰. It dates from the fourth quarter of the 18th century and on ff. 73r and 74v it contains two Phanariot songs. In addition, it must be noted that this is the only manuscript that does not belong to the corpus of manuscripts of ecclesiastical music. It presents heterogeneous content with plain text verses, recipes, financial accounts etc. Codex **RAL 653** originates from the same period. On ff. 33r-40r it contains Phanariot songs, which present examples of classification by *echoi* and *makams*. The rest of the codex's content is plain text verses and pieces of ecclesiastical music. It ought to be noted that it is the first manuscript to present Phanariot songs attributed to their composers. A little later, in the early 19th century (possibly in 1816), the manuscript **ELIA**, which has 107 folios, was written. Its scribe is Evgenios, of whom no other details are known. It also contains Phanariot songs. It presents very few traces of an attempt at organising the inherently untidy content.⁶¹

⁵⁸ (Translator's note: A *proem* (pl. *proemia*) is an introductory musical phrase or short piece.) In all three codices, the *taksîm* section is presented with the exact same title.

⁵⁹ Stathis 1976:73-81, 150-151) identifies the unnamed scribe as Nikeforos by comparing the writing style of Xeropotamou 299 with that of Xeropotamou 295, 318 and Vatopediou 1427. A reasonable question though arises as to why Nikeforos, having written at least five codices with secular music, did not include the eleven *taksîms* of Petros in some of those collections instead of including them as part of an Anthology of ecclesiastical music. Moreover, the *taksîms* do not mention *makam* names, only their *echos* is mentioned. Focused future research may provide answers to these questions.

⁶⁰ The codex bears the note by the scribe on f. 156v: αψζθ' [1769]. It is of mixed content and written by one main scribe and two or three others. It contains other notes dating from between 1769 and 1791. The above in conjunction with the fact that the two songs are written in the *Old Notation* lead to the assumption that the codex dates from the fourth quarter of the 18th century.

⁶¹ It appears to be somehow related to codices RAL 927 and LKP 19/173.

Five Autograph Fragments of Gregorios Protopsaltes and Four Kanonia of the Echoi

Also examined here, are manuscripts either written by Gregorios's students according to his own teachings, or containing many of his songs.

Five autograph fragments by Gregorios with secular musical content⁶² survive in the archive of Gregorios Protopsaltes of the LKP of the University of Athens. They are LKP 2/59a, 8 folios; LKP (dossier) 58, 8 pages; LKP (dossier) 59, 8 pages; LKP (dossier) 76, 4 pages and LKP (dossier) 81, 4 folios. Apart from these, the so-called *kanonia* of the *echoi*, which will be discussed below, also exist in his archive. These secular music transcriptions are essentially the first in the *New Method* of music notation.

Of particular interest is the fragment **LKP 2/59a**. It has 8 folios and its content consists of two *peşrevs* and two *semâ'îs*.⁶³ Its significance is due to the fact that Gregorios does not stop at providing the exact transcription of each melody and some brief performance details, but he introduces every composition with an analytical commentary, focusing on issues of musical form and theory. Moreover, related comments are often interspersed even within the composition, between its parts.⁶⁴ As previously mentioned, the addition of performance instructions is not an unknown phenomenon in secular music manuscripts. Some indicative manuscripts, which must be noted, include Gritsanis 3 and Vatopediou 1428, which are full of phrases such as,

Then the *terkîb*, then the second *terkîb* of *mûlazime*, and then the *zeyl*

or codex Vatopediou 1428 that contains an analytical presentation of some *usûls*.⁶⁵ Gregorios, however, goes even further. Unfortunately, the complete manuscript does not survive in order to offer a richer wealth of information about the art music of Constantinople, and of course a more complete picture of the method followed by Gregorios. However, even from these few folios it can be easily surmised that Gregorios had designed a new way of transcription and preservation of secular music, transmitting the pieces of secular music, *exegised* and analysed, to the later generations, not just in the *New Method*, but with all the necessary information for their proper performance. From that point of view,

⁶² Apart from their existence in Gregorios's archive, the fact that they are his autographs is also evidenced by the writing style and the characteristic decorative drawing.

⁶³ 1r *Peşrev* called *beyâtî* composed by Isak. *Beyâtî*, starting from the *echos* IV...

3r *Semâ'î* called arabân *beyâtîsi* composed by Tatari via *gümüüsü gerdan* which is played at every *beyâtî* starting from *dügâb*, that is from *echos* plagal I, *terelele*

4r *Peşrev* muhayyer Koutpounaes, *usûl devr-i kebîr*, *zarf[ey]n*, bu *peşrev*..., plagal first heptaphonic [*echos*] *erelelele*

Gkine gioukari kigkimpi terelele

7r *Semâ'î* muhayyer sînbiile, [*echos*] plagal I heptaphonic, *erelelele*

⁶⁴ See pp. 202-203 & 269-271 for more.

⁶⁵ See chapter "Echoi and Makams – Rhythmic Cycles and *Usûls*", p. 283-284.

the folios of this fragment comprise a very interesting example of innovative work; a model collection of secular music. The composers mentioned in the codex are Gazi Giray Han II (1554 - 1607), Osman Dede [Kutb-ı Nâyî Şeyh] (1652; - 1730) and Tanbûrî Isak Fresco-Romano (1745 -1814).

Related to LKP 2/59a is also fragment **LKP (dossier) 58**⁶⁶, the two folios of which contain an incomplete piece, probably a *peşrev*, without a heading:

- 1 Again the same

Another *terkîb* of *son hâne lelelele*

mülazime lelelele

- 2 The first time in the *nana teslim* to take it one more time, one more time and the second time it does *evîç* to take the *orta hâne* like this *lelelelelelia*
- 3 The second time it finishes like this because the *son hâne* starts from the *irak lelelelele*

Here as well, Gregorios gives some information, though of limited extent. The fact, however, that the fragment contains but one composition, and that this composition does not start from the beginning, firstly, does not allow the formation of a clear picture of the presentation method, and secondly, leads to the speculation that Gregorios may have provided more analytical information and commentary also in this manuscript.

Two more autograph fragments of Gregorios are: LKP (dossier) 76 and LKP (dossier) 81 which contain four pages, and four folios with Phanariot songs, respectively. The **LKP (dossier) 76** contains five songs by Gregorios which also bear the indication “*ἡμέτερον*”, in English, “mine” (see plate 16). The *makam* and corresponding *echos*, and the *usûl* are given in all songs. MS **LKP (dossier) 81** contains only one composition by Georgios Soutsos in *makam bestenigâr* – *echos* *varys* that, as Gregorios notes, is called *kâr*, according to secular musicians. Of interest is the phrase at the heading of the piece: “Composed by me, Gregorios Lambadarios, according to the teachings of him”, that is, of Soutsos. The exact same information is found in another four manuscripts originating from the circle of Gregorios’s students: Stathis, 27r, Gennadius 231, 51v, LKP 152/292, 122 and Archdiocese of Cyprus 33.⁶⁷

Prior to the examination of these manuscripts, it is worth examining another group of Gregorios’s autographs, the “*kanonia*” of the *echoi*.⁶⁸ Initially the group

⁶⁶ The different dimensions of the examined fragments exclude the possibility that they originate from the same codex.

⁶⁷ The same phrase exists in MS RAL 2238, although pertaining to a different composition of Soutsos:

1r Tragic verses composed by the most noble Archon Postelnikos Mr. Georgios Soutsos, words and music, notated by Mr. Gregorios Protopsaltes, *makam*, *usûl sofyan*, *me deanti auton* [*echos*] plagal I Pa (*triphonic* with *kliton*), *Τί μεγάλη συμφορά, τί ημέρα, τί ειδήσεις*

⁶⁸ The manuscripts in which the *kanonia* of the *echoi* are preserved have not been included in the table of the available sources, since they do not contain music scores. Here, they are

included MSS **LKP (dossier) 135** and **LKP (dossier) 136**. In the course of this research however it was discovered that **NLG / MHS 726** must also be an autograph of Gregorios. In that manuscript, apart from the obvious similarity of writing style, the same word for word phrases are observed within the descriptions of *echoi* and *makams*. **Panteleimonos 1250** seems to be a copy of NLG / MHS 726, but by the hand of a different scribe, and is also nearly a word for word copy, with respect to the descriptions.

All four manuscripts contain tables of the scales of the *echoi* (similar to those found in Chrysanthos's theory book) and commentary for each *echos* and *makam* correspondence. The comparative layout of *echoi* and *makams* and the relevant calligraphic tables constructed in the *kanonia* of the *echoi* by Gregorios, in conjunction with the analytical presentation and the commentary on the *peşrevs* and the *semâ's* of fragment LKP 2/59a, show his broader aim, and his intention for a systematic approach and presentation of "secular music".

Another category of manuscripts is examined together with Gregorios's autographs. Some of them were compiled by his students "according to his teachings". The rest, predominantly contain his own compositions. The earliest one (circa 1820) is the MS of the **Stathis** library whose scribe is Ioannis Konidaris. It has 47 folios and contains Phanariot songs mainly by Gregorios Protopsaltes⁶⁹, as well as some *şarkıs*. It is the oldest surviving complete secular music manuscript in the *New Method*. Information provided in the song headings includes: the composer, the *echos* or some brief commentary. However, paradoxically, there is no reference to *makam* or *usûl*.

Belonging to the same group is **Gennadius 231** (ff. 80), written by an unknown scribe in the first decades of the 19th century. It contains many songs that are attributed to Gregorios, or are identified as his own even though he is not mentioned as the composer. The headings present an inconsistency in regard to the information given. In general, *echos* and *makam* are given for each song, in some cases the *usûl* is given as well, while the name of the composer is given even more rarely. Many songs are given without a heading and with only the initial *martyria* of the *echos*.

Eleven songs of Gregorios and one *şarkı* are contained in the few folios of **Dochiariou 322**. The manuscript is dated from around 1826 and the scribe, according to G. T. Stathis, is a student of Gregorios. Finally, one song of Gregorios is contained in each of the codices **Xenophontos 146**, **NLG 2424** and **Archdiocese of Cyprus 33**.

presented synoptically as they are directly related to the overall work of Gregorios in the sphere of secular music.

⁶⁹ In the heading found on f. 2r Gregorios is referred to as teacher: *book containing some secular melodies, some of which composed by the teacher Gregorios and others as they were found, transcribed in the present style under the care of Ioannis Konidaris who also transcribed some of them from scratch.*

The fragment **CAMS, P2** dating from the beginnings of the 19th century, has 48 pages and contains Phanariot songs. It seems to form part of a codex and its content is related to that of codex RAL 927. Some songs, however, exist only in this fragment and/or in codex Vatopediou 1428.

This fragment's unique particularity, is that it does not provide plain text verses, and the songs appear in notation one after the other in sequence. And so, most pages contain three songs; some of them even containing four. From page 46 onwards however, this pattern changes and plain text verses begin to appear. Perhaps the scribe changed his mind about the completeness of the transcriptions of the songs. The fragment's content is organised according to the *octoechos* with a fair amount of consistency; within each *echos* group the related *makams* are also given. In the majority of songs the *usûl* is given, usually in the manner of 02 etc., and more rarely, the *usûls* are given with their complete names. Finally, the *makam* is usually given, while the *echos* is surmised by the initial *martyria*. The majority of compositions are attributed to Petros Peloponnesios, or are clearly defined as "unspecified". It also contains one song by Petros Byzantios and two by Gregorios Protosaltés.

LKP 152/292 is the last codex examined. On the first page the following information is given clearly:

Songs of various genres transcribed according to the new found method by the Constantinopolitan most-musical teacher and inventor of the New System, collected and written by myself, Ioannis Pelopidis of Epirus, reviewed by my teacher Mr. Panagiotis Pelopidis Peloponnesios, Trieste, 1827.

Its appearance is quite reminiscent of the first printed books of ecclesiastical music. The mention of Trieste raises questions. It seems unlikely that the codex could be written so far from the centre of activity of this music. It is a reasonable assumption that the manuscript was pre-destined for publication and the city of Trieste was given as the place of publication, and not the place of writing.

In general, the content is quite different to that of other manuscripts. It includes, of course, certain songs of Gregorios, Petros Peloponnesios, Iakovos, Gregorios Soutsos, Spyridon Laphaphanas, Anthimos Archdeacon, Kleomenis Athinis, as well as other Phanariot songs, one composition of Hânende Zacharias and one by Abdülhalim Ağa (1720? - 1802). The bulk however, concerns the compositions of the scribe Ioannis Pelopidis and his teacher and probably relative, Panagiotis Pelopidis. Some errors are seen in the presentation of songs in the codex. For instance, some of them are mistakenly attributed to Gregorios instead of Petros Peloponnesios and Iakovos Protosaltés. The order of songs is not based on some method according to *echos* or *makam*. In the heading of each song, the *makam*, the *usûl*, the tempo and the *echos* is given. Finally, part of the manuscript seems to have been copied from MS Stathis. For example, apart from the many Phanariot songs which are also found in other manuscripts, three of

the songs, as well as four compositions from the repertoire of the Ottoman court, exist only in LKP 152/292 and the Stathis MS:

Ἀχ ἄν ποτὲ φορὰ καταφέρῃ, [*unspecified composer*], *echos* plagal I phthorikos, *baba tābir*: Stathis, 9r / LKP 152/292, 64.

Ἐὰρ εἶσαι μὲ τὰ ἄνθη, [*unspecified composer*], *echos* plagal II: Stathis, 47r / LKP 152/292, 59.

Ποῦ ἔναι τὸ ἔσκη κ' ἡ χαρὰ ποῦ εἶχα ἔγὼ ἄλλῃ φορὰ, [*unspecified composer*], *echos* *varys* diatonic heptaphonic: Stathis, 14r / LKP 152/292, 65.

Hicâz Beste Ab olmada dirlele roupoute gamze [Abdülhalim Ağa], *echos* plagal II, [*hafif*], [verses Fitnat Hanım]: Stathis, 30v / LKP 152/292, 159.

[*Hicâz Beste*] *Hey cisme-i abu bizrin* [*unspecified composer*], *echos* plagal II: Stathis, 33r / LKP 152/292, 164.

[*Uşşak*] *Semâ'î Eirele gül rugikinev* [*unspecified composer*], [*echos* I]: Stathis, 37r / LKP 152/292, 172.

[*Hüzzâm şarkı*] *Ey gönce-i payimel* [*unspecified composer*], *echos* IV: Stathis, 41r / LKP 152/292, 193.

Notation in Related Music Traditions

Of special interest for a more complete coverage of the topic, despite the fact that the nature of this work is prohibitive of this task, is the general overview of the musical civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean, the products of which have been preserved in the manuscript tradition of ecclesiastical music. Knowledge of some fundamental details is necessary in order to interpret, comment upon and analyse the transcribed melodies of non-Greek musical civilisations. Further to this, the available written sources concerning the traditions of the East, before the universal establishment of the use of staff notation, must be taken into account, since they are often referred to, especially in regard to the repertoire of the art music of Constantinople. In this way, the contribution of this book to the study of the musical civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean will be better understood. Therefore the following points are very briefly outlined:

With the exception of the Greeks and the Armenians⁷⁰, the rest of the peoples of the region had not developed a system of music notation until the middle to late 19th century, when almost concurrently, Arabs, Persians and Turks adopted

⁷⁰ Armenians had a the “Khaz” notation for church music since the 9th c. (see for example: Aram Kerovpyan & Altuğ Yılmaz: *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler*, Istanbul: Surp Pirgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı 2010, p. 56ff), and much later – in the 19th c. – a reformed version was used extensively also for Ottoman sufi and court music, the Hamparsum Notası (see for example: Ralf Martin Jäger: *Türkische Kunstmusik und ihre handschriftlichen Quellen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert*, Eisenach: Karl Dietrich Wagner 1996).

staff notation as a notational system, inventing, in parallel, additional modulation signs in order to represent the intervallic variety of Eastern music.⁷¹ Until then, the common collections were limited to the listing of verses with the addition of some information in their heading, often giving the *makam* and the rhythmic cycle and more rarely the composer's name⁷². The few collections where notation appears along with the poetic text can be divided into two categories:

- 1) Music scores using numerical or alphabetic notation
- 2) Music scores using staff notation

The first category, is dominated by the work of Dimitri Cantemir *Kitābu 'İlmi 'l-Mūsikī 'alā vechi'l-Hurūfāt, Mūsikîyi Harferle Tesbîr ve İcrâ İlminin Kitabı*. [The Book of Music Science According to the Alphabetic Notation]⁷³ which he wrote circa 1700. In the same period, Osman Dede wrote his collection in a different alphabetic system, which can be found in a private collection in Turkey today (Feldman 1996:33), while a little later the music collection titled *Tabrîrîye* appears, also in alphabetic notation by his grandson, Abdülbâkî Nâsir Dede (Feldman 1996:95). Around 1750 the *Mevlevî* Dervish Nâyî Ali Mustafa Kevserî created, in essence, a copy of the work of Cantemir written in the same alphabetic system⁷⁴, and in 1815, Hamparsum Limonciyan transcribes his own music collection⁷⁵, which is housed in the central archives of the Turkish Radio in Ankara and is inaccessible to researchers. The works above are mainly concerned with the musical environment of Constantinople, because according to M. Guettat the alphabetic notational systems which were found in Arabic and Persian Metropolitan centres in the past centuries “are not exactly systems of writing, but rather a mechanical way

⁷¹ This topic has been studied by many renowned scholars. See for example Wright 1994, 1995; M. Guettat 2005; Feldman 1996:28-36; Shiloah 1979; Popescu-Judetiz 1996; Özalp 1969:92-95.

⁷² The most complete study of these collections is O. Wright 1992.

⁷³ Istanbul Üniversitesi Kutuphanesi, Türkiyat Enstitüsü, No 2768; transcriptions into staff notation and translation to Romanian: Popescu-Judetiz 1973; transcriptions into staff notation and translation to English: O. Wright 1992; transcriptions into staff notation and translation to Turkish: Tura 2001. Many references to the music collection of Cantemir, as well as transcriptions into staff notation, are given by W. Feldman (1996). It is a reasonable question why Cantemir, having been educated by Greek teachers in Iași and later in the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople, did not transcribe the songs of his collection in the widely distributed Byzantine notation which he most likely knew, but he used an alphabetic system of his own invention. It is possible that this move was a “predecessor” of other innovative attempts concerning mainly ecclesiastical music (see Agapios Paliermos, Georgios Lesvios and others). Indeed, W. Feldman (1996:33) aptly writes that “(Cantemir) failed to mention his musicological work, claiming to be the first to invent musical notation among the Turks (Cantemir 1734:151)”.

⁷⁴ Feldman 1996:33 and E. Popescu - Judetiz, *XVIII Yüzyıl Musiki Yazmalarından Kevserî Mecmuası*, Istanbul 1998.

⁷⁵ See Ralf Martin Jäger op. cit. and Ralf Martin Jäger: *Katalog der hamparsum-notast-Manuskripte im Archiv des Konservatoriums der Universität Istanbul*, Eisenach: Karl Dietrich Wagner 1996.

of referencing the notes of the scale” (Guettat 2005:316), that is, a type of tablature.

The music scores in staff notation are mainly transcriptions by Europeans, often travellers, who record musical pieces sporadically⁷⁶ in between various annotations and accounts, or within the framework of a music treatise. The collection of Ali Ufki Bobowski *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz*, dating from around 1650, stands out for its age as well as for its volume, and contains three-hundred and fifty instrumental and vocal works.⁷⁷

These sources have preserved significant works of Eastern music and alongside the aural tradition comprise a part of the repertoire, which is performed today in Turkish classical music circles. It must be noted however that these systems of notation, that of alphabetic, numerical and staff, have a basic characteristic in common: they are not “written traditions” with a continuity and evolution, but isolated and fragmented efforts which are not connected to the musical practice of their times, nor to each other. In order to record or preserve the pieces, musicians either devised alphabetic or numerical systems of notation, (an effort which did not produce any followers), or they used the Western staff notation. However, the composition, the performance and the teaching of this music rested exclusively upon the aural tradition, which in the Ottoman court had a particular name: “*meşk*” (lesson, exercise, music lesson)⁷⁸. This is also the primary differentiating factor when comparing these notational systems with the written tradition of secular music, which developed in the bosom of ecclesiastical music, where a continuity and an evolution in notation can be easily observed.

⁷⁶ For more see B. Aksoy, *Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Musiki* (second edition enhanced), Istanbul 2003, where on pp. 380-424 photographic samples of these transcriptions are provided, as well as W. Feldman 1996: 34-36.

⁷⁷ British Museum, Sloane 3114 and Bibliothèque Nationale (Turc) 292. The collection has been published as follows (Ali Ufki 2000, Cevher 2003). For biographical information about Bobowski, see the chapter titled “Composers”, pp. 139f.

⁷⁸ See *RedHouse Turce-İngilizce Sözlük*, (13th ed.), Istanbul 1993. On the topic of oral tuition in the Ottoman court see more in C. Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz*, YPY, Istanbul 1998.

II Historical Overview

Transcription, Parasimantiki and Tonisma

The act of transcribing secular music using the notation of the *psaltic* art, unfolded over a period of around four centuries. During that period, the method and the volume of the transcriptions reveal a trend of continuous evolution and growth. Tracing back to prehistoric times, it is observed that, from ancient times, the Greek musical civilisation, within the prevailing atmosphere of the organisation and shaping of academic thought and artistic creation, realised the need for the development of a system of music notation¹. The process of representing music with a written method has been variously named in the past. The term “*parasimantiki*” is mentioned for the first time by Aristoxenus, a leading author in the field of harmonic theory of antiquity, who also defines its meaning², while it was adopted a few centuries later by K. Psachos in order to name the music notation of the *psaltic* art. In contemporary academic circles, the notating of music, especially in regard to folk songs, is commonly referred to as “transcription”. Transcription means the notating of a melody at a time later than the melody’s composition and encompasses the notion of treasuring and preservation, of study and sometimes of the recording of a travel souvenir. Such transcriptions were made by European travellers, during the period of Turkish rule, and also by later researchers and scholars of folk music traditions (Hapsoulas 1997, Aksoy 2003). In the written tradition of the *psaltic* art, the term “*tonisma*” is often found³ which is no-

¹ From the rich bibliography on the topic of ancient Greek music, the following works in particular are noted here: S. Michaelidis, *Εγκυκλοπαιδεία της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Μουσικής*, in the entries “Αλύπιος” (pp. 29-30), “Λείψανα ἑλληνικῆς μουσικῆς” (pp. 181-187) and “Παρασημαντική” (pp. 242-244); S. Psaroudakis, “Ancient Hellenic Music Notation”, in W. Feldman, M. Guettat, K. Kalaitzides (ed.), *Music in the Mediterranean*, Volume I *History*, “En Chordais”, Project MediMuses in the context of European Union programme Euromed Heritage II. Thessaloniki 2005, pp. 275-284. Of particular interest is the study of Pöhlman & West (2001) on the sixty one ancient Greek music scores known today from the 5th c. BC through to the 3rd – 4th c. AD, where the originals are presented (critical edition and photographic samples), along with commentary and attempts at their transcription into staff notation. A noteworthy piece of information from K. Romanou is that G. Pachtikos had published *Αρχαία Ἑλληνικά Μελωδία* in Constantinople, which includes seven of the surviving ancient Greek melodies, transcribed into Byzantine notation (*Εθνικὴς Μουσικὴς Περιήγησις 1901-1912, Ἑλληνικά μουσικά περιοδικά ως πηγὴ ἔρευνας τῆς ιστορίας τῆς νεοελληνικῆς μουσικῆς*, Athens 1996, p. 25).

² Aristoxenus, *Ἀρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα*, II, 39, 6, “The notation of melodies” (“Τὸ παρασημαίνεσθαι τὰ μέλη”) and further below (39, 15) “because notation is not the end of the harmonic science” (“οὐ γὰρ τὸ πέρας τῆς ἁρμονικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐστὶν ἡ παρασημαντικὴ”).

³ The term is found very commonly in secular music manuscripts and also in printed editions. See for example: Vlachopoulos, S., I. 1848; Sigalas, Antonios 1880; Keyvelis 1872:172, where it says: “Beste of Hânende Zachariás transcribed by Efstratios G. Papadopoulos”. Many such examples can be found in the above-mentioned source.

tionally different from “transcription” and is connected with the core of the notational system of the *psaltic* art which are the accents (*tonoi*) and the neumes (*pneumata*) of the Greek alphabet – the prosodies which were introduced by Aristophanis Byzantios in the 3rd c. BC Alexandria (Stathis 2005:290). In any case, music teachers used *tonisma* and transcribed or notated melodies and songs in *parasimantiki*, keeping in mind the functionality of the music scores. They were concerned more with the performance practice and less with the monumentalisation and preservation of the music itself, treating their material as a living tradition. This observation must also be taken into consideration in this work, whenever the terms “transcription”, “*tonisma*” and “*parasimantiki*” are used.

15th – 16th c.: From Kratemata To Transcriptions Of Secular Music

One of the first questions that must be asked concerns the origins and emergence of secular music within the corpus of the written tradition of ecclesiastical music. A study of source materials indicates the beginnings of this phenomenon occurred in the Palaiologan period, which has been aptly described as the “Byzantine Renaissance”. The 14th century resulted in an extended period of flourishing activity in the arts and literature within the politically and geographically diminishing Byzantine Empire⁴. In particular, with regard to Byzantine chant, a great blossoming and peak can be observed in all aspects of the art: specifically in the appearance of extended musical genres with particularly sophisticated melodies, the systematisation of notation, and the great number of codices produced (Stathis 1979:74-75).

“It is precisely the era in which great composers and teachers, who definitively shaped Byzantine music and created the corresponding great Byzantine music tradition, lived” (Chatziakoumis 1980:24).

One of the new genres that appear in this period are the *kratemata*. The term “*kratemata*”, as it is seen in the majority of music manuscripts is used to denote the melodic compositions “in which the text consists of non-lexical syllables like: *terirem, terere, tititi, tototo* and even *tenena, anane, anena* etc.”⁵. According to G. T. Stathis, the *kratemata*:

⁴ “It was a period when a crumbling administration, directed by an inept and short-sighted government and centred in a city whose population was rapidly diminishing, vainly attempted to ward off increasing impoverishment and the steady loss of territory. ... In strange contrast with the political decline, the intellectual life of Byzantium never shone so brilliantly as in those tow sad centuries.” St. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge University Press 1970, pp. 1-2. See also, G. Ostrogorsky, *Ιστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ κράτους*, Athens 1978, Vol. 3 Chapter 8, “The decline and fall of the Byzantine Empire (1282-1453)”, pp. 155-277 [title of the first publication: *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*, Munich 1963].

⁵ Anastasiou 2005:68. This doctoral dissertation is the most comprehensive study with regard to all aspects of the topic.

“are the connecting link between ecclesiastical and secular music. ... and it is precisely the *kratemata* that are indeed an open doorway, evidently, through which secular-eastern music passed its influences onto Byzantine music”⁶.

In the *kratemata*, the first traces of incorporation, imitation and notation of secular melodies is observed. They often bear the names of musical instruments, (such as *anakaras*, *viola*, *zamara*, *kinira*, *mouschali*, *nai*, *syrix*, *psaltira*) descriptions of ethnic or cultural origins, (such as *persikon* (*Persian*), *atzemikon*, *tatarikon*, *is-mailitikon* (*Ismaili*) and *voulgarikon* (*Bulgarian*)) as well as names of musical forms (such as *nagmes me to pestrefi* (Nağme with the *peşrev*) and *tasnif* (*tasnîf*)). The main characteristic of *kratemata* is their “instrumental nature”, where the melody unfolds without the constraints of poetic text. Consequently, this resulted in great freedom for the composer. Gregorios G. Anastasiou finds that:

“this freedom... was unquestionably a demand of the times... The opportunities for expression which the *kratemata* offered, generated at the same time the conditions for their genesis, their adoption and their dissemination” (Anastasiou 2005:85).

And so, the composers of *kratemata* were frequently and variously inspired by the sounds of musical instruments or by the melodies and musical forms of secular music. It is a clear trend that is manifested throughout the duration of the 14th and 15th centuries also surviving quite a bit later, as it will be seen below.

By tracing the evolution over time of the phenomenon – that is, the appearance of oriental secular music in the sources of ecclesiastical manuscripts – through the manuscripts that survive until this day, the following findings can be ascertained: the *kratemata* of the 14th and 15th centuries provide evidence of the influence of secular music and they do not have, at first glance at least, a particular form⁷. These pieces either record or incorporate and adopt elements from Romaic or other ethnicities’ secular music. Later in the 15th century, there exist clearer examples of secular music such as the *Persikon* (*Persian*), *echos IV*, *Ar yi yi a to go go gor ri gi* in NLG 2401, 122v which has Persian words, and primarily in the 16th century:

- The first dated notated Greek folk song *Χαίρεσθε κάμποι, χαίρεσθε* that is placed with a Persian Music Section *Yelleyelleli... gjaleleli...* in a manuscript from 1562 (Ivion 1189, 120r-127r).
- The “Persian *tasnif* of Apoulkater *Ab yarim, eteroud ritleri tina tillilir*” (Leimonos 259, 184r-185v) in 1572.
- Georgios Therianos’s composition “Περὶ τοῦ θανάτου ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ φοβῇτε τὸν ἀποχωρισμὸν τοῦ σώματος” (Olympiotissis 168, 12v-13v).
- and the untitled study *Dir tarou dilli terella*, with syllables in Persian or Ottoman (Megistis Lavras E4, ff. 244r-245v).

⁶ Stathis 1979:116-117 and Anastasiou 2005:409, 445-460, “Οἱ θύραθεν ἐπιδράσεις στὸ μέλος τῶν κρατημάτων”.

⁷ An analytical approach to the study of form of the *kratemata* is given by Anastasiou 2005:409-460.

17th C.: The First Collections of Secular Music

An increasing tendency in terms of the appearance and dispersal of both traditional and art music in the codices of ecclesiastical music is observed for the first time in the manuscript output of the 17th century. Art music compositions are transmitted with incomplete information with regard to their identity; that is, with *makam*, *usûl* and composer details absent. Their titles are accompanied by descriptions which point to the corresponding names of the *kratemata*, such as “ethnikon”, meaning “secular”, “nay” and “atzemikon”. Worth noting is the common inclusion in the collections of works of unclassified genre belonging to the composer Theophanis Karykis *Anene... Dostoum gelela...* with descriptions such as those mentioned above. The distinctive feature of this century is the surfacing of a new element: the first collections of secular music, which at the time were of short length and not yet self-contained. The first of them, in the manuscript of Ivron 1203b with thirteen traditional songs and the second in Gritsanis 8 with content of art music origins.

18th C.: The Peak Period of Activity

From the middle of the 18th century and later, a great qualitative and quantitative difference can be observed in the appearance of secular music within ecclesiastical music codices. In the manuscripts that were written throughout the 18th century, folk songs are missing altogether. Interest therefore turns to art music, either that which flourished in the Ottoman court or that of the Phanariot circles. The first self-contained music collections appear in the middle of the 18th century; for example: Gritsanis 3, LKP (dossier) 60 & 137 and RAL 927. They were whole anthologies of secular music, some with few, others with many pieces, and most importantly, containing the works of Petros Peloponnesios.

In addition, an increase in the loose folios of secular music within ecclesiastical manuscripts, primarily contained within *Papadikes* and *Anthologies*, can be seen. For the first time the *makam*, the *usûl* and often the genre are indicated clearly, giving a complete identity to each piece. The aforementioned descriptive markings seem to be innovations of Petros in his four autographed collections⁸. At the end of the 18th century examples are found of *makam* and genre indications on the Ivron codex 1038, examples of *makam* indications on Gennadius 725, *makams* and *usûls* in RAL 653, and LKP 19/173 of Petros Byzantios, and in many others. The phenomenon of attributing pieces to their composers, which appeared gradually in the manuscripts of the 16th century, increases in the mid-

⁸ See more in the chapter titled “The Sources”.

dle of the 18th century and later. Frequently, the name of the composer is given on the pieces themselves and not rarely, in the vocal compositions the poet is mentioned as well. In the third quarter of the 18th century a new genre is seen to appear, the Phanariot song, which gradually occupies a central role in the preferences of the scribes, resulting in a great number – most likely the greatest – of source material concerning the notation of Phanariot songs.

The main contributor to this qualitative differentiation, who, in essence generated a paradigm in secular music collections, is Petros Peloponnesios – with his most significant innovations: self-complete collections, complete identifying details on the compositions, and the founding of the genre of Phanariot songs. In conclusion, the 18th century signifies the peak of the phenomenon, that is, the transcription of secular music within the manuscript tradition of the *psaltic* art, thus revealing the main occupation and familiarisation of post-Byzantine music teachers with secular music; a familiarisation which gradually evolved into a deep knowledge. This conclusion is supported by the first theoretical treatises, written in the beginning and the middle of the 18th century by Panagiotis Chalatzoğlu and Kyrillos Marmarinos respectively, which attempt the first comparative presentation of ecclesiastical and Arabo-Persian music.

19th C.: The First Printed Publications

At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the *Anthologies*, that is, the collections, of secular music increase notably in number, while the occurrence of scattered folios of secular music within the codices of purely ecclesiastical music (for example: *Papadikes*, *Anthologies*, *Sticheraria*, *Heirmologia*, *Doxastaria* and *Mathemataria*) becomes rare. In this period Nikeforos Kantouniaries and Gregorios Protopsaltes are the dominating figures in terms of the volume and quality of their work and their compositional output. Moreover, the first transcriptions of secular music into the *New Method* of notation were created by Gregorios.

With the dissemination of the printing press, the tendency towards the notation of secular music into Byzantine *parasimantiki* was documented relatively early on in the newspaper *Ἐφημερίς* (*Ephimeris*), which was published in Vienna between 1791 and 1797 by the brothers Markides Pouliou⁹. More specifically in issue no. 41, dated 22nd May 1797, p. 482, a song by Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *Τί περιφορὰ*

⁹ See. L. Vranousis 1995:291-295, 615-617 where relevant comments and transcriptions into the new musical notation can be found by G. T. Stathis. It is worth noting that this particular volume is exceptionally rich in source materials, information and comprehensive documentation with regards to the 18th century.

ἀθλία, was published in the *Old Method* notation¹⁰. L. Vranousis states: “it is the first time that printed Byzantine music appears in a Greek publication”¹¹.

Sometime later and immediately following the publishing of the first printed book of ecclesiastical music in 1820¹², the first printed anthology of secular music also appeared. It was called *Εὐτέρπη* (*Euterpe*), a title that refers to the corresponding manuscript collections and the *acrostics* that can be found within them¹³. Following this, a significant number of printed music collections appear, up until the beginning of the 20th century, which in essence continue the tradition of notating secular music with the use of Byzantine *parasimantiki*. The manuscript traditions of secular compositions determined the way in which the contents were organized in the printed music collections: the songs and instrumental compositions are classified based on the *echos* or *makam*; usually the name of the composer is mentioned, while more rarely some biographical details, the *usûl* and often the corresponding *echos* – *makam* are added. In song compositions the first verse is given along with the musical passage and the remaining verses appear as text only. Transcriptions of folk songs are frequently contained in the material of musical periodicals, which circulated in Istanbul and in Athens in the first two decades of the 20th century.¹⁴

¹⁰ As it will be seen below, the song is contained in many musical manuscript collections.

¹¹ Vranousis, 1995, p. 295, where Vranousis characterizes the publication as “a new achievement in printing, which for the first time was seen by musicophiles of the era, and which the publishers of *Ἐφημερίς*, presenting it with understandable pride, were certain to repeat”. The sudden arrest of the publishers by the Austrian police as “accomplices” of Rigas Pheraios [translator’s note: Rigas Pheraios was a prominent writer and revolutionary of the times; heralded as a national hero by the Greek independence movement] was the reason for the discontinuation of the newspaper (last page no. 99, printed Friday 11/22 December 1797), and so it would seem no other opportunities existed for the publication of notated songs.

¹² *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον*, [...] published [...] (by) Petros of Ephesus, [...] In [...] Bucharest [...] 1820.

¹³ On the topic of acrostics see also p. 247 in the chapter “Genres of Secular music” Here the titles of the musical and non-musical printed collections are mentioned as examples. *Πανδώρα* (Constantinople 1846), *Καλλιόπη* (Athens 1847), *Ωραία Μελπομένη* (Constantinople 1849), *Ἡ Τερψιχόρη* (Athens 1853). Names of ancient origins were fashionable amongst the Greek populations of Asia Minor in Constantinople during the 18th century. For the printed collections of secular music see more in the following works: Bardakçi 1993, Behar 2005:245-268, Smanis 2011. A complete bibliography is given by G. Chatzitheodorou in his work *Βιβλιογραφία τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς, περίοδος Α’ (1820-1899)*, Patristic Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki 1998, pp. 251-262, also worth noting is the bibliography in Ihsanoğlu 2003:166-170.

¹⁴ See as an example the material in the journal *Αἴετα*, vol. 5 (1902), Constantinople; *Φόρμιγξ*, Athens, 1901-1912 (with some intermediate interruptions in publication); *Ἐθνική Μούσα*, Athens 1909-1910; *Μουσική*, Constantinople 1912-1915; *Νέα Φόρμιγξ*, Athens 1921-1922. Synoptic catalogues of the contents of musical periodicals is given by K. Romanou 1996.

From the above, it can be deduced that the use of Byzantine *parasimantiki* for the notation of secular melodies is a trend that first appeared during the 15th century, virtually simultaneously with the consolidation of the notational system. Along the way it evolved into a practice, which, despite its variations and changes, continues essentially uninterrupted to this day¹⁵.

¹⁵ The chronological boundary of the materials under examination in this work is the third decade of the 19th century. That said, in the years following and up until the middle of the 20th century numerous significant transcriptions appear. The works of K. Psachos and S. Karas deserve mention here, of which only a small proportion have been published and remain largely inaccessible to those interested to this day. Unfortunately leading research centres in Greece ignored, if not underestimated, the great and living written tradition of *parasimantiki*, choosing, for decades instead, a totally inappropriate and unscientific methodology of notating traditional Greek music, that of writing in staff notation; completely unable to convey the finer intervallic nuances and inventing terms such as “the *mode* of Re” and “of Do”. See for example the Academy of Athens publication *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια, vol.3 (Music selection)*, by G. K. Spiridakis and S. D. Peristeris, Athens, 1968.

III Catalogue of Secular Compositions

The general presentation of the sources and the historical overview, are followed here by a classification of the various sources and the construction of a catalogue of secular compositions surviving in Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts. Categorisation is made on the basis of the century each work was created in, the composer, the genre, the incipit and the *makam* as follows.

Ordering by Date

The dating criterion employed for the works of known composers is the period in which the composer lived. The date of the folk music and anonymous pieces, is established by the dating of the manuscript they are contained in. In the case where a work is found in multiple manuscripts, the oldest one of them is used as a reference. The ordering of works within each section by century, is defined by the order of the chronological period in which the composers were active. Composers living and active at the turn of a century, like for example Dimitri Cantemir, Gregorios Protopsaltes and others, are placed in the century in which they were most active¹. The works of each composer are classified by genre and the songs ordered alphabetically based on the incipit. The same method is also applied for classifying the works of unknown composers. The folk and Phanariot songs are ordered alphabetically based on the incipit for practical purposes as well.

Identity of Works

The information provided for each composition includes the title as well as the incipit, and in the case of vocal works, the *echos*, the *makam*, the rhythmic cycle and the manuscript or manuscripts with the folio or page number the work is found on. For the works of art music, the composer and the poet, if known, are added to the above. In some cases, the place of origin is noted e.g. “ἀτζέμικον” (atzemikon), “ταουσάνικον” (taousanikon), etc. Where a work is found in more than one source, all sources are mentioned in chronological order. In this case, if various copies are found with differences in the title or in other details (such as the *echos*, the rhythm or the *makam*), a uniform identifying representation is chosen and the change is documented, correcting any spelling mistakes except for the incipits where spelling is left as is. The verses are written with Greek characters. Attempt was made, in this book, at their transcription with latin characters

¹ For more on this topic see the chapter “Composers”.

adhering as closely as possible to the rules of the languages to which they relate (or seem to belong to). As for the echos, the one deemed correct and corresponding to the given *makam* is given and not necessarily the one found in the manuscript itself. In some cases also, missing information is completed: e.g. *nî-bavent makam* is given as corresponding, in some manuscripts, to *echos* plagal IV. That description is completed in this catalogue here with the term “hard diatonic”. Similarly, *pençgâh makam* is given as corresponding to *echos* plagal IV. Additionally, where the *makam* is contained in the title, it is not repeated e.g.

Bestenigâr peşrev, Hân ende Zacharias, echos varys tetraphonic diatonic, devr-i kebîr, Gritsanis 3, 5v.

Hicâz beste Ab, olmadadır [Abdülhalim Ağa], *echos* plagal II, *hafîf*, verses by Fitnat Hanım, LKP 152/292, 159.

Rast şarkı Sevdimin aslı yashı, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, RAL 925, 36r / LKP 19/173, 151r.

The “Hellenisation” of the musical terminology by the scribes, contributing to the living, dynamic use of the language, must also be taken into consideration. The names of *makams*, *usûls*, genres and other terms, were not transferred unchanged into the Greek language as foreign elements, but they were modified. For instance, the scribes wrote *terkipi* instead of *terkîb*, *pestrefi* instead of *peşrev*, *semagia* instead of *semâ’iler*, *ousoules* instead of *usûls* etc.

For compositions of art music, the rhythmic cycle is listed only with its name and with the symbols ó 2, ó 2 ó i etc. often used by the scribes². Where any element of the identity of a work (genre, title, composer name, *echos*, *makam*, rhythmic cycle, poet, etc) is the result of analytical research carried out during the writing of this book, then it is given in square brackets [] together with a relevant explanation. Some indicative examples are:

[*Rast*] *Murabba’ [beste] Ruşlerin cena emancüyir*, *echos* plagal IV, Gritsanis 8, 330.

[*Hüseynî beste*] *Mezil iste*, *echos* plagal I, Iviron 949, 175v.

Ἀπόψε τὰ μεσάνυχτα [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *rast*, Gennadius 231, 43v.

Hisâr peşrev “Kûb-päre” [Ağa Mu’mîn], [*echos* plagal I hard diatonic], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 22v.

Finally, certain pieces of information relevant to the notated compositions are given within quotation marks, “ ”, as per the examples below:

“Another atzemikon, also known as persikon”.

“This was created for the conquest of Bosna”.

² All correspondences are listed in the dedicated chapter.

“Another one, very difficult due to the irregularity of the tempo. Its creator is not known. It appears to be by someone called Nestor. At the end of this book, the same piece will be presented clean of omissions and meaningless additions, however here it is placed [as] found in various manuscripts”.

Composers and Poets

When the composer and the poet are one and the same, they are listed as poet as well only if they were mentioned as such explicitly in the manuscript.³ In a small number of Phanariot songs the words “ἐκ τῶν βακχικῶν” (“from the Bacchic”) are inscribed, without the name of the poet. These are attributed to Athanasios Christopoulos, as they are from his collection of poems bearing a similar title.⁴ In certain cases, where a variation of the name of the composer is found in the manuscript, the most commonly used variation is given in the catalogue. For example:

Gregorios Protopsaltes instead of Gregorios Lambadarios,
Nikeforos Kantouniaries instead of Nikeforos Archdeacon of Antioch,
Muzaffer [Sâatçı Mustafa Efendi] instead of Saat-tzi,
İtrî [Buhûrîzâde Mustafa Efendi] instead of Bouhourtzioglou,
Osmân Dede [Kutb-ı Nâyî Şeyh] instead of Koutpounaes,
Yûsuf Celebi [Tiz-nâm Hâfız Yûsuf Efendi] instead of Ousta Yiesefin,
Abdurrahmân Bâhir Efendu [Arabzâde] instead of Arap Zate.

Very often, the name of the composer is either given incompletely or is worn out in the manuscripts. In the catalogue of works, effort was made to fill in the missing information so that the names appear in full based on other information given in the codices and other primary and secondary sources. In other circumstances, primarily in the art music repertoire of Constantinople, names of composers are not given at all in the manuscript. Based on the information gained from the incipit, the *makam* and the *usûl*, the authorship of the compositions was discerned by consulting other catalogues including: a) the index of compositions of Turkish Radio's *Türk Sanat Müziği Sözlü Eserler Repertuarı (Alfabetik)*, Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumu, Müzik Dairesi Başkanlığı Yayınları No: 64, Ankara, 1995 (*TRT Repertuarı*), b) the catalogue of works which exist for each composer in the two-volume work *Büyük Türk Müsîkîsi Ansiklopedisi*, Kültür Bakanlığı, İstanbul 1990 by Yılmaz Öztuna and c) the music collections of Cantemir and Bobowski. In these instances a relevant note is made.

³ Even though the majority of Phanariot songs are attributed to their composers in the manuscripts or the composers have been identified, the same is not the case for the poets. A relevant work on the poets of Phanariot songs would have been very useful, unfortunately however no such work was found.

⁴ Athanasios Christopoulos, *Λυρικά: Ἑρωτικά καὶ Βακχικά*, Paris: Ἐκδοσις Ἑθνικοῦ Ἡμερολογίου, [M. P. Vretos] 1864.

Despite all this, a large number of works remain unidentified, some also remain undated. Some works from the manuscripts of Petros are identical to works found in the collections of Cantemir and Bobowski from the 17th century, so, while they remain the works of an unidentified composer, they are grouped along with the anonymous works dating from the 17th century. Also, three works from the manuscripts of Petros, of Persian origins, are placed with those from the 17th century, because it is known that Persian musicians had an active presence in the musical matters of the court until the end of the 17th century and no later:

Nevâ [peşrev] [Persian], [echos plagal II], *fer'-i muhammes*, LKP (dossier) 60, 25v.

Gülîstân pencgâh [peşrev] [Persian], [echos plagal IV tetraphonic], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 146v.

Irak saz semâ'î Atzemiko, [echos varies diatonic], Gritsanis 3, 27v.

In the headings of the first two works, no information is given pertaining to their Persian origins, but this was identified from the collection of Cantemir where they are referred to as *'Acemler'in*, which means “of the Persians”, just as the third example above has, a similar word in Greek: “ἄτζέμικον” (“atzemikon”), in its title. Some works that Petros named “pestrefi palaion” (old *peşrev*) are also transferred. The rest of the works which remain anonymous and which originate in the manuscripts of Petros Peloponnesios, these being Gritsanis 3, LKP (dossier) 60 and LKP (dossier) 137, possibly date from earlier than the 18th century. In the absence of any other identifying details, they are classified as belonging to a special group of works from the 18th century, with the reservation that perhaps they were created in another century by a known composer, or by Petros himself.

The Corpus of Secular Music in the Sources

15th c.

Abdülkadir Marâghî (1353 - 1453)

Tasnîf Persikon *Ab yarim, eteroud ritteri tina tillilir* Abdülkadir Marâghî, *echos* I, Leimonos 259, 184r.

Güzesht-i aizou hal nihavent kâr [Abdülkadir Marâghî], [echos plagal IV hard diatonic], *kavli arabân, devr-i revân*, verses by Hâfiz Şîrâzî: Gritsanis 3, 120v⁵.

Bestenûgâr yürük semâ'î Dervish Reza-e Padesbahi [Derviş recâ-yı (nâgehânî-pâdişâhî) neküned] [Abdülkadir Marâghî], *echos varies tetraphonic* diatonic, [verses by Fasîhî]: LKP 152/292, 153⁶.

Unspecified Composer

Ar yi yi yi a to go go gor ri gi, Persikon, *echos* IV: NLG 2401, 122v.

⁵ Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 5895.

⁶ Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 3308.

16th c.

Behrâm Ağa [Nefiri] (? - 1560?)

Beyâtî [peşrev] [Behrâm Ağa (Nefiri)], [echos IV], *devr-i kebîr*: LKP (dossier) 60, 18r.

Hasan Can (1490 - 1567)

Hüseyinî [peşrev] *şükûfîzâr* [Hasan Can], [echos plagal I], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 110v⁷.

Mehmet Ağa [Kul], (? - 1580?)

Hüseyinî büyük [peşrev] Mehmet Ağa [Kul], [echos plagal I], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 122v / Gritsanis 3, 128r.

Georgios Therianos

Κόσμε 'χε γειὰ κ' ἀφήνοσε κ' ἀποχωρίζομέ σε, Georgios Therianos of Chania, [echos plagal I]: Olympiotissis 188, 12v.

Theophanis Karykis Patriarch (middle of the 16th c. - 1597)

[Composition of undetermined genre⁸] *Anene... Doustum yeleda... janım del del del er be tanni tanni... rinetine zulfê...*⁹ Theophanis Karykis, [echos plagal I]: Megistis Lavras E9, 141v / Iviron 1203, 176v / Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 111v / Iviron 1080, 94r / Koutloumousiou 449, 205v / NLG 897, 425v / NLG 941, 404r / NLG - MHS 399 / Iviron 988, 366v / Great Meteoron 416, f. 56a / Koutloumousiou 446, 517v / Panteleimonos 1012, 241r / NLG 2175, 814v / Xeropotamou 330, 378r / Xeropotamou 305, 310v / LKP 45/195, 551v / NLG - MHS 722, 386v.

Yene Persiab jibanou Theophanis Karykis¹⁰, [echos plagal I]: Sinai 1327, 190r.

Hacı Kasım (? - 1600 ?)

[*Hüseyinî*] “Süleymân-Nâme” [peşrev] [Hacı Kasım], [echos plagal I], [bağış], Gritsanis 3, 170v¹¹.

Gazi Gıray Han II (1554 - 1607)

Hüzzam [peşrev] Gazi Gıray Han II, [echos [II]], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 184v.

Mabûr [peşrev] Gazi Gıray Han II, [echos plagal IV heptaphonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 83r.

Mabûr [peşrev] Gazi Gıray Han II, [echos plagal IV heptaphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 168v.

Beyâtî-‘arabân [saz] *semâ’î*¹² Gazi Gıray Han II, [echos IV mixed]: LKP 2/59a, 3r.

⁷ Possibly is identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 16, work 25) or to that in Ali Ufkî’s collection of, f. 54-1.

⁸ The title given is “National Kratema” or “nay”.

⁹ All the words of the piece (apart from the *kratema* syllables) are *Anene... Doust ai teremet nena... doustum yeleda janım del del del er be tanni tanni ni rinetine zulfê an doust / janım dil dil kendi zulfê yek doust*.

¹⁰ “Another atzemikon, called persikon”.

¹¹ Also exists in Cantemir’s collection (f. 118-119, work 224).

Ioasaph the New Koukouzelis (early 17th c.)

Ayne Seray Ioasaph the New Koukouzelis¹³, *echos* plagal I: Sinai 1327, 190v.

Pappas [Papaz] (first half of the 17th c.)

Nevá [peşrev]¹⁴ Papaz, *echos* IV, *muhammes*: Gritsanis 3, 80v.

Seyf el-Mısrî (probably 16th c.)

Irak nazire-i [peşrev] Seyf el-Mısrî, *echos* varies, *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 61v.

Emir-i Hac (-1600? or second half of the 16th c.)

[Peşrev] Emir-i Hacc, *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 205v.

Edir zouflouné ta/dir [Beste] testihi Emir-i Hac, [*echos* I], *hafîf*: LKP 137 (dossier), 5v.

Folk

Χαίρεσθε κάμποι χαίρεσθε, Folk, *echos* plagal IV nana: Iviron 1189, 125v.

Unspecified Composer

[A section of Persian music, probably *kâr*] Persikon *Yelle yellelli... Etierkian*, *echos* varies: Iviron 1189, 120r.

[Probably the continuation of the previous piece] *Ei ki mpertos titan bha me ain oki tariiii*¹⁵

[Unspecified composer], *echos* varies: Iviron 1189, 123r / Iviron 1080, 130r / Iviron 1203, 239v / Xeropotamou 329, 196v.

[Heading-less piece] *Dir tarou dilli terella...* [*echos* plagal IV]: Megistis Lavras E4, 244r.

17th c.

Ali Beğ [Ali Ufkî Bey Bobowski] (1610? - 1685)

Muhayyer [peşrev] Ali Beğ, [*echos* plagal I heptaphonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 154v.

[Peşrev] Ali Beğ, [*echos* plagal I], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 162v¹⁶.

¹² “*Semâ’î* called ‘*arabân beyâtîsi* composed by Tatari via *gümüsü gerdan* which is played at every *beyâtî* starting from *dügâh*, that is from *echos* plagal I”.

¹³ “*Eteron evmnoston*”.

¹⁴ The manuscript has only four or five lines, but it is incorporated here because it is the only work of Pappas which is preserved in Byzantine *parasimantiki*.

¹⁵ f. 130v also contains the beginning of *Tiritana...* *Kiafules asike ekelampri*, without any other indications. It is estimated that it is not a separate composition, rather a verse of the preceding *Ei ki mpertos titan bha me ain oki tariiii*. That is, while they appear to be two different works, they are probably one. They survive as a single compositions in codices Iviron 1189 and Iviron 1080. It is possibly a part of the preceding compositions which only survives in Iviron 1189 (Kiari Persikon).

¹⁶ The relationship between these two works remains problematic, as does their speculative attribution to composer Ali Ufkî Bobowski. The first *peşrev* is likely identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 41, work 75), however, confusion arises by its mention of Ali Bey as “*küçük*”, that is “junior”, while Cantemir refers to him as “*büyük*”, that is “great”. The

Murad IV (27.7.1612 - 8.2.1640)

Hüseyinî [peşrev] [Hünkâr-i Murad IV], [echos plagal I], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 139v¹⁷.

Rıza Ağa (- 1650?)

Acem [peşrev] Rıza Ağa, echos I pentaphonic, *sakîl*: Gritsanis 3, 53v.

Hüseyinî [peşrev] Rıza Ağa, echos plagal I, *sakîl*: LKP (dossier) 60, 36r¹⁸.

Solakzâde Miskalî Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebi (- 1658)

Muhayyer peşrev Solakzâde, echos I heptaphonic, *darb-i febt*: Gritsanis 3, 28r.

Uşşak [peşrev] Solakzâde, echos I, *berefşân*: Gritsanis 3, 237v.

Uşşak [peşrev] [Solakzâde], [echos I], *hafîf*: Gritsanis 3, 159v¹⁹.

Hasan Ağa [Benli, anbûrî, Musâhib-i Şehriyârî] (1607 - 1662)

Hüseyinî peşrev Hasan Ağa, [echos IV], *düyek*: LKP (dossier) 60, 30v.

Ağa Mu'min (17th c.?)

Hüseyinî turna saz semâ'i Ağa Mu'min, [echos plagal I]: Gritsanis 3, 153r.

Saz semâ'i Ağa Mu'min, [echos I?]: Gritsanis 3, 158v.

Hisar peşrev "küb-pâre" [Ağa Mu'min], [echos plagal I hard diatonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 22v²⁰.

Murad Ağa [Şeştârî] (1610 - 1673)

[*Peşrev*] Murad Ağa, [echos I], *çenber*: Gritsanis 3, 216v.

Torlak Neyzen Dede (-1650?)

Uşşak peşrev [Torlak Neyzen Dede], [echos I], *evsat*: Gritsanis 3, 133v.

Şerîf (? - 1680)

Hüseyinî gelincik [peşrev] [Şerîf], [echos IV], *muhammes*: LKP (dossier) 60, 32v²¹.

Kosmas the Macedonian (middle of the 17th c. - 1692)

[*Rast beste*] *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade* [Kosmas the Macedonian]²², echos plagal IV: Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 112r / NLG 941, 411r / Xeropotamou 329, 197r / Iviron 988,

second one correctly refers to "büyük", however, no details about the *makam* are given. Both are in *usûl düyek*. Perhaps Petros mistakenly attributes one of the two works to Ali Ufkî, but it is was not possible to know which one of the two.

¹⁷ Since it is identical to that in Ali Ufkî's collection (f. 50/51-1).

¹⁸ Also found in Cantemir's collection (f. 50, work 89).

¹⁹ Since it is identical to that in Bobowski's collection, 128,129-2.

²⁰ Also found in Cantemir's collection (f. 88, work 163).

²¹ Probably identical to a work from Cantemir's collection (f. 36, work 65), with the difference that that one is in *makam nevâ*. Perhaps this was an oversight by Petros.

²² The composition is listed in the manuscripts under various titles: "Ατζέμικον έρωτικόν, ήμέτ[ε]ρ[ο]ν" (Ecumenical Patriarchate 6), "Ατζέμικον έρωτικόν" (Xeropotamou 329),

389r / Dionysiou 579, 232r / Koutlounousiou 446, 521r / NLG 2175, 835r / Agiou Pavlou 132, 814 / Xeropotamou 330, 379r / NLG 2225, 119v / S. Karas 38 / Xeropotamou 305, 311r.

Reftâr Kalfa (- 1700?)

Sabâ peşrev Reftâr Kalfa, [echos plagal I diphonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 245v.

Küçük Hatib (? - 1700?)

Hicâz [peşrev] Küçük Hatib, echos plagal II, *muhammes*: Gritsanis 3, 109v.

Muzaffer (Sâatçî Mustafa Efendi) (? - 1710?)

Kürdî [peşrev] Muzaffer, [echos plagal I hard diatonic], *düyek*: LKP (dossier) 60, 8r.

Itrî (Buhûrîzâde Mustafa Efendi) (1638? - 1712)

Rehâvî peşrev Itrî, echos I, *sakîl*: Gritsanis 3, 129v.

Osman Dede [Kutb-ı Nâyî Şeyh] (1652?-1730)

Muhayyer peşrev [Osman Dede], echos plagal I heptaphonic, *devr-i kebîr*: LKP 2/59a, 4r.

Muhayyer sümbüle [saz] semâ'î [Osman Dede]²³, echos plagal I heptaphonic: LKP 2/59a, 7r.

[*Rast*] *Gül devr-i peşrev* [Osman Dede], echos plagal IV, *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 231v²⁴.

Bozorg peşrev [Osman Dede], [echos mixed, plagal I & plagal IV], *darbeyn*, *devr-i peri*: Gritsanis 3, 130v²⁵.

Bozorg [saz] semâ'î [Osman Dede]: Gritsanis 3, 131v.

Dimitri Cantemir (1673 - 1723)

Uşşak peşrev Dimitri Cantemir, echos I, *darb-i feht*: Gritsanis 3, 43v.

Uşşak [saz] semâ'î [Dimitri Cantemir], echos I: Gritsanis 3, 44r.

Segâh peşrev Dimitri Cantemir, [echos I], *berefşân*: Gritsanis 3, 107v.

Nevâ [saz] semâ'î Dimitri Cantemir, echos I: Gritsanis 3, 92av.

“Ετερον Περισκόν” (Xeropotamou 330 & 305), “Ατζέμικον” (Koutlounousiou 446), “Ατζέμικον ὠραῖον” (NLG 2175), “Ετερον ἀτζέμικον” (Agiou Pavlou 132). In three of those, the composition is mistakenly attributed to Balasios (NLG 2175, NLG 2225, Iviron 988), but in the oldest of them it is clearly stated to be a composition of the scribe himself, Kosmas the Macedonian. Both Kosmas and Balasios studied under Germanos of New Patras, therefore it is possible that confusion as to the authorship of the composition arose during successive copying of the manuscript which eventually ended up being attributed to Balasios, a definitely more well known composer than Kosmas.

²³ Followed immediately in the manuscript by “Koutpounaes” *peşrev* which is identical to that of Osman Dede. It is in the same *makam* and has the same three-part structure like the *peşrev* listed in the catalogue of the works of that composer.

²⁴ According to Öztuna (1990, I, 170) it is by Osman Dede. Also found in Cantemir’s collection (f. 67, work 122).

²⁵ It is possible that it is identical to the one listed by Cantemir (ff. 181-182, work 332) or to that of Osman Dede (1652-1730), which is referenced by Öztuna (1990, II, 169-170).

Peñçâh peşrev Dimitri Cantemir, *echos* plagal IV tetraphonic: *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 228v.

Peñçâh saz semâ'î [Dimitri Cantemir], *echos* plagal IV tetraphonic: Gritsanis 3, 229v.

Sultânî-îrak peşrev Dimitri Cantemir, *echos* *varys* tetraphonic diatonic: *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 14r.

Necti hüseyinî, subb-i sahar heypliler [peşrev] [Dimitri Cantemir], [*echos* plagal I], *sakîl*: Gritsanis 3, 186v²⁶.

Folk

Άγριον πουλί, μερώθου μου και γένου μερωμένον, folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1054, 172r / Iviron 1203b, 3r.

Αιτὲ ποῦ κάθεσαι ψηλὰ εἰς ὄρος χιονισμένον, folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 4v.

*Άλλοτες ὅταν ἐκούρσευαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὴν ταπεινὴν τὴν Πόσναν*²⁷, folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 3r.

Διώχνεις με μάνα διώχνεις με καὶ ᾠὴ πηγαίνει θέλω, folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 3v.

Εἰς πρασινάδα λιβαδιοῦ καὶ κάτω σ' κρύο πηγάδι, folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 4r / Xeropotamou 262, 211v.

Εἰς τὰ ψηλὰ παλάτια, στὰ ἴμορφα βουνά, folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 1r.

Εἰς ὑψηλὰ βουνά, εἰς ὄρος χιονισμένον, folk, *echos* IV: Xeropotamou 262, 212r.

Θλίβει με τοῦτος ὁ καιρός, λυπεῖ με ὁ χρόνος τοῦτος, folk, [*echos* I]: Iviron 1203b, α^τ.

Θωρεῖς τον τὸν ἀμάραντον πῶς κρέμεται στὸν βράχο, folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 2r.

Κάλεσμα κάμνει ὁ βασιλιάς, κάλεσμα κάμνει ἀφέντης, folk, *echos* I: Iviron 1203b, γ^ν.

Όλα τὰ Δωδεκάνησα στέκουν ἀναπαμένα, folk, *echos* plagal IV: Iviron 1203b, 1v.

Όλοι τὰ σίδερα βαστοῦν κι ὅλοι στὴ φυλακὴ εἶναι, folk, *echos* plagal IV: Iviron 1203b, γ^τ.

Όταν λαλήση ὁ πετεινὸς κι ἐκκλησιεὺς σημαίνουν, folk, *echos* plagal IV: Iviron 1203b, 1v.

Τ' ἀηδόνια τῆς Ανατολῆς καὶ τὰ πουλιὰ τῆς Δύσης, folk, *echos* I: Iviron 1203b, β^ν / Xeropotamou 262, 212v.

Persian

Nevâ [peşrev] [Persikon], [*echos* plagal II], *fer'-i muhammes*: LKP (dossier) 60, 25v²⁸.

Gülistân pençâh [peşrev] [Persikon], [*echos* plagal IV tetraphonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 146v²⁹.

Irak saz semâ'î Atzemi, [*echos* *varys* diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 27v.

²⁶ In Cantemir's own collection, there exists a *hüseyinî, sakîl* "Subb-i Sahar" (No. 198) which is considered by Feldman (1996:373) to be a work of Cantemir's.

²⁷ "this was created for the conquest of Bosna".

²⁸ Also found in Cantemir's collection (f. 37, work 68).

²⁹ Also found in Cantemir's collection (f. 17-18, work 27); See also its transcription and analysis in Feldman 1996:344, 346.

Indian

Hüseyinî [peşrev] Indian³⁰, [*echos* plagal I], *devr-i revân*: LKP (dossier) 60, 52r.

Unspecified Composer

Instrumental Compositions

Hüseyinî gamze-kâr nazire-i peşrev [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I]: *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 246v³¹.

Hüseyinî şükküfezâr nazire-i [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I]: *düyek*, LKP (dossier) 60, 39v³².

Hüseyinî aşık [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 148r³³.

Hicâz turna, [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal II], *sakîl*: LKP (dossier) 60, 22v³⁴.

Rast [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *bereşân*: LKP (dossier) 60, 45v.

Rast murassa' peşrev [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 218v & Gritsanis 3, 220v³⁵.

Segâb ruhban [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV *legetos*], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 60v³⁶.

Büyükk nevâ [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV], *düyek*: LKP (dossier) 60, 26r³⁷.

Büyükk nevâ [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV], *çenber*: LKP (dossier) 60, 47r.

Küll-i külliyyât [peşrev] [unspecified composer]: LKP (dossier) 60, 1r³⁸.

Mahûr peşrev [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV heptaphonic], *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 20r.

Irak peşrev [unspecified composer], [*echos* *varys* diatonic], *küçük sakîl*: Gritsanis 3, 42r.

Irak [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* *varys* diatonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 57r.

[Irak peşrev]³⁹ [unspecified composer], [*echos* *varys* diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 56v.

³⁰ The manuscript has “*χηντηλερην*”. *Peşrevs* “of Indian origin” are also known from Cantemir’s collection. Perhaps identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 93, work 172).

³¹ Perhaps identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 170-171, work 314) See also its transcription and analysis in Feldman 1996:344, 435-436.

³² Perhaps identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 50, work 90).

³³ Perhaps identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 46-47, work 84).

³⁴ Perhaps identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 176-177, work 324).

³⁵ Found in two successive versions in the manuscript with small differences in orthography and layout. Perhaps identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 113, work 214).

³⁶ Perhaps identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 97-98, work 182).

³⁷ Also found in Cantemir’s collection (f. 38-39, work 70).

³⁸ Possibly identical to one of the three corresponding *peşrevs* in Cantemir’s collection (f. 170-171, work 314).

³⁹ No indication of *echos*, *makam*, *usûl* or composer.

Vocal compositions

*Ἀναρχος Θεὸς καταβέβηκε*⁴⁰, [unspecified composer], *echos* I⁴¹, Gritsanis 8, 324.

Non-Greek

[*Beste*] *Siatepe steie sike* [unspecified composer], *echos* I & *varys* (*protovarys*): Gritsanis 8, 328.

[*Rast*] [*beste*] *Ruşlerin cena emancüyir* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV⁴²: Gritsanis 8, 330.

[*Rast beste*] *Hey canım canasalounoupna* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV: Gritsanis 8, 332.

[*Rast*] *semâ’î Hey canım ye sabın* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV: Gritsanis 8, 333.

[*Hicâz hümayün beste*] *Menasi yime cuniperi* [unspecified composer]: *echos* plagal II neno, Gritsanis 8, 335.

[*Uşşak beste*] “ethnikon varvarikon” *pencesin tekiglemis ol* [unspecified composer]: *echos* I, Gritsanis 8, 337.

[*Uşşak beste*] “varvarikon” *sala sala koloum seithi* [unspecified composer]: *echos* I, Gritsanis 8, 339.

[*Irak beste*] “Mousoulmanikon” *Olsu güstüne köprü* [unspecified composer]: *echos varys*, Gritsanis 8, 341.

18th c.

Kasım [Mehmed] (-1730?)

Nevâ peşrev haphap [Kasım], [*echos* IV], *sakıl*, Gritsanis 3, 103r⁴³.

İbrahim Ağa [Santûrî] (- 1732)

Hüseyinî /// [*peşrev*] [İbrahim Ağa], [*echos* plagal I], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 185v⁴⁴.

Abdurrahmân Bâhir Efendi [Arabzâde] (1689 - 1746)

[*Şehnâz*] [*peşrev*] Arabzâde, *echos* plagal II diphonic⁴⁵, *hafif*: Gritsanis 3, 37v.

⁴⁰ Followed by a complete notated alphabetic acrostic song on the birth of Christ.

⁴¹ *Martyriai* of *echos* I and *echos* plagal I appear to alternate in the score.

⁴² The manuscript gives “[*martyria* of *echos* III] or [*martyria* of *echos* plagal IV]”. However, only *martyriai* of *echos* plagal IV are found in the score. Here, it is listed as *echos* plagal IV, until a future transcription from the old to the new notation takes place which is expected to reveal its melodic movement and confirm the *echos* to which it belongs.

⁴³ According to Öztuna (1990, II, 433) and W. Feldman (verbal communication) the *peşrev* is also found in Cantemir’s collection. However, it was not possible to locate it.

⁴⁴ It is identical to that in Cantemir’s collection (f. 112, work 212).

Es'ad Efendi (1685 - 1753)

*Dügâb*⁴⁶ *peşrev* Es'ad Efendi, [echos I diphonic & plagal II], *sakıl*: Gritsanis 3, 55v.

Her gâb ti âi mahci hamam nihavent semâ'i Es'ad Efendi, [echos plagal IV hard diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 166r.

Hızır Ağa (? - 1760)

Nihavent [peşrev] Hızır Ağa, echos plagal IV hard diatonic, *bereşân*: Gritsanis 3, 99r.

İsfahân [saz] *semâ'i*⁴⁷ Hızır Ağa, echos IV, Gritsanis 3, 39r.

Segâb karabatak peşrev [Hızır Ağa], [echos IV legetos], *sakıl*: Gritsanis 3, 109r.

Kemânî Yorgi (early - middle 18th)

Rast [peşrev] Kemânî Yorgi, [echos plagal IV], *devr-i revân*: Gritsanis 3, 171v.

Hicâz peşrev nev kislât Kemânî Yorgi, [echos plagal II], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 188v.

Eviç peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, [echos *varys* heptaphonic diatonic], *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 64v.

Eviç peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, [echos *varys* heptaphonic diatonic], *bereşân*: Gritsanis 3, 77v.

Eviç [peşrev] [Kemânî Yorgi], [echos *varys* heptaphonic diatonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 99v.

Eviç saz semâ'i Kemânî Yorgi, echos *varys* heptaphonic diatonic: Gritsanis 3, 81v.

Yegâb peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, [echos IV heptaphonic], *remel riralsat*: Gritsanis 3, 96v.

Yegâb [saz] *semâ'i* Kemânî Yorgi, [echos IV heptaphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 95v.

Bayâtî [saz] *semâ'i* Kemânî Yorgi, echos IV: Gritsanis 3, 101v.

Dügâb peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, [echos plagal I]: *fabte*, Gritsanis 3, 86v.

Şehnâz bûselîk [peşrev] Kemânî Yorgi, [echos plagal II heptaphonic with hard diatonic], *çenber*: Gritsanis 3, 197v.

Şehnâz bûselîk saz semâ'i [Kemânî Yorgi], [echos plagal II heptaphonic with hard diatonic]: *çenber*, Gritsanis 3, 199v.

İsfahân [peşrev] Kemânî Yorgi, [echos IV], *sakıl*: Gritsanis 3, 105v.

İsfahân [peşrev] Kemânî Yorgi, [echos IV], *çenber*: Gritsanis 3, 201r.

Bestenigâr [saz] *semâ'i* Kemânî Yorgi, echos *varys* tetraphonic diatonic: Gritsanis 3, 76r.

Ârazbâr peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, [echos I], *zincîr*: Gritsanis 3, 73r.

[*Hüseynî*] '*aşîrân peşrev* Kemânî Yorgi, [echos plagal I heptaphonic from low Ke], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 138v.

⁴⁵ The fact that it is echos plagal II is determined from the *martyriai*. It starts with *heptaphonia* [the high octave], which is consistent with its listing in the catalogue of works of the composer as "*şehnâz*".

⁴⁶ The manuscript initially has *sabâ*, but it seems to be corrected to *dügâb* which is related to *sabâ*.

⁴⁷ It seems that it is a *saz semâ'i*, even though it has a very extended developement with the addition of *terkîbs*.

Muhayyer bîselîk peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, [echos plagal I heptaphonic hard diatonic], *berefsân*: Gritsanis 3, 125v.

Râbatü'l-ervâh peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, [echos varies heptaphonic diatonic], *darb-i feht*: Gritsanis 3, 89r.

Râbat-fezâ peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, [echos varies pentaphonic chromatic], *darbeyn, devr-i kebîr & berefsân*: Gritsanis 3, 48v.

Râbat-fezâ saz semâ'î Kemânî Yorgi, [echos varies pentaphonic chromatic]: Gritsanis 3, 50r.

[*Sabâ*] *Beste Mezil iste [mecliste âftâb gibi bir nev-civan gerek]* [Kemânî Yorgi]⁴⁸, echos plagal I, [haff], verses by Râif: Iviron 949, 175v.

Kanite vora sayei servi [beste] Kemânî Yorgi, hâvî: Gritsanis 3, 121v.

Ioannis Protopsaltes (early 18th - 1770)

Εφάνη ἥλιος λαμπρός, Ioannis Protopsaltes⁴⁹, echos IV, *nevâ*⁵⁰, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 45v / LKP 19/173, 79r / ELIA, 42r / RAL 784, 20r / CAMS P2, 26 / Iaşi 129, 106 / Vatopediou 1428, 97.

*Hicâz karabatak peşrev*⁵¹, Ioannis Protopsaltes, echos plagal II, *sakîl*: Iviron 1038, 681r.

Tab'î (Kassâm – Ahdebzâde Ser-Müezzîn-i Şehryârî Hattât Mustafa Efendi) (1705? – 1770?)

[*Rast*] *Yürük semâ'î Göz verme* Tab'î Efendi, echos plagal IV: LKP (dossier) 59, 6.

Beyâtî nakîş ağır semâ'î Tzikmaz derounidil [Çıkmaz derûn-i dilden efendim mahabbetin], [Tab'î Mustafa Efendi]⁵², echos IV, *yürük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 157r.

Abdülhalim Ağa (1720? – 1802)

Hicâz beste Ab olmada dirlele roupoute gamze [Olmada diller rubûde gamze-i câdûsuna], [Abdülhalim Ağa]⁵³, echos plagal II, [haff], [verses by Fitnat Hanım]: Stathis, 30v / LKP 152/292, 159.

⁴⁸ Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 7530.

⁴⁹ The full title in Vatopediou 1428 is “By Ioannis Protopsaltes, to His Holiness Patriarch Mr. Samuel Chatzeris” and in RAL 784 “during the Patriarchal tenure of His Holiness the famous Mr Samuel Chatzeris”.

⁵⁰ Even though manuscript (1428) indicates: “this is *beyâtî* and not *nevâ*”, the description given here is the one given by Petros Peloponnesios (RAL 927), Evgenios (MS ELIA) and the unknown scribe of CAMS P2.

⁵¹ “*Peşrev*, called Isach Sakili, also known as *karapataki*, written by Mister Ioannis Protopsaltes by exhortation of the Most Holy Metropolitan of Heracleia Mr. Gerasimos, copied from the autograph of Ioannis Protopsaltes himself. The *makam* according to the Persians is *hicâz* and according to us echos plagal II”.

⁵² Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 7530.

⁵³ Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 8477 and Öztuna 1990, I, 15. The scribe of the Stathis manuscript mistakenly gives Ismail Dede Efendi as the composer with the following note: “this was composed by Ismailakis, an excellent Ottoman teacher. It was notated by Theodoros Phokianos”. On the contrary, the scribe of LKP 152/292, 159 appears to be better informed, attributing it to the correct composer.

Ahmet Ağa [Musâhib Seyyid, Vardakosta]

Nikrîz şarkı Ab ciban payin, Ahmet Ağa Vardakosta, *echos* plagal IV, *Nikrîz: sofyan*, Iaşi 129, 336 / Vatopediou 1428, 337.

Kyrillos Marmarinos (middle of the 18th c. – late 18th c.)

Hüseyinî semâ'î Sevda yer puser, Kyrillos Marmarinos, *echos* I: Panteleimonos 994, 323v / Timios Prodromos 93, 251r.

Hüseyinî [beste] Ache diri xoulfisia chim sapa Kyrillos Marmarinos, *echos* plagal I⁵⁴: Panteleimonos 994, 324r.

[*Seyir*] Kyrillos Marmarinos: HESG 305, 94r–101v / LKP 124(123)/270. The *seyirs* are given for the following *makams* in the order listed: *rast*, *rehâvî*, *nikrîz*, *pençgâb*, *nihavent*, *yâvil*, *mahûr*, *muberka*, *pençgâb* (another), *dügâb*, *dügâb* (pure), *segâb*, *karcığar*, *mâye*, *müste'âr*, *geveşt*, *çârgâb*, *sabâ*, *kara dügâb*, *yemzeme*, *nevâ*, *zegâb*, *pençgâb*, *bûzî*, *büzzam*, *nişâbûr*, *isfabân*, *nühîft*, *arabân*, *nihavent kebîr*, *hicâz*, 'uzzal, *zîrgüle*, *bümayün*, *şehnâz*, *şehnâz bûselik*, *sûri*, *büseyinî*, *büseyinî 'aşirân*, *köçek*, *selmek*, *büseyinî kürdî*, *horasan*, *acem*, *kürdî*, *acem kürdî*, *nevrûz-i acem*, *paisan kürdî*, *acem 'aşirân*, *beyâtî*, 'uşşak, *bûselik*, *bûselik 'aşirân*, *bisar 'aşirân*, *bisar*, *bisar bûselik*, *gerdâniye bûselik*, *irak*, *sultânî irak*, *muhâlif irak*, *dilkeş bâverân*, *dilkeş*, *râbatü'l-ervâb*, *bestenigâr*, *evîç*, *baba tâbir*, 'arazbâr, *gerdâniye*, *muhayyer*, *muhayyer bûselik*, *sünbüle*, *venci*⁵⁵.

Hânende Zacharias (18th c.)

Bestenigâr peşrev Hânende Zacharias, *echos* varies tetraphonic diatonic, *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 5v.

Hüseyinî [beste] Ab yar cemâlin [ab yar cemâlin âteş-i câmytle] Hânende Zacharias, *echos* plagal I, verses by Nâfiz: LKP 152/292, 144.

Tanbûrî Haham Musi (Moshe), (? - 1770?)

*Müste'âr peşrev*⁵⁶ Tanbûrî Haham Musi, *echos* IV *legetos*, *muhammes*: Gritsanis 3, 44v.

Bozog [saz] *semâ'î* Tanbûrî Haham Musi, *echos* plagal I: Gritsanis 3, 8r.

Taraxisezichefiz nihavent kebîr Tanbûrî Haham Musi, [*echos* plagal IV hard diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 122r.

Têgafoul didê civrem o sohinaz evîç [beste], Tanbûrî Haham Musi, *nîm devr-i*, [*echos* plagal IV hard diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 238v.

Moulmouzoun gülsen [beste] Tanbûrî Haham Musi: LKP 137 (dossier), 23r.

⁵⁴ Initially the scribe states *echos* I. However, it appears that it is actually in *echos* plagal I.

⁵⁵ The following *makams* are also seen in the manuscript, however without a music score: *zirevkenî*, *babri nazik*, *rouf[yl]i irak*, *gülezâr*, *beste isfabân*, *beste bisâr*, *bûzî bûselik*, *bisârik*, *nevrûz-i rum-i*, *zülkesinde*, *musikar*, *rekb 'uzzal*, *sefer*.

⁵⁶ It appears incomplete with regard to its form, as it is of a disproportionately long for a *peşrev* and at the same time it bears no indications of *terkîbs* etc.

Petros Peloponnesios

Ἄλλο δὲν εἶν' νὰ συγγίζη, τόσον καὶ νὰ μ' ἀφανίζη, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II heptaphonic, *ḡelḡāz*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 61r / LKP 19/173, 116r / ELIA, 73r / CAMS P2, 32 / Iași 129, 213 / Vatopediou 1428, 218.

Ἀμὸν ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια σου κι ἀπ' τὰ πικρά σου λόγια, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *isfahān*, *semā'ī*: RAL 927, 54r / LKP 19/173, 95r / ELIA, 56r / CAMS P2, 31 / Iași 129, 141 / Vatopediou 1428, 127.

Ἄν οἱ ὁρμές του ἔρωτος δὲν ἦτον μαζωμέναις, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I heptaphonic from low Ke, [*hüseyinī*] 'aširān⁵⁷, *semā'ī*: RAL 927, 11v / RAL 653, 34v / LKP 19/173, 6r / Iași 129, 22 / Vatopediou 1428, 20 / LKP (dossier) 117, 4.

Ἀζίαν ἔχει δυνατὴν καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν κρατεῖ⁵⁸, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, 'uṣṣak, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 29v / LKP 19/173, 41r / Iași 129, 25 / Vatopediou 1428, 20.

Ἀπορῶ πῶς νὰ ἀρχίσω, διὰ νὰ σᾶς παραστήσω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *beyātī*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 56v / RAL 925, 12r / LKP 19/173, 88r / ELIA, 51r / CAMS P2, 29 / Iași 129, 115 / Vatopediou 1428, 106.

Ἄς κλαύσ' ἀπαρηγόρητα, τὴν τύχη μ' νὰ θρηνήσω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segāb*, *yüriik semā'ī*: RAL 927, 39v / Iași 129, 85 / LKP 19/173, 50r / CAMS P2, 20.

Ἀζήσανε οἱ στεναγμοί, τὰ βάσανα καὶ οἱ καημοί, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos* with *zygos*, *müste'ar*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 37r / LKP 19/173, 57r / RAL 784, 111v / CAMS P2, 18 / Iași 129, 130 / Vatopediou 1428, 153.

Αὐτὸ τ' εἶναι τὸ δικόν μου, τὸ κακὸν τὸ ριζικόν μου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I heptaphonic from low Ke, [*hüseyinī*] 'aširān, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 7 v / RAL 653, 34r / LKP 19/173, 3r / CAMS P2, 47 / CAMS P1, 1 / Iași 129, 19 / Vatopediou 1428, 17 / LKP (dossier) 117, 1.

Αὐτὸ τ' εἶναι τὸ δικόν μου, τὸ κακὸν τὸ ριζικόν μου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *nühüft*: RAL 927, 48r.

Ἄχ ἄνθρωπος ἐστάθη⁵⁹, [unspecified composer], *echos* I, 'uṣṣak, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 30r / RAL 925, 33v / LKP 19/173, 42r / ELIA, 91r / Iași 129, 26 / Vatopediou 1428, 33.

Γαζέταις καὶ γιὰ μένα πρέπει νὰ τπωθοῦν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV diaphonic, *sazkār*⁶⁰, *yüriik semā'ī*: RAL 927, 10v / LKP 19/173, 25r / ELIA, 23r / RAL 784, 130r / CAMS P2, 45 / Iași 129, 295 / Vatopediou 1428, 305.

Δὲν εἶναι ἐπιθυμητὸν τόσον πρᾶγμα κανένα, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *dügāb*⁶¹, *semā'ī*: RAL 927, 26v / LKP 19/173, 35r / ELIA, 34r / RAL 784, 122r / Iași 129, 163 / Vatopediou 1428, 166.

⁵⁷ In Vatopediou 1428 *makam* 'uṣṣak is mistakenly given by the scribe.

⁵⁸ In Vatopediou 1428, 20 the same song is given in *echos* I from low Ke, *makam* [*hüseyinī*] 'aširān and *usūl* ó 2 ó i.

⁵⁹ In Iași 129 and in Vatopediou 1428 the incipit is *Τάχ' ἄνθρωπος ἐστάθη*.

⁶⁰ In 784 *makam rast* is given.

⁶¹ In 784 it is given as [*echos*] IV *legetos*, *makam müste'ar* and in LKP 19/173, 35r as *echos* plagal I.

Δὲν εἶναι τρόπος νὰ γενῇ κι ἄλλη τόσον ὠραία, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal IV*⁶², *rast*, *yürük semâ'î*, RAL 925, 24r / Iaşi 129, 271 / Vatopediou 1428, 280 / LKP 152/292, 92⁶³.

Δὲν εἶν' τρόπος ὅταν θέλῃ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos varies tetraphonic diatonic*, *bestenigâr, sofyan*: RAL 927, 16v / RAL 925, 10v / LKP 19/173, 11r / ELIA, 11r / CAMS P2, 58 / Iaşi 129, 248 / Vatopediou 1428, 256 / LKP (dossier) 117, 11.

Δὲν ἡμπορῶ ἐξάπαντος αὐτὴν τὴν δυστυχίαν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I*, *acem kürdî*⁶⁴, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 49r / LKP 19/173, 107r / ELIA, 66r / Iaşi 129, 40 / Vatopediou 1428, 41.

Δὲν μπορῶ πλέον νὰ ζήσω, ἀπ' τὸ φῶς μου νὰ χωρίσω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos IV legatos, segâb, sofyan*: RAL 927, 32r / LKP 19/173, 46r / CAMS P2, 21 / Iaşi 129, 81 / Vatopediou 1428, 136.

Δὲν μπορῶ πλέον νὰ ζήσω, ἀπ' τὸ φῶς μου νὰ χωρίσω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal IV*, *rast, sofyan*: RAL 927, 20v / LKP 19/173, 19r / ELIA, 19r / CAMS P2, 63 / Iaşi 129, 274 / Vatopediou 1428, 282.

Δὲν μπορῶ πλέον νὰ ζήσω, ἀπ' τὸ φῶς μου νὰ χωρίσω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal I* heptaphonic, [*büseyinî*] *'aşîrân*: Gritsanis 3, 2r.

Δὲν μπορῶ πλέον νὰ ζήσω, ἀπ' τὸ φῶς μου νὰ χωρίσω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos IV* with *zygos, nişâbûr*: Gritsanis 3, 2r⁶⁵.

Δύο γνωῶμες τὸ νὰ συμφωνοῦν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal II*, *bicâz, sofyan*: RAL 927, 40r / RAL 925, 13v / LKP 19/173, 65r / RAL 784, 124r / CAMS P2, 37 / Iaşi 129, 193 / Vatopediou 1428, 197.

Εἶναι στὸν κόσμον καὶ ἄλλα κάλλῃ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos varies tetraphonic diatonic*, *bestenigâr, sofyan*: RAL 927, 17r / RAL 925, 11v / RAL 653, 35v / LKP 19/173, 12r / ELIA, 12r / CAMS P2, 59 / Iaşi 129, 247 / Vatopediou 1428, 255 / LKP (dossier) 117, 12.

Εἰς ἓνα κάλλος θαυμαστόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I*, *büseyinî, sofyan*: RAL 927, 51v / RAL 925, 12v / LKP 19/173, 100r / ELIA, 61r / Iaşi 129, 2 / Vatopediou 1428, 1.

Εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς κακίας ἦλθ' ἡ τύχη μου βαθμόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal II*, *bümayün, sofyan*: RAL 927, 44r / LKP 19/173, 75r / RAL 784, 40v / CAMS P2, 32 / Iaşi 129, 211 / Vatopediou 1428, 216.

Εἶχα καιρὸν μίαν φορὰν ἐξαίρετον στὸ χέρι⁶⁶, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I* tetraphonic, *büseyinî, yürük semâ'î*: RAL 927, 31v / LKP 19/173, 45r / Iaşi 129, 56 / Vatopediou 1428, 7.

⁶² In RAL 925 *echos IV* is mentioned.

⁶³ LKP 15 2/292 references Panagiotis Pelopidis as the composer. It is in *echos plagal IV* as well, but the same verses are composed to a different melody.

⁶⁴ In 1428 it is given as *makam kürdî* and in LKP 19/173 as *makam acem*.

⁶⁵ In the same folio *yegâb* is also given, without however some poetic text or *terela*. Perhaps this was an experiment in composition.

⁶⁶ In Vatopediou 1428,7 the song is given in *Echos I* tetraphonic, *makam büseyinî, usûl ó 2 ó i*. The indications of 927 are chosen here, being an autograph of Petros and therefore more credible.

Ἐλα φῶς μου νὰ κάνωμεν οἱ δύο μία συμφωνίαν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segāl*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 33v / LKP 19/173, 49r / CAMS P2, 20 / Iași 129, 84 / Vatopediou 1428, 139.

Ἐπῆρα τὴν ἀπόφασιν πλέον ἀπ' τὸ πουλί μου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *beyâtî*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 57r / LKP 19/173, 87r / ELIA, 50r / CAMS P2, 23 / Iași 129, 114 / Vatopediou 1428, 105.

Ἐπιθυμοῦσα νὰ χαρῶ ἓνα διαμάντι καθαρό, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I pentaphonic, *acet*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 49v / RAL 925, 5r / LKP 19/173, 106r / ELIA, 65r / Iași 129, 39 / Vatopediou 1428, 40.

Ἐρωτα πρέπει νὰ χαρεῖς γι' αὐτὸ ποὺ ἡξιώθης, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I heptaphonic from low Ke, [*hūseyinî*] *ʿasirân*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 14r / RAL 925, 50v / RAL 653, 34r / LKP 19/173, 4r / CAMS P2, 48 / Iași 129, 20 / Vatopediou 1428, 18.

Εὐθὺς ὅπου ἀνταμωθῶ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *nevâ*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 46r / LKP 19/173, 80r / ELIA, 43r / CAMS P2, 26 / Iași 129, 107 / Vatopediou 1428, 98.

Ἐχάθηκαν οἱ κόποι μου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 27r / LKP 19/173, 36r / ELIA, 35r / Iași 129, 165 / Vatopediou 1428, 170.

Ἐχει ἀλήθεια κάποια χάρη, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II, *bicâz*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 43r / LKP 19/173, 71r / Iași 129, 199 / Vatopediou 1428, 203.

Ζῶ μὰ δὲν καταλαμβάνω, ἂν στὸν κόσμον εἶμ' ἀπάνω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *bisar*, *yürük semâ'î*⁶⁷: RAL 927, 62v / RAL 925, 6v / LKP 19/173, 120r / ELIA, 76r / RAL 784, 123r / Iași 129, 178 / Vatopediou 1428, 182.

Ἦθελα νὰ ᾄω μία τέτοια χάρη, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV diphonic, *sazkâr*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 21v / RAL 653, 37v / LKP 19/173, 21r / ELIA, 22r / Iași 129, 297 / Vatopediou 1428, 307.

Ἡθέλησεν ἡ τύχη μου, μόλις νὰ μ' ἐλεήσει, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys* diatonic, *irak*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 15r / RAL 653, 34v / LKP 19/173, 7r / CAMS P2, 50 / Iași 129, 229 / Vatopediou 1428, 237 / LKP (dossier) 117, 6.

Ἡ θέλησις ἀληθινὰ τοῦ καθενὸς παντοτεινά, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *isfabân*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 64v / LKP 19/173, 91r / ELIA, 80r / RAL 784, 116v / CAMS P2, 28 / Iași 129, 137 / Vatopediou 1428, 123.

Ἡ τύχη μ' καθὼς περπατεῖ, ἔτσι αὐτὸ σουρδίζει, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, *ʿarazbâr*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 59r / LKP 19/173, 111r / ELIA, 69r / Iași 129, 44 / Vatopediou 1428, 45.

Θαυμάζω ὅταν στοχασθῶ Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV, *bozorg*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 90v / ELIA, 31r / Iași 129, 306.

Κάθε καιροῦ μεταβολὴ κάμνει μιὰ νέα προσβολή, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II, *bicâz*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 125r / Iași 129, 195 / Vatopediou 1428, 199.

⁶⁷ MSS 784, LKP 19/173 and ELIA give the indication: *usûl sofyan*.

Κάθε στιγμήν πού στοχασθῶ, φῶς πῶς θὰ σὲ ἔχω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV, *bozorg, sofyan*: Vatopediou 1428, 338.

Καὶ αὐτὸ πῶς ἀνασαίνω καὶ πῶς ζῶ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I heptaphonic from low Ke, [*hüseynî*] *‘aşîrân, sofyan*: RAL 927, 7r / RAL 653, 33v / CAMS P2, 46 / CAMS P1, 1 / Iaşi 129, 18 / Vatopediou 1428, 16 / LKP (dossier) 117, 1.

Καὶ μὲ ἐβεβαίωσες πολλαῖς ἀκολουθοῦν μεταβολές, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *dügâh, sofyan*⁶⁸ with *nîm*: RAL 784, 120v / Iaşi 129, 161 / Vatopediou 1428, 167.

Καρδιά μ’ ὅπου πιστεύθηκες, κ’ ἔλαβες ἀμανέτι, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* III, *çârgâh*⁶⁹, *semâ’î*: RAL 927, 13v / RAL 925, 9r / LKP 19/173, 77r / ELIA, 82r / CAMS P2, 22 / Iaşi 129, 65 / Vatopediou 1428, 81.

Λὲς πῶς μ’ ἔχεις ἐδικόν σου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ, sofyan*: RAL 927, 27v / LKP 19/173, 37r / ELIA, 36r / Iaşi 129, 161 / Vatopediou 1428, 171.

Μὲ βεβαιώνει ἀρκετὰ τὸ φῶς μου πῶς δὲν μ’ ἀγαπᾷ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys* diatonic, *râhatü’l-Ervâh, sofyan*: RAL 927, 17v / RAL 653, 36r / LKP 19/173, 13r / ELIA, 13r / CAMS P2, 57 / Iaşi 129, 253 / Vatopediou 1428, 261.

Μὲ δύο πάθη τυραννοῦμαι, φοβερὰ καὶ πολεμοῦμαι, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos, segâh*⁷⁰, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 38r / RAL 925, 39v / LKP 19/173, 53r / CAMS P2, 19 / Iaşi 129, 88 / Vatopediou 1428, 143.

Μὲ ἰδρῶτας μὲ κόπους, μὲ διαφόρους τρόπους, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* II⁷¹, *hüzzam, yürük semâ’î*: RAL 927, 35r / LKP 19/173, 61r / CAMS P2, 17 / Iaşi 129, 97 / Vatopediou 1428, 67.

Μ’ ἓνα βλέμμα ἱλαρόν, ἰδὲ με πού νὰ σὲ χαρῶ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV diaphonic, *sazkâr, sofyan*: RAL 927, 21r / LKP 19/173, 20r / ELIA, 20r / CAMS P2, 62 / Iaşi 129, 298 / Vatopediou 1428, 308.

Μὲ πάθη κι ἀναστεναγμούς, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV hard diatonic, *nî-havent, sofyan*: RAL 927, 23r / LKP 19/173, 24r / ELIA, 25r / RAL 784, 131r / Iaşi 129, 304 / Vatopediou 1428, 325.

Μὲ πόθον ὑπερβολικόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ, sofyan*: RAL 927, 29r / LKP 19/173, 40r / Iaşi 129, 169 / Vatopediou 1428, 174.

Μέσα σὲ ἀρκετὸν καιρόν, σὲ μέρος πολλὰ ὁροσερόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, *acem kürdî*⁷², *yürük semâ’î*⁷³: RAL 927, 58r / LKP 19/173, 108r / ELIA, 67r / Iaşi 129, 41 / Vatopediou 1428, 42.

⁶⁸ RAL 784 gives the indication: *usûl ó 2 ó i*.

⁶⁹ The original has *çârgâh*.

⁷⁰ In RAL 925 the *makam* is referred to as *segâh müsteâr*.

⁷¹ In CAMS P2 and LKP 19/173, 61r the indication: *echos legetos* is given.

⁷² LKP 19/173 gives the indication: *acem*.

⁷³ ELIA gives the indication: *sofyan*.

Μέσα σὲ θάλασσα πλατιά, ὅπου ἀνάπτει σὰν φωτιά⁷⁴, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* II *legetos*⁷⁵, *hüzzâm*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 35v / RAL 925, 17r / LKP 19/173, 60r / CAMS P2, 17 / Stathis, 4v / Iaşi 129, Iaşi 129, 96 / Vatopediou 1428, 66 / LKP 152/292, 32.

Μία ψυχὴ σὲ δύο κορμιά, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*, *yürük semâ'î*: RAL 927, 40v / LKP 19/173, 66r / CAMS P2, 33 / Iaşi 129, 194 / Vatopediou 1428, 198.

Μόλις ἤῤα ἡσυχίαν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys* diatonic, *râbatü'l-ervâb*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 18r / RAL 653, 36r / LKP 19/173, 14r / ELIA, 14r / CAMS P2, 56 / Iaşi 129, 253 / Vatopediou 1428, 262.

Μόλις κ' ἐγ' ἀξιόθηκα, μὲ κόπους μὲ μηνέτια, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys* diatonic heptaphonic, *evîç*⁷⁶, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 60v / RAL 925, 23v / LKP 19/173, 114r / ELIA, 72r / CAMS P2, 39 / Iaşi 129, 233 / Vatopediou 1428, 241.

Νὰ ἐπαινέσω μέλλω, μὰ τί νὰ κάμω θέλω Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *isfahân*, *yürük semâ'î*⁷⁷: RAL 927, 52v / LKP 19/173, 98r / RAL 784, 117v / ELIA, 59r / CAMS P2, 30 / CAMS P1, 16 / Iaşi 129, 144 / Vatopediou 1428, 130.

Ὁ ἔρωτας θυμώθη, κ' ἐπάνω μ' ἀγριώθη, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, *hüseyinî*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 50r / RAL 925, 52v / LKP 19/173, 103r / ELIA, 64r / Iaşi 129, 5 / Vatopediou 1428, 4.

Οἱ πόρτες βλέπω σφάλισαν, πλέον τῆς εὐσπλαχνίας, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 42r / RAL 925, 26v / LKP 19/173, 69r / Iaşi 129, 197 / Vatopediou 1428, 201.

Ὅλα τὰ πράγματα καιρόν, πῶς ἔχουν εἶναι φανερόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II, *hümayîn*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 44v / LKP 19/173, 74r & 76r / ELIA, 39r & 40r⁷⁸ / RAL 784, 39v / CAMS P2, 32 / Iaşi 129, 210 / Vatopediou 1428, 215.

Ὅποιος πάσχει καθαρόν, φίλον οὐ διὰ νὰ εὕρη, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâb*, *yürük semâ'î*: Vatopediou 1428, 140.

Ὅποτεν εἶσαι μοναχὴ, στοχάσου πλὴν μὲ προσοχή, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, *hüseyinî*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 95v / CAMS P1, 2⁷⁹ / Iaşi 129, 10 / Vatopediou 1428, 8.

Ὅταν ἀναθυμιάσεις, τῶν στεναγμῶν πληθύνουν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos* with *zygos*, *Müste'âr*, *sofyan*⁸⁰: RAL 927, 36v / LKP 19/173, 58r / RAL 784, 112r / CAMS P2, 17 / Iaşi 129, 131 / Vatopediou 1428, 154.

⁷⁴ In CAMS P2 the incipit starts with “Σὲ θάλασσα...”.

⁷⁵ In all three manuscripts he presents it as *Echos* II *Legetos* ... while in 927 he presents it as *hüzzâm* / *legetos* ...

⁷⁶ In RAL 925 the *makam* is listed as *evîç irak*.

⁷⁷ CAMS P2 gives the indication: *usûl sofyan*.

⁷⁸ It appears to be a duplication of the same song even though there are small differences in notation.

⁷⁹ CAMS P1 gives the indication: *makam düğâb* and the incipit starts with “Ὅταν εἶσαι μοναχὴ ...”.

⁸⁰ CAMS P2 has *usûl* ó 2 ó i.

Παντοτινὲς καταδρομές, πολέμους καὶ σκληρὲς ὁρμές, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 20r / RAL 784, 61v / RAL 653, 37r / LKP 19/173, 18r / ELIA, 18r / Iaşi 129, 272 / Vatopediou 1428, 278.

Παρακαλῶ καρδίτζα μου, εἰς ὅσους κι ἂν γυρίζεις, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *isfahân*, *semâ'î*⁸¹: RAL 927, 54v / LKP 19/173, 94r / ELIA, 55r / CAMS P2, 30 / Iaşi 129, 140 / Vatopediou 1428, 126.

Πάσχω νὰ καταλάβω, βεβαίωσιν νὰ λάβω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV di-phonic, *sazkâr*, *yürük semâ'î*: RAL 927, 22r / RAL 653, 37r / LKP 19/173, 22r / ELIA, 21r / Iaşi 129, 296 / Vatopediou 1428, 306.

Πλέον θέ νὰ παραιτηθῶ κι ἀπ' τὰ ζέφκια ν' ἀφεθῶ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 33r / RAL 925, 15v / LKP 19/173, 48r / ELIA, 85r / CAMS P2, 20 / Iaşi 129, 83 / Vatopediou 1428, 138.

Πολλὰ μὲ κακοφαινεται, νὰ ἀπιστῇς ὃ φῶς μου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *nevâ*, *sofyan*⁸²: RAL 927, 47r / LKP 19/173, 82r / ELIA, 45r / CAMS P2, 25 / Iaşi 129, 109 / Vatopediou 1428, 100.

Πολλοὶ ἐχθροὶ ἐπάσχισαν, φῶς μου, νὰ μᾶς χωρίσουν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV tetraphonic, *pençgâh*, *yürük semâ'î*: Iaşi 129, 317 / Vatopediou 1428, 328.

Ποτὲ κανεὶς ἄς μὴν εἰπῇ, πὼς πάντοτε θὰ τὸν λυπῇ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I heptaphonic, *muhaççer*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 62r / RAL 925, 6r / LKP 19/173, 118r / ELIA, 75r / RAL 784, 10r / Iaşi 129, 47 / Vatopediou 1428, 48.

Πρέπει πλέον νὰ ἐλπίσω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *nühüft*, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 84r / ELIA, 48r / RAL 784, 114r / CAMS P2, 24 / Iaşi 129, 133 / Vatopediou 1428, 133.

Πρὸ πολλοῦ εἶχαν ἀρχίση, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, *'arazbâr*, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 125r / Iaşi 129, 46 / Vatopediou 1428, 47.

Πῶς ἤμπορῶ νὰ ἀρνηθῶ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I tetraphonic, *büseynî*, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 123r / Iaşi 129, 7 / Vatopediou 1428, 6.

Πῶς νὰ κάμω νὰ πιστεύση, πλέον καὶ νὰ εἰρηνεύση, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, *'arazbâr*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 58v / LKP 19/173, 110r / ELIA, 68r / Iaşi 129, 43 / Vatopediou 1428, 44.

Στὰ μάτια ὅπου λακταρῶ, διπλὴν ἐνέργειαν θωρῶ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys* diatonic heptaphonic, *evîç*⁸³, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 60r / LKP 19/173, 113r / ELIA, 71r / CAMS P2, 41 / Iaşi 129, 232 / Vatopediou 1428, 240.

Σὲ χάνω καὶ ἄς κλαίγω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *dügâh*, *yürük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 134r / Iaşi 129, 175 / Vatopediou 1428, 169.

Στὴν ἀγάπην ἡ κακία, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, *'uṣṣak*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 31r / LKP 19/173, 44r / RAL 784, 98v / Iaşi 129, 28 / Vatopediou 1428, 35.

⁸¹ LKP 19/173 gives the indication: *usûl sofyan*.

⁸² ELIA and LKP 19/173, 82r give the indication: *usûl semâ'î*.

⁸³ Vatopediou 1428 gives the indication: *makam evîç irak*.

Στὸ ταξίδι τῆς ζωῆς μου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV, *nikríz*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 12r / RAL 653, 38r / LKP 19/173, 27r / ELIA, 27r / RAL 784, 82v / CAMS P2, 44 / Iași 129, 319 / Vatopediou 1428, 330.

Στοιχάζομαι καὶ ἀπορῶ τὴν τωρινὴν φιλίαν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *dügâh*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 25_v / RAL 925, 14_v / LKP 19/173, 33_r / ELIA, 32_r / RAL 784, 119_v / CAMS P2, 51 / Iași 129, 161 / Vatopediou 1428, 165.

Tὰ ἄνθη εἶν' προσωρινά, δὲν στέκονται παντοτεινά, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segálb*: *sofyan*, RAL 927, 32v / LKP 19/173, 47r / CAMS P2, 21 / CAMS P1, 3 / Iași 129, 82 / Vatopediou 1428, 137.

Τὰ ἐναντία λέγουσι, πῶς πάλιν θεραπεύουν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos IV legetos, segáh, yürük semâ'î*: RAL 927, 39r / LKP 19/173, 51r / RAL 784, 103r / CAMS P2, 20 / Iaşi 129, 86 / Vatopediou 1428, 141.

Tὰ θέληγτρα ποὺ ἔχεις ἀγαπή μ' φυσικά, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II, *hicáz*, *yürük* *semâ'r*: RAL 927, 43v / LKP 19/173, 72r / RAL 784, 134v / CAMS P2, 38 / Iaşi 129, 200 / Vattopediou 1428, 204.

Τὰ κάλλη ἔχουν φυσικά κινήματα ἐρωτικά, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* II *legetos*⁸⁴, *hiiz-*
zam, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 36r / RAL 925, 16r / LKP 19/173, 59r / CAMS P2, 17 / Iași 129, 95 /
Vatopediou 1428, 65.

Tà mátiá san áziwoðñ, kai doññ tà mátiá pouð poðoññ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I, babatbir*⁸⁵, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 63v / RAL 925, 8r / LKP 19/173, 119r / ELIA, 78r / Iaşi 129, 50 / Vatopediou 1428, 50.

Τέλειά και σωστή χαρά και εὐτυχία καθαρά, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 18v / RAL 925, 43r / RAL 784, 59r / RAL 653, 36r / LKP 19/173, 15r / ELIA, 15r / CAMS P1, 13 / Iași 129, Iași 129, 269 / Vatopediou 1428, 277 / Stathis, 16v / LKP 152/292, 33.

Tὴν ἀκατάστατον ροπήν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV, *nikríz*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 23v / RAL 653, 38r / LKP 19/173, 26r / ELIA, 26r / Iași 129, 318 / Vatopediou 1428, 329.

Tῆς ὁμορφιάς σου ἡ θεωρία, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 42v / LKP 19/173, 70r / Iași 129, 198 / Vatopediou 1428, 202.

Τῆς τύχης ἡ κακὴ βουλὴ, ὁ φθόνος κι ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *nübnüft*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 48v / LKP 19/173, 85r / ELIA, 47r / RAL 784, 113r / CAMS P2, 24 / Iaşi 129, 132 / Vatopediou 1428, 132.

Ti ágανάκτησις πολλή, Petros Peloponnesios, echos I, hüseyinî, sofyan: RAL 927, 52r / LKP 19/173, 99r / ELIA, 60r / Iaşi 129, 1 / Vatopediou 1428, 1.

*Tí kardía vā daγiadiēsē kai vā mēn ādunatīsei*⁸⁶, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal II*, *hicāz, sofyan*: RAL 927, 41r / RAL 925, 14r / LKP 19/173, 67r / ELIA, 97r / CAMS P2, 33 / Iaşi 129, 196 / Vatopediou 1428, 200.

⁸⁴ That is how it appears in the manuscripts.

⁸⁵ In RAL 925 the *makam* is listed as *tâhir*.

Τί μεγάλη ἀπορία, ὅπου ἡ πολυκαιρία, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I heptaphonic from low Ke, [būseyni] *‘asirân, sofyan*: RAL 927, 14v / RAL 784, 97v / RAL 653, 34v / LKP 19/173, 5r / CAMS P2, 49 / Iaşi 129, 21 / Vatopediou 1428, 19 / LKP (dossier) 117, 3.

Τί μεγάλη ἀπορία, ὅπου ἡ πολυκαιρία, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV, *nikríz, sofyan*: RAL 653, 38v / LKP 19/173, 28r / ELIA, 28r / RAL 784, 83v / Iaşi 129, 320.

Τί μεγάλην ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν δυναστικὴν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *isfahân, sofyan*: RAL 927, 53r / LKP 19/173, 97r / ELIA, 58r / CAMS P2, 22 / Iaşi 129, 143 / Vatopediou 1428, 129.

Τί πολλὰ μεγάλην δόξαν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I, *‘uṣṣak, sofyan*: Iaşi 129, 27 / Vatopediou 1428, 34.

Τί πόνοσ καὶ καημὸς πολὺς, εἰς τὴν καρδίᾳ μ’ καὶ λαύρα, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* II, *hūzzam, yūriik semā’ī*: RAL 927, 34r / RAL 925, 17v / LKP 19/173, 63r / Iaşi 129, 99 / Vatopediou 1428, 69.

Τί σκληρότις εἶναι φῶς μου, ἀφοῦ τόσον σὲ ποθῶ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV *legetos, segâh, sofyan*: RAL 927, 38v / LKP 19/173, 52r / ELIA, 90r / CAMS P2, 19 / Iaşi 129, 87 / Vatopediou 1428, 142.

Τί φοβερὰ καὶ σκοτεινὴ καὶ τῶν κακῶν νύκτα κοινὴ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV hard diatonic, *nihavent, sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 129r / RAL 784, 132r / Iaşi 129, 306 / Vatopediou 1428, 327.

Τὸ δένδρον τῆς ἀγάπης σου μὲ φύλλα πιστοσύνης, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *isfahân, semā’ī*: RAL 927, 53v / LKP 19/173, 96r / ELIA, 57r / CAMS P2, 23 / Iaşi 129, 142 / Vatopediou 1428, 128.

Τὸ ἐδικὸν μου ριζικὸν εἶν’ ἀπερίγραπτον κακόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys* diatonic, *irak, sofyan*: RAL 927, 15v / RAL 925, 31r / RAL 653, 35r / LKP 19/173, 8r / ELIA, 9r / CAMS P2, 58 / Iaşi 129, 230 / Vatopediou 1428, 238 / LKP (dossier) 117, 8.

Τὸ κάλλος μὲ ὑπερβολὴν, ἀστράπτει κι ἀκτινοβολεῖ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *isfahân, sofyan*: RAL 927, 55v / LKP 19/173, 92r / ELIA, 53r / CAMS P2, 23 / Iaşi 129, 138 / Vatopediou 1428, 124.

Τὸ λέγουν ὅλοι καθαρὰ, πὼς ἔχει πάντα ἡ χαρά, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV, *nevâ, sofyan*: RAL 927, 46v / LKP 19/173, 81r / ELIA, 44r / CAMS P2, 25 / Iaşi 129, 108 / Vatopediou 1428, 99.

Τόση πολλὴ ὑπομονή, σ’ ἄλλον τινὰ ποῦ νὰ πονῇ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II heptaphonic, *ṣelmâz bûselîk, sofyan*: RAL 927, 61v / LKP 19/173, 117r / ELIA, 74r / CAMS P2, 31 / Iaşi 129, 214 / Vatopediou 1428, 219.

*Τὸ στόμα πάντα ἐξηγεῖ*⁸⁷, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ, sofyan*, RAL 927, 28v / LKP 19/173, 39r & 133r / ELIA, 38r / Iaşi 129, 168 / Vatopediou 1428, 173.

⁸⁶ In RAL 925 and in ELIA the incipit is “Τί καρδίᾳ νὰ ταγιαντίση”.

⁸⁷ In RAL 927, 28v the following is observed: the song is in *sabâ makam, usûl sofyan* and it has two sets of verses. The first bears the incipit “Τὸ φῶς μου ὅταν μὲ θεωρεῖ” and the second

Tò fōws mou ōtan mē thwrē, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos varys* diatonic, *irak*, *yürük semâ'î*⁸⁸: RAL 927, 16r / RAL 653, 35v / LKP 19/173, 9r / ELIA, 10r / CAMS P2, 58 / Vatopediou 1428, 239 / LKP (dossier) 117, 10.

Tò fōws mou ōtan mē thwrē, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal I*, *sabâ*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 28v / Iaşi 129, 230.

Toû kállous ἡ ὑπερβολή, ἡ συμμετρία ἡ πολλή, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I* from low Ke, [*hüseynî*] *‘aşîrân*, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 105r / Iaşi 129, 34 / Vatopediou 1428, 22.

Tò ōraïon próσωpón sou σχηματίζει οὐρανόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I*, *hüseynî*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 50v / LKP 19/173, 102r / ELIA, 63r / Iaşi 129, 4.

Τύχη, ἀφοῦ ἐγνωρίζεις καλὰ καὶ ἐστοχάσθης, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I*, *‘arazbâr*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 59v / LKP 19/173, 112r / ELIA, 70r / Iaşi 129, 45 / Vatopediou 1428, 46.

Τώρα πὰ ἀποφασίζω σὸ ἐξῆς νὰ ἐγλεντίζω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos IV* heptaphonic, *yegâlb*⁸⁹, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 6v / RAL 925, 10r / RAL 653, 33r / LKP 19/173, 1r / CAMS P2, 52 / CAMS P1, 1 / Iaşi 129, 17 / Vatopediou 1428, 31.

Τώρα πλέον ἐγνωρίσθη, τώρα εἶναι φανερόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos IV*, *beyâtî*⁹⁰, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 19v / RAL 784, 22r / Gennadius 725, 74v / Iaşi 129, 117 / Vatopediou 1428, 108.

Τώρα πλέον ταξιδεύω, δίχως πὰ νὰ ταξιδεύω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos IV*, *isfahân*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 55r / LKP 19/173, 93r / ELIA, 54r / CAMS P2, 30 / Iaşi 129, 139 / Vatopediou 1428, 125.

Φαίνεται πὼς τό χεὶ ἡ φύσις κι ὅλα τὰ στοιχεῖα 'πίσης, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal IV*, *nikrîz*, *sofyan*: Vatopediou 1428, 331.

Φῶς μου μὲ ἐκατάστησες, νὰ ρίζω πέτρα πίσω, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal I*, *sabâ*, *semâ'î*: RAL 927, 28r / LKP 19/173, 38r / ELIA, 37r / Iaşi 129, 167 / Vatopediou 1428, 172.

Ὡς πότε' αὐτὰ νὰ τὰ τραβῶ, ὅλο νὰ ἀμφιβάλλης, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos II*⁹¹, *hüzzam*, *yürük semâ'î*: RAL 927, 34v / LKP 19/173, 62r / Iaşi 129, 98 / Vatopediou 1428, 68.

[*‘Uşşak*] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I*: Iviron 997, 162v / Xeropotamou 305, 313r / Xeropotamou 299, 534.

[*Hüzzam*] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos II*: Iviron 997, 163r / Xeropotamou 305, 313r / Xeropotamou 299.

[*Hüzzam*] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos II*: Iviron 997, 163r.

“Τὸ στόμα πάντα ἐξηγεῖ”. Here as well, the composer seems to experiment with different versions.

⁸⁸ Given here with some reservation. Vatopediou 1428 gives the indication: ὁ 2 ὁ i and RAL 653 gives only the indication: *semâ'î*.

⁸⁹ Vatopediou 1428 gives the indication: [*hüseynî*] *‘aşîrân makam*, *echos I* from low Di.

⁹⁰ RAL 925 and Gennadiou 725 give the indication: *nühüft makam*.

⁹¹ RAL 927 and LKP 19/173 give *hüzzâm makam* (and not *segâlb*).

[Çârgâb] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* III: Ivron 997, 163v / Xeropotamou 305, 313v / Xeropotamou 299.

[Çârgâb] *taksîm*, another, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* III: Ivron 997, 162v / Xeropotamou 305, 313v / Xeropotamou 299.

Taksîm, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* IV: Ivron 997, 164r / Xeropotamou 305, 313v / Xeropotamou 299.

[Hüseynî] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I: Ivron 997, 164v / Xeropotamou 305, 314r / Xeropotamou 299.

[Hicâz] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal II: Ivron 997, 165r / Xeropotamou 305, 314v / Xeropotamou 299.

[Irak] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys*: Ivron 997, 166r / Xeropotamou 305, 315r / Xeropotamou 299.

[Irak] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys*: Ivron 997, 166v / Xeropotamou 305, 315r / Xeropotamou 299.

[Rast] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV: Ivron 997, 167r / Xeropotamou 305, 315v / Xeropotamou 299.

[Rast] *taksîm*, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal IV: Xeropotamou 305, 315v / Xeropotamou 299.

Elias

Sazkâr beste Bir dil oloutzak olousechin [Bir dil olicak ol mel-i hüsnün] Elias, *echos* plagal IV dipphonic, *remel*, verses by Elias: LKP (dossier) 59, 1.

Sazkâr zürük beste Ab diousytedykim [Elias⁹²], *echos* plagal IV dipphonic, *darbeyn*: LKP (dossier) 59, 3.

Iakovos Protopsaltes

Ἀς μὴν θαρρεῖ νὰ καυχῇθῇ ποτὲ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* I, *hüseynî*: RAL 925, 49r.

Δὲν τὸ μετανοιοῦνω ὅτι ἔφθασα νὰ σ' ἀγαπῶ, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ*, *sofyan*: verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes, RAL 784, 30v / Iași 129, 172 / Vatopediou 1428, 177.

Ἡ ἐξ' ὕψους προσηθεῖσα καὶ ἀσιπλῶς ἀρμοθεῖσα, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâb*, *sofyan*: verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes, RAL 653, 39v / Iași 129, 91 / Vatopediou 1428, 146.

Ἡ ὡραιότης δὲν θωρεῖται, μήτε τελείως ποσῶς μετρεῖται, Iakovos Protopsaltes⁹³, *echos* IV, *nübüft*⁹⁴, *sofyan*: verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes, RAL 925, 30v / RAL 784, 115v / Iași 129, 134 / Vatopediou 1428, 134.

⁹² Given with with some reservation. The *yürük beste* follows after the previous work titled “*fasıl sazkar*”. The first study is the immediately preceding one. Since no composer is mentioned, it is very likely that Elias himself composed the work.

Μεταξὺ φρικτῶν κυμάτων, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes: RAL 784, 62v / RAL 653, 39r / CAMS P2, 59 / Iași 129, 277 / Vatopediou 1428, 285.

Νὲ χεῖ ἦτον ποτὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς νέας ἡλικίας, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* IV, *beyâtî*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes: Iași 129, 118 / Vatopediou 1428, 109.

Οἱ χάρες κι οἱ λαμπρότητες, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal II, *bicâz*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes: RAL 927, 45r / LKP 19/173, 73r / ELIA, 41r / CAMS P2, 33 / Iași 129, 201 / Vatopediou 1428, 205.

Όσοι ἔρωτα σπουδάζουν πλεόν μαθηματικά, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* IV, *nevâ*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes: RAL 784, 106v / Iași 129, 111 / Vatopediou 1428, 102.

Στὸ πέλαγος τοῦ βίου, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos varys* diatonic tetraphonic, *bestenigâr*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes: RAL 784, 52r / CAMS P2, 57 / Iași 129, 249 / Vatopediou 1428, 257.

Τρέξετε ἔρωτες ἐλάτε, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* I from low Ke, *Bûselîk* [*bûseyml*] *âsirân*, *sofyan*, verses by Beyzade Yiangos Karatzas: RAL 784, 5v / CAMS P1, 3 / Iași 129, 23 / Vatopediou 1428, 25 / Stathis, 4v / Gennadius 231, 17v / LKP 152/292, 42-49⁹⁵ / LKP (dossier) 73, 14.

Φίλοι μου ἡλικιωται, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* IV, *nevâ*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes: RAL 927, 47v / LKP 19/173, 83r / ELIA, 46r / RAL 784, 105v / CAMS P2, 25 / Iași 129, 110 / Vatopediou 1428, 101.

Ὡ Μαῖον νουμηνία καὶ πρωτομαγιά αἰσία, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos varys* diatonic, *evcârâ*⁹⁶, *sofyan*: verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes, RAL 784, 45r / CAMS P2, 41 / Iași 129, 239 / Vatopediou 1428, 247.

Petros Byzantios

Ἡ ἀβέβαιος κινεῖται, τύχη πάντα καὶ μμεῖται, Petros Byzantios, *echos* IV, *beyâtî*, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 90r / Vatopediou 1428, 112.

Ἡ παντουργικὴ σοφία καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία, Petros Byzantios, *echos varys* diatonic, *evcârâ*⁹⁷, *sofyan*: verses by archdeacon Kyrillos, RAL 784, 46r / CAMS P2, 53 / Iași 129, 240 / Vatopediou 1428, 248.

Καὶ στῆς τύχης τὴν γαλήνην, Petros Byzantios, *echos* I, *hisar bûselîk*, *sofyan*, LKP 19/173, 124r / RAL 784, 100v / Iași 129, 51 / Vatopediou 1428, 29.

Μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶναι ἀφευκτος σχεδόν, Petros Byzantios, *echos varys* diatonic⁹⁸, *evic bûselîk*, *yürük semâʾî*: LKP 19/173, 136r / Iași 129, 52 / Vatopediou 1428, 30.

⁹³ Vatopediou 1428, 146 states “the subject of the verses is the [same as] the love song *Δὲν εἶναι τρόπος* of Petros Peloponnesios”.

⁹⁴ In RAL 925 the *makam* is *tâbir*.

⁹⁵ It is given four times followed by the rest of the verses in text only.

⁹⁶ CAMS P2 gives the indication: *evic makam* and *echos varys heptaphonic* diatonic.

⁹⁷ CAMS P2 gives only the indication: *evic*.

Mê tò vā zēurō pōs pernā tò fōs mou mē zētia, Petros Byzantios, *echos* I heptaphonic from low Ke, *hūseyñí* [*hūseyñí*] *‘aşırân, yürük semâ’î*: LKP 19/173, 140r / Iaşi 129, 36 / Vatopediou 1428, 24.

Παράδειγμα ἐφάνηκες στήν καθαρὰν φιλίαν Petros Byzantios, *echos* plagal II, *hicâz, yürük semâ’î*: RAL 784, 127r.

Ὁ ἔρωτας σὰν σκορπισθεῖ, κι ὁπότεν διαμοιρασθῇ, Petros Byzantios, *echos* plagal I, *bûselik, sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 146r / Iaşi 129, 53 / Vatopediou 1428, 27.

Ὅλοι νόμιζαν ἐπίσης πὼς ταῖς χάρες της ἡ φύσις, Petros Byzantios, *echos* I from low Ke, [*hūseyñí*] *‘aşırân, yürük semâ’î*: LKP 19/173, 104r / RAL 784, 8r / Iaşi 129, 33 / Vatopediou 1428, 21.

Σταθερὸν καλὸν τοῦ κόσμου, Petros Byzantios, *echos* I heptaphonic from low Ke, [*hūseyñí*] *‘aşırân*⁹⁹, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 139r / RAL 925, 35r / RAL 784, 99v / Iaşi 129, 35 / Vatopediou 1428, 23.

Ὡ τύχη, τί ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκόμη ποὺ μὲ πολεμεῖς, Petros Byzantios, *echos* plagal I, *bûselik, sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 147r / RAL 784, 111r / Iaşi 129, 54 / Vatopediou 1428, 28.

Tanbûrî Isak Fresco-Romano (1745 - 1814)

Beyâtî peşrev Tanbûrî Isak Fresco-Romano, *echos* IV, *darb-i felt*: LKP 2/59a, 1r.

Georgios Soutsos

Hūseyñí ‘aşırân kâr, Ta dir tene teni tene, *Ἀμὸν μάτια μου ἂν ζηρανθοῦν οἱ πικροὶ σας ποταμοί*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* I from low Ke, *sofyan*: verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 1r / Iaşi 129, 11 / Vatopediou 1428, 13.

Hūseyñí ‘aşırân zürük semâ’î, Χέρια μου ἐτοιμασθῆτε γὰ νὰ σφίξετε καλά, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* I from low Ke, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 3r / Vatopediou 1428, 14.

Bestenigâr kâr, Tatlatadi, “Εως πότε τύχην ἔχεις, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* varies tetraphonic chromatic, *hafff*, verses by Georgios Soutsos: LKP (dossier) 81¹⁰⁰, 1r / Stathis, 27r / Gennadius 231, 51v / LKP 152/292, 122 / Archdiocese of Cyprus 33, 1.

Rast beste arzit metiya, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *firengî fer’*: RAL 784, 152r.

Rast beste yalîvez bir, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *hafff*: RAL 784, 153v.

*Mahûr [kâr]*¹⁰¹, *Tadir teneni, aman*, *Τὴν ὥραίαν σου εἰκόνα, στὸν καθρέπτην ἂν ἰδῇς*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, *hafff*, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 161v / CAMS P1, 4 / Iaşi 129, 310 / Vatopediou 1428, 320.

⁹⁸ LKP 19/173 gives the indication: *echos* I.

⁹⁹ RAL 925 gives the indication: *echos* I.

¹⁰⁰ “Composed by me, Gregorios Lambadarios, under his own instruction”.

¹⁰¹ Vatopediou 1428, 320 gives “Most artistic *beste*”. However, its whole structure is indicative of a *kâr*.

[*Mabûr*] *ağır semâ'î*, *Οἱ σειρήνες τριγυρίζουν*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, *ağır*, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 164v / CAMS P1, 8 / Iaşi 129, 312 / Vatopediou 1428, 322.

[*Mabûr*] *yürük semâ'î*, *Εμψυχώθηκαν σὲ σένα αἱ καθόλου ἀρεταί*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, *ağır*, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 166r / CAMS P1, 10 / Iaşi 129, 313 / Vatopediou 1428, 323.

Nişâbûr beste, *Τὴ μεγάλη συμφορά, τί ἡμέρα, τί εἰδήσεις*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV¹⁰², *sofyan*, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 168r & 189v / Iaşi 129, 327 / Vatopediou 1428, 339 / Stathis, 20v / Gennadius 231, 3r / LKP 152/292, 70.

[*Nişâbûr*] *ağır semâ'î*, *Τὶ κακὸν θανατηφόρον, τί ἀνίατος πληγή*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 170v / Iaşi 129, 328 / Vatopediou 1428, 340 / Stathis, 23v / LKP 152/292, 75.

[*Nişâbûr*] *yürük semâ'î*, *Ἦστραπε στοὸ πρόσωπόν σου καλλονὴ ἀγγελικὴ*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 171v / Iaşi 129, 329 / Vatopediou 1428, 341 / Stathis, 25r / LKP 152/292, 78.

[*Nişâbûr*] *beste* *Πρέπει πὰ νὰ μὲ θρηνεῖ καὶ Ἀνατολὴ καὶ Δύσις*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 173r / Iaşi 129, / 329 / Vatopediou 1428, 341.

Nişâbûr şarkı, *Gönüler sangâidini* Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan küçük*, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 173v / Iaşi 129, 329 / Vatopediou 1428, 342. The "Arabic nagme", *Ah yâ qalbî mahzûn*, by the same [composer] follows.

Antoninin

Nühîfî [peşrev] Antoninin, [*echos* IV], *bâvî*: Gritsanis 3, 182r.

Yûsuf Usta

Beyâtî [peşrev] Yûsuf Celebi, *echos* IV, *bereşân*: Gritsanis 3, 143v.

Tziochatzoglou

Tâbir [peşrev] Tziochatzoglou, [*echos* I], *devr-i revân*: Gritsanis 3, 144v.

Eviç [peşrev] Tziochatzoglou, [*echos* varies heptaphonic diatonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 151v.

Tanburi Arezouni¹⁰³

Sabâ [peşrev] Tanburi Arezouni, [*echos* plagal I diphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 160v.

Sabâ [saz] *semâ'î* Tanburi Arezouni, [*echos* plagal I diphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 210v.

Peçgâh [saz] *semâ'î* Tanburi Arezouni, [*echos* plagal I tetraphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 227ar.

¹⁰² MS Stathis gives the more correct *echos* plagal I triphonic with *kliton* (the enharmonic *phthorâ*).

¹⁰³ The name is found written in three different ways: "Areznoun" 162v / "Arizouni" 213v / "Areznin tanburi" 231r.

Ismail Tzaous

Yar pilim ėim pezmize Ismail Tzaous: Gritsanis 3, 167r.

Peligratzoglou

Mahûr yûrûk semâ'î Peligratzoglou, *echos* plagal IV heptahonic, *zincîr*: Gritsanis 3, 19v.

Tanburi Hacı Omer Aga

Nühîfî [saz] semâ'î Tanburi Hacı Omer Aga, [*echos* IV]: Gritsanis 3, 183r.

Hocamasinin

*Müste'âr peşrev*¹⁰⁴ Hocamasinin, *echos* IV *legetos*, *muhammes*: Gritsanis 3, 44v.

Skouloumbris of Chios

Ἥλιος λαμπρὸς μὲ φαεινὲς ἀκτῖνες, Skouloumbris of Chios¹⁰⁵, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*: *frangi*, Vatopediou 1428, 302.

Yiangos Aga of Siphnos

Mè tās zōhrās āktīnas tōn ōraíōn sou matiōn, Yiangos Aga of Siphnos, *echos* plagal IV, *nikrîz*, *sofyan*: Vatopediou 1428, 334.

Folk

Ἀμάν, βουνὰ παρακαλῶ εἰπῆτε, island song, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*, *sofyan* 2 ó i: Vatopediou 1428, 156.

Ἄν κι αὐτὸ τό 'καμε βλέπεις, island song¹⁰⁶, *echos* IV, *hisar*, *frangi*: Vatopediou 1428, 186.

Κόρη μαλαγματένια μου, song from Zakynthos, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*: Iaşi 129, 333 / Vatopediou 1428, 304.

Ξένος ἤμουν κι ἤρθα τώρα, [folk], *echos* plagal IV, γ / χ: LKP 152/292, 287.

Unspecified composer

Instrumental Compositions

Uşşak [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* I], *çenber*: Gritsanis 3, 72v.

Uşşak [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* I]: Gritsanis 3, 84v.

Uşşak soylu peşrev [unspecified composer], [*echos* I], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 234v.

Uşşak [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* I], *hafîf*: LKP (dossier) 60, 16r.

Rast [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *darb-i feht*: LKP (dossier) 60, 41v.

¹⁰⁴ It appears to be incomplete with respect to its form, because its length differs to that of a *peşrev* and at the same time there are no indications of *terkîbs* etc.

¹⁰⁵ The complete identity of the composer in the manuscript is: “Music by musikantes Skouloumbris of Chios at Stavrodromi”.

¹⁰⁶ The manuscript gives the indication: “adapted to the same verses and composed by Nikeforos”.

*Rast*¹⁰⁷ [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *darb-i feht*: LKP (dossier) 60, 43v.

Salınçak rast peşrev [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *devr-i revân*: LKP (dossier) 60, 45r.

Hüseyinî [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 65v.

Hüseyinî [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *düyek - çenber - fabte - berefşân*: Gritsanis 3, 115v¹⁰⁸.

Hüseyinî [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *düyek, şüküfzâr*: Gritsanis 3, 110v.

Hüseyinî [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *çenber, beyplerimin*: Gritsanis 3, 134v.

Hüseyinî [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *küçük zincîr*: Gritsanis 3, 137v.

Hüseyinî [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *devr-i revân*: LKP (dossier) 60, 34r.

Hüseyinî [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 175v.

*Hüseyinî kâynat*¹⁰⁹ *peşrev* [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *haffî*: Gritsanis 3, 247v / LKP (dossier) 60, 38r.

Hicâz [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *zincîr*: Gritsanis 3, 3v.

Hicâz [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 135v.

Hicâz [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *haffî*: Gritsanis 3, 196v.

Hicâz [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer] *tevîr*, [*echos* plagal II]: LKP (dossier) 60, 24r.

Çârgâb [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* III], *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 113r.

Hüzzam [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], *echos* II, *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 32v.

Segâb [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, *muhammes*: Gritsanis 3, 42v.

Segâb [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV *legetos*], *çenber*: Gritsanis 3, 213v.

Nevâ [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV], *çenber*: Gritsanis 3, 66v.

Nevâ [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV], *berefşân*: Gritsanis 3, 91v.

Nevâ [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV], *muhammes*: Gritsanis 3, 149v.

Kürdî [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I hard diatonic], *darbeyn*: Gritsanis 3, 141v.

Sabâ [*peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I], *darb-i feht*: Gritsanis 3, 16v.

¹⁰⁷ The manuscript also gives the indication: *nişâbü'r*.

¹⁰⁸ Very similar to that in Cantemir's collection (f 40, work 73) attributed to Sultan Murad.

¹⁰⁹ The *peşrev* is written in both manuscripts with small differences in notation. In Gritsanis 3 has "ki kâimat", while LKP (dossier) 60 has "kiainat". According to W. Feldman (private communication) it may be a title which means "existence".

Sabâ [peşrev] [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I diphonic, devr-i: Gritsanis 3, 235r.

Sabâ [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I diphonic], *çenber*: LKP (dossier) 60, 8v.

Sabâ değışme [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I diphonic], *hafif - sakıl - hâvî - dar-beyn*: LKP (dossier) 60, 15r.

Beyâtî peşrev [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *sofyan*: Gritsanis 3, 142v.

Beyâtî [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *sakıl*: LKP (dossier) 60, 19v.

Acem peşrev [unspecified composer], [echos I pentaphonic], *ama çenber*: Gritsanis 3, 51v / LKP (dossier) 60, 10r.

Acem [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos I pentaphonic], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 52v.

Zerzemeli Sabâ [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I], *darb-i feht*: Gritsanis 3, 26v.

Muhayyer [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I diphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 161r.

Mahûr peşrev [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV heptaphonic], *bereşân*: Gritsanis 3, 22r.

Mahûr [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV heptaphonic], *darb-i feht*: Gritsanis 3, 236r.

Bestenigâr [peşrev] [unspecified composer], *varys* tetraphonic diatonic, *sakıl*: Gritsanis 3, 75r.

Bûselik [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I hard diatonic], *darb-i feht*: Gritsanis 3, 178v.

Bûselik [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I hard diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 211v.

Bûselik [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I hard diatonic], *düyek*: Gritsanis 3, 217v.

Nihavent [peşrev] [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV [hard diatonic], *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 227av.

Irak [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos *varys* diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 62v.

Sultânî irak [Peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos *varys* diatonic], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 114v.

[*Hüseynî*] '*aşîrân* [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I heptaphonic from low Ke], *sakıl*: Gritsanis 3, 67v.

[*Hüseynî*] '*aşîrân peşrev* [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I heptaphonic from low Ke], *çenber*: Gritsanis 3, 68r.

[*Hüseynî*] '*aşîrân* [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I heptaphonic from low Ke], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 155v.

‘Arazbâr heyphilerin [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV legetos], *devr-i revân*: Gritsanis 3, 73v.

Nühüft [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *sakıl*: Gritsanis 3, 180v.

Bozorg [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV], *zincîr*: Gritsanis 3, 7v.

Râhatü'l-ervâh peşrev [unspecified composer], [echos varies diatonic], *darbeyn teru peref*: Gritsanis 3, 90r.

Rehâvî pegli Peşrev [unspecified composer], *sakıl*: Gritsanis 3, 230r.

Nevgûlat [peşrev] [unspecified composer], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 202v.

[Peşrev] [unspecified composer], *fabte*: Gritsanis 3, 203r.

[Peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal II¹¹⁰], *sakıl*: Gritsanis 3, 224v.

[Peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *darb-i feht*: Gritsanis 3, 234v.

[Peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *gûl devr-i*: Gritsanis 3, 239v.

Sünbüle [peşrev] [unspecified composer], *devr-i*: LKP (dossier) 60, 50r.

Karcığar peşrev [unspecified composer], [echos I mixed with II (defteroproto)], *düyek*: LKP (dossier) 60, 11r.

Dügâb şükûfezâr [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I], *düyek*: LKP (dossier) 60, 27v.

Murassa' küçük [unspecified composer]: Gritsanis 3, 214v.

Eviç sabathname [unspecified composer], [echos varies heptaphonic diatonic], *muhammes*: Gritsanis 3, 163av.

Acem 'aşîrân Saz Semâ'î [Old], [echos varies]: LKP (dossier) 60, 13r.

Rast saz semâ'î [Old], [echos plagal IV]: LKP (dossier) 60, 48r.

Hicâz saz semâ'î [unspecified composer], echos plagal II: LKP (dossier) 60, 21r.

Segâb [saz] Semâ'î [unspecified composer], echos IV legetos: Gritsanis 3, 63v.

Segâb biyyük [saz] Semâ'î [unspecified composer], echos IV legetos: Gritsanis 3, 63v.

Segâb [saz] Semâ'î [unspecified composer], echos IV legetos: Gritsanis 3, 157r.

Hüseyinî [saz] semâ'î [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I]: Gritsanis 3, 117v.

Biyyük [saz] semâ'î hüseyinî [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I]: Gritsanis 3, 173v.

Nevâ [saz] semâ'î [unspecified composer], [echos varies diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 102v.

Mabûr [saz] semâ'î [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV heptaphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 21r.

Beyâtî [saz] semâ'î [unspecified composer], [echos IV]: Gritsanis 3, 119r.

Acem [saz] semâ'î [unspecified composer], [echos I pentaphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 160r.

Acem saz semâ'î [unspecified composer], [echos varies]: LKP (dossier) 60, 49r.

¹¹⁰ At least that is what was determined by the *phthorai* of the music score.

[*Hüseynî*] ‘*aşîrân [saz] semâ’î* [unspecified composer]: *echos* plagal I heptaphonic from low Ke, Gritsanis 3, 58v.

[*Hüseynî*] ‘*aşîrân [saz] semâ’î* [unspecified composer]: [*echos* plagal I heptaphonic from low Ke], Gritsanis 3, 69v.

Acem [*büseynî*] ‘*aşîrân [saz] semâ’î* [unspecified composer], [*echos varys*]: Gritsanis 3, 240v.

Nibavent [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV [hard diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 228v.

Mubayyer [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I heptaphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 79v.

Mubayyer [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I heptaphonic]: Gritsanis 3, 156v.

Mubayyer bûselîk [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV]: Gritsanis 3, 127r.

Şelmâz [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II heptaphonic: Gritsanis 3, 82r.

Çârgâb [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer], [*echos* III]: Gritsanis 3, 113v.

Râbatü’l-Ervâb [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer], [*echos varys* diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 91r.

Nevrûz-i ‘acem [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer]: Gritsanis 3, 206v.

[*Hisar bûselîk*] [*saz*] *semâ’î* [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I hard diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 25r.

Vocal Compositions

Αἰσθάνομαι ὀριμύτατα τοῦ χωρισμοῦ τοὺς πόνους, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I phthorikos: Stathis, 6v.

Αἰωνίως ἔχασα τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV probably]: Gennadius 231, 79r.

Ἄν ἀκόμα ἀμφιβάλλης, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I [*spathios*], *sefkoutarat*, *sofyan*: Gennadius 231, 62v.

Ἄνθος τερπνὸν ἐαρινόν, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II: Gennadius 231, 22v.

Ἄν στὸν κόσμον ἦλθες μόνος, unspecified, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ*, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 32v / Iaşi 129, 171 / Vatopediou 1428, 176.

Ἀπὸ τὰ γλυκὰ σου μάτια τρέχει ἀθάνατον νερόν, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I, *hisar bûselîk*: RAL 925, 19r / ELIA, 94r / CAMS P2, 37 / CAMS P1, 16.

Ἀπόψε τὰ μεσάνυκτα, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *rast*: Gennadius 231, 43v.

Ἀπ’ τὸν καιρόν, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV]: Gennadius 231, 47r.

Ἀς μὴ θαρρῇ νὰ καυχῇθῃ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I, *hüseynî, sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 17.

Ἀφανισμὸς καὶ λύπη ξέρεις τί θὲ νὰ πῇ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *rast*: RAL 925, 41v.

Ἀχ ἂν ποτὲ φορὰ καταφέρῃ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I phthorikos, *baba tâbir*: Stathis, 9r / LKP 152/292, 64.

Ἀχ ἔρωτα σκληρότατε καὶ ποῖα εἶν' τὰ καλὰ σου, unspecified, *echos* plagal IV hard diatonic, *ni-havent, sofyan*¹¹¹: RAL 927, 22v / RAL 925, 52r / RAL 653, 37v / LKP 19/173, 23r / ELIA, 24r / Iaşi 129, 305 / Vatopediou 1428, 326.

Βιάζομαι καὶ λαχταρῶ, τὴν ὥραν χρόνον τὴν θωρῶ, unspecified, *echos* plagal IV, *nikrîz, sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 29r / CAMS P2, 45 / Iaşi 129, 321 / Vatopediou 1428, 332.

Γιατρικὸν καὶ ἱατρὸς εἶσαι ὅταν ἂν θελήσεις, [unspecified composer]¹¹², *echos* plagal IV, *bîsar rast*: RAL 784, 178r.

Δὲν ξεύρω τὸ μεράμι σου μῆπως καὶ ἀποτύχει¹¹³, unspecified, *echos* I, *'uṣṣak yüriük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 135r / Iaşi 129, 32 / Vatopediou 1428, 37.

Διατὶ πλέον δὲν πίπεις, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV]: Gennadius 231, 68v.

Δύο καρδιῶν ἀλισβερίσι, ὅποιος κι ἂν τὸ πασαρδίσει, unspecified, *echos* *varys* diatonic, *râbatü'l-ervâh*¹¹⁴, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 137r / ELIA, 87r / CAMS P2, 39 / Iaşi 129, 256 / Vatopediou 1428, 264.

Ἐαρ εἶσαι μὲ τὰ ἄνθη¹¹⁵, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II: Stathis, 47r / LKP 152/292, 59¹¹⁶.

Ἐγινε νεκρανάστασις, [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos, segâb*: RAL 927, 37v / LKP 19/173, 54r / CAMS P2, 18.

Εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦ κόσμου, μὲ τὰ μέτρα τοῦ νοός μου, unspecified, *echos* III, *çârgâb, sofyan*: RAL 784, 102r / Iaşi 129, 67 / Vatopediou 1428, 83.

Εἰς τοὺς ὄρους τῆς φιλίας, unspecified, *echos* *varys* diatonic heptaphonic, *evçârâ, sofyan*: RAL 784, 44r / Iaşi 129, 238 / Vatopediou 1428, 246.

Ἐνὸς ρόδου θεωρία, unspecified, *echos* plagal II, *hicâz, sofyan*: RAL 927, 12v / LKP 19/173, 64r / ELIA, 81r / Iaşi 129, 202 / Vatopediou 1428, 206.

Ἐρωτος ὅλη ἡ δόξα ιδιώματα, [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* heptaphonic, *evîç, sofyan*: CAMS P1, 12.

¹¹¹ ELIA gives the indication: *usûl semâ'î*.

¹¹² Immediately afterwards, f. 179r gives the indication: "The same one, newer, nişâbürek, [*echos*] plagal IV *Εἰς τοῦ λαμπροῦ προσώπου σου τὸ πάνσοφον σχολεῖον*". On f. 179v it seems to continue with a "persengi" [*echos*] plagal IV *Ὡς πότε ἡ σκληρότης ἡ υπερβολικὴ*.

¹¹³ LKP 19/173 gives the indication: the *mesrepi*.

¹¹⁴ LKP 19/173 and CAMS P2 give the indication: *râbat-fezâ makam*.

¹¹⁵ "Some other ones, called *levantinika*".

¹¹⁶ Followed in the manuscript by Pa, ΓΤΓ/χ, *Πικρὰ ἀναστενάξω*, which looks like a verse or a continuation of this song, not like a different independent piece.

Ἐχε φῶς μου εἰς τὸν νοῦ σου, τοῦτον ὅτι σ' ἀγαπῶ, unspecified, *echos* IV, *beyâtî, sofyan*: Iași 129, 119 / Vatopediou 1428, 110.

Ἐως τώρα ἤμπορῶσα, τὴν καρδιά μου καὶ κρατοῦσα, unspecified, *echos* *varys* diatonic, *euṣârâ*¹¹⁷, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 20v / LKP 19/173, 10r / CAMS P2, 39 / Iași 129, 245 / Vatopediou 1428, 253.

Ζεῦ θεὲ θεῶν τε καὶ θνητῶν, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV: Gennadius 231, 32v.

Ἡ ἀβέβαιος κινεῖται, τύχη πάντα καὶ μιμεῖται unspecified, *echos* IV *legetos, segâh*¹¹⁸, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 109r / CAMS P2, 27 / Iași 129, 121.

Ἡ Ἀφροδίτη σ' εἶδε καὶ φρίττει κι' ἀπορεῖ, unspecified, *echos* *varys* diatonic heptaphonic, *euṣârâ*, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 234 / Vatopediou 1428, 242.

Ἡ γλῶσσα μου τὰ πάθη μου ἂν τὰ ἀπαριθμήσῃ, unspecified, *echos* plagal II, *bicâz, sofyan*¹¹⁹: RAL 784, 128r / Iași 129, 205 / Vatopediou 1428, 208.

Ἡ εὐμορφία σου φῶς μου, unspecified, *echos* *varys* diatonic [tetraphonic], *bestenigâr, yûriik semâ'î*: Iași 129, 246 / Vatopediou 1428, 254.

Ἡθέλησα ν' ἀντισταθῶ, πολλαῖς φοραῖς νὰ μὴν πιασθῶ, unspecified, *echos* plagal IV, *rast, sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 126r / CAMS P2, 44 / Iași 129, 275 / Vatopediou 1428, 283.

Ἡ μὲ στέλλεις τὴν καρδιά μου ἢ κρατᾷς καὶ τὸ κορμί, unspecified¹²⁰, *echos* IV *legetos, segâh, sofyan*: RAL 925, 22v / Iași 129, 102 / Vatopediou 1428, 150.

Θάνατε τί ἐγέννηκες, unspecified, *echos* plagal I, *bisar, sofyan*¹²¹: RAL 927, 63r / LKP 19/173, 121r / ELIA, 77r / Iași 129, 179 / Vatopediou 1428, 183.

Θαυμάζω ὅταν βιασθῶ, τοὺς πόνους μου νὰ στοχασθῶ, unspecified, *echos* IV, *beyâtî*¹²², *sofyan*: RAL 927, 57v / LKP 19/173, 86r / ELIA, 49r / RAL 784, 21r & 23r¹²³ / CAMS P2, 24 / Iași 129, 113 / Vatopediou 1428, 104.

Θαυμάζω ὅταν βιασθῶ, τοὺς πόνους μου νὰ στοχασθῶ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *bozorg, sofyan*: RAL 927 / LKP 19/173, 32r.

Θέλεις νὰ μὲ θανατώσεις, [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys, acem 'aşirân, sofyan*: RAL 927, 13r / RAL 925, 8v / LKP 19/173, 109r / ELIA, 84r.

Καὶ ποῖο καλὸ νὰ θυμηθῶ, unspecified, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ, yûriik semâ'î*: Iași 129, 173 / Vatopediou 1428, 178.

¹¹⁷ RAL 925, LKP 19/173 and CAMS P2 give the indication: *sultânî irak*.

¹¹⁸ CAMS P2 gives the indication: *beyâtî makam*.

¹¹⁹ MS 784 *usûl* ó 2 ó i.

¹²⁰ The manuscript gives the indication: "old" ("παλαιόν").

¹²¹ ELIA and LKP 19/173 give the indication: *usûl semâ'î*.

¹²² *Beyâtî makam* is the indication given by Petros in codex RAL 927, Nikeforos in RAL 784 and the scribe of ELIA. Nikeforos in Vatopediou 1428 gives *Nevâ*. CAMS P2, 24 gives the indication: *isfahân makam*.

¹²³ The song is found twice in the same codex, in different folios.

Kaθw̄s ḡ thálassa aútō pánta tò synēthízēi, unspecified, *echos* plagal II, *bicáz*, *yürük semâz̄*: RAL 927, 41v / LKP 19/173, 68r / RAL 784, 126r / CAMS P2, 36 / Iași 129, 203 / Vatopediou 1428, 207.

*Ki ἂν σήμερον ἡ δοκιμή*¹²⁴, [unspecified composer]: RAL 925, 60v.

Κοκώνα μαργιόρα, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, hicâz: Gennadius 231, 44r.

*Κοκώνα Μαργιτορή*¹²⁵, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, [*hicâz*]: Gennadius 231, 44r.

Λοιπὸν ἀφοῦ σὲ ἀγαπῶ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV: ELIA, 93r.

Mána δὲς πό'χετε παιδιά, [unspecified composer], *echos* III: *semá'i*, LKP 152/292, 17.

Μαῦρα πιά ἀπεφάσισα εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς νὰ βάλω¹²⁶, unspecified, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*¹²⁷, *semá*¹²⁸:
RAL 927, 19v / RAL 925, 32r / RAL 653, 37r / LKP 19/173, 17r / ELIA, 17r / Iași 129, 273 /
Vatopediou 1428, 281.

Mè duo páthē tyrannoûmai, phoberà kai polemoûmai, unspecified, *echos* I, *hüseyiní, sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 122r / CAMS P2, 19 / Iaşi 129, 6 / Vatopediou 1428, 5.

Μέσα σὲ πέλαγος βαθύ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*: CAMS P1, 16.

Μετά την στέρησίν σου και ἀναχώρησίν σου, unspecified, *echos* IV, *beyâtî*, *yüriük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 142r / CAMS P2, 28 / Iaşi 129, 122 / Vatopediou 1428, 113.

Mē tò μιζράπι τῶν ματιῶν, πού 'ναι γεμάτα νούρι, unspecified, *echos* IV, *niṣābūr*, *yürük semâ'î*: RAL 925, 25r / LKP 19/173, 138r & 160v / CAMS P2, 31 / Iași 129, 133 / Vatopediou 1428, 135.

Mē tò vá 'nai ἡ καρδιά μου, unspecified, *echos* I, *hüseynî*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 51r / LKP 19/173, 101r / ELIA, 62r / RAL 784, 95r / Iași 129, 3 / Vatopediou 1428, 7.

Μία εύγενικὴ ψυχή, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV heptaphonic]: Gennadius 231, 70v.

Νέος Ἀρχὴς τώρα τρέχει, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II heptaphonic triphonic, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 11.

Νεότης ἀνθρώπα, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *sofyan*: Gennadius 231, 64v.

Neóτης μου ἀθλία γεμάτη τυραννία, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II triphonic, *hicāz*, *sofyan*: CAMS P2, 38.

Nē xēi ḡton potē eis tēn ākmōn tēs νέας ἡλικίας, [unspecified composer], *echos* IV, *beyātī*: LKP 19/173, 159r.

¹²⁴ The music score is preceded by the text “Ὅμως κι αὐτὴ ἡ δοκιμὴ δὲν γίνετ’ ὁλημέρα καὶ μάλιστα ἀστέργια ///, κι ἀπάνον στὸν ἄερα. Στοχάσου σὺ μιὰν φορὰν, πῶς εἶν’ ὁ κόσμος σφαῖρα”. There are no indications of *echos*, *makam* or *usil*.

¹²⁵ The manuscript gives the indication: “another one, in a different way”.

¹²⁶ RAL 925 does not have “πιά”.

¹²⁷ RAL 925 gives the indication: mâtûr *makam*.

¹²⁸ MS 1428 gives the indication: *usûl ó 2 (sofyan)*.

Ὁ ἔρωσ τρέχοντας εἰς τὰ δάση¹²⁹, [unspecified composer], *echos varys* tetraphonic diatonic, *bestenigâr*: Stathis, 19r & Stathis, 46r / Gennadius 231, 15r / LKP 152/292, 62.

Οἱ ἔρωτες ἐκόνεψαν στὰ εὐμορφά σου μάτια, [unspecified composer], *echos* I, *muhayyer*: RAL 927, 8r / RAL 925, 34v.

Οἱ κλήσεις λέγουν οἱ πολλοί, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I hard diatonic¹³⁰]: Gennadius 231, 69r.

Ὅλοι γιатροι τὸ ἀποροῦν, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II: ELIA, 96r.

Ὅποιος πιά ἀποφασίση, γιὰ ν' ἀντιπολεμήση, unspecified, *echos varys* diatonic heptaphonic, *evşârâ*¹³¹, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 33r / LKP 19/173, 115r / RAL 784, 129r / CAMS P2, 38 / Iaşi 129, 235 / Vatopediou 1428, 243.

Ὅταν σπράτεις τὰ νέφη, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV]: Gennadius 231, 65v.

Ὅτι κι ἂν ἐπιθυμήσῃ κάθε ἓνας νὰ ἀποκτήσῃ, unspecified, *echos* IV *legetos* with *zygos*, *müste'âr*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 64r / LKP 19/173, 56r / CAMS P2, 18 / Iaşi 129, 132 / Vatopediou 1428, 155.

Πάλιν μιὰ νέαν προσβολὴν κι ὁρμὴν τοῦ ἔρωτος πολλήν, [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâb*: RAL 925, 18r.

Πάντα λέγεις νὰ ἐλπίζω, πάντα λὲς νὰ καρτερῶ, unspecified, *echos* IV, *beyâtî*¹³², *sofyan*: RAL 784, 108v / CAMS P2, 29 / Iaşi 129, 120 / Vatopediou 1428, 111.

Παράδειγμα ἐφάνηκες στήν καθαρὰν φιλίαν, unspecified, *echos* plagal II¹³³, *türki hicâz*, *yürük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 143r / CAMS P2, 40 / 204 / Vatopediou 1428, 214.

Ποία νὰ εἶναι τάχα πάλιν ἡ αἰτία τῆς ὀργῆς¹³⁴, unspecified, *echos* III, *çârgâb*, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 21r / RAL 784, 12r / Gennadius 725, 73r / ELIA, 89r / Iaşi 129, 66 / Vatopediou 1428, 36.

Ποτέ του δὲν ἐστάθῃ ὁ κόσμος δίχως πάθη, unspecified, *echos* I, *uşşak*, *yürük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 128r / Iaşi 129, 31 / Vatopediou 1428, 36.

Ποῦ Ἡράκλειτος νὰ κλαῦσῃ θλιβερά χωρὶς νὰ παύσῃ, unspecified, *echos* plagal IV, *nikrîz*, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 127r / RAL 784, 84v / CAMS P2, 43 / Iaşi 129, 322 / Vatopediou 1428, 333.

Ποῦ 'ναι τὸ ἔσκη κ' ἡ χαρὰ ποῦ εἶχα 'γὼ ἄλλῃ φορὰ, [unspecified composer], *echos varys* diatonic heptaphonic: Stathis, 14r / LKP 152/292, 65.

¹²⁹ Manuscript Stathis has "Another one, very difficult due to the irregularity of tempo. Its creator is unknown. It appears to be the work of someone named Nestor. At the end of this book, the same piece will be presented clean of omissions and meaningless additions, however here it is placed [as] found in various manuscripts". On f. 46r the following note is found: "Here is also the promised one, corrected according to my ideas, if I am allowed by the one who composed it. Written here only because I had promised, as it is useless otherwise".

¹³⁰ As determined by the *martyriai* it is hard diatonic.

¹³¹ RAL 925 gives the indication: *irak makam*.

¹³² CAMS P2 gives the indication: *nevâ makam*.

¹³³ CAMS P2 gives the indications: [*echos*] II and *echos varys* diatonic.

¹³⁴ RAL 784 gives the incipit: Ποία τάχα ἦτον πάλιν.

Προσώπου κάλλος μαγνήτης ἄλλος, [unspecified composer], *echos* varies heptaphonic, Evῆς: LKP 19/173, 159v / CAMS P2, 42 / Stathis, 14r.

Πρώτα τόσον τῆς φιλίας, unspecified, *echos* IV, *isfahân*, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 130r / RAL 784, 118v / CAMS P2, 26 / Vatopediou 1428, 131.

Πῶς βαστᾷ καρδιά μ' θανμάζω, ὅταν τοὺς καημοὺς κυττάζω, unspecified, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 19r / / RAL 925, 27v / RAL 784, 60r / RAL 653, 36v / LKP 19/173, 16r / ELIA, 16r / CAMS P2, 64 / CAMS P1, 15 / Iaşi 129, 270 / Vatopediou 1428, 279.

Σὰν δὲν ἤθελες φιλία, τί μὲ ἔδιδες αἰτία, [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, *hüzzam*, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 22r.

Σὰν δὲν ἤθελες φιλία, τί μὲ ἔδιδες αἰτία, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, *mabûr*, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 30r / ELIA, 88r.

Σ' ἔνα λειμῶνα ἀρετῶν, τέλειον καὶ ὠραῖον, [unspecified composer], *echos* IV, *nühüft*: RAL 925, 53r.

Σταῖς λύπαις μου ἀνακωχή, unspecified, *echos* II, *hüzzam*, *sofyan*: ELIA, 95r / CAMS P2, 21 / Iaşi 129, 100 / Vatopediou 1428, 70.

Στόμα ἐμπλεον σοφίας, unspecified, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 29 / CAMS P1, 15 / Iaşi 129, 170 / Vatopediou 1428, 175.

Τὰ κάλλη σου ψυχὴ μου, τὰ τόσα θαυμαστά, [unspecified composer], *echos* II, *hüzzam*: RAL 925, 34r.

Τὰ μάτια μου ἐθάμπωσαν κι ἀλλάξαν τὴν θεωρίά τους, unspecified, *echos* IV, *nevâ*, *yürük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 144r & 160v / CAMS P2, 28 / Iaşi 129, 112 / Vatopediou 1428, 103.

Τὰ χεῖλή μου παντοτινὰ εἶναι φαρμακωμένα, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV]: Gennadius 231, 67r.

Τὴν ὥραν π' ἀξιώνομαι, νὰ σὲ ἰδῶ ψυχὴ μου, unspecified, *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, *mabûr*¹³⁵, *semâ'î*: RAL 653, 38v / LKP 19/173, 30r & 131r / ELIA, 29r / RAL 784, 133r / CAMS P2, 43 & 45 / CAMS P1, 14 / Iaşi 129, 316 / Vatopediou 1428, 318.

Τὶ ζωὴ πολλὰ ἀθλία, unspecified, *echos* plagal IV, *mabûr*, *sofyan*¹³⁶: RAL 927, 24v / RAL 925, 25v / LKP 19/173, 31r / ELIA, 30r / RAL 784, 79v / CAMS P1, 13 / Iaşi 129, 307 / Vatopediou 1428, 314.

Τὶ μεγάλη ἀπορία ὅπου ἡ πολυκαίρια, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *nikrîz*: RAL 927, 24r.

Τὶ νὰ κάμω, τί νὰ γενῶ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I, *sabâ*: RAL 925, 40v.

Τὶ πολλὰ μέγαν θέλω καὶ ἐξουσίαν φοβερή, [unspecified composer], *echos* I, *'uṣṣak*: RAL 927, 30v / LKP 19/173, 43r.

¹³⁵ CAMS P2, 43 gives the indications: *pençgâh makam* and *echos* plagal IV tetraphonic. Further down on f. 45 it is given as it is found in other manuscripts. MS LKP 19/173, 131r also has it as *pençgâh*, while in 30r it is given as *mâhûr*.

¹³⁶ ELIA gives the indication: *usûl semâ'î*.

Τί στροφῆς ἄλλη πορεία ἀπὸ τόσῃν ἐμπειρία [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*, *sofyan*: Gennadius 231, 71v.

Τὸ βαρὺ τῆς τρικυμίας, [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* diatonic, [*irak*]: Gennadius 231, 14v.

Τὸ πουλί μ' σὰν ἀποκτήσω, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*: ELIA, 92r.

Τὸ σύννεφον τοῦ ἔρωτος, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV tetraphonic, *pengâh*, *yürük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 132r.

Τοῦ χωρισμοῦ τὸ πάθος πληγώνει κατὰ βάθος, [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys*, *bestenigâr*: CAMS P2, 42.

Τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*, *yürük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 145r / CAMS P2, 36.

Φαρέτραν ἐμπλεον μὲ τόξα φῶς μου, [unspecified composer], *echos* I, *büseyinî*, *düyek*: LKP 152/292, 4.

Φωνάζει ἡ καρδιά μου, ποῦ πάγει ἡ χαρά μου, [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* diatonic, RAL 925, 61r.

Φῶς μου ἡ ζωηρότις καὶ ὅλη ἡ τερπνότης, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *arabân*: CAMS P2, 37.

Φωτεινότετε κομήτα, [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* diatonic, [*Irak*]: Gennadius 231, 14r / LKP 152/292, 69.

Ψυχὴ ἀθλία, τί δυστυχία, [unspecified composer], *echos* IV: Gennadius 231, 35v / LKP 152/292, 60.

Ψυχὴ μου τί ἀδμονεῖς ὅταν σὲ πῶ πῶς δὲν πονεῖς, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I, *dügâh*, *sofyan*: Gritsanis 3, 3r / RAL 927, 26r / LKP 19/173, 34r / ELIA, 33r.

Ὡ ἄνεμε κακοποιέ, πές με γιὰτ' ἐμποδίζεις, unspecified, *echos* plagal II, *bümayün*, *yürük semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 141r / CAMS P2, 36 / Iasi 129, 212 / Vatopediou 1428, 217.

Ὡ ἔρωτα ἀνδρεῖον, [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV]: Gennadius 231, 66v.

Ὡ θαυμαστὸν ἀνθρώπινον, [unspecified composer], *echos* III, *çârgâh*, *semâ'î*: LKP 19/173, 78r / ELIA, 83r / CAMS P2, 22.

Ὡ μετοίκηστε φρικώδης ὦ θανάσιμος φυγὴ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I *phthorikos*: Stathis, 7r.

Ὡ ρόδον ὠραιότατον τῶν λουλουδιῶν κορώνα, unspecified, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*, *sofyan*¹³⁷: RAL 784, 104r / ELIA, 86r / Iasi 129, 104 / Vatopediou 1428, 152.

Ὡ τί θλίψις αἰφνιδία καὶ κακῶν ἐπιδημία, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I [hard diatonic], *bûselîk*: CAMS P2, 52.

Ὡ χρυσοπράσινον δεντρί, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II: Stathis, 47v.

¹³⁷ ELIA gives the indication: *usûl semâ'î*.

Rast [beste] Ὠσανὶνὰ ἐπιεῖς τὸ νερὸν τῆς λήθης¹³⁸, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *yürük semâ'i*: RAL 925, 59r / LKP 19/173, 148r.

Non-Greek

Mionsi chouten [segâb] *semâ'i* [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV *legetos*]: LKP 137 (dossier), 4r.

Sen dechi [irak] *yürük semâ'i* [unspecified composer], [*echos* *varys*]: LKP 137 (dossier), 4v.

Nihavent beste tapa kiâi ask//yla fergiadêi [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV hard diatonic]: *nîm sakîl*, Gritsanis 3, 172v.

Hacm yâr hüzzam [beste] [unspecified composer], [*echos* II], *haff*: Gritsanis 3, 182v.

Sechaisoupchouvisali canum [unspecified], [*echos* *varys* diatonic], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 163r.

Mour dil tzasmedechadaze rast [beste] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV]: LKP 137 (dossier), 19r.

Gördabol tabi cane dir eviç [beste] [unspecified composer], [*echos* *varys*]: LKP 137 (dossier), 20r.

Chep nasezalech bâvî [beste] [unspecified composer]: LKP 137 (dossier), 20v.

Hey ab itmez idim [beste] [unspecified composer], *muhapez tatli*: LKP 137 (dossier), 22v.

Kögin /// sedi padisehin [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys*, *ramal*: Gritsanis 3, 242ar.

Zate pare eilemis sabâ semâ'i [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal I diaphonic]: LKP 137 (dossier), 5r.

Asiki valarzoucha [rast] [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV]: S. Karas 32, 161b.

Ach Tanatini dir dir ten til lelel bûselik [kâr] [Hoca], *sakîl*: LKP 137, 27r.

[*Uşşak kâr*] *Yeyeli yeyela canum cibayimen* [unspecified composer], *echos* I: Iviron 1038, 662r.

[*Hüseynî*] *beste Tou isachmi tisem*, Atzemikon Organikon [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I: Xeropotamou 305, 312r.

[*Uşşak beste*] “Εἰρμός ἰσμηνητικὸς” *An yi pon gerpe epentzi rouzy sohpet*, [unspecified composer], *echos* I: Gregoriou 23, 187v.

Beste¹³⁹ *Ormatipichereitzcha* [unspecified composer], *echos* IV: Iviron 1038, 670r.

[*Uşşak*] *beste Bagipakerpe* [unspecified composer], *echos* I: Iviron 1038, 664r.

¹³⁸ LKP 19/173 gives the heading “*şarkı makam rast*”. However, it is estimated that it is a *murabba’ beste* with Greek verses.

¹³⁹ The manuscript says “*bestes called naia*”. Iviron 1038,
670r *bestes* called *naia*, *echos* IV *Ormatipichereitzcha*
670v *echos* I *Tzismimistontou*
671r [*echos*] I *Tzakpoutempchoupen*
671v [*echos*] I *Saliniskairvisechives*
[*echos*] I *Asikoutirtzmaraselach efenti*

[*‘Uşşak*] *beste*¹⁴⁰ *Yar kimin canesi* [unspecified composer], *echos* I: Iviron 1038, 672r.

[*Hüseynî*] *beste*¹⁴¹ *Segringoulingoulou* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I: Iviron 1038, 663r.

Ab vetzichious niounseïrderken [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*: CAMS P2, 46.

*Eî tabtîbî carîraman ab îliamiya sabîp*¹⁴² [*beste*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* *varys* diatonic]: Gennadius 231, 10r.

Elb zaleves pîrîngon zeîra [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *rast*: RAL 925, 57r.

*Rast şarkî*¹⁴³ *Sevdimin aslı yaslı* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 36r / LKP 19/173, 151r.

Hicâz şarkı Ab kim düstü gönoul bir güzel [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *yürük semâ’î*: LKP 19/173, 153v.

*Hicâz şarkı Hey ben yasa vardım kûl*¹⁴⁴ [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *sofyan*: RAL 925, 37v / LKP 19/173, 150r.

Hicâz şarkı Birla ach za seni [Old]¹⁴⁵, *echos* plagal II, *remel*: RAL 784, 176r.

Beyâtî şarkı Saki sade meî doldur tzelim [unspecified composer], *echos* IV, *yürük semâ’î*: LKP 19/173, 156r.

[*Segâh*]¹⁴⁶ *şarkı Tzoukinsedepirichaki* [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, *sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 152r.

[*Hicâz beste*] *Hey cisme-i abı hizrin* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II: Stathis, 33r / LKP 152/292, 164.

[*‘Uşşak*] *Semâ’î Eîrele gül rugikinev* [unspecified composer], [*echos* I]: Stathis, 37r / LKP 152/292, 172.

[*Irak kâr*] *Rizachti chaxariraman* [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys*: Stathis, 38r.

LKP 19/173, 160v *Hümayün*, *echos* plagal II *Naaaaaaa* three lines of music score and then the codex ends

LKP 152/292, 3 continues from p. 2 ᾠδὴ ἀμάν, γιολελελίμ, γιὰ τὰ σένα ‘γὼ πουλί μ’

¹⁴⁰ Although at first sight they seem to be three different pieces, they are likely to be parts of one *beste*. In the manuscript, the *beste* starts from f. 672r (“Another /// difficult, mine”), continuing on ff. 672v ([*echos*] I *Yar Efendim penteteriya*) and 673r ([*echos*] I *Yar byzyfeta*).

¹⁴¹ The manuscript bears “*arabic beste*”.

¹⁴² There are no indications of *echos*, *makam* or *usûl*.

¹⁴³ LKP 19/173 has “*rehâvî*” *makam*. The incipit is the same with different spelling.

¹⁴⁴ LKP 19/173 has “*Ach pengiasa vardim*”.

¹⁴⁵ “Created from an old one and beautified by Nikeforos, archdeacon of Antioch from Chios known as Kantounia[ris]”.

¹⁴⁶ The manuscript gives *hüzzâm makam*, but at first sight it appears to be *segâh*.

Bilingual Phanariot Songs

Gül ratzilir gibi bülbül uynya kalmış, τρέχα τώρ' αυτό με λέγει, φέτος δὲν λαλοῦμαι μεῖς, *unspecified*, *echos varies* diatonic pentaphonic, *râhatü'l-ervâh*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 53v / Iași 129, 255 / Vatopediou 1428, 263.

Hey gönül fergiateileme sapreilecu zizeman, κ' ἴσως τὴν ὑπομονήν μου λυπηθῇ ἡ τύχη μ' κᾶν, *unspecified*, *echos* IV¹⁴⁷, *beyâtî*, *sofyan*: RAL 927, 56r / RAL 925, 51v / LKP 19/173, 89r / ELIA, 52r / RAL 784, 107v / CAMS P2, 27 / Iași 129, 116 / Vatopediou 1428, 107.

Σ' ἔνα πουλί meil verdim odur benim büyük derdim, *unspecified*, *echos* plagal IV diphonic, *sazkâr*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 73v / Iași 129, 299 / Vatopediou 1428, 309.

Arabic

Ā yā sawādānā waḥdānā Arabic, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 278 / Vatopediou 1428, 286.

Ā yā tayba, Ā yā tayba [Arabic], *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*: Iași 129, 209 / Vatopediou 1428, 212.

Baydā bi-š-ša'ri-l-abyad Arabic, *echos* III, *çârgâh*, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 69 / Vatopediou 1428, 85.

Ğimâlak fî merġe Arabic *nağme*, *echos varies* diatonic heptaphonic, *evîç*: RAL 784, 58v / Iași 129, 261.

Fî bâb Ğibela Arabic *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*: Iași 129, 208 / Vatopediou 1428, 211.

Yā dam'a 'aynî sîlî Arabic, *echos* III, *çârgâh*, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 70 / Vatopediou 1428, 86.

Uġiniktînî yā samrâ Arabic, *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*: Iași 129, 209 / Vatopediou 1428, 212.

Alla Ikmpër alla Ikmpër [Allāhu akbar], *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*: Iași 129, 221 / Vatopediou 1428, 213.

Yā t̃ābir al asin dreki al-ġena meryam (sic ut vid.) Arabic hymn, *echos* I tetraphonic, *hüseyinî*, *sofyan*: Vatopediou 1428, 10.

Yā hadat al-rubakbeli (sic ut vid.) Arabic hymn, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 276 / Vatopediou 1428, 284.

Gypsy

Hicâz semâ'î asik abir del roumpaye Gypsy, *echos* plagal II, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 38r / Iași 129, 206 / Vatopediou 1428, 209.

*Iki detour ġilralî*¹⁴⁸ Gypsy, [*echos*] IV soft chromatic (*phthorâ*), *makam arabân beyâtî*, *usûl* ó 2: Iași 129, 147.

French

Que ne suis-je la fougeraie French, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ*, *frangi*: Iași 129, 183 / Vatopediou 1428, 187.

¹⁴⁷ RAL 925 gives the indication: *echos* I.

¹⁴⁸ Plain text verses 2nd, 3rd, 4th, *nakarât*, the same in Greek Greek *Ἐλα ζουρνά μ', ἔλα νὰ σὲ πῶ*.

Je reviens de la guerre French, *echos* plagal IV, *rast, frangi*: Iași 129, 287 / Vatopediou 1428, 295.

Une jeune meunière French¹⁴⁹, *echos* plagal IV, *rast, frangi*: RAL 784, 93r / Iași 129, 333 / Vatopediou 1428, 304.

Passe ta vie reconnaissant (sic ut vid.) French: RAL 925, 60r.

Si le Roi m'avait donné French, *echos* III, *çârgâlb*: Iași 129, 73 / Vatopediou 1428, 89.

“Exomeritika”

[*Mabûr*] *semâ’î* Δὲν ἰξεύρω τί νὰ κάμω, [exomeritikon], *echos* plagal IV: Iași 129, 337 / Vatopediou 1428, 319.

[*Mabûr*] *semâ’î* Δὲν τὸ μετανοιώνω ὅτι ἔφτασα νὰ σ’ ἀγαπῶ, [exomeritikon], *echos* plagal IV: Iași 129, 337 / Vatopediou 1428, 319.

Mabûr semâ’î Ὁ ἔρωτας μὲ ἔκανε πολλὰ νὰ συντυχαίνω, exomeritikon, *echos* plagal IV: Iași 129, 337 / Vatopediou 1428, 319.

Nişâbûr semâ’î Τῆς τύχης ἡ κακὴ βουλὴ, exomeritikon, *echos* plagal IV: Iași 129, 331 / Vatopediou 1428, 343.

Ἄν κι αὐτὸ τό 'καμε βλέπεις, exomeritikon, *echos* plagal I, *bisar*: Iași 129, 182.

Italian

E al fin gio son bennata Italian¹⁵⁰, *echos* plagal IV, *rast, frangi*: RAL 784, 81v / Iași 129, 314 / Vatopediou 1428, 303.

“Taousanika”

[*Muhayyer*] *Semâ’î*, *Bir cesmi pisourmesiaçh* Taousanikon, *echos* I, *sofyan*, verses by Georgios Soutsos: RAL 784, 140r / Iași 129, 48 / Vatopediou 1428, 49.

[*Sed arabân*] *semâ’î*, *Bir orum dilber* Taousanikon, *echos* plagal II *phthorikos*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 145r / Iași 129, 128 / Vatopediou 1428, 119.

[*Beyâtî arabân*] *semâ’î*, *Gönül verdim* Taousanikon, *echos* IV, *sofyan*: RAL 784¹⁵¹, 150r / Iași 129, 220 / Vatopediou 1428, 224.

Turkish

[*Rast şarkı*] *Meclî di yel bey dil rupa*¹⁵² “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 40r.

[*büzam* or *segâh şarkı*] *Ey gönce-i payimel* “another Turkish one”, *echos* II or IV: Stathis, 41r / LKP 152/292, 193¹⁵³.

¹⁴⁹ The full description in the manuscript is “French, funny, known as “of the mill”.

¹⁵⁰ The three manuscripts have the Greek verses in plain text. Moreover, 1428 notes “Verses by Chrysanthos Hieromonk Maitianos, a leader and member of the new system; According to the mentioned *Ἀραγε ροπή ἐλπίδος*”.

¹⁵¹ RAL 784 gives the indication: *şed-i ‘arabân makam*, [*echos*] plagal II.

¹⁵² “Another Turkish one in the same style composed by Ioannis”.

[*Rast*] *Dost o giđi nounoumsa nadim dieipiri* “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 42r.

[*Hicáz*] *Chenkiami sefadir* “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal II: Stathis, 43r.

[*Rast*] *Cemalin'ten cuda olmak benim* “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 44r.

[*Rast*] *Mfchameti halime gel* “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 45r.

Various Unclassified

Ὅσοι εἴθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων κόκκαλα, music of a muzikantes, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *frangi*: RAL 784, 67r / Iași 129, 285 / Vatopediou 1428, 293.

Τάχα φάνηκ' ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Wallachian, *echos* plagal IV, *mabûr*, *sofyan*: CAMS P2, 61 / Iași 129, 308 / Vatopediou 1428, 315.

[Kotzakia] *Εἰς τοῦ λαμπροῦ προσώπου σου τὸ πάνσοφον σχολεῖον*, Constantinopolitan style, *echos* plagal IV, *nişâbûr*, *frangi*: Iași 129, 335 / Vatopediou 1428, 385.

Kotzakia *Ἰατρικὸν καὶ ἱατρὸς εἶσαι*, Constantinopolitan melody, *echos* plagal IV, *hisar rast*, *frangi*: Iași 129, 335 / Vatopediou 1428, 385.

[*Uşşak*] *semâ'î*, *Ὅποιος θέλει νὰ ζήσει, τὸν κόσμον νὰ χαρή*, as heard in public, *echos* I, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 55 / Vatopediou 1428, 64.

Ὅρίσετε στήν ἐκκλησίαν, From the call of the Laosynaktis in Diplokionion [Beşiktaş] of Constantinople, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ*: Iași 129, 183 / Vatopediou 1428, 187.

Kaskaval peniri caîr peniri From Turkish salesmen, [*echos*] plagal I: Iași 129, 183 / Vatopediou 1428, 187.

Kaskaval peniri dil peniri [*echos*] plagal I: Iași 129, 183 / Vatopediou 1428, 187.

Labana biber turşu from an elderly Turkish salesman, [*echos*] I: Iași 129, 55 / Vatopediou 1428, 64.

Brucuk verelim from a Turkish salesman, [*echos*] I: Iași 129, 55 / Vatopediou 1428, 64.

Excluding the above, in the manuscripts of Petros, Gritsanis 3 and LKP (dossier) 137, and that of Gregorios, LKP (dossier) 58, around 50 folios are found with fragments of secular compositions of which it was impossible to identify the genre. Some of these bear indications of *makam* and *usûl*, but it is impossible to classify them in a particular category. Special mention is made at the end of the chapter “Genres of Secular Music” of a group of fragments located in LKP (dossier) 137. Relevant excerpts from these manuscripts, are given below.

¹⁵³ *Echos* II *Εἰ γγοντζεῖ παγιμελ*, “another Turkish one”, in MS Stathis, *echos* IV *Εἰ γοντζεῖ παγιμελ* in LKP 152/292, 193.

Gritsanis 3

- 1v A few lines of music score with or without verses.
- 2r [*echos I*] *telelele*
- 2v [*echos IV legetos*] without verses or *terella*, [*segâb?*] *berefsan*.
- 7r After the end of the *beirmos*, in different ink, there are some song fragments in Ottoman
- 8v Following this, there is writing in black ink and a different composition.
- 9r Black ink continues. At the top of the page the indication *vlach* (*βλαχ*) is found.
- 9v A piece without heading, title, *echos* or *makam* indications, with *te ti li* syllables.
- 10v A piece without heading, title, *echos* or *makam* indications, without syllables.
- 13v A piece without heading, title, *echos* or *makam* indications, without syllables.
- 19r Following, in different ink, are Ottoman verses, written roughly in Greek script and music with Ottoman verses.
- 19v A fragment of a melody follows in different ink and with incomprehensible verses.
- 31r Music score without indications, martyriai etc. Dark-coloured writing style, continues without syllables *te ti li*¹⁵⁴.
- 54v Three or four lines of music score in black ink with smudges, resembling a draft.
- 70v A heading-less piece. Dark-coloured writing style and sometimes without *terellela*... until 72r.
- 80v The writing style is generally rough, sometimes with *terellela* and sometimes without. *Makam eviç*, *usûl düyek*, followed by black letters over the top of the faded red letters.
- 82r '*Uşşak* one line of music score. It appears to be repeated in 85v from where onwards the piece is continued.
- 85v A fragment of a heading-less piece, appearing to be in *echos varys* diatonic.
- 93v A heading-less piece. Rough writing style and sometimes without *terellela*. Up to 94v
- 119v Rough writing style and sometimes without *terellela*. *eviç*.
- 120r *bicâz*.
- 132v A heading-less piece, probably *peşrev. mülazime*, second, then the first *terkîb* of the *mülazime* then the *orta* begins, *orta hâne*, third, *exirchi* (ἐξήρχει) the *usûl* [?], *mülazime*, son, third.
- 152v *Hüseyinî, mülazime*, second, *son hâne*.
- 153v *Hüseyinî, çayi, orta*, second.
- 161v *Soumeğli. son [hâne], mülazime*, second, *orta*, second, *son [hâne]*.
- 172v *Rakîb, hüseyinî, /////, orta, son hâne, mülazime*, second.
- 174v *Darb-i feht şelnâz*. Followed by two or three lines of music score.
- 177r *Düyek nihavent. Mülazime, orta hâne*.
- 177v *Irak*
- 184r Dark-coloured writing style without *terellela*. *Hicâz*.

¹⁵⁴ It is not clear where the previous piece of Solakzâde finishes, so the beginning of this piece without a heading cannot be determined with certainty.

- 187v Dark-coloured writing style without *terellela*. *Hicâz*. Two or three lines of music score, followed by a blank space. Another four lines on f. 191r.
- 203v A few lines of music score in red ink.
- 204v Dark-coloured writing style, rough, sometimes with *terellela*. *düyek*. Again, then, *çenber*, *mülazime*, again, *mülazime*, *çenber*, second, third, *orta*, second.
- 207v A heading-less piece sometimes with *terellela*. *mülazime*, *sofyan*, the first *terkîb* of the *mülazime*.
- 208v */// aga //// remel Ol gontzifim tzioumpleten*
- 212v *dügâb*, without any other information
- 226v *Havî 'acemi*. Two lines of music score followed by text only Ottoman verses in Karaman writing-style *Ister ister canım ister panım....*
- 227r *Yegâh*.
- 227v *Nihavent*.
- 243v Brown-coloured writing with *terellela*, two heading-less pieces (or the continuation of the preceding piece) *orta bâne*, *son bâne*.
- 249r Scattered sentences, and fragments of music score of Phanariot songs. [καὶ ἡ βίβλος..... δὲν μπορῶ...] ἡ γέλωτα ἐξαγάγοι ///
- 249v Fragments of music score of Phanariot songs. [(ἄκα)τάστατον ροπὴν στήν συχνὴν μετα...], *mülazime*, *orta bâne*, [τρόπους κι ἂν θέλεις].
- 250r Scattered sentences, and fragments of music score of Phanariot songs. [αὐτὸν /// τί κακὸν τὸ ριζικό μου, ἄδικα /// καὶ τὰ νιάτα μου τὰ χάνω] [αὐτὰ τὰ νιάτα ///// ἄδικα θεὸς νὰ πεθάνω ;]

LKP (dossier) 137

- 6r [echos plagal IV] *nitzetir difier*
- 12r *Sâzkâr* music score with no lyrics
- 12v *Nihavent* music score with no lyrics
'Uşşak music score with no lyrics
- 13r *Yâr midi zoulidiraze vidalidil* text only verses followed by the music score at the end of the page neatly written verses in Ottoman
- 14r *Pençgâh* music score with no lyrics
- 14v *Tzouni den den pir çaki* text only verses followed by the music score. Neither *echos* nor *makam* can be discerned.
- 15v *Hicâz* music score with no lyrics
- 16r *Arazbâr* music score with no lyrics
- 16v *Nühüft* music score with no lyrics
- 17r *'Uşşak* music score with no lyrics
- 17v *Çilidir* ///// text only verses followed by music score with other verses *ne din din eî dilitzin*
- 18r *Râbatü'l-ervâh* music score with no lyrics
- 18v *'Uşşak* music score with no lyrics

- 21r *Eviç* music score with no lyrics
Hisâr music score with no lyrics
Nikrîz music score with no lyrics
- 21v *Nikrîz* music score with no lyrics
Hüseynî music score with no lyrics
- 23v *Dügâh* music score with no lyrics
- 26r Untitled music score, probably secular music
- 26v *Zinet verem* ///// *Zêiniden pagi* text only verses followed by the music score
- 30v Untitled music score, probably secular music
 at the end of the page there is a text passage or notes in Ottoman
- 31r Untitled music score, probably secular music
 followed by few lines of music score with verses *Kouzkia* /////
 at the end of the page there is a text passage or notes in Ottoman
- 31v *Aldi pitikir nimli* text only verses followed by the music score
- 32r One line of text passage or notes in Ottoman
 followed by an untitled music score, probably secular music
- 32v *Arazbâr* music score with no lyrics
sâzkâr music score with no lyrics
rast music score with no lyrics
- 33r *Nim dügâh* music score with no lyrics
 From the middle of the page, another music score begins, untitled, without verses except for the last lines
- 33v *Beyâtî* music score with no lyrics
hisâr beyâtî music score with no lyrics
- 34r *P///en geiterdakymîn* [probably *echos* I]
- 34v *Arazbâr* music score with no lyrics
‘Uşsak music score with no lyrics
- 35r *Sâzkâr* music score with no lyrics
 at the bottom of the page three lines with the text *Dili yâri yâri aman*
- 35v *Hüzzâm* music score with no lyrics
- 36r *Hüzzâm* music score with no lyrics
- 36v *Nevâ* music score with no lyrics
- 39r *Arazbâr* music score with no lyrics
rast music score with no lyrics
- 39v *Nühüft* [*echos*] IV music score with no lyrics
eviç [*echos*] *varys* music score with no lyrics
- 40r *Müste’âr* music score with no lyrics
mâbûr music score with no lyrics

LKP (dossier) 58

- 1 Again the same
Another *terkîb* of *ser hâne lelelele*
mûlazime lelelele
- 2 The first time in nana *teslîm* so to take it one more time, one more time and the second time it moves to *evîç* to start the *orta hâne* like this *lelelelelelele*
- 3 The second time it finishes like this because the *son hâne* starts from *irak lelelelele*

19th c.

Manuel Protopsaltes (middle of the 18th c. - 1819)

Ἡ οὐράνιος χορεία, Manuel Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 286 / Vatopediou 1428, 294.

Nikeforos Kantouniaries (1770 - 1820)

Ἀνθρωποι τί ταράξεσθε, τί μάτην κοπιᾶτε, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal II, *şehnâz bîselîk*, *sofyan*: verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries, RAL 784, 41v / Iași 129, 216 / Vatopediou 1428, 221.

Ἄν τὸν ἔρωτα θελήσεις καὶ τολμήσεις ν' ἀρνηθῇς, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV, *beyâtî*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 25r / Iași 129, 125 / Vatopediou 1428, 116.

Ἀτνεῖ ἡ κάθε γλῶσσα, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *makam mâbûr*, *echos* plagal IV *frangikon*: Iași 129, 315,

Ἀφροδίτη μου κυρία, ἰλαρότατη θεά, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal I, *hisar*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 35v / Iași 129, 180 / Vatopediou 1428, 184.

Ἄχ ἀδύνατον ἡ τύχη νὰ μετατραπῇ θαρρῶ, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *nikrîz*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 87r¹⁵⁵ / Iași 129, 324 / Vatopediou 1428, 335.

Ἄχ ἂν ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ ὄρεως ἐκ τῆς ἐκστρατείας, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal I, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries: RAL 784, 143v.

Ἄχ ἀπ' τὴν πλόσκα φέρτε φίλοι νὰ ρουφήξω, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal I, *sabâ*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 35r / Iași 129, 177 / Vatopediou 1428, 181.

Ἄχ ἡ ἄνοιξις ἡ φετεινὴ¹⁵⁶, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys* heptaphonic, *evçârâ*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 43r / Iași 129, 237 / Vatopediou 1428, 245.

Δὲν τὴν πονεῖς τὴ νιότη μου, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, [*echos* IV] *legetos*, *makam segâh*, , *usûl* ὁ 2 ὁ i: Iași 129, 147.

¹⁵⁵ "By Nikeforos Archdeacon to a poem by master *Postelnikos* Mr. Georgios Dragoumanakis Soutsos".

¹⁵⁶ "Another study or melody by Nikeforos".

Βάλτε φίλοι μέσ' τὴν βρύση, τὸ κρασί μας νὰ δροσίσει, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV eptaphonic, *mabûr*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 81r / Iaşi 129, 309 / Vatopediou 1428, 316.

Ἐγὼ πὰ ἀπεφάσισα ἐσένα νὰ λατρεύω, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I from low Ke, [hüseyinî] 'aşîrân, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 96v / Iaşi 129, 15 / Vatopediou 1428, 11.

Εἰς τὸ σφαιρικὸν τῆς γαίας ποιός δὲν μένει στατικός, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV diphonic, *sazkâr*, *sofyan*, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries: Iaşi 129, 345 / Vatopediou 1428, 347.

Εἰς ὑγείαν τῶν ἐρώτων, τὸ ποτήρι μας τὸ πρῶτον, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâb*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 15r / Iaşi 129, 92 / Vatopediou 1428, 147.

Ἐκεῖ μία μέρα ποὺ τραγουδοῦσα, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys* diatonic [tetraphonic], *bestenigâr*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: Iaşi 129, 252 / Vatopediou 1428, 260.

Ἐκλαμπρος φωστήρ μεγάλος, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys*, *acem* 'aşîrân, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 56v / Iaşi 129, 259 / Vatopediou 1428, 267.

Ἐκοπα ὅλως διόλου τὰς ἐλπίδας μου σχεδόν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal I *spathios*, *hisar*, *sofyan*, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries: RAL 784, 36v / Iaşi 129, 181 / Vatopediou 1428, 185.

Ἐρωτα φύγε σὲ λέγω, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*¹⁵⁷, *sofyan*, verses by Dimitrakis Mourouzis: RAL 784, 69v / Iaşi 129, 291 / Vatopediou 1428, 299.

Ἐχεις φῶς μου ὑποψίαν στὸν πιστὸν σου ἐραστὴν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV diphonic, *sazkâr*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 74v / Iaşi 129, 301 / Vatopediou 1428, 311.

Ἡ ἀγάπη στὸν ἀέρα χωρατεύοντας μία μέρα, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal I, *diğâb*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 28v / Iaşi 129, 164 / Vatopediou 1428, 168.

Ἡ Ἀφροδίτη θάλασσα, ἡ γαλανὴ θεά σου, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys* heptaphonic, *evzârâ*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 50v / Iaşi 129, 244 / Vatopediou 1428, 252.

Ἡλιε πέσ' με, πρὸς τί τάχα ἀνατέλλεις, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *nişâbûr*, *sofyan*, verses by Alekos Balasidis¹⁵⁸: RAL 784, 93v / Iaşi 129, 334 / Vatopediou 1428, 346.

Ἡλιε τώρα π' ἀνατέλλης στὸν ἀέρα φλογερά, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I from low Ke, [hüseyinî] 'aşîrân, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 4v / Iaşi 129, 16 / Vatopediou 1428, 12.

*Ἡλιος λαμπρὸς νῦν φαίνει*¹⁵⁹, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys*, *acem* 'aşîrân, *sofyan*: Vatopediou 1428, 349.

¹⁵⁷ 784 give the indication: *frenji rast makam*.

¹⁵⁸ "By his request" or "by someone's request".

Ἦλιος λαμπρὸς μὲ τὰς ἀκτῖνες, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *frengi rast*: RAL 784, 72v / Iași 129, 294.

Ἡ τύχη μὲ ἐνίκησε καὶ πῆρε τὰ βραβεῖα, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV, *beyâtî, sofyan*¹⁶⁰: RAL 784, 110v / Iași 129, 123 / Vatopediou 1428, 114.

Ἦφθασα ψυχὴ μου νάχω τὴν εἰκόνα σου γλυπτὴν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *rast, sofyan*: RAL 784, 65r / Iași 129, 280.

Θαυμαστοὶ κρασοπατέρες, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos varies hepraphonic, evçârâ, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 50r / Iași 129, 243 / Vatopediou 1428, 251.

Καλλονὴ ὥραιότητων, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV *legetos, segâh, sofyan*, verses by Germanos Metropolitan of Old Patras: RAL 784, 16r / Iași 129, 93 / Vatopediou 1428, 148.

Κὶν' ἀηδονάκι μου γιολό, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* II¹⁶¹, *biüzzam, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 17v / Hisar / Vatopediou 1428, 71.

Μὲ ὄχ καὶ πάλιν προσιμιάζω, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I triphonic Ke, *âsirân-bîselîk, sofyan*: RAL 784, 7r / Iași 129, 24 / Vatopediou 1428, 26.

Μὲ ὀρκίσθηκεν ὁ ἔρωτα καὶ συμφώνησε μαζί, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV, *sed-i 'arabân, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 26r / Iași 129, 146 / Vatopediou 1428, 122.

Μετὰ ἀσπλαχνίας ἄκρας καὶ μεγάλης ἀπονιάς, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I pentaphonic, *acem*, verses by Germanos Metropolitan of Old Patras: CAMS P1, 2.

Μετὰ ἀσπλαχνίας ἄκρας καὶ μεγάλης ἀπονιάς, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *mabûr, frengi*, verses by Germanos Metropolitan of Old Patras: Vatopediou 1428, 317.

Μὲ τὰς ζωηρὰς ἀκτῖνας τῶν ὡραίων σου ματιῶν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *nîkrîz, sofyan*: RAL 784, 85v / Iași 129, 323.

Μὴ αἰσθαντικὴ καρδιά¹⁶², Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos varies, evçârâ, sofyan*: Iași 129, 242 / Vatopediou 1428, 249.

Μόλις ἔδειξεν ἡ φύσις ἓνα κάλλος θαυμαστόν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos varies diatonic [tetraphonic], bestenigâr, sofyan*: Iași 129, 250 / Vatopediou 1428, 258.

Οἱ γυναῖκες πάντα λέγουν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV *legetos, segâh, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 17r / Iași 129, 89 / Iași 129, 94 / Vatopediou 1428, 149.

Οἱ χάρες μὲ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπῆγαν νὰ διαλέξουν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I, *acem kürdî, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 9v / Iași 129, 42 / Vatopediou 1428, 43.

¹⁵⁹ "Envyng the two by the *protopsalties*, this one was composed at the same time in Iași by Nikeforos Kantouniaries archdeacon of Antiochia".

¹⁶⁰ 784 gives the indication: *usûl* ὁ 2 ὁ i.

¹⁶¹ RAL 784 gives the indication: *legetos echos*.

¹⁶² "Study or melody by Nikeforos on these verses".

Οἱ χάρες μὲ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπῆγαν νὰ διαλέξουν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*, *sofyan* ô i, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: Vatopediou 1428, 144.

*Ὅποιος ὁμορφιά κοιτάζει, ὅποιος κάλλη προσκυνῇ*¹⁶³, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys*, *evçârâ*, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 236 / Vatopediou 1428, 244.

Ὅταν καθήσω ἐκεῖ ὅπισω, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys* diatonic [tetraphonic], *bestenigâr*, *sofyan*, verses by Giakovakis Rizos: Iași 129, 251 / Vatopediou 1428, 259.

Ὅταν πίνω τὸ κρασάκι σὸ χρυσό μου ποτηράκι, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys*, *acem* *‘aşirân*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 55v / Iași 129, 258 / Vatopediou 1428, 266.

Πλανήτρα φήμη φθονερή, φιδόγλωσση φαρμακερή, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal II, *hicâz*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 38v / Iași 129, 209 / Vatopediou 1428, 210.

Ποῖα κάλλη νὰ παινέσουμε, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal II, *şehnâz bûselîk*, *sofyan*: Iași 129, 215 / Vatopediou 1428, 220.

Ροκάνια τζερετζηρίσατε, βροντίσατε σκεπάρνια, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *frençî*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: Iași 129, 290 / Vatopediou 1428, 298. Followed by the nagmes Yiouroukiko.

Σὲ ἀγαπῶ καὶ σέβομαι τὸ ὑποκείμενό σου, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys*, *evçârâ*, *ağîr*: Iași 129, 262 / Vatopediou 1428, 269. Followed by a nagme with Arabic verses *Ġimalak fi merğe*.

Σειρήν ἀγάπη μου ἐσύ, ὥς πότε πλέον σὸ νησί, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 18v / Iași 129, 103 / Vatopediou 1428, 151.

Στενάξετε τριαντάφυλλα, στενάξετε μυρσῖνες, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* III, *çârgâh*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 14r / Iași 129, 72 / Vatopediou 1428, 88.

Στὸ ἄνθος τῆς νεότητος βλέπω νὰ τριγυρίζει, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV tetraphonic soft chromatic, *suzinâk*, verses by Nikolakis son of Souloutziaris Eliaskos: RAL 784, 91v / Iași 129, 332 / Vatopediou 1428, 344. Followed (in the three MSS) by its Nakarat yiouroukikon *Ὁρμᾶ πληγώνει ζωὴν, σηκώνει ἀδιακρίτως*.

Ταμπούρι μου ἀρμονικῶς, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* II¹⁶⁴, *hüzzam*, *sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 19r / Iași 129, 105 / Vatopediou 1428, 72.

Τί πάθη ἀπειράριθμα, λύπαις καὶ δυστυχίαις, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal II, *şehnâz bûselîk*, *sofyan*, verses by Theodorakis Negrîs: RAL 784, 146v / Iași 129, 217 / Vatopediou 1428, 222.

Τί περιφορὰ ἀθλία, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV diphonic, *sazkâr*, *sofyan*: RAL 784, 77r / Iași 129, 302 / Vatopediou 1428, 312.

¹⁶³ “Study or melody by Nikeforos on these verses”.

¹⁶⁴ RAL 784 gives the indication: *legetos echos*.

*Τί τοῦ κακοῦ κοπάξεις*¹⁶⁵, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *rast, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 71v / Vatopediou 1428, 301.

*Τί τοῦ κακοῦ κοπάξεις*¹⁶⁶, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I, *sabá, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 31v / Iași 129, 176 / Iași 129, 293 / Vatopediou 1428, 180.

Τὸν καθένα μας ὁ ἔρωξ νὰ γέλαση ἡμπορεῖ, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* IV, *beyâtî, sofyan*, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries: RAL 784, 24r / Iași 129, 124 / Vatopediou 1428, 115.

Τύχη εὐσπλαγχνίσου, δῶς μοι μία γλυκιὰν ζωήν, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *nikríz, sofyan*: RAL 784, 88v / Iași 129, 325 / Vatopediou 1428, 336.

Τύχη μου ἀθλία μὲ ταύτην σου τὴν κακία, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV di-phonic, *sazkâr, sofyan*, verses by Dimitrakis Mourouzis: RAL 784, 78v / Iași 129, 303 / Vatopediou 1428, 313.

Υποστρόγγυλος ὑπάρχω, ὑπομέλανος εἰμί, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *rast, sofyan*, verses by Antonios Photinos: Vatopediou 1428, 288.

Φίλε Στέφανε νὰ ζήσεις, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys, acem 'aşirân, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 57v / Iași 129, 260 / Vatopediou 1428, 268.

Φωτεινότητος κομήτης καὶ λαμπρότατος πλανήτης, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* *varys, acem 'aşirân, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 54v / Iași 129, 257 / Vatopediou 1428, 265.

Ψυχή μ' ἀγάπη μου γλυκί, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* III, *çârgâh, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: Iași 129, 68 / Vatopediou 1428, 84.

ῶχ ζωή μου, τί ζωή μου, τί στενάζω θλιβερά, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* III, *çârgâh, sofyan*, verses by Athanasios Christopoulos: RAL 784, 13r / Iași 129, 71 / Vatopediou 1428, 87.

ῶ σελήνη λαμπροτάτη, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *rast, sofyan*, verses by Germanos Metropolitan of Old Patras: RAL 784, 64r / CAMS P1, 14 / Iași 129, 287 / Vatopediou 1428, 287.

ῶ τύχη τί ἐπιθυμεῖς, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal I, *sabá, sofyan*: Iași 129, 174 / Vatopediou 1428, 179.

ῶχ ἀθλία πάντα τύχη, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal I heptaphonic, [*büseyñî*] *'aşirân, sofyan* ὁ i: RAL 784, 134r.

Rast şarkı Skληρά μου τύχη ἔλεος, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries: RAL 784, 70v / Iași 129, 292 / Vatopediou 1428, 300.

Tanadir nenena Yâr aman ab gel yârim ab cenanım Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I, *büseyñî, sofyan*: RAL 784, 135v / Iași 129, 8 / Vatopediou 1428, 9. Followed on f. 37r of 784 by the Arabic *Yâ tabira*.

¹⁶⁵ Same verse as Vatopediou 1428, 180.

¹⁶⁶ In RAL 784 this piece is followed by *beyti* 2nd, 3rd & 4th in *echos* IV soft chromatic and Turkish verses (*Symedetournamin*).

Gregorios Protopsaltes (1778 - 1821)

Ἄλλως ἂν ἀργοπόρησεν ἡ δύσις νὰ μᾶς δείξει, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I *spathios*, [*hisar bûselîk*]: Stathis, 2r.

Ἀνοδος λαμπροῦ φωστῆρος, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *çifte diïyek*, verses by Nicolaos Logadis: Stathis, 15r / Gennadius 231, 1r / NLG 2424, 114r / LKP 152/292, 27 & 28.

Ἄν σὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* IV *legetos* with *zygos*¹⁶⁷, [*mûstie'âr*], Γ/χ: Stathis, 3v / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 39.

Ἀρματώθηκεν ὁ ἔρωρ, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I *phthorikos*, *gümüsiü gerdan*, *diïyek*: LKP (dossier) 76, 3 / Stathis, 5v / Gennadius 231, 49v / LKP 152/292, 52.

Βλέπω ναι πῶς ἀμφιβάλεις, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal II, *zirguleli bicâz*, *çifte diïyek*: Stathis, 9v / Gennadius 231, 51r / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 6 & 7¹⁶⁸ / LKP (dossier) 89, 11.

Γενικῶς ἡ φύσις δίδει, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I *phthorikos*: Stathis, 6r.

Δεῦτε Ἑλλήνες γενναῖοι, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal II, *bicâz*, *sofyan* & *yürük semâ'î*: Stathis, 11r / Gennadius 231, 29v / LKP 152/292, 198 / LKP (dossier) 89, 9.

Δεύτερον /// εὐθὺς ἄλλο, πρόσσωπον ὅσο μεγάλο, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV chromatic, *nikrîz*, *sofyan*: LKP (dossier) 89, 3.

Ἐλευθερίαν ζητῶ νὰ λάβω, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* *varys* tetraphonic, *bestenigâr*, *çifte diïyek*: Stathis, 13r / LKP 152/292, 12 & 13¹⁶⁹ / LKP (dossier) 89, 6.

Ἐλπίζα καὶ πάλι ἐλπίζω, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I *spathios*, *hisar bûselîk*, *çifte diïyek*: Stathis, 2v / Gennadius 231, 25r / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 1 / LKP (dossier) 89, 14.

Ἐνας εὐμορφος πλανήτης, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV diphonic, *sazkâr*, *sofyan*¹⁷⁰, verses by Nikolaos Logadis: RAL 784, 75v / Iaşi 129, 300 / Vatopediou 1428, 310 / Stathis, 14v / Gennadius 231, 8r / LKP 152/292, 23 / LKP (dossier) 89, 12.

Ἐχεις φῶς μου κάλλος νούρι¹⁷¹, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâb*, *çifte diïyek*: CAMS P2, 29 / Stathis, 3r / Gennadius 231, 26v / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 37 / LKP (dossier) 89, 16 / LKP (dossier) 117, 15.

Ἡλιος λαμπρὸς νῦν φαίνει, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* I¹⁷², *arabân beyâtî*, *diïyek*, verses by Govdelas the Philosopher: Vatopediou 1428, 349 / LKP 152/292, 30.

Ἡλιος λαμπρὸς νῦν φαίνει¹⁷³, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* IV, *nûbhîft*, *sofyan*, verses by Govdelas the Philosopher: Vatopediou 1428, 349 / LKP 152/292, 29.

¹⁶⁷ In the manuscript it is given as “*echos* II diatonic *legetos*”.

¹⁶⁸ The song appears three times in succession.

¹⁶⁹ The song appears twice.

¹⁷⁰ LKP (dossier) 89, 12 give the indication: “*çifte diïyek*”.

¹⁷¹ In LKP (dossier) 117, 15 the incipit is “Ἐχεις κάλλος νούρι φῶς μου”.

¹⁷² The manuscript has [*echos*] plagal I.

*Ἡ ὁμήγυρης ἀζία*¹⁷⁴, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I pentaphonic, *acem kürdî, tek diyek*: Stathis, 8r / Gennadius 231, 27v / LKP 152/292, 58 / LKP (dossier) 89, 2.

Ἡ τῆς τύχης ζένη φύσις, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos varys* heptaphonic, *Evçârâ, sofyân*, verses by Alexandros Sophianos: RAL 784, 48v / Iaşi 129, 241 / Vatopediou 1428, 250.

Κάλος ἂν ἀργοπόρησεν ἡ φύσις νὰ μᾶς δείξει, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I [spathios], [*hisar bûselîk*], /// *semâ'î*: Gennadius 231, 51v / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 54.

Μὲ τὰς ζωηρὰς ἀκτῖνας, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* IV, *nûbüft, sofyân*: Stathis, 5r / Gennadius 231, 50r / Dochiariou 322, 93r / LKP 152/292, 48 & 312 / Xenophonots 146, 40v / LKP (dossier) 89, 1.

Μόνον εἶσαι ποὺ κατ' ἔτος, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I *phthorikos*¹⁷⁵, *beyâtî arabân, çifte diyek*: LKP (dossier) 76, 3 / Gennadius 231, 29r / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 51.

Οἱ χαρακτηρὲς τῆς εὐγενείας, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos varys* heptaphonic diatonic, *râbatü'l-ervâh, sofyân*: Stathis, 10r / Gennadius 231, 18v / LKP 152/292, 9 & 10¹⁷⁶ / LKP (dossier) 89, 4.

Ὅλος ὁ κόσμος μὲ χαράν, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos varys* heptaphonic chromatic, *evîç, sofyân*: Gennadius 231, 2r / LKP 152/292, 56.

Πάλιν Αὐγουστος θεσπίζει, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I, *uifkut arap, sofyân*, verses by Gregorios Protopsaltes: Stathis, 8v / Gennadius 231, 16v / LKP 152/292, 25 / LKP (dossier) 89, 7.

Πάλιν κυκεὼν μεγάλος, πάλιν σύγχυσις πολλή, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* I: *diyek*, LKP 152/292, 3.

Πανδαμάτωρ εἶν' ὁ ἔρωç, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* IV legetos with *zygos, müste'âr, çifte diyek*: Stathis, 3v / Gennadius 231, 28r / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 40.

Πιὰ ἰνσάφι κάνε δέφι, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I, *sirf bûselik, sofyân*: LKP (dossier) 76, 2 / Stathis, 7v / Gennadius 231, 21r / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 50.

Προσώπον κάλλος μαγνίτης ἄλλος, Gregorios Protopsaltes¹⁷⁷, *echos varys* heptaphonic, *evîç, sofyân*¹⁷⁸: LKP 19/173, 159v / CAMS P2, 42 / Stathis, 14r / LKP 152/292, 18 & 19¹⁷⁹.

Σήμερα //// τὸ τεῖχος, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV¹⁸⁰, *rast, çifte diyek*: LKP (dossier) 93, 1r.

¹⁷³ Vatopediou 1428, 349 has the same song in another *echos* as well.

¹⁷⁴ LKP (dossier) 89, 2 has the note “joyous”.

¹⁷⁵ *Echos* plagal II is given in Gennadius 231.

¹⁷⁶ The song appears twice.

¹⁷⁷ In LKP 152/292, 14 and only there, it is indirectly attributed to Gregorios with the note “by the same [composer]”. In other manuscripts it is either annotated as “unspecified”, or listed anonymously.

¹⁷⁸ According to LKP 152/292, 19.

¹⁷⁹ The same song appears twice.

¹⁸⁰ LKP 170, 24 bears the note: “it was composed [...] in the following two *makams*. The first goes until the third part and the second until the end.”.

Συλλογή πολλῶν χαρίτων, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos varies heptaphonic chromatic, ευχάρά, sofyan*¹⁸¹, verses by Georgios Soutsos: LKP (dossier) 76, 1 / Stathis, 12v / Gennadius 231, 22v / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 34 / LKP (dossier) 89, 15.

Τὰς σειρήνων μελωδίας, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos varies heptaphonic chromatic, ευχάρά, tek diiyek*: LKP (dossier) 76, 1 / Stathis, 12r / Gennadius 231, 24r / Dochiariou 322 / LKP 152/292, 36 / LKP (dossier) 89, 13.

Τῶν χαρίτων σου τὸ πλῆθος, Gregorios Protopsaltes¹⁸², *echos IV legetos, müste'âr, sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 16.

Ὁ ματαιότης, ὃ ριζικὸν δικόν μου, Gregorios Protopsaltes¹⁸³, *echos plagal IV, rast, frengi*, verses by Selim III: Iaşi 129, 346 / Vatopediou 1428, 348 / Stathis, 16v / Gennadius 231, 57r / LKP 152/292, 14 & 15¹⁸⁴.

Athanasios Dimitriadis (middle of the 18th c. - 1827)

Μεγάλα εἶν' ἀληθινά, τῆς τύχης ὅλα τὰ δεινά, Athanasios Dimitriadis, *echos IV legetos, segâh, sofyan*: LKP 19/173, 55r / CAMS P2, 19 / Iaşi 129, 90 / Vatopediou 1428, 145.

Ismail Dede Efendi (Hammâmîzâde) (1778 - 1846)

‘Uşşak şarkı mebin ceynle balım diyer gün bey ledirvalb Ismail Dede Efendi, *echos I, sofyan*: RAL 784, 137v / Iaşi 129, 29 / Vatopediou 1428, 38¹⁸⁵.

Rast şarkı bu husule Ismail Dede Efendi, *echos plagal IV, sofyan*, verses by Ismail Dede Efendi: RAL 784, 158r / Iaşi 129, 288 / Vatopediou 1428, 296.

Rast şarkı Τύχη σκληρά, Ismail Dede Efendi, *echos plagal IV, sofyan*, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniars: RAL 784, 159r¹⁸⁶.

[Hicâz şarkı] men bilmezdim bana oldu [Ben bilmedim bana n'oldu] [Dede Efendi]¹⁸⁷, *echos plagal II Pa, [Ağır Diyyek]*: Gennadius 231, 20r.

Beyâtî arabân [köcekce] semâ'î İki de turna gelir [İki de turnam gelir allı kareli] [Ismail Dede Efendi]¹⁸⁸, *echos IV, sofyan*: RAL 784, 27r / Vatopediou 1428, 120.

¹⁸¹ LKP (dossier) 89, 13 has *tek diiyek*.

¹⁸² In LKP 152/292, 14 it is indirectly attributed to Gregorios with the note “by the same [composer]”.

¹⁸³ In LKP 152/292, 14, and only there, it is indirectly attributed to Gregorios with the note “by the same [composer]”. In other manuscripts it is either annotated as “Unspecified”, or listed anonymously.

¹⁸⁴ The same song appears twice.

¹⁸⁵ In codices Iaşi 129 and Vatopediou 1428 the following note is found: “amongst all *şarkis*, this is the most famous”.

¹⁸⁶ The verses of the song are also given in text only in Vatopediou 297.

¹⁸⁷ Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 1306.

¹⁸⁸ Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 6628 where the genre is Köcekce, Karcıgar makam and *usûl oynak*. It is possible that this is a mistake of Nikeforos's. Moreover, he seems to not know the composer since he presents it as “of the gypsies” [“ἐκ τσιγγανέδων”] in RAL 784 and [“ἐξ ἄθιγγάνων”] in Vatopediou 1428. At the end of the notated part in Vatopediou 1428 he gives Greek verses as well to this song: “Ενα //// ἔλα, ἔλα νὰ σὲ πῶ”.

Arabân *beyâtî semâ'î soyle güzel rohtî* Ismail Dede Efendi, *echos* IV, *sofyan*, verses by Ismail Dede Efendi: RAL 784, 142r / Iaşi 129, 126 / Vatopediou 1428, 117¹⁸⁹.

Ioannis Konidaris

Δεῦτε Ἑλληνες γενναῖοι, δράμετε προθύμως νέοι, Ioannis Konidaris, *echos* plagal IV triphonic: Stathis, 18r.

Τί καρτερεῖτε φίλοι καὶ ἀδελφοί, Ioannis Konidaris, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 18v.

[Ὺ] τέκνα Ἑλλήνων¹⁹⁰, Ioannis Konidaris, *echos* plagal II: Stathis, 11v.

Spyridon Laphaphanas

Λιβαδάκι στολισμένο ἀπὸ ἀνθη τρυφερά, Spyridon Laphaphansa, *echos* plagal I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 80.

Panagiotis Pelopidis

Ἄν σὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου, Panagiotis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV *legetos*, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 94.

Ἦλθε ἡ ὥρα νὰ μισήσω, Panagiotis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV *triphonic*, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 87.

Μὲ τὸν ἀέρα τῆς αὐγῆς θά 'ρθω νὰ σὲ ζυπνήσω, Panagiotis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 90.

Νύσταξαν τὰ ματάκια μου, Panagiotis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 94.

Τὸ φιλέρημον τρυγόνι δὲν ὁμοιάζει μὲ τ' ἀηδόني, Panagiotis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, [*rast*], γ/χ: Stathis, 15v / Gennadius 231, 9r / LKP 152/292, 84.

Ὺ ἔρωτα ἐπίβουλε, Panagiotis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, [*rast*], γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 85.

Ὼς τώρα ἦτον χωρατάς, Panagiotis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal I, [*uṣsak*], Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 96.

Ioannis Pelopidis

Αἰσθάνομαι δριμύτητα, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 97.

Ἀνδρειωμένοι Κρηῖται, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 313.

Γιατί αἴτιον κυρά μου θέλεις νὰ μὲ τυραννῆς, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 105.

Γραικοί, Γραικοί, Γραικοί, στ' ἄρματα Γραικοί, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 276.

Δεῦτε παῖδες, δεῦτε τέκνα, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* IV *legetos*, Ιγ/χ: LKP 152/292, 314.

Δώδεκα χρονῶν κοράσι, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* IV *legetos*, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 113.

Εἶπε τὸ πλεόν φανερά, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 275.

¹⁸⁹ At the end of the notated song he gives the Greek verses as well: Ἀχ ἂν ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐκ τῆς ἐκστρατείας.

¹⁹⁰ Heroic (“Ἡρωϊκόν”).

- Εἰρήνη ἀγάπη μου*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 319.
- Ἐλθέ ὁ Μιλτιάδης*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 256 & 257¹⁹¹.
- Ἑλλὰς πατρίδα μας θαυμαστή*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* IV triphonic, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 223.
- Ἑλληνες Γραικοὶ ἔγερθητε*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* III: LKP 152/292, 235.
- Ἑλληνες συμπατριῶται*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* IV triphonic, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 239.
- Ἑλλήνων παῖδες*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 265.
- Ἐλπίδες τῆς καρδιάς μου*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* IV *legetos*, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 98.
- Ἐορτάσωμεν πιστοὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν λαμπράν*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* I, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 272.
- Ἐπάνω στὴν τριανταφυλλιά*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 286.
- Εὐμορφώτατο εἰδωλόν μου*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 107.
- Ἐφάνη τέλος πάντων*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 270 & 271¹⁹².
- Ἐγὼ τώρα γλυκωσίνας τοῦ κορμιοῦ σου*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 102.
- Ζήτω Ἑλλάς*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, Ιγ/χ: LKP 152/292, 279.
- Ἡ δόξα, το κράτος ἀγρίων τυράννων*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 264.
- Κελαηδήσετε πουλάκια τραγούδια τὰ δικά μου*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 101.
- Μία εὐμορφη κοπέλα*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 100.
- Παιδιά τοῦ Ἡρακλέους*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* IV, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 274.
- Πάτερ Ζεῦ, θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 226.
- Πουλάκι ξένον ξενιτευμένον*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* IV triphonic with *zygos*, [verses by Ioannis Vilaras]: LKP 152/292, 108.
- Στὸν τάφον μὴ σιμώσεις*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 324.
- Τάχα ξέρεις πὼς πεθαίνω*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 99.
- Τὴν εἶδα τὴν ξανθούλα*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: verses by Dionysios Solomos, LKP 152/292, 103.
- Υἱὲ Θεοῦ ζωοδότα*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 244.
- Φίλτατοι συμπατριῶται*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal II, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 245.
- Ὡ γενναῖοι Ἕλληνες*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 262.
- Ὡ ἔρωτα ἐπίβουλε γιατί μὲ βασανίζεις*, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* IV heptaphonic with *zygos*: LKP 152/292, 104.

¹⁹¹ The same song appears twice.

¹⁹² The song appears twice. The second time in rhythm γ/χ.

Ὡ ἥρωα Νικήταρᾶ, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* I: LKP 152/292, 260.

Ὡ παιδιά μου, ὀρφανά μου, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal I: LKP 152/292, 281¹⁹³.

Ὡ φρίκη, ὦ μεταβολή, Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 251¹⁹⁴.

A voce armonica Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 327.

Aneta la pioumpa Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 321.

Venti katatrema Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* III, ΓΓ/χ: LKP 152/292, 318.

Mi vivo speranza Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 321.

Non d' accostare Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 322.

Sarà l'alma teloutiskarn Ioannis Pelopidis, ΓΓ/χ: LKP 152/292, 318.

Tu ingrato giubilo Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV triphonic, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 315.

Tita di palpiti Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal IV, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 326.

[*Organiko*, "of the dance"] *Tararerare* Ioannis Pelopidis, *echos* plagal I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 106.

Ali Ağa [Past Tzaous Ali Aganin]

Rast Şarkı *Eimeh cepinim* Ali Ağa, *echos* plagal IV, *düyek*: LKP 152/292, 133.

Rast Şarkı *Ostu göynü* Ali Ağa, *echos* plagal IV, *düyek*: LKP 152/292, 129.

Rast Şarkı *Cemalin'ten tzouda olmak panim* Ali Ağa, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 131.

Unspecified Composer

Vocal compositions

Απορή νὰ ποὺ βελή, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I, χ: LKP 152/292, 20.

Ἄχ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος εἶναι σκοτεινός, [unspecified composer], *echos* I, ιγ/χ: LKP (dossier) 73, 13.

Ἐβουλήθησαν οἱ Γάλλοι, τῶν Ρώσων ἐχθροὶ μεγάλοι, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV phthorikos: Stathis, 18r.

Ἐλθὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης μὲ δυνάμεις πολλὰς, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV phthorikos: Stathis, 17r.

Ἐφιλοτιμήθη φύσις, [unspecified composer], *echos* II: LKP (dossier) 73, 6.

Ζεῦ θεὲ θεῶν τε καὶ θνητῶν ὁμοῦ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 303.

Ζῶσι πάλιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *semâʿ*: LKP 152/292, 301.

Ἡ φύσις ἄρχισε νὰ χλωμάζη, [unspecified composer], *echos* II: LKP (dossier) 73, 9.

¹⁹³ The same song appears four times.

¹⁹⁴ The song appears twice. The second time with rhythm Γ/χ.

Ἰταλίται (sic) και Φραντζέζοι, Σάξωνες και Ὀλανδέζοι, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 82.

Λαμπρά Ἑλλάς, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *çifte düyek*: LKP 152/292, 309.

Μὲ πόνον κλαύσατε ὦ λυπημένοι, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV triphonic, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 22.

Μῦθος κατεστάθη πλέον, [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* heptaphonic [diatonic]: LKP (dossier) 73, 2.

Ξένος ἤμουν κι ἦρθα τώρα, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 286.

Ξύπνησε μὴν κοιμᾶσαι χρυσό μου καναρίνι, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, ιγ/χ: LKP (dossier) 73, 5.

Ὅθεν εἶσθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *semâʿî*: LKP 152/292, 304.

Ὅθεν εἶσθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 305.

Ὅθεν και παραμερίζει, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, Γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 66.

Πάθη τυραννίης και καταδρομές, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV: LKP (dossier) 73, 11.

Παντελῶς ὦ σκληρὰ τύχη φθονερά, [unspecified composer], *echos* II: LKP (dossier) 73, 9.

Πόθεν νὰ ἀρχινήσω, ὦ φῶς μου νὰ θρηνήσω, [unspecified composer], *echos* II: LKP (dossier) 73, 10.

Ρῖπον φῶς μου βλέμμα ἰλαρό, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I, *nihavent*: LKP (dossier) 73, 11.

Τὰ βάθη τῆς καρδίτζας μου, [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* [diatonic], γ/χ: LKP (dossier) 73, 8.

Τὴν ὥραίαν σου εἰκόνα ὅταν εἶδον παρευθός, [unspecified composer], *echos* [plagal IV tetraphonic soft chromatic], *suzinâk*: LKP (dossier) 73, 1.

Φεγγάρι φῶς ποὺ φέγγεις λαμπερόν, [unspecified composer], *echos* IV, γγ/χ: LKP (dossier) 73, 3.

Ὡ παιδιὰ μου ὀρφανὰ, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I, *semâʿî*: LKP 152/292, 302.

Ὡ τερπνὰ φίλτατα δάση, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, χ: LKP 152/292, 20

Non-Greek

[*Rast*] *beste*¹⁹⁵ *Arzit metigim*, *echos* plagal IV, *firengî ferʿ*: Iași 129, 281 / Vatopediou 1428, 289.

[*Rast*] *beste*¹⁹⁶ *Zalevez bir*, *echos* plagal IV, *haffî*: Iași 129, 282 / Vatopediou 1428, 289.

¹⁹⁵ “Most beautiful *beste*, transcribed by Nikeforos”.

¹⁹⁶ “Most beautiful *beste*, transcribed by Nikeforos”.

[*Rast* - 'uŝŝak] *ağır semâ'î nazi, Cekmiş güzne kampisve*, *echos* plagal IV - I: Iaşi 129, 283 / Vatopediou 1428, 290.

[*Rast*] *yürük semâ'î Gel souchimazli*, *echos* plagal IV: Iaşi 129, 284 / Vatopediou 1428, 291.

Irak şarkı Pousiounkipie [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* diatonic, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 157.

[*Mabûr*] *şarkı İci seraski canıma* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, γ/χ : LKP (dossier) 73, 4.

[*Mabûr*] *semâ'î Ah pouendaipanrivis ep güzeli* [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV heptaphonic]: LKP 152/292, 21.

[*Rast şarkı*] *Cemalin denciüda olmak* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 191.

[*Hicâz*] *Ah, ben bilmedim* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 175.

[*Rast*] *Düstügöy nuba* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 185.

Hey gonce [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 141.

Hey tabtili camir aman [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* diatonic, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 149.

[*M*] *antousaintir* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 137.

Meclise gel [unspecified composer]: LKP 152/292, 195.

Bir bibeden [unspecified composer], *echos* I, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 134.

Pontilpin pempiyen [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I: LKP 152/292, 138.

Bir iglis [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 289.

Rast Eymeh cepiğim [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV Nη, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 196.

Rast cananedine bir tanesi [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 139.

Ai ma canım [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 295.

Aman canayonum [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 297.

Igontzempagivefa [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* diatonic, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 296.

IV Composers

While a large part of the surviving repertoire is given with the composer's name in the sources, many works were attributed to their composers during the research and writing of this book, following a specific methodology. For many pieces, however, the composers remain unidentified – a small number of which are given with national names in the sources. The attribution of works to known composers as well as the labelling of works with names of ethnic origin warranted a further synoptic examination.¹ Firstly, it led to the construction of a catalogue of known composers of secular music. This wealth of information around the known composers, whose works are found in ecclesiastical music manuscripts, is important in itself. Of equal significance is the clarification of national names pertaining to the pieces (such as *persikon*, *atzemikon*, *indikón*), as well as their use to indicate the origin of specific compositions. Moreover, the study of the catalogue of composers and the dates in which they were active, even if approximate, contributes to the evaluation of the sources and the drawing of conclusions on the repertoire, the music theory and their social context.

Method of Presentation of Biographical Notes

For reasons of practicality, the criterion used for the classification by century in strict chronological order was the date of birth of each composer. Some composers lived over the turn of a century, for example late 17th to early 18th century. In these cases, the composers are placed within the century they were most active. The biographical notes are brief and aim to outline the personality and the work of each composer, focusing as much as possible on the aspects concerning the topic of this book. For the composers for which a plethora of available biographical references are available, either the most significant or the most relevant information is presented. For others, only the existing information is given.

In general, the most common or the most correct spelling of names is used here. In addition, the rest of the information, such as the titles or the offices held, accompanying the composer's name and the instrument played by the composer, is given.² For example, in Leimonos 259 the composer "*Apoulkater*", who is none other than Abd Al-Qadir Al-Maraghi', is found in Turkish literature

¹ The brief biographical presentation of composers and the study of national names of compositions is a familiar methodological tool found in similar chapters of other doctoral dissertations written under the supervision of professor G. T. Stathis. See for example the theses of G. G. Anastasiou (2005), Karagounis (2003), Chaldaïakis (2003).

² For more information, see also the beginning of the chapter "Catalogue of Secular Compositions" where the methodology of identifying composers from incomplete versions of their names is explained.

under the names “Abdülkaadir Merâgî” or “Abdülkadir Marâghî”. The different spellings are due to the different pronunciation of the name in different languages, since the work and activity of this particular composer covered a very broad geographical region.

At the end of the catalogue, eighteen composers are included. Although the names of these composers are referenced explicitly in the sources, it was not possible to find relevant biographical information or other references for them.

The known composers presented here, seventy-three in number, all fall into the category of composers of art music of Constantinople, except Georgios Therianos, for whom it was not possible to find more information. The known composers are of diverse ethnic origins, including: Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Persian and Jewish. This is shown in the following table:

	15th c.	16th c.	17th c.	18th c.	19th c.	Unspecified century of activity	Total
Greeks	0	3	2	9	6	9	29
Persians	1	3	1	0	0	0	5
Turks	0	0	9	5	1	9	24
Jews	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Arabs	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Others	0	2	3	3	0	3	11
	1	10	15	19	7	21	73

Secular Music Composers in the Manuscript Sources

15th Century

Abdülkadir Marâghî (1353 - 1453)

A notable musical personality of the Islamic world in the late 14th to early 15th century was Abdülkadir Marâgî³, who was of Azerbaijani descent. His posthumous fame surpassed the boundaries of his historical role as a leading composer, theoretician and performer, presenting him as a mythical figure comparable to Pythagoras and Orpheus. His compositions, together with those of Ghulâm Şâdi, great musician of Herât, dominated the repertoires of both the cities of Constantinople and Herât. To this day, both Persians and Turks consider him a

³ Aksüt 1993:15-22; Bardakçı 1986; Feldman 1996; Gürlertük, Ayhan, *Abdülkâdir Merâgî, Türk Musikisi Dönemleri ve Bestekârları* (diploma dissertation in the library of TMC) 2000 [library catalogue index 707.TSB]; Yılmaz Öztuna, *Abdülkaadir Merâgî*, Kültür Bakanlığı, İstanbul 1988; Öztuna 1990, I, 17-19, where a catalogue of works can be found as well. Yağız, Nazire, *Abdülkâdir Merâgî*, (diploma dissertation in the library of TMC) 1992 [library catalogue index 248.TSB]; Yıldızbaşıoğlu, Filiz, *Abdülkâdir Merâgî'nin Segâh kâr'ının incelenmesi*, (diploma dissertation in the library of TMC) 2005 [library catalogue index 1305.TSB]; Wright 1994:475-515, 1995:17-39).

“wellspring” of music as well as a “national” composer. Both Cantemir and Fonton consider him the definitive founder of Ottoman music, reflecting the oral tradition of the musics of their times. However, the authorship of many of the twenty-nine compositions attributed to him is disputed.⁴

16th Century

Behrâm Ağa [Nefiri] (- 1560?)

Behrâm Ağa⁵ got the surname Nefiri from the *nefir*, a trumpet-like instrument he played. He is considered the leading composer of the 16th century. In 1542 he was a member of the military orchestra (*mehter*) of Prince Mehmet, son of Süleyman, his reward being 5 *akçes* a day. Some of his works are known from the music collections of Bobowski (69-1) and Cantemir, which preserve the influences exerted by Persian musicians upon the music scene of Constantinople of that time.

Hasan Can Çelebi (1490 - 1567)

Hasan Can Çelebi⁶ came from a large family of musicians, an analytical presentation of which is found in the TMA of Öztuna, based on the manuscript sources of the Ottoman court. He was extensively occupied with music in various roles: *muezzin*, cantor, singer (*bânende*), instrumentalist and composer. He was among the musicians, belonging to the circle of *ulema*, who played a leading role in the music scene of Constantinople. In 1514 he moved from Tabriz to Constantinople with his father Selim I, a fact that shows the intense Persian influence on the art music of Constantinople up to the late 17th century. He was the head of the court orchestra of Süleyman “the Lawgiver”⁷. He also worked as a teacher in the music school of the court and many musicians of his time were students of his. He spent the last period of his life in Constantinople and mainly in Bursa, where he died.

⁴ See the relevant article by Cem Behar “Real and imaginary composers in the tradition of Ottoman Turkish Music” in LP *BOSPHORUS, Echos from the Labyrinth*, pp. 37-44, Athens 2000. This book contributes to that topic with the presentation of at least one composition from the manuscript Limonos 259 dating from the 16th century, very close to the time Marâghî lived. The scribe of the original transcription, Gerasimos Hieromonk from the monastery of Xanthopoulon of Constantinople, lived in the first half of the 15th century, that is, he was a contemporary of Marâghî, a fact which maximises the reliability and value of the transcription. The other two works referenced in the catalogue of works are from manuscripts of the 18th and 19th century respectively, and they likely reflect the unreliability of oral tradition, therefore they are listed here with reservation.

⁵ Öztuna 1990, I, 151; 1969:142.

⁶ Feldman 1996; Öztuna 1990, I, 332-333, 1969:145-146; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1971, vol. 19, p. 11.

⁷ Ottoman sources refer to Süleyman as *Kaanîni*, that is “the lawgiver”, and not “the magnificent”, as he is known in the Western world.

Mehmet Ağa [Kul] (- 1580?)

The available information on Mehmet Ağa is poor⁸. He was one of the children taken forcibly during the *devşirme* and found himself in Constantinople as a slave. He was placed in the orchestra of the Janissaries where he developed his musical talent. Three of his *peşrevs* survive in Cantemir's collection, and several fragments survive in the collections of Ali Ufkî and of Kevserî.

Georgios Therianos (16th c.)

His surname is one of the oldest in Zakynthos, first found in the late 15th century⁹. He possibly came from the same family as the very musical Nikolaos (1713), Konstantinos (1777) and Eustathios (d. 1881).

Theophanis Karykis Patriarch (middle of the 16th c. - 1597)

An interesting personality in the musical and ecclesiastical matters of the 16th century, he served as *Protopsaltes* of the Great Church of Christ (1577-1578), Metropolitan of Philippoupolis (Plovdiv) (1591-1594), Metropolitan of Athens (1594-1595) and Patriarch of Constantinople from 1597 until his death¹⁰. He "beautified" the whole *Heirmologion*, even though he was the first known composer after the fall of Constantinople who was systematically occupied with secular music.

Hacı Kasım (- 1600 ?)

The available information about Hacı Kasım is minimal¹¹. He was of North African descent and played the *tanbur*. The nickname "Hacı" reveals that he made a pilgrimage to Mecca. His only known work survives in the collections of Cantemir and of Petros Peloponnesios.

Gazi Giray Han II (r. 1554 - 1607)

Gazi Giray Han II, ruler of Crimea, was of Tataric descent with achievements in both martial and political affairs as well as in literature and the arts¹². In music in particular, he is considered to be a composer with a significant instrumental repertoire, and belongs to the tradition of amateur musicians of the aristocracy. In

⁸ Crane, Howard, *Risâle-i Mi' mâriyye: an Early-Seventeenth Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture*, Leiden: Brill 1987, p. 25 (f. 8v); Feldman 1996:52, 280; Öztuna 1990, II, 35.

⁹ T. T. Vellianitis, entry "Θεοφανώς" in P. Drandrakis, *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 12, p. 555.

¹⁰ Anastasiou 2005: 329-330; E. Voulisma, "Θεοφάνης Καρύκης ὁ πατριάρχης", *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* 4 (1883-1884), pp. 336-338; A. Theologitos, "Θεοφάνης Καρύκης ὁ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν", *Ἐφημέριος* 7 (1958), pp. 565-569; Karagounis 2003:291-295; Patrinelis 1969:71-72; Stathis 1979: 26, 43, 53, 116, 204; Tsiamoulis – P. Erevnidis 1998:17; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:307-308; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:30, 31, 124 & index.

¹¹ Behar 2010:239; Feldman 1996:48, 410; Öztuna 1990, I, 433.

¹² Ergun, Sadettin, *Gazi Giray Han, Hayatı ve Eserleri*, Istanbul 1958; Feldman 1996; Özkivanç, Erdem, H., *Gazi Giray Han*, (diploma dissertation in the library of TMC) 1993 [library catalogue index 307 TS.B]; Öztuna 1990, I, 300-301, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Öztuna 1969:114-115.

the sources he is often found as Tatar or Tatar Han. Petros Peloponnesios and Gregorios Protopsaltes refer to him in their manuscripts as “Tatarin” (genitive case of Tatar in Turkish) or “Tatari”.

Seyf el-Mısrî (16th c.¹³)

There is little available information about Seyf el-Mısrî¹⁴. W. Feldman characterises him as an “enigmatic” figure (Feldman 1996:416). According to the work of Darvîsh Ali from Bukhara, which was written in the 17th century, he apparently lived during the time of the Timurid dynasty. One of his works survives in Cantemir’s collection.

Emir-i Hac (- 1600? or second half the 16th c.)

Emir-i Hac is a nickname¹⁵; his real name is not known. The little available information about him mentions that he was a student of the *zurna* player, Ahmet. In 1582 he moved to Constantinople from his Egyptian homeland. He belongs to the category of composers of military music (*mehter*). Apart from the *peşrev* preserved in Gritsanis 3, four more of his works are known, two from Ali Ufkî’s collection and two from the collection of Cantemir.

17th Century

Ioasaph the New Koukouzelis (early 17th c.)

It is claimed that Ioasaph was an unsurpassed calligrapher, although no autograph codices of his have yet been found¹⁶. An illustrated portrait of him is found in MS Ivron 740, 122r. He beautified the music of the *Heirmologion* and produced a series of “condensed and modified” *kratemata*. His occupation with secular music is evidenced by a single known composition, of undetermined genre, with Persian lyrics.

Ali Beğ [Ali Ufkî Bey Bobowski] (1610? - 1685)

Ali Beğ is the same person as Ali Ufkî Bey, also known as Wojciech or Alberto or Leopolitano Bobowski¹⁷. Bobowski was Polish. He fell hostage to the Tatars in

¹³ The time period of his life is not clear. It is speculated that he lived before the 16th c.

¹⁴ Feldman 1996:311, 410, 416, 431.

¹⁵ Feldman 1996:46, 73, 325, 371, 410, 417; Öztuna 1990, I, 256; Sanlıkol, Mehmet Ali 2011.

¹⁶ Anastasiou 2005:338 – 339; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:306, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980: 31, 73 & 85, fn. 80-83.

¹⁷ Cevher 2003 (transcriptions into staff notation with commentary); Behar 1990; Behar 2008; *Ali Ufkî* 2000; Feldman 1996; Öztuna 1990, I, 54-55; Oransay, Gültekin, *Ali Ufkî ve Dini Türk Musikisi*, fellowship dissertation at Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi [library catalogue index 16566]; Uluçay, Çağatay, “Mecmua-yı Saz ü Söz”, *Türk Musikisi Dergisi*, vol. 14-1, (December 1948), pp. 4-24; Uludemir, Muammer, *Mecmua-yı Saz ü Söz – Bildiriler*, Izmir 1989; Uludemir, *Mecmua-yı Saz ü Söz – Murabbalar*, Izmir 1991; Uludemir, *Mecmua-yı Saz ü Söz – semâ’iler*, Izmir 1991; Uludemir, *Mecmua-yı Saz ü Söz – Türküiler*, Izmir 1992.

1633 and was sold as a slave in Constantinople. Fairly soon, his musical talent was recognised by officers of the palace and thus he was enrolled into the music school of the court. In the course, he converted to Islam and was given the name Ali Ufkî Bey. He played *santur* and composed mainly vocal compositions. The music manuscript collection, *Mecmû 'a-i Saz ü Söz*, that he wrote in 1650 contains around three-hundred and fifty instrumental and vocal works and is considered one of the most important sources of art music of Constantinople. He was multi-lingual and produced a noteworthy, multi-faceted opus in the fields of writing, translation and drawing.

Murad IV (1612 - 1640)

Murad IV was a leading military and political figure of the Ottoman state, serving as Sultan from 1623 until his death¹⁸. After the conquest of Yerevan (1634), Tabriz and Baghdad (1638), he transferred many Persian musicians to Constantinople, thus intensifying the osmotic conditions of the Ottoman court, between the music of the court and Persian music. He was an avid music lover and many significant composers and performers were active in his court. He was the patron of important Ottoman intellectual Evliyâ Çelebi as well as Ali Ufkî Bobowski, the author of the first significant music collection of the time, among others. He himself was a notable composer of instrumental music (eleven *peşrevs*, one *yürük semâ'î* and one *ilahi*). Lastly, an incident between Murad and the Greek nobleman who was particularly proficient in secular music¹⁹ is known from Greek sources.

Rıza Ağa (- 1650?)

The available information about Rıza Ağa is poor²⁰. He lived in the early to the middle of the 17th century. The *peşrev* given by Petros in Gritsanis 3 is known also from Cantemir's collection.

Papas (Papaz) (first half 17th c.)

The information which exists on Papas is poor²¹. Three *peşrevs* of his are known from the collections of Bobowski, Cantemir and Kevserî, where he is referred to as "Papaz", "Ferrûh" and "Ruhban", all synonyms denoting clerical identity²².

¹⁸ Feldman 1996; Baysun, M. Cavid, in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1971, vol. 8, pp. 625-647; Öztuna 1990, II, 67-68; Öztuna 1976; Tetik, Seher, *IV. Murad'ın Sarayında Müzik ve Müzişyenler*, (postgraduate dissertation in the library of TMC) 2005 [library catalogue index 140 TS.YL]; Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakki, "Osmanlılar Zamanında Saraylarda Musiki Hayatı", *Belleten* (Türk Tarih Kurumu), XLI [161] (1977), pp. 79-114.

¹⁹ See related, "The Social Context – The Cultural Environment", pp. 179, fn. 46.

²⁰ Öztuna 1990, II, 229; Öztuna, Y., in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1978, vol. 27, p. 316.

²¹ Öztuna 1990, I, 290; Tsiamoulis & Erevnidis 1998:17.

²² P. Erevnidis makes the hypothesis that the identity of "Papa" as found in the Turkish sources is one and the same as Theophanis Karykis. It is indeed possible that even a great music teacher such as Petros who transcribed a composition fragment of "Papas" and had

Solakzâde Miskalî Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebi (- 1658)

Solakzâde found himself as a slave in the palace but his musical talent elevated him to one of the great composers of his time²³. Born in Constantinople, he was the son of a member of the elite group “Solak” of the Janissaries corps of Skopje. He was a singer, painter, historian and renowned virtuoso of the miskal, which he showcased as a solo instrument. A student and personal slave of his was the miskal master Yûsuf. His work dominates the music collection of Ali Ufkî Bobowski, as well as other later collections such as those of Cantemir, Kevserî and Hamparsum.

Hasan Ağa [Benli, anbûrî, Musâhib-i Şehriyârî] (1607 - 1662)

Few details survive about his life and work²⁴. His father was a halva maker. At the age of eighteen, Hasan Ağa was accepted into the musical service of the court where he studied the *tanbur*. He developed into a significant musical figure and was accepted into Murad IV's circle of friends.

Ağa Mu'min (17th c. ?)

It was not possible to locate any references in the literature or information about this composer. The only works of his to survive are his four *peşrevs* in Cantemir's collection. One of those (*bisar peşrev “kûb-pâre” diyyek*) is also found in Gritsanis 3. Additionally, two *saz semâ'îs*, exist in the same manuscript, unknown from other sources. Given that works of his are found in Cantemir's collection, which was written in late 17th century, he is placed in the 17th century.

Murad Ağa [Şeştârî] (1610 - 1673)

Prominent Persian composer and musician of the 17th century from the city of Nakhchivan²⁵. He played the *şestâr* or *çârtâ*, a type of lute. He was taken as a

a deep knowledge of the manuscript tradition, was unaware of this identity match. Karykis lived approximately two centuries before Petros, therefore perhaps Petros knew of Karykis's secular compositions attributed to “Papas” from the environment of the Ottoman court. However, the research into the sources carried out for this book, mitigates the possibility of an identity match. Firstly, Karykis was not just a “priest”. He served as Ecumenical Patriarch, and if compositions of his had been included in the repertoire of the court, they would bear the relevant annotation. Moreover, Karykis does not seem to be familiar with the forms of court music. Both the composition of indiscernible genre included in the body of secular compositions and his *kratema* in *echos varys* bearing the title *peşrev* [“Πεσρέφ”] reveal Karykis's interest in secular music, but at the same time a substantial lack of knowledge of the musical forms of secular music, which would allow him to compose an actual *peşrev* or *semâ'î* or other related genre.

²³ Feldman 1996; Öztuna 1990, II, 306-308, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Tetik, Seher, IV. *Murad'ın Sarayında Müzik ve Müzisyenler*, (postgraduate dissertation in the library of TMC) 2005 [library catalogue index 140 TS.YL], pp. 31-36.

²⁴ Aksüt 1993:29; Öztuna 1972:11; Öztuna 1990, I, 330-331, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1971, vol. 19, p. 8.

²⁵ Behar 2010: 269; Feldman 1996:66-67, 147 & 508 fn. 39; Öztuna1990, II, 68-69. In later Turkish tradition he is confused with another, contemporary, Murad Ağa who was a singer and for that reason no reference is given in the catalogue of works found in that entry. Öz-

slave in Constantinople alongside Emirgûn Han after the conquest of Yerevan by sultan Murad IV. He was soon recognised as an unrivalled *şestâr* virtuoso, which made him popular in Constantinople. He belongs to the last generation of Persian musicians in the Ottoman court.

Torlak Neyzen Dede (- 1650?)

Torlak Neyzen Dede was a Turkish *ney* player and composer²⁶. Mere mention of him is made by Evliyâ Çelebî, Ali Ufkî, Cantemir and Kevserî.

Şerîf (- 1680)

Şerîf was born in Asia Minor, and spent some time in Cairo²⁷. He is considered one of the leading classical composers of instrumental music with around fifty surviving works in the music collections of Cantemir, Kevserî and Hamparsum.

Kosmas the Macedonian (middle of the 17th c. - 1692)

Kosmas studied together with Balasios under Germanos of New Patras in Constantinople and later served as Domestikos of Iviron Monastery in Mount Athos where he was mainly active²⁸. He is known as the composer of a novel musical setting of the *Heirmologion*, as a teacher and mainly as a scribe of music codices of exceptional comeliness and elegance, decorated with the most beautiful miniature illustrations and initials. His compositional output in secular music consists of one *beste*, which was copied extensively.

Reftâr Kalfa (- 1700?)

Very few details are available about Reftâr Kalfa²⁹. She is the only female composer found in the source material. It is certain that she played some musical instrument, possibly the *tanbur*.

Küçük Hatib (- 1700?)

The available information about Küçük Hatib is poor³⁰. His real name is not known: Hatib is a title meaning public speaker, rhetorician or preacher while

tuna, Y., *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1976, vol. 24, p. 439; Tetik, Seher, *IV. Murad'ın Sarayında Müsik ve Müzisyenler*, (postgraduate dissertation in the library of TMC) 2005 [library catalogue index 140 TS.YL], pp. 36-40.

²⁶ Öztuna 1990, II, 400-401, where a catalogue of works can be found as well.

²⁷ Feldman 1996: 46, 305, 325, 410, 412, 441; Öztuna 1990, II, 352, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Öztuna 1969:146-147.

²⁸ Anastasiou 2005:358-359; G. D. Zesimos, *Κοσμάς Ἰβηρίτης καὶ Μακεδών, Δομέστικος τῆς Μονῆς τῶν Ἱβήρων*, IBM - Studies 7, Athens 2007; Karagounis 2003: 370-374; Kretikou 2004:245-246; Politis & Politis 1994:508-511; Stathis 1979:120-121 (fn. 5); Chaldaiakis 2003:447-448; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:82-87 & 321-322, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:37-38 and index.

²⁹ Öztuna 1990, II, 223; Öztuna, Y., in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1978, vol. 27, p. 259.

³⁰ Feldman 1996:410 (simple mention); Öztuna 1990, I, 446; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1975, vol. 22 (note editor Y. Öztuna), p. 413.

küçük in this context means young – that is “Young Rhetorician”. Very few of his works survive in the music collections of Cantemir and Hamparsum.

Muzaffer (Sâatçî Mustafa Efendi) (- 1710?)

Few details exist about Muzaffer³¹. He was a Turkish composer of mainly instrumental music, who together with other important figures of his time shaped the old “classical” instrumental repertoire.

Itrî (Buhûrîzâde Mustafa Efendi and/or Çelebi)
(1638? - 1712)

He is considered the most significant Turkish composer of art music, although only forty-three pieces survive from his voluminous and most significant work on both sacred and secular music³². He belonged to the order of *Mevlevî* Dervishes of the *Mevlevihâne* of Yenikapı. His family name was “Buhûrîzâde”³³, “Itrî” being his artistic name. He was a student of Hâfız Post while later he himself served as a teacher of the ensemble of the *saray*. He influenced the conventions pertaining to the melodic development of the *makams*. Moreover, all subsequent repertoire is seen to utilise the versions of the *makams* employed by Itrî.

Osman Dede [Kutb-ı Nâyî Şeyh]³⁴ (1652; - 1730)

Osman Dede was born in the Vefa district of Constantinople³⁵. In his time, he was an unrivalled virtuoso of the *ney*. A *şeyh* and *dede*, he was a high rank cleric of the religious order of *Mevlevî* Dervishes. He exemplifies the great influence of the *Mevlevî* on various aspects of Turkish musical life. Through his work he revived the model of musician-theoretician, which was widespread in the Islamic world but had been abandoned in the Ottoman Empire during the 16th and

³¹ Feldman 1996: 46, 305, 325, 359, 417, 431; Özalp 1969:170; Öztuna 1990, II, 85-86, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Öztuna 1969:148.

³² Aksüt 1993:35-45; Aksu, Sami, *Buhurizade Mustafa Itri Efendinin Hayatı ve Eserlerinin Tanzimi*, (postgraduate dissertation in the library of TMC) 1990 [library catalogue index 230 TS.R]; Ediboğlu 1962:11-18; Feldman 1996; Gürpınar, Mehmet Haldun, *Buhûrîzade Mustafa Itri Efendinin Hayatı, Nevâ Kâr'ın Makam olarak İncelenmesi ve Elimdeki Notası Mevcut Eserleri*, (postgraduate dissertation in the library of TMC) 1991 [library catalogue index 52 TS.M]; Özalp 1969:161-165; Öztuna 1972:13-15; Öztuna 1990, I, 374-376, where a catalogue of works can be found as well.

³³ Petros refers to him as “Pouchourtzioglou” [“Πουχουρτζιογλου”] in Gritsanis 3.

³⁴ Gregorios refers to him in the manuscript as “Koutprounaes” [“κουτπουνάες”]. The use of the term Kutb-ı Nâyî according to W. Feldman (1996:136) originates from the Sufi philosophy and is symbolic of the ratio of the axis (known as “*qutb*”) which underpins the world of music or, more precisely, the music of the planets.

³⁵ Güngördü, Bahri, *Nâyî Osman Dede'nin Mi'râciyesi'nin*, (diploma dissertation in the library of TMC) 1989 [library catalogue index 95 TS.M]; Feldman 1996; Özalp 1969: 175-177; Özerden, Oktay, *Nâyî Osman Dede ve Mi'râciyye Türk Müsîkisindeki Yeri*, (diploma dissertation in the library of TMC) 1993 [library catalogue index 50 TS.M]; Öztuna 1990, II, 169-170, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Öztuna, Y., *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1977, vol. 26, pp. 78-79; Tibet, Şehim Şevki, *Nâyî Osmân Dede*, (diploma dissertation in the library of TMC) 1985 [library catalogue index 32].

17th centuries. His compositional work is mainly of a *Mevlevi* religious ceremonial nature, however it also includes secular compositions, mainly *peşrevs*. He wrote his own music collection around 1700 using a system of alphabetic notation of his own invention³⁶.

Dimitri Cantemir (1673 - 1723)

Dimitri Cantemir, prince of Moldavia, is considered one of the leading figures of Ottoman music³⁷. He was very active in political life and his work was of a broad philosophical, historical, theological, literary and geographical nature, written in various languages. He was educated by Greek teachers in his birthplace of Iaşi, and in the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople where he lived in the years 1688-1710. In 1712, he was elected a member of the Academy of Berlin and served for many years as a legal advisor to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.³⁸ He was taught music in the environment of the court of Ahmet III and learned to play the *tanbur* under the great virtuoso of that instrument, Angelo, while being held hostage to guarantee the good conduct of his father Constantine. His most significant contributions include: the authoring of the first theoretical textbook including a collection of music scores on Ottoman music, the transcription of three hundred and eighty works into a notation of his own invention and the composition of around fifty instrumental compositions. In 1712 he was voted a member of the Academy of Berlin.

18th Century

Kasım [Mehmed] (-1730?)

The only information existing about Kasım is that he composed the *haphap neva sakıl peşrev* known from the music collections of Dimitri Cantemir and Petros Peloponnesios (Gritsanis 3, 103r)³⁹.

³⁶ Osmân Dede, *Rabt-I Ta'birât-I Mûsikî*, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkiyât Enstitüsü. O. Akdoğan (ed.), İzmir Üniversitesi 1991. However, the collection is found today in a private collection in Turkey, unpublished. The fact that this collection has not been the subject of a serious study to date, is the reason its significance in the development of 18th century Ottoman musical theory has not been recognised. In the late 18th century, his grandson Abdülbâkî Nâsir Dede wrote the musical collection *Tabrîrîye* developing the musical system of his grandfather.

³⁷ Burada, Teodor, T., *Scierile musicale ale lui Dimitrie Cantemir Domnitorul Moldovei*, Analele Academiei Române, Bucharest 1911; Feldman 1996; Öztuna 1972:19-20; Öztuna 1990, I, 422-424; Papadopoulos 1890: 308; Popescu Judetz 1973; Popescu Judetz 1999, where an analytical catalogue of works can be found; Tsiamoulis – Erevnidis 1998:20-21; Tura 2001; Yertut, Gülderen, *Kantemiroğlu*, (diploma dissertation) 1987. [ITÜ library catalogue index 12 TS.B]; Wrigth 1992, 2000.

³⁸ See Steven Runciman, 1968.

³⁹ Öztuna 1990, I, 433.

İbrahim Ağa [Santûrî] (- 1732)

The existing information is poor. He was a composer and *santur* virtuoso⁴⁰.

Abdurrahmân Bâhir Efendi [Arabzâde] (1689 - 1746)

Abdurrahmân Bâhir Efendi was born in Constantinople, to a prominent family of the Ottoman aristocracy⁴¹. His father was the Prince and Imam Arabzâde Hacı Abdülvehhâb. Abdurrahmân was a composer, poet, sweet-voiced *bânende* and he was elevated to very high offices. In 1710 he was appointed head of the imams of Ahmet III and teacher of the court princes. In 1720 he became *mullah* (low-rank Islamic law judge) of Neapolis (Yenişehir) and in 1725 promoted to *kadi* (high rank judge) of Constantinople. He became *kazasker* (judge of the army) of Asia Minor (Anadolu) in 1739 and of the Balkans (Rûmeli) in 1746. Only instrumental compositions of his survive.

Es'ad Efendi [Şeyhülislâm Mehmed, Ebû-İshâk-zâde]
(1685 - 1753)

Es'ad Efendi was a leading state official, intellectual and composer with a notable opus. He was born in Constantinople to a noble family⁴². He reached the highest religious office of the Ottoman Empire, that of Şeyhülislâm. His most important contribution to musical matters is the authoring of *Atrabü'l Âsâr fi Tezkireti 'Urefâi'l-Edvâr*⁴³, containing seventy-seven brief biographical notes of prominent composers of vocal works of the period from 1600 to approximately 1730.

Hızır Ağa (? - 1760)

Hızır Ağa played the violin and the *tanbur* and he was a favoured composer and member of the entourage of Sultan Mahmud I (1730-1754)⁴⁴. He composed very nice military *peşrevs*. He was the founder of a lineage of court musicians. His son, composer Küçük Ârif Mehmed Ağa was also his student in music, and so was Ahmet Ağa Vardakosta. Hızır Ağa authored a theoretical work titled *Tefhîmü'l Makamat fi Tevlîd-in Neğmât*⁴⁵, which is of the most important sources in the study of Ottoman music. The work refers to the mystical relationships of the *makams* with the planets and metals, as well as other related topics.

⁴⁰ Öztuna 1990, I, 378, where a catalogue of works can be found as well.

⁴¹ Feldman 1996 (simple mention); Öztuna 1990, I, 11-12, where a catalogue of works can be found as well.

⁴² Behar 2010; Feldman 1996; Baysun, M. Cavid, in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1964, vol. 4, pp. 359-362; Özalp 1969:178-180; Öztuna 1990, I, 265-267; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1968, vol. 15, p. 389.

⁴³ The manuscript dates from around 1725 and is preserved in the library of Istanbul University (İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi T.Y. 1739).

⁴⁴ Feldman 1996:34, 249-251, 267-271; Özalp 1969:181; Öztuna 1972:15-19; Öztuna 1990, I, 342, where a catalogue of works can be found as well. *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1971, vol. 19, p. 217.

⁴⁵ Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Hazine K. no 1793. A study of this manuscript is being prepared by Recep Uslu.

Kemânî Yorgi (Tzorzi or Corci) (early – middle of the 18th c.)⁴⁶

C. Fonton witnesses that “the famous Greek Kemânî Yorgi played all musical instruments and [that] ... even the most apathetic and useless instrument became melodic in his hands”. Additionally, that he was “a hero of the music of the Eastern peoples, the first musician of the Ottoman court”. Lastly, that “he became famous for the way he played the violin, no one could play better than him, and because he first introduced the violin among the Eastern peoples”. The dominant position of Kemânî Yorgi in the musical matters of his time is shown by the multitude of his compositions transcribed by Petros in Gritsanis 3: twenty-one works are attributed to him, most of them not found in other sources, while for other composers three or four pieces are included at most. A memorable *beste* of his was also preserved by the unknown scribe of Ivron 949.

Ioannis Protopsaltes (early 18th c. - 1770)

Ioannis was a student of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou and teacher of Petros Peloponnesios⁴⁷. He was an important “link” in the chain of prominent music teachers of the Great Church of Christ with a rich compositional and codex writing output. He served at the Patriarchate in various chanting positions, becoming Domesitikos (first reference 1727), Lambadarios (1728-34) and Protopsaltes (first reference 1736 - d. 1770). His contribution to the subject of the *exegesis* of notation before the reform of 1814 was particularly important. His compositional output in secular music includes a Phanariot song and one *karabatak peşrev*.

Tab'î Efendi (Kassâm - Ahdebzâde Ser-Müezzîn-i Şehryârî Hattât Mustafa) (1705? - 1770?)⁴⁸

Tab'î was born on the Asian side of Constantinople, in Üsküdar and he is considered one of the most prominent Turkish composers. He possessed exceptional vocal talent, and his achievements in calligraphy are also well known. During the reign of Osman III, he was elevated to head of the *muezzins* of the palace. His compositional work is large and significant, extending to various musical genres.

⁴⁶ He is commonly mixed up with three other musicians with the same name and especially with the one who was a blind teacher in the court of Selim III. In his encyclopedia, Y. Öztuna (1990, I, 185-186), distinguishes the old Tzortzis from the new. Moreover, for the old Tzortzis, he gives the dates 1680-1775 for his birth and death with question marks, without, as usual, justifying how those dates were deduced. Blainville, Charles Henri de, *Histoire générale critique et philologique de la musique*, Paris 1767, p. 60; Feldman 1996: 129, 132, 417; Fonton 1751; Tsiamoulis – Erevnidis 1998:27-29.

⁴⁷ Anastasiou 2005:370-372; C. G. Patrinelis 1969:76-78, 84, 88; Stathis 1979, 120-121 (fn. 5); Chaldaïakis 2003:459-460; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:303-305, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:43.

⁴⁸ Öztuna 1990, I, 82, gives 1765 as his date of death. However, Feldman (1996:82, 233), gives 1770 with a question mark as his date of death and just a question mark for the date of his birth. Aksüt 1993:67-69; Özalp 1969:184-185; Öztuna 1972:31; Öztuna, 1990, II, 365-367, where a catalogue of works can be found as well.

Abdülhalim Ağa (1720? - 1802)

The existing information is poor⁴⁹. He is credited with the first use of the *makam sîz-i dil*.

Ahmet Ağa [Musâhib Seyyid, Vardakosta] (1728? - 1794)

He was the son of the composer Hızır Ağa, born in a township close to Amasya, but grew up in Constantinople and indeed within the palace, which is the reason Nikeforos Kantouniars refers to him as “Saraylı”⁵⁰. He was already well known during the reign of Abdulhamid I and later became a close friend of the music loving Sultan Selim III. He was a member of *Mevlevî şeyhs* of the *tekkes* of Yenikapı and Galata. Among other pieces, he composed two *ayins* in *hicâz* and *ni-havent*. Rauf Yekta credits Ahmet with the establishment of the *peşrev* as the introductory piece in the macro-genre of the *fasıl*. He was buried in the *Mevlevîhane* of Galata.

Kyrillos Marmarinos (middle 18th c. - late 18th c.)

Kyrillos Marmarinos became bishop of Tinos and later bishop of Ganos and Chora⁵¹. He was taught the *psaltic* art by Panagiotis Chalatzoglou and became an important composer, *exegetes* and codex writer. Two secular compositions of his survive, while his theoretical textbook titled “Introduction to Music by Question and Answer” (“Εἰσαγωγή μουσικῆς κατ’ ἐρωταπόκρισιν”), in which he dedicates a chapter to the *makams* and rhythms of secular music, is of particular importance.

Hânende Zacharias (or Zaharya)⁵² (18th c.)

Zacharias was an outstanding figure of secular music and, according to Turkish sources, the greatest composer of vocal compositions⁵³. He also composed eccle-

⁴⁹ Aksüt 1993:72-73; Öztuna 1990, I, 15, where a catalogue of works can be found as well.

⁵⁰ The entries which exist under “Ahmet” in Öztuna’s encyclopedia (1990, I, 426) are as follows: three sultans, one Ahmet Ağa, who lived after to the writing of the manuscript, one who bears the nickname Kapıcıoğlu [p. 426] and others called Bey. It is therefore deduced that it is Vardakosta, who indeed grew up in the palace (Saraylı). Aksüt 1993:74-76; Feldman 1996: 143, 169, 450, 451, 459; Öztuna 1990, I, 30-31, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Öztuna 1969:151; Öztuna, Y., in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1975, vol. 1, p. 248; Sahil, Atik, *Vardakosta Ahmet Ağa’nın Hayatı ve Eserlerinin İncelenmesi*, (diploma dissertation in the library of TMC) 1995 [library catalogue index 444 TS.B]; Şenoğlu, Sevtap, *XVIII Yüzyıl bestekâri Vardakosta Ahmet Ağa’nın Türk Musikisindeki Yeri ve Önemi*, (postgraduate dissertation in the library of TMC) 1994 [library catalogue index 71 TS.M].

⁵¹ Alygizakis 1990; Anastasiou 2005:372; Karagounis 2003:474-477; Popescu-Judetza – Sirli Adriana 2000, which publishes an English translation of the chapter of Kyrillos’s theory book on secular music; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:338-339, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:44, 94 (fn. 215-220); K. Psachos, journal *Φόρμυζ*, season 2, year 1, No 1 (15 March 1905), p. 4 and No 3-4 (15-30 April 1905), pp. 6-7.

⁵² *Hânende* in Persian means “the art singer”.

⁵³ Aksüt 1993:57-60; Ediboğlu 1962:19-28; Kalaitzidis 2001, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Öztuna 1972:31-32; Öztuna 1990, II, 508-509; G. Papadopoulos 1890:313-315; Sevgili, Afra, *Zaharya’nın Hayatı, Eserleri, Musikimizdeki Yeri Öneri* (diploma

siastical compositions, especially *kalophonic heirmoi*, having been a student of Daniel Protopsaltes in ecclesiastical music, while he was Daniel's teacher in secular music. He came from an affluent family of fur merchants, originating from Kastoria or Siatista. He played the *tanbur* and participated as a singer in the ensembles of the Ottoman court. Although the dates of his birth and death have not been fully determined, the period of his activity is witnessed to be the 18th century⁵⁴. His compositions, simple and majestic, exhibit an unusual refinement. Chrysanthos in his theory book (Θεωρητικόν, p. XXXV) calls Zacharias's works "great and praiseworthy". Zacharias contributed decisively to the shaping of the genre of *beste*, in which he excelled.

Tanbûrî Haham Musi (Moshe) (? -1770?)

The title "Haham" refers to the religious leader of the Jews⁵⁵. The little information available about his life refers mainly to his activities in the palace, where during the reign of Sultan Mahmud I (1730-1754) he was the leading *tanbur* musician. Moreover, in a government document of the time, his remuneration is noted to be forty *akçes* a day. Unconfirmed information describes him as the teacher of Tanbûrî Isak.

Petros Lambadarios Peloponnesios (1740 - 1778)

Petros is considered one of the outstanding personalities of ecclesiastical music and definitely the greatest one in the 18th century⁵⁶. His musical genius was recognised by many of his contemporaries and a multitude of stories have survived concerning his legendary, though short, life. He served as Domestikos between the years 1764-1771 and as Lambadarios between the 1771 and 1778, when he died during the plague. His compositional and *exegetic* work, great in both volume and significance, includes nearly every genre of composition and constitutes the backbone of the *psaltic* repertoire of the Eastern Orthodox Church. He taught the repertoire of the *Papadike* and *Sticherarion* at the Second Patriarchal Music School. In recent years, research has revealed more information proving

dissertation in the library of TMC) 2001 [library catalogue index 859 TS.B]; Tsiamoulis – Erevnidis 1998:22-23.

⁵⁴ For more on the issue of the period in which Zacharias was active, see the accompanying texts of the disc with the same name: "En Chordais", Zakharia Khanendeh.

⁵⁵ Aksüt 1993:70; Feldman 1996:49, 143, 305, 409, 412, 417; Feldman, W., *Tanbûrî Isak*, texts accompanying the CD *Tanbûrî Isak*, Fikret Karakaya (music ed.), "En Chordais" 1918, Thessaloniki 2005, pp. 16, 60, 70; Öztuna 1972:15-19; Öztuna 1990, II, 70-71, where a catalogue of works can be found as well.

⁵⁶ A. Alygizakis, "Μορφολογικές παρατηρήσεις στο έργο τῶν μελουργῶν Πέτρου Λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου καὶ Ἰακώβου (18^{ος} αἰ.)," *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς* 71 (1988), pp. 299-305; Anastasiou 2005:375-379; T. K. Apostolopoulos – K. Kalaitzidis, "En Chordais", *Petros Peloponnesios*; Karagounis 2003:596-603; F. Kretikou 2004:245-246; Öztuna 1990, II, 191-192; Papadopoulos 1890:318-324; Patrinelis 1969:85-86, 89; Stathis 1971:213-251; Stathis 1980; Stathis 1983:108-125; Tsiamoulis – Erevnidis 1998:23-26; Chaldaiakis 2003:463-464; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:368-377, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:46-47, 95-96 (fn. 247-260).

that Petros was a great personality in the secular music of 18th century Constantinople, as a performer (*ney* and *tanbur*), and as a codex writer and composer of a large number of works. His four autographed anthologies constitute one of the most significant sources for the study of the art music of Constantinople, especially of the instrumental repertoire. One view, which seems convincing, is that Petros is the same person as Petraki or Tyriaki of the Turkish sources, to whom at least ten pieces are attributed⁵⁷.

Elias (- 1799)

The existing information is sparse⁵⁸. It is known that he served as teacher and composer at the school of Selim III and some of his compositions have been preserved.

Iakovos Protopsaltes Peloponnesios
(middle of the 18th c. - 1800)

Iakovos's presence dominates the last four decades of the 18th century as Domestikos (1764-1776), Lambadarios (1784-1789) and Protopsaltes (1790-23/4/1800, when he died)⁵⁹. He taught the repertoire of the *Papadiki* and *Doxastarion* at the Second Patriarchal Music School and was occupied with the composition of all genres of the *psaltic* art. His main contribution, however, was the composition of the *Sticherarion* and especially the *Doxastarion* with shortened versions of the old music lines (*theseis*). He is considered the most "traditional" and "ecclesiastical" composer of his time, opposing the notational innovations of Agapios Paliermos. A portrait illustration of Iakovos playing the *tanbur* survives in a manuscript in the library of Simon Karas. His occupation with secular music is summarised in twelve Phanariot songs.

Petros Byzantios (middle of the 18th c. - 1808)

Petros Byzantios was born in the Nichori (Yeniköy) district of Constantinople and was a student of Petros Peloponnesios⁶⁰. His occupation as a *psaltes*, *exegetes*,

⁵⁷ His catalogue of works includes a total of one hundred and eleven Phanariot songs, a number that may increase as research progresses, eleven *taksims* and an undetermined number of *peşrevs* and *semâ'is*.

⁵⁸ Aksüt 1993:77; Öztuna 1972:15; Öztuna 1990, I, 387, where the entry is given withing a catalogue of works, with the reservation that Elias may be mixed up with another Elias of Jewish descent; Tsiomoulis – Erevnidis 1998:29; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara 1972, vol. 20, p. 102.

⁵⁹ A. Alygizakis, "Μορφολογικές παρατηρήσεις στο έργο των μελουργών Πέτρου Λαμπαδαρίου του Πελοποννησίου καὶ Ἰακώβου (18^{ος} αἰ.)", *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς* 71 (1988), pp. 299-305; Anastasiou 2005:379-380; Papadopoulos 1890:315-316; Patrinelis 1969:79-80, 86, 88-89; G. T. Stathis, "Ἰάκωβος Πρωτοψάλτης ὁ Βυζάντιος (23 Ἀπριλίου 1800)", *ΕΕΘΣ (EETHS)* 32 (1997), 317-334; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:299-302, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:49, 97 (fn. 274) and index.

⁶⁰ Anastasiou 2005:380-381; C. C. Karagounis 2003:529-533; Papadopoulos 1890:324-325; Patrinelis 1969; M. Pappas, "Πέτρος ὁ Βυζάντιος (d. 1808)", *Ὁ Πανσέληνος. Περιοδική ἔκδοση γιὰ τὴν τέχνη, τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὸν πολιτισμὸ στὴν Πιερία*, Issue 6-7 (Katerine, April 2001), pp.

composer and codex writer spans approximately 40 years: Second Domestikos (1771-1778), First Domestikos (1778-1789), Lambadarios (1789-1800) and Protopsaltes (1800-1805). His large contribution in terms of the *exegesis*, and the composition and systematisation of fast melodies (*Anastasimaron*, *Heirmologion* etc.) was outstanding. According to Papadopoulos “he played the *pandouris* [*tanbur*] and the Arabic *nay* masterfully”. In 1805, Patriarch Kallinikos dismissed him from the position of *Protopsaltes* due to his remarrying, which was not permitted of the *psaltai* of the Patriarchate. He retired to Kherson and later to Iași where he died in 1808. Apart from the ten Phanariot songs he composed, K. Psachos credits him with the authorship of a collection of secular music (MS LKP 19/173).

Tanbûrî Isak Fresco-Romano (1745 - 1814)

Isak Fresco-Romano, from a Jewish noble family of Constantinople, is one of the key people in the transmission of Ottoman music⁶¹. He was a superb performer of the *tanbur* and the founder of its contemporary playing technique. He composed both instrumental and vocal music characterised mainly by a view of the *makams* broader than that of the established trend of highlighting the *seyir*. Unconfirmed information characterises him as a student of Moshe Faro and of Kemânî Yorgi. Despite his posthumous fame and the great respect by which his compositions were preserved until today, almost nothing is known about Isak's life. The few surviving anecdotes bear witness only to the great appreciation shown towards him by his sponsor and student of music, Sultan Selim III.

Georgios Soutsos (1745 - 1816)

Georgios was a descendant of a historical family from Epirus, which had settled in Constantinople prior to the fall of the city under the surname Drakos⁶². Georgios was the son of the great interpreter Nikolaos (1730-1769). An intellectual and a dramatist, he studied in the Great School of the Nation under Evgenios Voulgaris (1760-1761). He wrote various theatrical works and translated six

80-86; Plemmenos 2003:133-164; Stathis 1971:213-251; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:364-367, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:47-49; K. Psachos 1911:2-4.

⁶¹ Aksüt 1993:90-92; “Bezmarra Music Ensemble”, CD *Tanbûrî Isak*, Fikret Karakaya (music ed.), Walter Feldman (accompanying texts), “En Chordais” 1918, Thessaloniki 2005; Feldman 1996:49, 51, 131, 143, 152, 163; Öztuna 1972:15-19; Öztuna 1990, I, 391-392, where a catalogue of works can be found as well.

⁶² The family returned to Epirus in 1453, but was forced to return to Constantinople in 1740 at the command of the sultan in the context of repopulating the city. The founder of the Drakos family had practical knowledge in plumbing and while working for a related state office he got the surname Soutsis, which was converted to the more Greek sounding Soutsos (in some manuscripts he is also found as Soutzos). For more on the family and its members see the relevant entries of Greek encyclopedias referred to in the main bibliographical references. T. Velianitis, entry “Γεώργιος Σούτσος”, in *Νέα Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία Χάρη Πάτση*, vol. 29, ed. Drandrakis P., pp. 100-101; T. Velianitis, entry “Γεώργιος Σούτσος”, in *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 22, ed. Drandrakis P., pp. 167-169; Plemmenos 1999-2000:101; Spathis 1995:239-279; Tsiamoulis – Erevnidis 1998:30.

tragedies of Metastasio (Venice 1779) and of Guerini (1805) from the Italian original. In various manuscripts he is mentioned as “Archon Postelnikos, known as Dragoumanakis”⁶³. His occupation with the genre of Phanariot songs was noteworthy, as was also his attempt to compose works with Greek verses to Ottoman forms. S. Oikonomou states that: “he spent his life away from political matters, cultivating literature and especially occupied with the Turko-Persian music and poetry”⁶⁴.

19th Century

Manuel Protopsaltes (middle of the 18th c. - 1819)

Manuel Protopsaltes⁶⁵ came from Constantinople. He was a student of Iakovos Protopsaltes and Georgios the Cretan, continuing their commitment to tradition. He succeeded Petros Byzantios as the *Protopsaltes* of the Great Church of Christ from 1805 until 2/6/1819 when he died. From his rich compositional opus, the compositions which have prevailed and are chanted to this day are the quick *Doxologies* based on each *echos* and the *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ*, which are essentially condensed versions of the respective compositions of Petros Lambadarios.

Nikeforos Kantouniaries (1770 - 1820)⁶⁶

Nikeforos was of Chian descent⁶⁷. He lived and was active between the cities of Constantinople, Damascus and Iaşi. He was a student of Iakovos Protopsaltes, and served as a *psaltes* in various churches while he also received the title of Archdeacon of the Patriarchate of Antioch. Apart from his codex writing, compositional and *exegetic* work concerning ecclesiastical music, he also composed around sixty-six secular works, mainly songs on Phanariot verses. He is the most prolific scribe of secular music with five codices attributed to him, the most recent one of which, Vatopediou 1428, is a monumental transcription of secular music repertoire in every respect: Phanariot, Arabic, Turkish, Gypsy and French songs, *semâ'is*, *şarkis* and others. His “Catalogue of Those who Flourished in Music at Various Times” (Xeropotamou 318 and Vatopediou 1427) is also noteworthy.

⁶³ For examples see Vatopediou 1428, ff. 13, 320, 339, 342. The term “Postelnikos” refers to an office of the Danubian Principalities, its duties generally corresponding to those of a Foreign Minister.

⁶⁴ See N. Mavrokordatos, *Ψόγος Νικοτιανῆς*, Venice 1876, p. 73.

⁶⁵ He was also known as Manuel Byzantios, that is, Manuel of Byzantium – Byzantium being the ancient name of the city of Constantinople. Patrinelis 1969:80-81; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:337, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:54.

⁶⁶ For Kantouniaries’s dates of birth and death see J. Plemmenos 2003:195-234, especially 196-197.

⁶⁷ L. Vranousis 1995:295, 297, 299, 617-618; Papadopoulos 1890, 327; Plemmenos 1999-2000:97-110; Plemmenos 2003:195-234; Politis – Politis 1994:575; Stathis 1983; Stathis 2001:613-623; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:54, 100 fn. 323-325; Chaldaiakis 2003:214, 256-257, 461, 471, 479-480.

Gregorios Protopsaltes (1778 - 1821)

Gregorios Levitis was one of the three teachers who invented and introduced the *New Method* of analytical notation, into which he transcribed a large part of the older *psaltic* repertoire⁶⁸. He was born in Constantinople and studied under Georgios the Cretan, Iakovos Protopsaltes and Petros Protopsaltes Byzantios. He served as Lambadarios of the Great Church of Christ (early 1810s up until 1819) and Protopsaltes until the 23rd of December 1821, the date of his death. He left behind a large legacy in composition, *exegesis* and codex writing, as well as in his many students to whom he taught the *New Method* at the Third Patriarchal Music School. His occupation with secular music was extensive and multi-faceted; He was a composer, transcriber, theoretician as well as a virtuoso of the *tanbur*, which, according to G. Papadopoulos, he learnt from Ismael Dede Efendi.

Athanasios Dimitriadis the Cypriot (middle of the 18th c. - 1827)

Athanasios Dimitriadis (Athanasios of Dimitrias) came from Cyprus and was a nephew of the Ecumenical Patriarch Gerasimos⁶⁹. When the Archdiocese of Dimitrias (today's head offices of which are located in the city of Volos) was elevated to Metropolis in 1795, Athanasios was elected as its first bishop, and remained in that position until 1822. Information pertaining to his musical activities is poor.

Ismail Dede Efendi (Hammâmîzâde) (1778 - 1846)

In the Greek sources he is often referred to as "Dedes Ismailakis"⁷⁰. He is considered a leading figure of Ottoman music. He played the ney and belonged to the monastic order of the *Mevlevi* dervishes of the *tekke* of Yenikapı bearing the title of *dede*. He composed around five hundred works in all forms of secular and religious music, from which two hundred and eighty-eight survive today, in a total of seventy *makams*. Many significant Turkish musicians, as well as many Greek

⁶⁸ Anastasiou 2005:384-385; Karagounis 2003:596-603; F. Kretikou 2004:245-246; Maurren Morgan, "The Three Teachers and their place in the history of the Greek church music", *SEC II* (1971), pp. 86-99; K. Romanou, "Η μεταρρύθμιση του 1814", *Μουσικολογία* 1 (1985), p. 13; Papadopoulos 1890:329-331; Patrinelis 1969:81, 87; G. T. Stathis, "Gregorios Protopsaltes (1778-1821)", in the accompanying booklet of the LP of the series *Βυζαντινοί και μεταβυζαντινοί μελωργοί* 2 [IBM 102 (I-II)], Athens 1976; Chatzigiakoumis 1975:282-286, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Chatzigiakoumis 1980:56-57, 100-102 (fn. 335-352); Chaldaiakis 2003:468-471.

⁶⁹ Giannopoulos, N. I., «Επισκοπικοί κατάλογοι Θεσσαλίας», jour. *Θεολογία*, vol. 12, p. 125, Athens (1934); Tsilividis, D., *Ὁ Δημητριάδος Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Κύπριος, 1795 - 1822*, unpublished work provided by kind permission of the author.

⁷⁰ Aksüt 1993:119-126; Ediboğlu 1962:49-59; Feldman 1996: 15, 92, 96, 169, 297, 371, 391, 498; Feldman, W., "Snapshot: Ismail Dede Efendi", in Danielson, V., Marcus, S., Reynolds, D., (ed.) 2002, *The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music, Volume 6, The Middle East*, New York and London, pp. 779-780; Öztuna 1972:15-19; Öztuna 1990, I, 394-400, where a catalogue of works can be found as well; Papadopoulos 1890:330, 340, 350; Salgar, Fatih M., *Dede Efendi*, Hayatı – Sanatı – Eserleri, İstanbul 1995.

psaltai, were his students, explaining the inclusion of many of his compositions in manuscript and printed secular music collections in Byzantine notation⁷¹.

Panagiotis Pelopidis Peloponnesios

The existing information is poor (Papadopoulos 1890:341). He published the theory book (*Theoritikon*) of Chrysanthos and wrote its foreword.

Ioannis Pelopidis

The existing information is poor. He is the scribe of the secular music collection of MS LKP 152/292.

Here follow fourteen other composers who are mentioned clearly by name in the sources where certain works are attributed to them, however, it was not possible to identify or to find biographical information or other references about them. They are listed here in alphabetical order:

Antonis⁷²

Georgios Therianos

Ioannis Konidaris

Ismael Tzaous

Kleomenis Athinis

Past Tzaous Ali Aganin

Peligratzoglou

Skouloumbri Chios, mousikantes

Spyridon Laphaphanas, Archdeacon

Tanburi Arezouni⁷³

Tanburi Hacı Omer Aga

Tziochatzoglou

Yiangos Agas Siphnios

Yiousouf Usta⁷⁴

Works with Names of Ethnic or Religious Origin

Certain works preserved in manuscripts with secular music bear, in their headings, indications of ethnic or religious origin. They are: “persikon” (“πέρσικον”) meaning Persian, “atzemikon” (“ἄτζέμικον”) and “atzemlerin” (“ἄτζεμλερίν”) also mean-

⁷¹ Nikeforos Kantouniaries refers to him as a “famous chanopaziate, royal hânende and mousaipsis”.

⁷² Gritsanis 3 has “Ἀντωνίν”, which means “by Antonis”, that is, a composition of Antonis. Possibly identical to Antoine Mourad.

⁷³ The name is found written in three different ways: “Areznoun” [“Ἀρεζνούν”] 162v / “Ari-zouni” [“Ἀριζούνι”] 213v / “Areznin tanburi” [“Ἀρεζνίν ταμπουρί”] 231r.

⁷⁴ It was not possible to identify him as one of the three composers bearing the name Yûsuf who were contemporaries or predecessors of Petros who transcribed the *beyâtî bereşan peş-rev*. See related Öztuna 1990, II, 501-502.

ing Persian, “mousoulmanikon” (“μουσουλμάνικον”) meaning Islamic, “tourkikon” (“τούρκικον”) meaning Turkish, “ethnikon” (“ἐθνικόν”) meaning secular, “varvarikon” (“βαρβαρικόν”) meaning non-Greek, “ismailitikon/os” (“ἰσμαηλίτικον” and “ἰσμαηλητικός”) meaning Ismaili, “hindilerin” (“Χηντηλερίν”) meaning Hindi, “aravikon/os” (“ἀραβικόν” and “ἀραβικός”) meaning Arabic, “Athigganon” (“Ἀθηγάνων”) meaning Gypsy, “gallikon” (“γαλλικόν”) meaning French, “frangikon” (“φράγγικον”) meaning Frankish, “italikon” (“ιταλικόν”) meaning Italian and finally “taousanikon” (“*Taousianikon*”), the meaning of which is discussed below. These descriptions along with the manuscript and page references in which they appear are listed below:

Persikon (NLG 2401,122v). **Persikon** (Leimonos 259, 184r).

Atzemlerin (Gritsanis 3, 28v). **Atzemikon** (Xeropotamou 305, 312r). **Atzemikon** (Xeropotamou 329, 196v). **Atzemikon** [Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 112r / Xeropotamou 329, 197r / Koutloumousiou 446, 521r / NLG 2175, 835r / Agiou Pavlou 132, 814 / S. Karas 38, 296a]. The same piece also found as **Persikon** (Xeropotamou 330, 379r και 305, 311r). “**Atzemikon**, ὃ λέγεται **Persikon**” (Sinai 1327, f. 190r).

Ethnikon (Megistis Lavras E9, ff. 141v / Iviron 1203, 176v / Koutloumousiou 446, 517v / NLG 2175, 814v / Xeropotamou 305, 310v / Xeropotamou 330, 378r). The same piece is also found as **Ismailitikon** (Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 111v).

Ethnikon varvarikon (Gritsanis 8, 337). **Varvarikon** (Gritsanis 8, 339). **Ismailitikos** (Gregoriou 23, f. 187v).

Hindilerin (LKP (dossier) 60, 52r).

Taousanikon (RAL 784, 140r / Vatopediou 1428, 49). **Taousanikon** (RAL 784, 145r / Vatopediou 1428, 119). **Taousanikon** (RAL 784, 150r / Vatopediou 1428, 224).

Mousoulmanikon (Gritsanis 8, 341).

Aravikos (Iviron 1038, 663r). **Aravikon** (Vatopediou 1428, 286). **Aravikon** (Vatopediou 1428, 86). **Aravikon** (Vatopediou 1428, 85). **Aravikon** (Vatopediou 1428, 212). **Aravikos** (RAL 784, 58v). **Aravikon** (Vatopediou 1428, 211). **Aravikos** Hymn (Vatopediou 1428, 284). Hymn **Aravikos** (Vatopediou 1428, 10).

Ἐξ **Athigganon** (RAL 784, 38r / Vatopediou 1428, 209). ἔξ **Athigganon**, *echos* IV, *sofyan*, Vatopediou 1428, 120.

Gallikon (Vatopediou 1428, 187). **Gallikon** (Vatopediou 1428, 295). **Gallikon** (RAL 784, 93r / Vatopediou 1428, 304). **Frangikon** (RAL 925, 60r). **Gallikon** (Vatopediou 1428, 89).

Italikon (RAL 784, 81v / Vatopediou 1428, 303)⁷⁵.

These descriptions require further research, because their acceptance without due investigation can possibly lead to a distorted view of matters. Consequently, the

⁷⁵ During the research for this book, other songs with Italian verses were found, although not labelled *italikon*. For more see chapter “Catalogue of Secular Compositions”, p. 131.

timeframe and cultural context of these ethnic and religious names must be taken into account and their meaning at the time they were written must be examined. The use of similar ethnic or religious descriptions appears in *kratemata* two centuries before the first such label appeared in a work of secular music⁷⁶.

The older and most complicated names are the identical “Persikon” and “Atzemikon”. “Acem” in Arabic literally means “the others”, a term also used in the Ottoman language to mean the Persians. For example, the compositions of Theophanis Karykis and of Kosmas the Macedonian are sometimes found with the label “Persikon” and other times with the label “Atzemikon”. The term Acemi or Acemler is seen to be used extensively by Dimitri Cantemir in his collection *Kitābu ‘Ilmi ‘l-Mūsikī ‘alā vecchi’l-Hurūfāt, Mūsikīyi Harferle Teshbīt ve İcrā İlminin Kitabı* in order to attribute works to Persian composers.

However, the terms “Persikon” and “Atzemikon” often characterise music originating from non-Christian composers and not necessarily music of Persian origin. The scribes, and possibly the broader environment in which they lived, did not make a clear distinction between Persians and Ottomans. Hence, music from both the Persian and the Ottoman tradition was indeed labelled using the term “Persikon” and its identical “Atzemikon”. This confusion is justified by the intense influence of Persian culture on the Selcuk and Ottoman culture especially with regard to the musical matters of the court⁷⁷. The manuscript Panteleimonos 994 (323v) is a characteristic example, where Kyrillos’s *semā’i* is “called *hüseyni* in Turkish” and is in “music and words of the Persians”. The heading of the composition on 251r of MS Timios Prodromos 93 (251r), is similar: “*semā’i* [with] Persian words and music”.

The Ottomans are also referred to as Persians by Chalatzoglou in his work written in the first decades of the 18th century. Also, it can be noted that two works by Ioannis Protopsaltes and Kyrillos refer to Persian music and words while the poetic text is in Ottoman. Moreover, it is known that post-Byzantine music teachers generally called the musical heritage of Eastern peoples “Arabo-Persian”.

The examination, however, of the poetic texts shows that some of those pieces were indeed Persian, such as, the *tāsnīf persikon* by Abdülkadir Marâghî (Leimonos 259, 184r) and the Persikon of NLG 2401 (22v). Persian melodies were not unknown to post-Byzantine scribes. This is evident from other compositions as well, where the headings do not indicate an ethnic name, however their poetic text shows otherwise⁷⁸. In addition, the following works, even though they do not bear names of ethnic origins in their headings, are also found in Cantemir’s collection from where their categorisation as “Persian” works is concluded:

⁷⁶ See relevant references in Stathis 1979:116-17 and Anastasiou 2005:209-243 & 401-402.

⁷⁷ On this topic, see extensive references in Feldman 1996:65-67 and in the chapter “The Departure of Turkey from the *Persianate* Musical Sphere”, pp. 494-497.

⁷⁸ For example see the compositions preserved in Iviron 1189.

Nevâ [peşrev] [Persian], [*Echos* plagal II], *fer'-i muhammes*, LKP (dossier) 60, 25v.

Gülistân pengâh [Peşrev] [Persian], [*echos* plagal IV tetraphonic], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 146v.

Cantemir annotates both works as ‘*acemler'in*, which means “of the Persians”. On the other hand, a composition attributed to Kosmas the Macedonian is interestingly characterised by the scribes as “Atzemikon” (Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, Xeropotamou 329, Koutlounousiou 446, NLG 2175, Agiou Pavlou 132) or “Persikon” (Xeropotamou 330 & 305). In this case, despite the mention of the Greek composer, the Persian influences upon the music and/or the genre are noted. That is, it is a work of Kosmas, in “Persikon” style or genre. A similar case is that of the *kratemata*, where certain compositions of Ioannis Koukouzelis, Ioannis Kladas, Manuel Chrysaphes, Markos Hieromonk, Konstantinos of Anchialos, Korones, Theophanis Karykis and others, bear headings with the labels “Persikon”, “atzemikon”, “ismailitikon”, “tatarikon”, “embachum” and others.⁷⁹

The terms “Ethnikon”, “Mousoulmanikon” and “Barbarikon” are characterised by vagueness and they probably indicate music of a generally Eastern origin. Moreover, it is significant to note the clear reference to the Ismaili people, with their particular religious and racial characteristics, as distinct from the rest of the Muslim peoples. Lastly, “Hindilerin” clearly refers to Indian music⁸⁰. The various cross influences between the modal music traditions of North India and the Middle East during that period are well known.

A few ethnic names are also preserved in Nikeforos Kantouniaries’s manuscripts. The names “Tourkikon” (Turkish), “Aravikon” (Arabic), “Italikon” (Italian), “Gallikon” (French) and “Frangikon” (Frankish) must be understood with their contemporary meaning. Moreover, references to Arabic pieces are found only in Nikeforos’s work and that was because he was most likely the only one to have come into direct contact with the Arabic cultural environment, having lived in Damascus for four or five years (Plemmenos 2003:215). The term “Taousanikon” used by Nikeforos is a corrupted version of the Turkish term *tavşan* or *tavşanca*, which denotes the urban dance music genre connected to the repertoire of the *köçekce*, mainly performed by gypsies and other non-Muslims (Beşiroğlu, 2010: Öztuna, 1990, vol II, 383,384). The term “of the Gypsies” used by Nikeforos is vague and perhaps misleading. As documented in another part of this book, one work at least bearing the label “of the Gypsies” can be attributed to Ismael Dede Efendi.⁸¹

⁷⁹ See relevant references in Anastasiou 2005:209-243.

⁸⁰ The exact translation here is “of the Indians”. *Peşrevs* of “Indian origin” are also known from Cantemir’s collection.

⁸¹ See chapter “Catalogue of Secular Works: 19th c.”, p. 47.

V The Social Context – The Cultural Environment

This chapter outlines the two main aspects, that is, the people and the places, of the broader social context of the phenomenon, which is the topic of this book, and traces the possible causes and motives of the transcriptions. Furthermore, the relationship of the phenomenon with the social and political developments of the period during which it is witnessed, is presented, and a first attempt to explain this relationship is made.

As a primary source, the manuscripts containing secular music do not always offer satisfactory information on the above topics. The main gateway through which a clearer understanding of such grey areas can be reached, lies outside the limits of the period studied in this book. This gateway is, namely, the texts originating from the 19th century, which elegantly state positions and views related to the value and usefulness of the transcriptions. The investigation of the available direct and indirect sources leads to the following positions and considerations.

The Social Context

Scribes

Biographical information about secular music scribes – the persons pivotal to the appearance and development of the transcriptions, is very rarely preserved, except in cases where they also happen to be one of the great known composers. Moreover, often, not even their name is known, therefore the listing of a manuscript is necessarily labelled as being of “unknown scribe”.

The status of the scribes is closely connected to their occupation, as well as to the social and economic class to which they belong. The scribes of secular music are the same scribes of Byzantine music codices: protopsaltai and lambadarii of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, music teachers or psaltai, clergy of every rank, monks, and laymen. In particular, in the cases which involve prominent personalities, the credibility and value of the transcriptions increases. The scribes created secular music manuscripts within the context of their broader occupation with music; it is not certain however, whether some were practising exclusively, as scribes or copiers. They usually possess high levels of musical training, however they do not always possess high levels of general education. This is evidenced by the various spelling mistakes and syntactical errors found in the manuscripts. In any case, codex writing required an educational level much higher than the average of the time.

It is worth noting that during the first period (16th - 17th century), five of the known scribes are hieromonks and two are monks. Five others remain unknown and three more for whom no information exists (Olympiotissis 188, Megistis Lavras E4 and Iviron 1054). Perhaps they also come from the ranks of clergy or

monks. In the second period (18th - early 19th century), the known scribes include a bishop, a hieromonk, a deacon, two *protopsaltai* and one *lambadarios* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, a *protopsaltes* of Smyrna, two monks and one reader (lowest rank of clergy). The remaining five scribes named in the codices, likely come from the circle of the *psaltai*, while the case cannot be excluded that some of them are also clergy or monks (Theodosios of Nafplion, Michael Drakos, Evgenios, Ioannis Konidaris, Ioannis Pelopidis). At least eleven scribes from the second period remain unknown and one or two for whom no information has been preserved.

Lastly, the total absence of women both from the rank of scribes and from that of listed composers, with the only exception being that of Refât Kalfa, must be noted. This fact reflects the general relationship of women with the *melopoeia* of both Byzantine music and of the Ottoman court. The female role is limited to the named heroines within poetic texts and the *acrostics* of Phanariot songs.

Phanariots

The Phanariots constitute a special group of composers and poets of the eponymously named songs. They were *psaltai*, intellectuals and noblemen who either lived in the Phanari (Fener) suburb of Constantinople or came from there. The Phanariot society, the Greek high class of Constantinople, Iași and Bucharest is connected to the development of the genre of Phanariot songs. These songs echo the spirit of that unique society, its aesthetic criteria, its romances and passions, as well as its particular liberality, which seem to have characterised it as a typical large urban society (Spathis 1995, Frantzis 1993). According to Chrysanthos, amongst the Phanariots “a spirit of verse-making mania was common”, while L. Vranousis (1995:300-301) notes that:

“these songs, an offspring and indulgence of Phanariot society, had now spread to much wider circles...”.

That is also confirmed by the account of Charisios Megdanis of Kozani who lived in Vienna at the end of the 18th century:

“nearly everybody, even those with a basic education, keep in their bosom a ledger with transcribed songs”

The note of Skarlatos Byzantios is also of relevance:

“And all these were liked, flourished, were learnt by heart, sung and copied! Their poets were rewarded, praised, they were in demand. How many rose lips did not smile at them? How many beautiful eyes did not secretly greet them? Because each era has its attractions, its spirit, its epopoi makers”.¹

¹ Skarlatos Byzantios, *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, ἡ περιγραφή τοπογραφική, ἀρχαιολογική καὶ ἱστορική τῆς περιωνύμου ταύτης μεγαλόπολεως καὶ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου προαστείων αὐτῆς*, vol. III, Athens 1869, p. 605.

It can be assumed that the typical place where these songs were performed, were the lounge rooms of the Phanariot mansions. Only two sources provide information regarding the place Phanariot songs were heard and performed. The first, is from Alexandros R. Rangavis who describes the congratulatory ceremony for the newly appointed ruler of Wallachia, Alexandros Soutsos, at a mansion in the suburb of Mega Revma of Constantinople in 1818.² The second, originates from the manuscript RAL 1561 (f. 117v):

Tragic verses by Kleisthenes, composed and performed by Vasileios Byzantios at the theatre of Ismael in Bessarabia, *echos* plagal IV Ὡτερπνὰ φίλτατα δάση

The above reference alludes to a public performance for a broader audience; a most likely, uncommon occurrence. History has shown, however, that the genre did not manage to survive as a living tradition outside its societal boundaries. The Phanariot songs came to an end at the end of the 19th century with the subsequent decline of the social and political weight of the Phanariots.

Composers, Poets and Audience

The named composers appearing in the manuscripts, belong mainly to the musical environment of Constantinople; either to the group of post-Byzantine composers who were also occupied with secular music, or to the composers active within the circles of the Ottoman court, including high rank officials, *ulemas*, intellectuals, *Mevlevi* dervishes and simple musicians.

Though only few details revealing ownership are found in the manuscripts, it can be speculated that the owners and users of them were musicians and musicophiles; members of the *psaltic* community with an interest in secular music. The only people who could share and make use of them were those who could read the Byzantine *parasimantiki*. The difficulty of the *Old Method* of notation, and the cost and restrictions upon circulation of manuscripts, leads to the conclusion that the number of those who owned and used these manuscripts was relatively small. Initially, the owners, were most likely few. From the late 18th century, however, ownership became more widespread, peaking in the 19th century when the printed editions of secular music were targeted at the majority of the *psaltic* world. These publications saw great success and wide circulation, as concluded from the study of the lists of “musicophile subscribers” found at the end of each book; musicophile subscribers whose geographical dispersion and social strata are no different than the subscriber lists of ecclesiastical music publications of the time. That is, they are the same people sharing in these musical matters, supporting them with love and enthusiasm. No matter how hard a re-

² Alexandros R. Rangavis, *Απομνημονεύματα Α΄*, Athens 1894, pp. 50-51. The songs “Τὸ φιλέρμιον τρυγόνι” (“The desert-loving turtle dove”) and “Ψυχὴ ἀθλία” (“Miserable soul”) are cited by name.

searcher tries to employ a strictly objective, academic approach to their research, determined to avoid any kind of sentimentalism, there are many times they are moved by the study of a manuscript, pondering the effort, the patience, the care and ultimately the personality of the scribe.

Regions – Centres of Writing

The information, which survives pertaining to the places of writing of the manuscripts and the places of origin of the scribes, is sparse. With some reservation, it can be supported that the studied phenomenon of secular music manuscripts in the manuscript traditions of the *psaltic* art, is concentrated in the traditional centres of writing and housing manuscripts of ecclesiastical music, these being, the codex writing workshops of the Mount Athos monasteries, especially during the first two centuries, and Constantinople and the Dunabian Principalities during the two centuries after that.

The appearance of the trend of transcription probably occurred in Macedonia. L. Politis speculates that MS NLG 2401, the oldest surviving codex containing secular music, originates from the Timios Prodromos monastery of Serres (Politis 1991:396). The codex is dated from the 15th century, though it is not known if it was written before or after the fall of Constantinople. It cannot be excluded that it ended up at Timiou Prodromou monastery from Constantinople, since that was the place of retirement and repose of Gennadios Scholarios, first Patriarch of Constantinople after 1453.

It is also apparent that in Mount Athos in general and in Iviron Monastery³ in particular, during the 16th and 17th centuries, a climate conducive to the occupation with secular music existed. A significant number of manuscripts with folk songs, Persian, and other secular pieces were either written by the brothers of the monastery or preserved there. An indicative list of manuscripts kept at the monastery's library is MSS 949, 988, 997 1038, 1054, 1080, 1189, 1203 and 1203b. Also relevant are the manuscripts written by Iviron monastery monks: Ecumenical Patriarchate 6 (by Kosmas the Macedonian), Gritsanis 8 (by Hieromonk Kyprianos) and S. Karas 32 (by Hieromonk Athanasios). The manuscripts of Xeropotamou 262, 299, 305, 329 and 330; Megistis Lavras E4 and E9; Panteleimonos 994 and 1012; Dionysiou 579; Koutloumousiou 446; Agiou Pavlou 132; Gregoriou 23; Dochiariou 322 and Xenophontos 146 which contain secular music, are preserved in other Athonite libraries, some of them probably written there as well.

Constantinople was the leading centre of art music creation, therefore it is also logically associated with the transcription of secular music. The place of

³ A short study on the codex scribes, owners, donors etc. of manuscripts of Iviron monastery has been published as an appendix to the first volume of the Greek manuscripts of the monastery by monk Theologos Iviritis titled “Ιστορικό περίγραμμα της συλλογής τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἰβήρων”, pp. 235-252.

writing of Leimonos 259 is not known, however, according to the evidence provided on f. 184r, the first scribe of Abdülkadir Marâghî's composition was Gerasimos of the Xanthopoulon Monastery, a fact directly connecting that manuscript with Constantinople. It can be considered a given that Constantinople was also the place of writing of the autograph codices of Petros Peloponnesios [Gritsanis 3, LKP (dossier) 60, LKP (dossier) 137 and RAL 927], of Petros Byzantios (LKP 19/173) and of Gregorios Protopsaltes [LKP 2/59a, LKP (dossier) 58, LKP (dossier) 59, LKP (dossier) 76 και LKP (dossier) 81)], and possibly others as well, for which however no concrete evidence exists.

A third important region for the transcription of secular music, were the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, the political, spiritual and musical life of which, from the late 17th century, were directly depended upon that of Constantinople.⁴ The first two books of ecclesiastical music were published in Bucharest⁵, while the earliest manuscript of Phanariot songs, the RAL 927, “travelled”, according to a later account, to Iași where it became the prototype of other similar style manuscripts⁶.

The most prominent scribe of secular music codices in Romania was Nikeforos Kantouniaries. It is certain that he was occupied with secular music transcription in Damascus⁷ as well, however, he himself inscribed in the codices Iași 129 and Vatopediou 1428, the two most important of all, that they were written in the Holy Monastery of Golia, in Iași. It is very likely that Iași was also the place of writing of his other two codices containing secular music, the RAL 925 and 784, as well as the fragment of CAMS P1.

Trieste is also given as the place of writing of one manuscript (LKP 152/292, scribe Ioannis Pelopidis). However, it is speculated that Trieste was given as the place of publication of that collection. This conclusion is reached by considering the style of writing and the presentation of the first page of the manuscript, shown in the image below, which is similar to the front page of the first printed Byzantine music publications⁸.

⁴ It is a fact that the musical relations of Constantinople and the Principalities remain underexposed. The studies of Emmanuel Giannopoulos, “Η εὐξεινος καὶ εὐκαρπος διάδοσις καὶ καλλιέργεια τῆς ψαλτικῆς στὶς περὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιο Πόντο περιοχὰς” in *Ἡ ψαλτικὴ τέχνη, λόγος καὶ μέλος στὴ λατρεία τῆς ὀρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας*, Thessaloniki, 2004, pp. 115-146, and Gheorghijă 2010, are of interest to the topic.

⁵ They are the *New Anastasimatarion* (*Νέον Αναστασιματάριον*) of Petros Ephesios and the *Fast Doxastarion* (*Σύντομον Δοξαστάριον*) of Petros Peloponnesios. Complete headings and details of the two publications are also found in pp. 57-59 of the work of Chatzitheodorou 1998.

⁶ On this topic see pp. 48-49.

⁷ At least that is what is revealed by the transcriptions of Arabic hymns and songs in manuscripts RAL 784, Iași 121 and Vatopediou 1428.

⁸ As a natural consequence, printed publications of transcribed secular music from 1830 onwards were disseminated to all centres where Hellenism flourished during the 19th century. See also relevant fn. 28 on p. 170 on the places of residence of the subscribers.

Motivations – Reasons for Transcriptions

The very little direct information available about the motives, the causes or the reasons for the transcription or the composition of secular music is gathered from the headings of certain songs, all of which, with the exception of two, are found in Nikeforos's manuscripts. More specifically, either because of encouragement, by request, or because of an order to do so, Nikeforos composed the following songs:

Σὲ ἀγαπῶ καὶ σέβομαι τὸ ὑποκείμενό σου. Melody by Nikeforos at the request of the priest Mr. Manuel Kallipolitis (Iași 129, 262 / Vatopediou 1428, 269).

Ὅταν καθήσω ἐκεῖ ὀπίσω Letters of Tzelepi Giakovaki Roizou, melody by Nikeforos at the strong persuasion of the aforementioned and my student Sophronios (Iași 129, 251 / Vatopediou 1428, 259).

Φωτεινότητος κομήτης καὶ λαμπρότατος πλανήτης, by Nikeforos at the earnest request of his beloved student Sophronios (Iași 129, 257 / Vatopediou 1428, 265).

Δὲν τὸ μετανιοιώνω ὅτι ἔφθασα νὰ σ' ἀγαπῶ, by Iakovos Protopsaltes, music at the request of a bereaved couple, (RAL 784, 30v / Iași 129, 172 / Vatopediou 1428, 177).

Semâ'î taousanikon Bir orum dilber ... which was transcribed by Nikeforos archdeacon, for the young reader Eustathios in Arnavutköy (Iași 129, 128 / Vatopediou 1428, 119).

In the *beste Tí μεγάλη συμφορά, τί ἡμέρα, τί εἰδήσεις*, of Georgios Soutsos, which is preserved in six manuscripts by four different scribes⁹, the reason for transcription is given only by Nikeforos and specifically in MSS RAL 784, Iași 127 and Vatopediou 1428:

[...] compiled in a much sorrowful and artistic way, for the sake of his deceased daughter, beloved by him beyond measure.

In another place, Nikeforos transcribes the call to prayer “of a Damascene dervish [...] because of the *schematismos*”¹⁰. However, probably feeling some undefined fear for his venture he added:

...let that be anathema to him, a sleepless worm, the gnashing of teeth and an endless Tartarus together with his followers, as for me great forgiveness due to such horrible insolence and boldness.

A few songs were composed in honour of patriarchs and hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate¹¹, as well as of rulers¹², a custom surviving from the Byzan-

⁹ RAL 784, 168r & 189v / Iași 129, 327 / Vatopediou 1428, 339 / Stathis, 20v / Gennadius 231, 3r / LKP 152/292, 70.

¹⁰ Iași 129, 221 / Vatopediou 1428, 213.

¹¹ They are listed here from the catalogues compiled during the course of this research: “For the second appointment as patriarch of his All Holiness the Ecumenical [Patriarch] Mr. Neophytos of Smyrna”. *Ἡ ἐξ' ὕψους προγηθεῖσα καὶ ἀσπίλως ἀρμυθεῖσα*, Iakovos Protop-

tine times¹³. Apart from this type of “dedication”, Nikeforos provides other information, commenting upon social events of the time, of broader or narrower interest, as well as everyday life events, many times bordering upon gossip.¹⁴ He

saltes, *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes, Iași 129, 91 / Vatopediou 1428, 146.

“For his All Holiness Mr. Gregorios for his first appointment as patriarch”. *Μεταξὺ φρικτῶν κυμάτων*, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes, Iași 129, 277 / Vatopediou 1428, 285.

“For his All Holiness Patriarch Mr. Neophytos of Smyrna in his first appointment as patriarch”. *Ὁ Μαῖου νοσηνία καὶ πρωτομαγιά αἰσία*, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* *varys* diatonic, *eniz irak*, *sofyan*, verses by Iakovos Protopsaltes, RAL 784, 45r / Iași 129, 239 / Vatopediou 1428, 247.

“For Patriarch Kallinikos” or “in the first appointment of Mr. Kallinikos as patriarch”. *Ἡ πανουργικὴ σοφία καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία*, Petros Byzantios, *echos* *varys* diatonic, *eniz irak*, *sofyan*, verses by Kyrillos archdeacon, RAL 784, 46r / Iași 129, 240 / Vatopediou 1428, 248.

“For his All Holiness Patriarch Mr. Samuel Chatzeris”, Ioannis Protopsaltes, *makam nevâ*, *echos* IV, *usul* ô 2, *Ἐφάνη ἥλιος λαμπρός*, Iași 129, 106 / Vatopediou 1428, 97.

“For the appointment to patriarch of the most wise elder Patriarch Mr. Gerasimos of Cyprus, who is also my spiritual father”, Verses and music by Iakovos Protopsaltes, *makam beyâtî*, *echos* IV, *usul* ô 2, *Νὲ χεῖ ἦτον ποτὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς νέας ἡλικίας*, Iași 129, 118 / Vatopediou 1428, 109.

“For Patriarch Kallinikos in his second appointment as patriarch”. *Ἡ οὐράνιος χορεία* Manuel Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, ô 2, Iași 129, 286 / Vatopediou 1428, 294.

“For the third appointment of Patriarch Gregorios as patriarch”. *Ἀνοδος λαμπροῦ φωστήρος*, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, *çifte diyyek*, verses of Nikolaos Logadis, Stathis, 15r / NLG 2424, 114r.

“For Patriarch Gregorios”. *Ὅλος ὁ κόσμος μὲ χαράν*, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* *varys* *heptaphonic* chromatic, *eniz*, *sofyan*, Gennadius 231, 2r.

“Ode to Patriarch Mr. Kyrillos of blessed memory, chanted at a joyful patriarchal occasion”. *Πάλιν Αὐγουστος θεοπίζει*, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal I, *uifkut arap*, *sofyan*, verses of Gregorios Protopsaltes, Stathis, 8v

“Verses and music of this praise by Nikeforos archdeacon for the most Holy [Bishop] of Irinoupolis Mr. Gregorios, abbot of Golia, Iasi”. *Εἰς τὸ σφαιρικὸν τῆς γαίας ποῖός δὲν μένει στατικός*, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV diphonic, *sâzkâr*, ô 2, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries, Iași 129, 345 / Vatopediou 1428, 347.

- ¹² “Praising [verses] for tzelebi Michalakakis Soutsos”, *Οἱ χαρακτηριστὲς τῆς εὐγενίας*, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* *varys* *heptaphonic* diatonic, *râbatî'l-ervâh*, *sofyan*, LKP 170 καὶ LKP (dossier) 89, 4.

“For his highness, master Michael Gregorios Soutsos ... sent to Iasi doubly, 1820”. *Ἡλιος λαμπρός νῦν φαίνει*, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* I, *arabân beyâtî*, *diyyek*, verses by Govdelas the Philosopher, Vatopediou 1428, 349 / LKP 152/292, 30.

The same one, by the same [Gregorios] in another way, *makam nûbhîft*, *usul* *sofyan*, the tonic is Di, *Ἡλιος λαμπρός νῦν φαίνει*.

“For the dethronement of his highness master Nikolaos Mavrogenis”. *Στὸ πέλαιος τοῦ βίου*, Iakovos Protopsaltes, *echos* *varys* *tetraphonic* diatonic, *bestenigâr*, *sofyan*, verses of Iakovos Protopsaltes, Iași 129, / Vatopediou, 1428, 257.

- ¹³ See for example, the liturgical praises to Manuel II Palaiologos (NLG 2061, 73r), Ioannis Palaiologos (NLG 2062, 55v, Philotheou 122, 189r & Koutloumousiou 456, 70r & 457, 193v) and the “praise to the emperor and king of the great Russia, (by) Mr. Petros [Bereketis]” (found in many anthologies).

- ¹⁴ Verses of Germanos [bishop of] Old Patras, Music by Nikeforos archdeacon, *makam segâh*, *echos* IV *legetos*, *usûl* ô 2, *Καλλονὴ ὠραιότητων*. Followed by this comment at the end: “I am

also provides information relevant to the transcribed songs¹⁵ or conveys the views of the musical circles of Constantinople:

“amongst all *şarkis*, this is the most famous “¹⁶.

Lastly, political events and news, such as the assassination of sultan Selim III, do not escape him:

“Verses of Sultan Selim in Turkish, at the time of his depose. Translated and composed by someone unknown. Transcribed by Nikeforos” (Iaşi 129, 346 / Vatopediou 1428, 348).

Of the same event, which seems to have made an impression upon the Greek citizens of the High Porte, Ioannis Konidaris adds that “it was composed on the terrible disaster of Sultan Selim” (Stathis, 16v)

Ὁ ματαιότης, ὃ ριζικὸν δικὸν μου Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* IV plagal, *rast*, *firengi*, verses Selim III, / Gennadius 231, 57r / LKP 152/292, 14 & 15.

while for another song the scribe notes that

“Sung in opposition to the French while /// in Moscow” (Ἐβουλήθησαν οἱ Γάλλοι, τῶν Ρώσων ἐχθροὶ μεγάλοι [unspecified], *echos* IV plagal *phthorikos* Stathis, 18r).

not saying that the verses stink, but for the subject they refer to, one needs to chew beans and spit them out”. Iaşi 129, 93 / Vatopediou 1428, 148.

Verses and music by Iakovos Protopsaltes by request of a bereaved couple, *makam sabâ*, *echos* plagal I, *usûl* ó 2, *Δέν τὸ μετανοιώνω ὅτι ἔφθασα νὰ σ’ ἀγαπῶ*, Iaşi 129, 172 / Vatopediou 1428, 177.

Verses and music by Iakovos Protopsaltes “for the love of a girl from Sarmoukasi” *makam hicâz*, *echos* plagal II, *usûl* ó 2, *Οἱ χάρες κι οἱ λαμπρότητες*, Iaşi 129, 201 / Vatopediou 1428, 205.

Petros Peloponnesios, love song, corresponding to which is the, *Ἡ ὠραιότης*, by Iakovos Protopsaltes, *makam rast*, *echos* plagal IV, *usûl* ó 2 ó i, *Δέν εἶναι τρόπος νὰ γενῇ κι ἄλλη τόσον ὠραία*, Iaşi 129, 271 / Vatopediou 1428, 280.

Verses of Athanasios Christopoulos for master Simos Mouchourdatzis Soutsos, who stopped the roof of begzade Nikolaki from leaking, funny verses, *makam rast*, *echos* plagal IV, *firengi usûl*, by Nikeforos, *Ροκάνια τζερετζηρίσατε, βροντίσατε σκεπάρνια*, Iaşi 129, 290 / Vatopediou 1428, 298.

- ¹⁵ Verses and music by Iakovos Protopsaltes. The subject of the verses is the *Δέν εἶναι τρόπος* by Petros Peloponnesios, the love song, *makam nîlhîft*, *echos* IV, *usûl* ó 2, *Ἡ ὠραιότης δὲν θεωρεῖται, μήτε τελείως ποσὼς μετρεῖται*, Iaşi 129, 134 / Vatopediou 1428, 134.

Later on, he notes that “envying the two [songs] of the *protopsaltes* [see on fn. 415 the song “Ἡλιος λαμπρὸς νῦν φαίνει], this was concurrently composed in Iaşi by Nikeforos Kantouniaries, archdeacon of Antioch, *makam ‘acem-‘aşîrân*, *usûl sofyan*, *echos varys*, “Ἡλιος λαμπρὸς νῦν φαίνει”. The verses were sent to Iaşi in 1820 where two different versions were composed by Gregorios, who later on ascended to the rank of *Archon Protopsaltes*. Finally, on the same page (p. 349) he informs that “envying” the two versions of Gregorios, he also composed a third version in a different *makam*.

- ¹⁶ Iaşi 129, 29 / Vatopediou 1428, 38, *şarkı*. Verses and music by the famous chanopaziate royal dervish Ismael, the mousaipsis, transcribed by Nikeforos archdeacon, *makam ‘uşşak*, *echos* I, *usûl sofyan* *Mehin ceynle halim diyer gün hey ledivah*.

Two important pieces of information pertaining to the reasons for transcribing secular music are found in MSS Leimonos 259 and Ivron 1038. MS Leimonos 259 accounts that the original manuscript of which it is a copy, was written by Mr. Gerasimos of the Xanthopoulon Monastery

“by order of the great master”¹⁷.

It is worthwhile to attempt an investigation into the identity of the person referred to in the manuscript as “great master”. The evidence at hand is, firstly, the title “great master”, and secondly, the scribe, Mr. Gerasimos of the Xanthopoulon Monastery. The title of “great master” was associated with the highest official of secular authority; the emperor in the Byzantine Empire and the sultan in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, it can be assumed that it refers to either an Ottoman sultan or one of the late Byzantine emperors. Unfortunately, there is no adequate evidence about Mr. Gerasimos or about the Xanthopoulon Monastery, which could possibly lead to the dating of the original manuscript as well as to the identity of the “great master” who ordered this particular transcription. Since the operation of the monastery ceased after the fall of Constantinople, it is reasonably concluded that the original of Leimonos 259 was written before 1453. The emperors who might have heard the aforementioned composition in the first half of the 15th century were the Palaiologoi Manuel II (1391 - 1425), Ioannis VIII (1425 - 1448) and Konstantinos XI (1449 - 1453). From those, the focus of the investigation can be turned to Manuel II. Broadly educated, intellectual, well travelled and having diverse interests, he fits the personality of a great master who could order the transcription of a work by the greatest of non-Greek musicians. Moreover, it is possible that this particular song came to his attention during his stay in the court of Sultan Bayezid I in Bursa, even though that stay does not coincide with the period when Maraghi may have lived in Bursa as a court musician.¹⁸ Being the emperor, Manuel was followed by at least a small entourage of which, it cannot be excluded that, Mr. Gerasimos was a member. It is also known that Manuel had a close connection with the Xanthopoulon monastery, since Makarios, the abbot of the monastery, was his spiritual father.¹⁹ In any case, the inscription is worth noting, since it shows the interest of the emperor himself in the music of non-Greeks, and makes this particular work the earliest transcription of secular music, dating from the late 14th century.

¹⁷ ff. 184r-185v.

¹⁸ It is possible that Maraghi lived in Bursa in the year 1421, in the court of Murad II, while Manuel was there a few years earlier, between 1390 and 1391 (George Ostrogorsky, *Ιστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ κράτους*, vol. 3, Athens 1978, pp. 248-249).

¹⁹ Janin Raymond, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique; les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1953, ²1969, pp. 378-379. Manuel himself later on withdrew from secular life and died as a monk with the name Matthaïos (George Ostrogorsky, 1978, p. 263).

The second manuscript, Ivron 1038 (681r), containing the *peşrev* Isach Sakili of Ioannis Protopsaltes

was written by Mr. Ioannis Protopsaltes prompted by the most holy Metropolitan of Heracleia Mr. Gerasimos

Based on what is written by the scribe, apart from Ioannis himself, the Metropolitan of Heracleia was so fond of secular music to such a degree that he exhorted the Protopsaltes to compose a *peşrev*!

However, apart from the possible specific reasons for the transcription or the composition of secular music, it is useful to also investigate the potential deeper causes, which lead the scribes to this occupation. As has already been noted, the manuscripts do not offer a direct answer or explanation. It is not known, for instance, whether the scribes transcribed of their own volition or if their work was based on some organised plan. It was also not known whether they were financially or morally supported or whether any “patrons” who “ordered” a corpus of transcriptions existed, and if so, what their social profile was, for example: hierarchs, priests, leaders, dragomans, princes, and merchants.²⁰ The inability to give justified answers to these questions, allows nevertheless the formulation of certain findings yielded by the study of the available material.

Firstly, the basic drive was their love of learning and the aesthetic pleasure gained by the scribes. Secular music, and the aesthetic pleasure that it offered, as related to the *psaltic* art, provoked their interest for knowledge. Characteristic references are found in manuscripts Xeropotamou 262 and 305:

262 (211v) Other ones, which were sung in times of merriment and joy *echos* IV *Eiς πράσινα λιβάδια*

305 (312r) *Beste*, that is Turkish song, very nice and most sweet *echos* plagal I ne *Tou isachmi tisem*

Secondly, the scribes who were also essentially collectors of this music, attempted to give secular music, both art and folk genres, the character of a written tradition. This was probably not a conscious effort during the first centuries, but one that was made in full awareness from the last quarter of the 18th century onwards. Probably sensing the underlying and upcoming social changes, they realised that oral tradition alone would not be sufficient to preserve their musical heritage as a living tradition. This is evidenced by the systematic and organised transcriptions made by Petros Peloponnesios, Petros Byzantios, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, Gregorios Protopsaltes and his students' circle, as well as the relevant statements of their successors during the 19th century.

²⁰ The only known case so far is that of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou who received generous financial support for writing his theoretical treatise on secular music by Emmanuel Kiourtzibasis, the son of Chatzi-Ioannis Ypsilantis (Ivroun 968, 741).

Thirdly, the need for the use of a notational system in secular music, most likely, was also intensified by the fact that both Byzantine ecclesiastical music and the art music of the West possessed functional notational systems. However, it cannot be purported with certainty, whether the use of a notational system in the performance and teaching of secular music in the Eastern tradition, was born out of a feeling of inferiority or whether it was simply the result of the conviction that such a system was required by necessity.

Finally, in relation to the above, the tradition of notation within the sphere of modal music generated the preconditions for a national art music of Eastern character. Within the new Greek state, that need was met with the composition of works which possessed the main structural characteristics of Western art music, but with various musical borrowings, of greater or lesser extent, from the Greek tradition.²¹

Musical Practice and Teaching

The transcriptions and related preserved manuscripts influenced the musical practice of the *psaltic* circles, in that new prospects for the utilisation of that material were created. For example, a natural consequence were the systematic transcriptions made by later music teachers as well as the printed music collections, the first of them being *Euterpe* in 1830. Indeed, since the early 19th century, these collections were seen as a suitable and usable teaching tool in the *psaltic* and related musicophile circles, while the teaching of secular pieces was included in the music education program:

“Let it be known that [...] I also have a school, teaching both ecclesiastical and secular music. The fee for the novice student [...] for the teaching of the *Euterpe* and the *Pandora* (is) 300 gurûş”

as proclaimed by T. Phokaeus in the epilogue of *Pandora* (1843). His students include Anestis Hânende, Georgios Violakis and others, while the account of G. Lesvios is also of interest:

“I was taught [...] some of the secular [melodies] of the time as well”²²

The aims of the first *Ecclesiastical Music Association of Constantinople* founded in 1863, as well as the third such association founded in 1880, also include the study and cultivation of secular music. The latter, at its 158th assembly, undertook, with a special committee

²¹ See O. Frangos – Psychopedis, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής: Προβλήματα Ιδεολογίας*, FMS, Athens 1990.

²² See Apostolopoulos 2002:102, citing the relevant reference: I. Bougatsos, *Οί απόψεις του Κωνσταντίνου Οικονόμου περί της τετραφωνίας και του Λεσβίου συστήματος*, Athens 1993, p. 162.

“to prepare a suitable book of secular music, with a good methodology, structured in such a way so that someone not intending to serve at the churches and to become a psaltes by profession, would be able to learn our music and its notation system only by the secular melodies”.

Indeed it was for that reason that the visit of G. Papadopoulos to Mount Athos, Patmos and anywhere else manuscripts with secular music were preserved, was unanimously approved.²³ The initiative to compile a book of secular pieces for educational purposes was also undertaken in 1875 by the Ecclesiastical Musical Association of Athens²⁴, as stated by the principal of the Great School of the Nation in the accountability report of the 1864-65 teaching year:

“Greek music can become an educational tool for the development of the nation's intellect, if secular music suitable for the pleasures and joys of secular life is written with the notational system of our [Byzantine] music” (Papadopoulos 1890:425).

Indeed, the aim was for young students to learn the Byzantine *parasimantiki* perfectly, and to exercise it as a “recreational occupation”, without necessarily needing to chant ecclesiastical hymns.

In late 1894, according to M. Dragoumis, Petros Philanthidis (1840-1915?) compiled a music collection of folk songs within the context of a competition of the Greek Philological Association of Constantinople.²⁵

The letter of the Ecclesiastical Music Association of Athens dated 22/1/1876 “to the committee responsible for the Olympics and bequests”²⁶ is also enlightening on this topic. In this letter, the issue of the transcriptions is presented as a matter of national significance and is directly connected to not only musical but also broader education. The letter summarises the views, aims and visions of the *psaltic* community on the importance, the role and the purpose of notating secular music, in a concise manner.

The collections of secular songs in Byzantine *parasimantiki* are characterised as a “national work” which would contribute “to the education and development of

²³ Papadopoulos 1890:401-403. The issue of the transcriptions of secular music seems to have been a great concern of G. Papadopoulos. On pp. 425 and 428 of the same book, where he also quotes the accountability report he gave for the three year anniversary of the foundation of the Musical Association “Orpheus” of Constantinople, he stresses both the transcriptions’ contribution to the enjoyment and merriment of secular life, as well as their educational importance. Indeed he suggests the need “for the remaining few credible musicians, those who can transcribe music in the notation of our ecclesiastical music, to be sent to the various provinces to transcribe the folk national songs as they are still sung by the peasants’ mouths”.

²⁴ Papadopoulos 1890:401-402, fn. 1214, citing the terms of the competition for the editing of the specific book. Term No. 3 mentions the desired coursework: “[...] in general the external secular melodies, that is folk songs, dance songs, hymns, praises, laments, dirges, European and Turkish songs as well as various compilations”.

²⁵ Dragoumis 1998:40. The award was eventually given to the collections of Nikolaos Phardys and Georgios Pachtikos.

²⁶ All excerpts of the letter originate from G. Papadopoulos 1890:438 - 439.

the national music which has fallen from its high standard due to the historic adventures of the nation”, and future supporters would provide “a great service to the nation”. Furthermore, the transcriptions would also contribute to the clarification of the issue of Greek music and by salvaging these immaterial relics they would contribute “to the national development and the forming of an honest and authentic character in us”. The editors of the letter stressed the significance of a similar work which occupies “many prominent men in the West”, adding that:

“of course, it must not be taken as something of no value, because truly this is not about a paltry object but about a core element of our nation, since, as it is known, there are two core attributes of each nation, the language and the music, which nations take pride from.”

The letter further suggests, that this work could not have been achieved with only the interest of the philhellenes from Europe, but it also required the collaboration of the domestic powers. The only suitable notation system was that of ecclesiastical music, “because the European one does not have the necessary capabilities”. To the authors of the letter, it was clear that the Byzantine *parasimantiki* was the only notation suitable to transcribe Greek music and its diversity, and not the European staff notation, which was invented and evolved in order to serve different needs. Byzantine *parasimantiki* is projected as the “womb” of the ecclesiastical and secular genres. It was fertilised within the same cultural climate where Eastern music traditions were born and developed, thus possessing overwhelming advantages compared to other notational systems, apart from its own particular capabilities which include the precise representation of: intervals, melodic movement according to modal precepts, and elements of performance style.

Finally, the letter ends with the conclusion that

“That way it is possible for many important national relics to avoid the all-consuming mouth of all-subduing time, by collecting them to be salvaged and to be used towards the national development and the forming of an honest and authentic character in ourselves”.

Of course, some manuscript collections were known to the authors of the abovementioned letter, and apart from that, their views were based also on a musical reality that will be discussed in more detail below.

In the biographical notes on music teachers, musicologists and *psaltai*, listed in his work *Συμβολαί*, G. Papadopoulos cites a great number of personalities who were occupied with secular music, as well as the instruments they played, and their teachers.²⁷ To this information, the multitude of subscribers mentioned in

²⁷ See related, Papadopoulos 1890:310-369 & 433-494 (the accounts mainly refer to musicians active from the early 18th century onwards, until the late 19th century when the writing of the book was completed) & K. Kalaitzides, “Vocal Art and the Contemporary Greek

secular music collections, which were printed and circulated from 1830 onwards, must be added. In the lists of “musicophile subscribers” of *Euterpe*, *Pandora*, *Mousikon Apanthisma* and the rest of the printed collections of secular music, around three hundred and fifty subscribers are mentioned, from many different cities and places of residence.²⁸

The notating of secular pieces was motivated by the pleasure and aesthetic enjoyment of music. It clearly also served the objectives of preservation and musicological study, however, it was mainly utilised in *melopoeia*, in performance and in teaching. For various reasons, *parasimantiki* was not enforced as the main notational system for the practice and teaching of traditional music in the Greek state. *Parasimantiki* remained mainly within the boundaries of the *psaltic* world. Just as well, where in the past it was the *psaltai* who transcribed, similarly now, *psaltai* are those who are able to read and to breathe new life into these music scores.

The Historical Context

As already noted, the phenomenon of transcription of secular music begins to unfold in the early 15th century. During that period and up until the early 19th century, which is the period examined in this book, fundamental social and political changes took place, which also defined the developments in musical matters and other fields of artistic expression. In the “Historical Overview” of this work, as well as in the chapters “The Sources”, “Genres of Secular Music” and “*Echoi* and *Makams* – Rhythmic Cycles and *Usûls*” a quantitative and qualitative differentiation of the phenomenon is observed from the 18th century onwards. Hence, two periods are distinguished:

Instrumentarium”, in W. Feldman, M. Guettat, K. Kalaitzides (ed.), *Music in the Mediterranean*, Volume II *Theory*, “En Chordais”, Project MediMuses in the context of European Union programme Euromed Heritage II. Thessaloniki 2005, pp. 111-117.

²⁸ The list, indicative only of the cities of residence of the subscribers, reveals the widespread circulation of musical collections and in turn their demand, especially taking into consideration the means of the time: Constantinople (Istanbul), Raïdestos (Tekirdağ), Kesani (Keşan), Maronia, Ainos (Enez), Portaria, Makrinitisa, Meleniko (Melnik), Bucureşti, Varna, Saranta Ekklesies (Kırkkilise, Kırklareli), Agchialos (Pomorie), Trapezounta (Trabzon), Magnesia, Pisideia (province of Antalya), Crete, Poros, Hydra, Andrianoupoli (Edirne), Philippoupoli (Plovdiv), Monastiri (Bitolia), various monasteries and hermitages of Mount Athos, Odessos (Odessa), Tyrnavos, Stenemachos (Asenovgrad), Kallipoli (Gelibolu), Serres, Syros, Tenos, Samos, Smyrna (Izmir), Prousa (Bursa), Ioannina, Thessaloniki, Lemnos, Kioutacheia (Kütahya), Kastoria, Costantza, Argyrokastro (Gjirokaştër), Kalamata, Pafra (Bafra), Sampounta (Samsun), Yiozgati (Yozgat), Cairo, Alexandria, Nevrokopi (Gotse Delchev) and many others. In Chatzitheodorou 1998:39, fn. 69 it is mentioned that “a catalogue of 19th century subscribers is being prepared by an associate of the publishing house “Koultoura””. Such a work can be useful for the further processing of information and drawing of conclusions of sociological interest.

1st period: 15th - 17th c.

2nd period: 18 - early 19th c.

In this section, these specific periods are investigated and interpreted as being an effect and reflection of the broader political and social developments of the time.

15th - 17th Century

This period is dominated by the historic event of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the demise of Byzantine sovereignty. The nation now enters a long period of introversion and conservation, having lost its entire geographical territory and at the same time being completely confused as to its historical role and its future prospects. The *psaltic* art is cultivated with a tendency towards the traditional, until the third quarter of the 17th century, when signs of a new great peak period appear (Stathis 1980:24-33). In contrast, the Ottoman Empire is at its absolute peak, with an expanded territory threatening to conquer even the important capitals of Central Europe. At this time, the music of the court is still under the influence of Persian art music.

This environment is roughly outlined in the sources. The Ottoman Turks, who dominate the Byzantine region, as well as their music, appear foreign to the scribes during that time. In order to define the origin of secular compositions, the scribes resort to using such names as “persikon” or “atzemikon” and more rarely to “mousoulmanikon”, revealing either a confusion in relation to the cultural identity of the conqueror or an explicit statement of the heavy Persian influences. The composition of undetermined genre by Theophanis Karykis and the “Atzemikon erotikon” of Kosmas the Macedonian, show influences from foreign music, as well as from the genre of *kratemata*. Amongst the few transcribed pieces, there are fifteen folk songs, the melodic and poetic form of which reveals the aesthetic prototypes of the period before the fall of Constantinople. The eminent places of writing during that period are the monasteries, especially Athonite, as is shown by evidence in the codices. The urban climate seems to still be inhospitable for the Greeks and not conducive to any artistic expression and creation of theirs.

18th - Early 19th Century

Contrary to the above, from late 17th century onwards, a sequence of significant events in the political and military domain with direct consequences upon the economical and social life of the Greeks, gradually created an environment of intellectual and artistic activity: The treaties of Karlovic (1699), that of Passarowitz (1718) and of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), the appointment of Panagiotis Nikousios

as Great Dragoman (1661) followed by the appointment of Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1673), the appointment of Phanariot rulers in Wallachia and Moldavia from 1709 onwards, and others. As a direct result of the above, in this period, a gradual rise of Greeks in various areas is observed. An educational and cultural awakening, heightened economic activity, advancement of material civilisation, restructuring of ecclesiastical institutions, in parallel to the appearance of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, and a heightening of revolutionary movements and ideas of national integration, all contributed towards the beginning of a new period for Hellenism. During that period, a special kind of elite class is formed consisting “of merchants, teachers, monks, clerics of both low and high rank, notables, artisans and scribes, the chief amongst these being the Phanariots, men of letters and dilettantes who had been responsible for conducting the Empire’s foreign affairs for about two hundred years”²⁹. To a large degree, of course, this elite class turned to the West in many aspects of life; interacting, living, studying and creating in the large urban centres of Vienna, Venice, Marseilles, Paris and others.³⁰ However, this elite never ceased to be the predominant social context for the cultivation of the *psaltic* art and the art music of Constantinople and, by extension, the transcriptions of this music. It was a world that was distinguished for its broad horizons, its refined aesthetics, cosmopolitan character, extroversion, as well as an intense osmotic attitude.³¹ The same characteristics accompany the course of the development of Greek music from antiquity, integrating various kinds of reciprocal musical borrowings along the way.

In the same period, many significant composers flourish in ecclesiastical music, new genres are introduced, a transitional *exegetic* notation appears and a “novel beautification” is applied to older melodies (Stathis 1979, Chatzigiakoumis 1980:33-50). Additionally, it is a peak period for literature and the arts in the Ottoman court, resulting in the first decades of the 18th century being called “Lale Devri” [The Tulip Period]. In musical matters in particular, a differentiation is observed in music regarding the influence of Persian music, and a new musical practice appears (Feldman 1996:494-503).

Corresponding to the above, from the middle of the 18th century onwards, a great quantitative and qualitative differentiation is observed in transcriptions. An

²⁹ K. Kalaitzidis, CD “En Chordais”, *Petros Peloponnesios*, pp. 15-17. See also the article of A. Angelou “Historical Background” in CD “En Chordais”, *Zakharía Khanendeh*, pp. 12-26.

³⁰ With respect to the music, the attempt to introduce four part polyphony to Orthodox worship (for more, see the author’s unpublished work “Κοινωνιολογική προσέγγιση της ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας”), the Westernised religious painting which dominated newly built churches of the 19th century, and the adoption of various theological and philosophical ideas foreign to the Orthodox tradition should also be noted here. It is also a characteristic fact that the children of Greek families in the large urban centres, inside and outside the Ottoman empire, learnt some European musical instrument in the context of their musical education.

³¹ An excellent description of the historical – cultural context of the 17th and 18th centuries has been published by A. Angelou in CD “En Chordais” *Zakharía Khanendeh*, pp. 10-26.

adaptation to the new environment and a clear attitude towards utilising the new opportunities is evident in the sources. In parallel with any revolutionary ideas and aspirations that may have existed, understanding the Ottomans with whom the Greeks coexisted within a broad mesh of relations is now a priority. The Greeks are involved in the bureaucracy of the Ottoman state, while at the same time assuming a dominant place in musical matters. Their participation in the musical ensembles of the court, allowed them to comprehend and subsequently to transcribe and study the music of the Ottoman conquerors. Additionally, it allowed them to evaluate its similarities and differences with their ancestral music, the crown jewel of which is considered to be ecclesiastical music, and eventually to challenge their abilities as composers as well.

In general, the 18th century reveals the familiarisation of post-Byzantine music teachers with the music of other nations; a familiarisation which in certain cases evolved into both a deep knowledge, and a substantial contribution to its development. The study of the catalogue of composers, whose works are found in post-Byzantine music manuscripts, and other sources of that era, shows an ever growing presence of Greek composers in the palace from the late 17th century; a result of the opening of the Ottoman court to non-Muslim musicians (Feldman 1996:494-503). For example, in his three manuscripts, Petros transcribed what he had heard, been taught, composed and sung or played on *ney* and *tanbur*. He lists works of his own, of his contemporaries, and of composers much earlier than him, as preserved in the oral tradition of the Ottoman court. The volume, the depth, and the wealth of the information provided, bear witness to his broad expertise. The descriptions of G. Papadopoulos, in his historical writings, in relation to the recognition and respect enjoyed by Petros by Ottoman musicians, become more believable through the study of Petros's three autographs.

Folk songs are completely absent from the manuscripts produced from the 18th century onwards.³² Attention is now turned wholly towards art music, either that flourishing in the Ottoman court or that which developed in the Phanariot circles. This shows, the changes that take place, the dynamics, the extroversion and the new orientations of the Greek people under Ottoman rule. Within that climate, during the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, the Greek higher class that had already started to form, sought expressive outlets through the creation of an art music genre outside ecclesiastical music, but within the aesthetic context of the ancestral musical heritage. That outlet, aesthetically positioned between East and West, was none other than the invention of the genre of Phanariot songs.

³² See the related findings in the chapters: "The Sources", "Historical Overview" and "Genres of Secular Music". Also related is the statement of Papadopoulos (1980:429-428): "It is necessary for the appropriate care to be taken and attention to be paid also to our folk music, in which a great negligence is observed".

Trends in Transcriptions

From the total transcribed repertoire of secular music, it can be seen that the largest percentage, around seventy percent, concerns music which cannot be called Greek or post-Byzantine, since it is related to Eastern civilisations. Consequently, a reasonable question arises: Why do the oppressed Greeks transcribe the music of the Muslims? Was it a sign of spiritual surrender? Was it an acceptance of the cultural superiority of the conqueror? Which conditions favoured the incorporation of Persian, Arabic and Ottoman melodies into the body of transcriptions and consequently into the repertoire? A fragmented and simplistic examination of the phenomenon may lead to erroneous conclusions.

Unfortunately, the scribes themselves did not leave behind any explanatory text, or at least a note relevant to their views, from which conclusions could be possibly drawn. However, the phenomenon itself of the transcription of secular music allows both the comprehension of the breadth of the artistic trends and concerns of the time, and the general position of the post-Byzantine musical world regarding Eastern art music. The sources reveal a collective conscience and a deep conviction that what is transcribed is something akin and familiar. The *psaltai* and the scribes viewed and regarded Eastern music as a part of their Byzantine and post-Byzantine heritage. This conviction gave them the artistic freedom to treasure and to perform compositions of the non-Orthodox conquerors. There was a widespread sense that the other nations preserved many elements of Greek music in their traditions. The *psaltai* and the scribes were rather convinced that Greek music influenced and defined the birth and development of the related traditions of the East.³³ This view is emphatically stated in sources of the 19th century, a period that clearly offers more texts shedding light onto the ideological context and the motives behind the transcriptions. Indicative of this, are the views of Petros Philanthidis, intellectual, musician and composer, in his article “Our Ecclesiastical Music in Relation to [the Music of] Other Nations”:

“A relative or even sister of [Byzantine ecclesiastical music], dare I say, is the Asian or rather that which is called Arabic music, which we call external or *thyrathen* [secular music], due to its songs for outside our Church, such as the odes to our kings and patriarchs and all leaders as well as all our folk melodies which, apart from their diverse and infinite cycle, they are more or less similar to our ecclesiastical melodies, both belonging to the same genera, the same echoi, the same scales and systems, phthorai, parachordai [...]” (Philanthidis 2001a:154)

³³ We are not in a position to know whether the scribes were aware of the following quotes of Plutarch and Psellos, however they are cited here, since they condense the specific topics in the best possible manner, even though they were stated in times outside the chronological scope of this book: Plutarch, *De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute*, TLG, Stephanus p. 328D, 1.5: “The children of Persians and of Gedrosians were singing the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles” and Michael Psellos: “The Persians, Arabs, Egyptians and others, had improved everything that they had imported from the Greeks, more than we had”.

His reasoning is completed a little later with the observation that Greek music influenced the Eastern, especially Ottoman, music:

“in such a way that when we say external music, no distinction is made for the Greek songs compared to the Ottoman ones, which are most similar in all respects [...] from which it is concluded that, among many other things, the Asian nations, and especially the Ottomans, also received the music from us, something which is also admitted by credible Turkish authors saying: The customs we received from the Greeks include some of the fine arts, as shown from the mosque designs, and especially Music as well, which however - they say - the Greeks ought to admit that we developed and advanced” (p. 155)

In summary, in another article of his, he notes that

“[thyrathen or external music] [...] is flesh of the flesh of our folk and Ecclesiastical Music”. (Philanthidis 2001b:199)

Along the same lines are the views of Panagiotis Kiltzanidis (1978:11) in the introduction of the “Methodical Teaching... for the Learning and Dissemination of the Authentic Secular Melodies of our Greek Music”:

“Intending to discuss the external melos of our Greek Music and wanting to render its teaching method as understandable and precise as possible, I start with the comparison of the Greek and Arabo-Persian music, which, as far as the base notes, the intervals of the notes, and the various genera, are concerned, does not differ in any way from ours, something which I studied and verified thoroughly on the schematic diagram of the musical instrument called Pandouris or Pandoura [Tanbur].”

According to Kiltzanidis’s view, the only difference is the language: The Byzantine *echoi* are called “*Main makams*” by the Arabo-Persians, while the *echoi* produced from the main *makams* are called “*Sioupedes*”, the *semitonic echoi* being “Main Sioupedes”, the *phthoric chroai* being “*Katachristikoi Sioupedes*” etc. Eventually, he concludes that

“That is what also happened with us, who, having received [the scales] by our ancient ancestors, we renamed Dorian to *Echos I*, Lydian to *Echos II*, Phrygian to *Echos III* etc.”

Also relevant to the above, are the views of Ioannis G. Zographos Keyvelis³⁴ who witnesses that the Asian musicians admit to Greek influences upon their musical heritage by referring to

“[...] Plato (Eftaloun), Pythagoras (Pisagor), Asklepios (Lokman hekim) and many others [...] as perfect composers”.

Continuing his argumentation, he presents examples from the field of musical theory where

“If someone observes the composition of Ottoman music rhythms, they find that the verse *Sofyan* is identical to Paeon and Spondee, that *Semâ’i* consists of Paeon and Spondee, and some analogy can also be found for the rest. As for the scale of notes, the Ottoman composers use the system of the double diapason etc.”.

³⁴ See *Μουσικὸν Ἀπάνθισμα (Μεδζμουνάι Μακαμάτ)*, Constantinople 1872.

Subsequently, he presents the *makams* with their corresponding ecclesiastical *echoi* and ancient Greek *tropoi*, ending with the high regard held for Greek musicians by their court counterparts³⁵.

In many places within his historiography, and especially in pp. 278-291, G. Papadopoulos (1890) points out the kinship of Greek music with the related music traditions of the East.

“Therefore, we do not by all means deny the Asiatic character of our old and current music. [...] History provides evidence and no one denies that our initial kinship with Asia was made stronger by Alexander the Great, then by the foundation of the Byzantine state, and finally by the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, and the four century long coexistence of Greeks and Turks”.

Similar positions are also found in other parts of his work, such as those on the *kratemata* of the Arabs (p. 29), references to the scales of the Ottomans (pp. 120-121), the musical instruments (pp. 192-196) and the invention of the seven-string violin by (Stravo) Georgios (p. 205). Lastly, frequent relevant comparative references are also found in the *Λεξικόν* of Philoksenis³⁶.

Common Musical Heritage

This appreciation and perception of the kinship of Greek music with that of the Eastern civilisations by post-Byzantine music teachers, is now commonly accepted by the international academic community. The geographically and politically heterogeneous territory, which became the historical ground for great civilisations and empires, is seen as a musically uniform zone with modality being the main connecting element. Although the boundaries of the territory and the extent of the cross influences, as well as their suggested interpretations vary, the existence of uniformity is now undoubted³⁷, despite the particularities and differ-

³⁵ Op. cit., iii-xii.

³⁶ Priest Kyriakos Philoksenis, *Θεωρητικὸν στοιχειῶδες τῆς μουσικῆς*, Constantinople 1868. However, it should be clarified that interest was not mutual in general. Any movements concerned only the side of the post-Byzantine music teachers and there is no significant evidence for the opposite, with the exception of the work of Rauf Yekta Bey “Rum Kiliselerinde Musiki” published in 1899 in the daily newspaper *İkdam* and reprinted in Murat Bardakçı, *Fener Beyleri’ne Türk şarkıları*, İstanbul 1993, pp. 62-70. An analogous statement is also made by Mavroidis (1999:273): “It is indeed a fact that this relationship occupied mainly the Greeks, to a much lesser degree the Turks (sporadic comments and no evidence of a real comparative study) and nearly not at all the Arabs”. It should be noted, that the trend to study the music of the others began very early, by the Baghdad school, with the studies of the great Arab theoreticians of the 8th through to the 10th centuries, such as Al Farabi, who is however, very distant in a chronological sense from the examined era. See the related publication by D’ Erlanger 2001, especially volumes 1-3 for information regarding musical theory of Ancient Greece.

³⁷ One of the most noteworthy exceptions is the erudite publication of *The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music*, Volume 6, The Middle East [Danielson, V., Marcus, S., Reynolds, D., (ed.), New York and London 2002] which, while extending the geographical and cul-

entiations from region to region. In art music in particular, in the last centuries, an important role appears to have been played by Persian, Arab, Turkish, Greek, Armenian, and Jewish musicians, as well as those of other communities.

Its roots are traced to antiquity in this region rich in nationalities and cultures, which was politically and culturally unified for many centuries and which was dominated for two thousand years after the campaign of Alexander the Great by great empires, such as the Roman one with its capital Rome and later Constantinople, the Ottoman one, the Umayyad Caliphate with its capital Damascus and later with the conquest of Spain with centres Cordoba, Seville and Granada, the Abbasid Caliphate with its capital Baghdad, the Fatimid Caliphate with its capital Cairo and the Persian dynasties of the Sassanids and Safavids. Despite the wars, disputes and traditional or incidental enmities, there was a free and perpetual movement, exchange and cross influence of cultural customs and musical idioms. In regional folk traditions, the adherence to tradition was stronger. The large urban centres, however, and especially Constantinople, similarly to today, acted as a melting pot of cultures, despite the regional differences and singularities. At the heart of that musical world is the modal system which was shaped in antiquity with a solid theoretical foundation, and which is the basis of Eastern music, called *makam* (*maqam*) in the Arab world and in Turkey, *radif* in Persia, and *echos* in Byzantine music, while very often, common rhythmic patterns and melodic themes, forms, musical instruments and close interpersonal relationships and various collaborations and cooperations of musicians of different nationalities which extended to the exchange of views and knowledge on art and the musical science, are found.³⁸

The phenomenon of the transcription of secular music takes place in this environment, which is characterized by an intensely osmotic climate. A second aspect of the phenomenon found within the same climate, are the theoretical treatises on secular music that are related to the transcriptions and are a necessary complement for the comprehension of secular music. In the early 18th century, prince

tural bounds of modal music from Morocco to Kyrgyzstan and the Xinjiang region of China, it excludes the Greek musical civilisation which contributed decisively as a living tradition from antiquity to our days to the evolution and scientific documentation of the modal music phenomenon.

³⁸ See: K. Kalaitzidis: "The Musical Environment of the Time", in the booklet insert of CD "En Chordais", Zakharia Khanendeh, pp. 30-36. Of the many references on the topic, see indicatively the relevant chapters in the collaborative work W. Feldman, M. Guettat, K. Kalaitzides (ed.), *Music in the Mediterranean*, Volume I *History*, "En Chordais", Project MediMuses in the context of European Union programme Euromed Heritage II. Thessaloniki 2005, pp. 135-274; on the theoretical system vol. *Theory* pp. 269-433, on the repertoire and the forms vol. *History* pp. 329-438 & vol. *Theory* pp. 129-267, on the musical instruments vol. *History* pp. 579-641 & vol. *Theory* pp. 61-127; Lykouras, *Πυθαγορική μουσική και Ανατολή*, Athens 1994, Mavroidis 1999. See also Liavas 1991, Proceedings of the academic one-day conference *Πολιτιστικές Ανταλλαγές μεταξύ Ανατολής και Ελληνικού Χώρου*. Unesco – National Hellenic Research Foundation, Department of Neohellenic Research, Athens 1991, pp. 173-186.

Dimitri Cantemir wrote his treatise on music in Ottoman and Greek.³⁹ In 1728, Panagiotis Chalatzoglou wrote the textbook titled *Comparison of Arabo-Persian Music with our Ecclesiastical*⁴⁰, based mainly on Cantemir, where he makes the first attempt at corresponding *echoi* to *makams*, as well as the first presentation and explanation, in post-Byzantine sources, of the rhythmic cycles of secular music, the *usûls*. A little later, Kyrillos Marmarinos, continuing Chalatzoglou's work, wrote the *Introduction to Music by Question and Answer*, also giving the extended, so called, *apechemata*, that is the explanations of approximately seventy *makams*⁴¹. Around the late 18th to early 19th century, Apostolos Konstas of Chios dedicates a section of his work to secular music, in his *Technology*. In addition, he also cites the Arabo-Persian music terminology in the *kanonia* of the *echoi*.⁴² A similar practice is also adopted by the unknown scribe of Panteleimonos 1250 (ff. 1-17), as well as by Gregorios Protopsaltes. It is not known whether Gregorios borrowed it from Konstas, for his own, yet unpublished, *kanonia* of the *echoi*.⁴³ Lastly, of the printed publications from the 19th century that discuss the theory of secular music, the textbook of Panagiotis Kiltzanidis, who also used the work of Cantemir⁴⁴ as a main source, is worth mentioning. Also worth mentioning is the book of Stephanos Domestikos which contains the first publication of *kiari* (*kâr*), the educational compilation of verses for learning the *makams* by Beyzade Yiangos Karatzas (verses) and Yiangos Theologos (music) which

“was originally written in the old system of Music by the most musical teacher Konstantinos Protopsaltes, and already [transcribed] into the new [system] by Mr. Stephanos First Domestikos of the Great Church of Christ”.⁴⁵

³⁹ The title of the preserved Ottoman manuscript is: *Kitābu ‘İlmi ‘l-Mūsikī ‘alā vecdī‘l-Hurūfāt* [The book of musical science according to the alphabetic notation], Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, No 2768.

⁴⁰ Iviron 968, 731-740. Chalatzoglou 1900 / 2000.

⁴¹ HESG 305, LKP 123/270.

⁴² “Λόγος περί διαφορᾶς ἐξωτέρας καὶ ἐσωτέρας καὶ νότων καὶ ἐκάστης μουσικῆς τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ”. On the theoretical work of Konstas see more in Apostolopoulos 2002.

⁴³ NLG/MHS 726, LKP dossier 135 & 136 and Panteleimonos 906, ff. 6r (Stathis 1976).

⁴⁴ Kiltzanidis 1881:vi. Chrysanthos also mentions, in his theory book *Θεωρητικόν* (XXXVIII, fn. iii), that Cantemir “wrote about music in Greek and Turkish from which only the Turkish survives”. However, Kiltzanidis states, in the introduction of his book (pp. vi-vii), that he himself found and studied the specific manuscript in Greek. According to W. Feldman (1996:32), “Cantemir’s fame as a musicologist seems to have been better established among European visitors such as Fonton and Toderini, and among the local Greeks than among the Turks”.

⁴⁵ Stephanos First Domestikos, *Interpretation of secular music and its application in our [ecclesiastical] music, collected and compiled by Stephanos First Domestikos, supervised by Konstantinos Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ, printed by the Directors of the Patriarchal Press* (Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς μουσικῆς καὶ ἐφαρμογῇ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς μουσικῆς. ἐρανισθεῖσα καὶ συνταχθεῖσα παρὰ Στρ. Α. Δομεστίκου, ἐπιθεωρηθεῖσα δὲ παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου Πρωτοψάλτου τῆς Χ. Μ. Ἐκκλησίας. Νῦν πρῶτον τυποῖς ἐκδίδεται παρὰ τῶν Διευθυντῶν τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, Constantinople, from the Patriarchal Press of the Nation, 1843.

The references to the interpersonal relationships between Greek and non-Greek musicians which are more detailed from the late 17th century onwards, are also of interest to the topic. The earliest and one of the most characteristic incidents, is the one witnessed in various sources, its protagonists being the Persian court musician Emirgûn Han, Sultan Murad IV and one anonymous Greek nobleman⁴⁶. Also indicative, are the incidences related to Petros Peloponnesios and his relations with *Mevlevi* dervishes of the *tekke* of Pera (Papadopoulos 1890:320-323), the Armenian church musician Hamparsum Limonciyan, the excellent musician and interpreter of the Swedish embassy Antoine Murat, and the Italian traveller-monk Toderini⁴⁷. It is also known that many Greeks, such as Hânende Zacharias, Georgis, Stravogeorgis, Angelos, and others, participated in the musical ensembles of the court. Also interesting, are the apprenticeship relationships between Greeks and musicians of different communities: Elias taught the *tanbur* alongside the Jew Isak Fresco Romano in the court of Selim III, where Isak was a student of the violinist Kemânî Yorgi⁴⁸, and Gregorios Protopsaltes learnt the *tanbur* from Ismail Dede Efendi (Papadopoulos 1890:330). The first Turkish musicologist Rauf Yekta Bey was taught elements of Byzantine music by Archon Protopsaltes Iakovos Nafpliotis and was a registered member of the Ecclesiastical

⁴⁶ Cantemir (1734, III, 247, fn. 8): "Once when the Emperor was there drinking wine, a certain noble *Greek* happen'd to pass by in a boat, and not knowing the Sultan to be in that place, sung with great skill and sweetness a *Persian* song. *Emirgiun* opening the window, the *Greek* immediately left off. But *Emirgiun* desires him in God's name and for Christ's sake to go on with his song and bids the rowers stop the boat. When the song was ended, he goes down to the *Greek*, asks him, who he was, that was so perfectly skill'd both in the *Persian* language and the art of musick. Being told he was a *Greek* and *Murad's* subject, he kisses his hand three times, and dismisses him with a good present. Then returning to the Emperor, the *Greeks*, says he, who now obey your scepter, were once our Lords, I have this day found they justly enjoy'd that honour. I had indeed heard of their fame in our Historians, but never happen'd to meet with any one of that Nation worthy the character formerly given them. But it has been my fortune to day to know a *Greek*, whom if the rest are like, that race was truly deserving as well of our Empire as of your service. For though I am second to none among our countrymen in musick, I am scarce worthy to be call'd the scholar of this *Greek*." A meeting and spirited conversation between Sultan Murad IV, Emirgûn and Evliyâ Çelebi is recorded by the former in *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Ahmet Cevdet, ed. Istanbul: Ikdâm Matbaası, vol. 1 (1896).

⁴⁷ Papadopoulos 1890:318-324. According to Fétis, Antoine Murat (1739-18131) was taught secular music by Petros (Fr. J. Fétis, *Histoire générale de la Musique*, Paris 1869. Unfortunately, his treatise "Essai sur la musique orientale ou explication du système des modes et des mesures de la musique turque" has been lost, but it is cited by Austrian musicologist Auguste von Adelburg, who found the book at the home of his uncle, Ignace de Testa, and wrote accordingly in the Viennese newspaper *Aesthetische Rundschau* in 1867. See also, Marie de Testa – Antoine Gautier, *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte ottomane*, Istanbul, Isis 2003, pp. 421-439.

⁴⁸ See W. Feldman, "Tambûr Isak" & the booklet insert of the CD of the series *Great Mediterranean Composers*, "Musical Environment" ["En Chordais" 1918], Thessaloniki, 2005, pp. 30 & 60.

Music Association of Constantinople⁴⁹. Lastly, in the same spirit, although well outside the chronological scope of this work, the Archon Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ, Vasilios Nikolaidis, composed verses from the *Divan* by the great Ottoman poet Yunus Emre (1240-1321) and transcribed them into Byzantine music notation.⁵⁰

Transcriptions of Secular Compositions

The few existing philological sources on the topic, provide a different viewpoint on the phenomenon of transcription, and are useful for a more complete presentation of the topic. The descriptions frame the phenomenon in place and time, and convey the impression made upon the non-Greeks by the fact that the Greeks had the ability to “write the voices of the *psaltai* and the singers” and consequently had a sense of cultural superiority. It cannot be excluded, nonetheless, that such narrations exceeded the bounds of a mere description, and acted as a means for the boosting of the morale of the oppressed nation.

The following incident that took place in the presence of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror, and of Patriarch Gennadios, is mentioned in the “Chronicle from the Beginning of Time” by Dorotheos of Monemvasia, published in Venice. Dorotheos refers to the love of learning of the Sultan who

“left nothing uninspected [...], he found that the Greeks write the voices of the *psaltai* and the singers and he called [the Greeks] to the palace where there was a fine Persian, [musician] and [the Sultan] ordered, and he sung, while Mr. Gerasimos and Mr. Georgios the *psaltai* were transcribing the music of the Persian. So they transcribed the song of the Persian and then he ordered [them] to chant it. And they chanted it better than the Persian. He liked it a lot and admired the fineness of the Greeks and he gave the *psaltai* a tip while the Persian, seeing that they were such masters, knelt before them”.⁵¹

The issue does not escape Chrysanthos’s attention, commenting in his theory book:

“[...] the historical account about Greek Musicians, at the time Constantinople fell to the Ottomans, [regarding] that they were able to transcribe melodies played with musi-

⁴⁹ AJEA, Ἔργασίαι τοῦ ἐν τοῖς Πατριαρχείοις ἐδρεύοντος καὶ δυνάμει ὑψηλῆς κυβερνητικῆς ἀδείας λειτουργούντος ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ μουσικοῦ συλλόγου, issue 6, Constantinople, Patriarchal Press, 1907. Reprinted by PIPS, Thessaloniki 2001, editing and foreword by, A. Alygizakis, p. 11 (citing the members of the Ecclesiastical Musical Association of Constantinople, registered from the 1st November 1902 to 31st October 1903) : “Special (members): Rauf Yekta Bey, Ottoman intellectual and musicologist, In Constantinople”.

⁵⁰ *Οἱ Ψάλτες τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*, first series, “Βασίλης Νικολαΐδης”. Association of the Alumni of the Great School of the Nation of Athens, Athens 1996.

⁵¹ The excerpt here is a translation of the original on p. 428 of the 1637 publication housed at the National Library of Greece. However, the journal *Λαογραφία* 1909, 564-567, mentions, among other things, that the first edition was printed in Venice in 1631. L. Vranousis, doubting the name of the author calls him [pseudo] Dorotheos (Vranousis 1995:91).

cal instruments immediately after they were played and to perform them unchanged, is something that is doubted by many. That ability was certainly possessed by Petros as evidenced by eyewitnesses who are credible, as they are the most prominent people of our people. So the Ottomans played new, previously unheard of melodies invented by themselves and he transcribed them and chanted them and played them with his *tanbur*". (Chrysanthos 1832:L)

It is not certain whether Chrysanthos was aware of the *Chronicle* of Dorotheos or whether he conveyed the established view of the *psaltic* circles of Constantinople regarding this topic. This view is supported by the incident involving Petros Peloponnesios and the Persian *bânendes*, the credibility of which is stressed with the phrase

"as evidenced by eyewitnesses who are credible, as they are the most prominent people of our people".⁵²

The following brief references show, that regardless of the causes and reasons that led to the scribes preserving the compositions of non-Greeks, they transcribed music with which they felt familiar and as their own. The Greeks knew and loved and took pleasure "by listening to music of pure Eastern character, which so many generations up until ours were raised on"⁵³.

Furthermore, the sources justify the use of the term "art music of Constantinople" in contrast with other, also novel terms such as "Ottoman music", "Turkish classical music" or "post-Byzantine secular music". It has been found that the Greek sources up until the late 19th century are dominated by the terms "external music" or "Arabo-Persian". On the other hand, as aptly stated by Spyros Vryonis,

"The military and political events which led to the fall of the Byzantine empire did not interrupt the Byzantine civilisation in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe [...] Byzantium did not die on the fatal morning of the 29th of May 1453 and its culture remained a strong force in the lives, the attitudes and the cultural creations of Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Romanians, Albanians and others"⁵⁴.

⁵² Petros's dexterity in "lifting" previously unheard of original melodies, is described in detail by G. Papadopoulos (1890:320-321); An English translation of the relevant excerpts can be found at <http://www.ec-patr.net/en/history/petros-lambadarios.htm>. Papadopoulos mentions as his source, the unpublished *Λεξικό τῶν ἐνδόξων μουσικῶν* of the priest Kyriakos Philoksenis. Despite the casual style of the narration, the account by the three learned music teachers of the 19th century (namely Chrysanthos, K. Philoksenis and G. Papadopoulos), of the anecdote regarding Petros's lifting of the musical composition of the Persians, witnesses the impression caused by the incident upon the musical circles of Constantinople.

⁵³ The phrase originates from the anonymous editor of the Athens newspaper *Ἐφημερίς* of the 17th June 1874. See T. Chatzipantazis, *Τῆς Ἀσιaticῆς μουσικῆς ἐρασταί. Ἡ ἀκμὴ τοῦ ἀθηναϊκοῦ καφεῖ Ἀμὰν στὰ χρόνια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Γεωργίου Α΄*, Athens 1986, p. 118.

⁵⁴ Spyros Vryonis, *Ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἀνατολή*, Thessaloniki 1995, p. 113, in chapter "Ἡ πνευματικὴ παράδοση τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ στὸν Σλαβικὸ καὶ τὸν Ἰσλαμικὸ κόσμον".

Of course, the unique conditions after the 1453 conquest relegated a portion of Byzantine civilisation to the level of folk, while a large part of the high art civilisation was absorbed by the official Ottoman culture. Academic descriptive terminology inevitably follows the occurrence of a phenomenon, attempting to retrospectively describe and name it, sometimes unsuccessfully.⁵⁵ The music examined here, bears the basic characteristics of the “art” genre: named composition, extended and complex forms, pivotal role of music theory, particular development of techniques in the use of instruments and the human voice, high social and educational environment within which musical creation is developed and presented, the appearance of music as a main occupation and professional making of musical instruments. On the other hand, it is clear that this urban art genre flourishes predominantly within the geographical coordinates of Constantinople, contributed to by musicians of various communities and not by a single national or religious group. Thus, the most suitable adjective deemed is that of a geographical and not of a national or religious character.⁵⁶

Songs with Patriotic Content

The above discussion could perhaps lead to speculation about whether there was confusion among the scribes of secular music on matters of their cultural identity and patriotism. The reality, however, is different. The case of Gregorios Protopsaltes, who was most active in the years prior to the Greek revolution, is a very indicative one. Gregorios was taught secular music by Ismael Dede Efendi, he wrote comparative studies of Greek music in relation to Arabo-Persian music, transcribed works of Turkish and Jewish composers, however, he also composed patriotic songs with revolutionary content such as “*Δεῦτε Ἕλληνες γενναῖοι*” (*Go brave Greeks*), which was extensively copied⁵⁷:

⁵⁵ It is a fact that “with the creation of independent national states and the heightening of nationalistic movements from the 19th century, centuries-old ties and ways of communication, break dramatically, giving rise to a way of life, which is isolated and lacking a sense of common origins. In parallel, prejudices are strengthened and each of the region’s peoples starts to seek its portion of that music, claiming at the same time to be its creator. Therefore, apart from the other fields (political, economical etc.) the cultural heritage also, and more specifically music, becomes a field of confrontation and conflict”. This excerpt is from the rationale of the proposal written by the author for the submission of the *MediMuses* project to the relevant services of the European Union in the Spring of 2001 in the context of the Euromed Heritage II program. Its aim being the search for and restoration of the elements of the common musical heritage of the Mediterranean through research, educational and artistic activities (1/2/2002 – 31/7/2005). For more detailed information on the outcomes and publications of the project supporting the above, see the website www.medimuses.gr

⁵⁶ In Greek music circles the use of the term, “*Logia Mousiki tis Polis*”, has been established in recent years. Its translation, “Art Music of City”, is perhaps a more functional term for international use, compared to others.

⁵⁷ The manuscripts containing this specific song are listed on p. 126.

Δεῦτε Ἕλληνες γενναῖοι, δράμετε προθύμως νέοι, εἰς τὸν θεῖον Παρθενών.
 Πατρικὴν κληρονομίαν ἔχοντες τὴν εὐφυΐαν καὶ φιλίαν τῶν μουσῶν.
 Ἕλληνες ἄγωμεν, φῶς ἀναλάβωμεν, τὸ ζοφερὸν τῆς ἀμαθείας νὰ λείψει τὸ δεινόν.⁵⁸

Go brave Greeks, speed eagerly youth, to the divine Parthenon
 Having inherited from your fathers the cleverness and friendship of the muses
 Go forward Greeks; receive the light, to make the terrible ignorance disappear

Gregorios's case is not an exception. This song, as well as other similar songs, seems to have been influenced by the *Thourios* of Rigas and reflect the revolutionary ideas and related ideological movements of the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century⁵⁹:

Δεῦτε Ἕλληνες γενναῖοι, δράμετε προθύμως νέοι (*Go brave Greeks, speed eagerly youth*) Ioannis Konidaris, *echos* plagal IV *triphonic*, Stathis, 18r.

Τὶ καρτερεῖτε φίλοι καὶ ἀδελφοί (*What are you waiting for, friends and brothers*) Ioannis Konidaris, *echos* plagal IV, Stathis, 18v.

[Ὡ] τέκνα Ἑλλήνων (*[Oh] children of Greeks*) Ioannis Konidaris, *echos* plagal II, Stathis, 11v.

Ἐλθε ὁ Μιλτιάδης μὲ δυνάμεις πολλές (*Come oh Miltiades with many forces*) [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV *phthorikos*, Stathis, 17r.

Λαμπρὰ Ἑλλάς (*Glorious Greece*) [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *çifte düyek*, LKP 152/292, 309.

Μὲ πόνον κλαύσατε ὃ λυπημένοι (*Weep with pain, oh you who are sad*) [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV *triphonic*, *sofyan*, LKP 152/292, 22.

Other songs on similar themes can be found in LKP (dossier) 73, 2, LKP 152/292, 304, LKP 152/292, 305, LKP (dossier) 73, 9.

In parallel to the patriotic feelings and the collective aspirations for the liberation and spiritual recovery of the nation, the practical interest for the music of other nations never ceased. That was true from the pre-revolution years, through to the Greek revolution of 1821, and even later, when the process of national integration and the continuous Greco-Turkish wars were in progress. It is deemed, that it was views similar to those of the *psaltic* circles occupied with the transcriptions of secular music that allowed Alexandros Papadiamantis to praise the “divine” sound coming out of the *ney* of the Muslim clergy in the narrative “The

⁵⁸ MS Gennadius 231 also contains the remaining eighteen stanzas in text only, where influences from Rigas's *Thourios* are obvious.

⁵⁹ For more on Rigas's *Thourios* see L. Vranousis, *Συμβολή στην έρευνα για τα τραγούδια του Ρήγα και των μιμητών του. Μ' ένα άγνωστο "Θούριον άσμα"*, Athens 1948, S. I. Karas, *Ο Θούριος του Ρήγα και η μουσική του*, Athens 1998, Paschalis Kitromilidis, *Ρήγας Βελεστινλής, Θεωρία και Πράξη*, Athens 1998.

Impoverished Dervish” (“Ο ξεπεσμένος Δερβίσης”)⁶⁰, and for Georgios Viziynios to recount the art of the gypsy lyre player bewailing the Thracian leader in “My Mother’s Sin” (“Τὸ ἀμάρτημα τῆς μητρός μου”)⁶¹. Also, for Stratis Myrivilis to write the story of the Bulgarian gaida player who enchanted the passionate, music loving Greeks in the trenches of the First World War in the story “Life in the Tomb” (*Ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τάφῳ*)⁶², for Elias Venezis to describe the magical voice of Turkish soldiers from the Asia Minor coast⁶³, and for Kosmas Politis to describe the incident with Fr. Nicholas and the Jewish *ud* virtuoso Sior Zacharias in the story “At Chatzifrangos’s” (*Στοῦ Χατζηφράγκου*)⁶⁴, to mention only a few examples from the Greek literature of the late 19th to the early 20th century. Hellenism had not yet entered into the long period of introversion and intellectual dependence upon the West. The historical experience of the Phanariot administration of the Principalities, the pre-revolutionary speeches of Rigas, and later the declaration of equal rights of the Ottoman citizens (*Tanzimât*, 1839 & 1856), among other affairs, created the expectation of a peaceful coexistence between the Greeks, the Turks and the peoples of other nations; an expectation which was based on the historical experience of the Hellenised Roman empire.

⁶⁰ Alexandros Papadiamantis, “Ο ξεπεσμένος Δερβίσης”, *Ἀπαντα*, vol. 3, critical edition N. D. Triantafyllopoulos, Athens 1984, pp. 111-116,

⁶¹ Georgios Viziynios, “Τὸ ἀμάρτημα τῆς μητρός μου”, *Διηγήματα Α΄*, Athens 1988, pp. 19-20.

⁶² Stratis Myrivilis, *Ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τάφῳ, Τὸ βιβλίο τοῦ πολέμου*, Athens 1993, pp. 303-309, chapter “Μία φωνὴ σώπασε”. English edition: *Life in the Tomb*, tr. P. Bien (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1977) (repr. 1987 London).

⁶³ Elias Venezis, “Τὸ Λιός”, *Τὸ Αἶγαιο*, Athens 1980, pp. 19-20.

⁶⁴ Kosmas Politis, *Στοῦ Χατζηφράγκου, Τὰ σαραντάχρονα μᾶς χαμένης πολιτείας*, ed. Peter Mackridge, Athens 1996, pp. 42-43 and 72-74.

Part Two

I Genres of Secular Music

The second part of this book deals with the prime issues concerning the repertoire of secular music: musical form, theoretical system, and lastly, notation. In this chapter, more specifically, the genres found in the sources are examined. A host of new elements are presented, broadening knowledge on the structure of pieces, their nomenclature, and many other topics. Moreover, the trends and developments, which characterised various musical periods, are observed within the music encompassed in the four centuries of secular music manuscript tradition.

The surviving repertoire is classified into two categories. The first, is works for which the genre is clear, either because it is adequately described or because it was discerned and concluded through this study. The second, is works of unclear or undetermined genre. As already noted in the chapter, *Historical Overview*, the genre is clearly stated in manuscripts of the 18th and 19th centuries, the first references being by Petros Peloponnesios. In the centuries before that, no relevant references were given in the headings of the pieces. Obviously, the scribes were not sufficiently familiar with the genres of secular music in order to add such descriptions. Lastly, works where a clear genre is identified are distinguished as either folk, or as genres within the repertoire of the art music of Constantinople.

Greek Folk Music

The number of folk songs, as already noted, is disproportionately small in comparison to the total number of transcriptions. Eighteen songs exist in total, originating from six codices, which are classified into two time periods. The first fifteen were transcribed in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the final three in the 19th century:

16th c.: Iviron 1189 (one song)

17th c.: Iviron 1054 (one song), Xeropotamou 262 (three songs) and Iviron 1203b (thirteen songs)

19th c.: Vatopediou 1428, LKP 152/292 (three songs)

This categorisation is based on the fact that the manuscripts of the 16th and 17th centuries preserve songs of the early post-Byzantine period, for which no other available sources exist. These fifteen songs are of particular value and present similarities in melodic development, musical form, and language style. These similarities will be examined below. It is worth noting that their style and musical form, in conjunction with their dating close to the conquest of 1453, enable the view that they are possibly Byzantine songs or at least heavily influenced by the Byzantine period.

The last three songs also present interest as they preserve both the music and the poetic text of the folk songs. They originate from the late 18th to early 19th century. However, they will not be examined here, as they do not exhibit anything new from the point of view of musical form.¹

The Oldest Notated Folk Song

Χαίρεσθε κάμποι χαίρεσθε, Folk, *echos* plagal IV and plagal IV nana, Iviron 1189, 125v (see plate 2).

In his presentation at the Academy of Athens, G. T. Stathis (1976), who brought this song out of obscurity, concluded that it is the oldest transcribed folk song. His article also presents an initial analysis as well as a reconstruction of the structure of the song. According to Stathis, hieromonk Leontios Koukouzelis probably copied the song from another codex. In addition, he observes that the main stanzas are written in iambic 15-syllable and *echos* plagal IV triphonic, while the three refrains are in trochaic 8-syllable and 7-syllable, in *echos* plagal IV.

The song has a particularly unusual structure. It has three main stanzas *Χαίρεσθε, κάμποι, χαίρεσθε...*, *Ἐχω βοτάνιν τῆς φιλιᾶς...*, *Νὰ σνηθίσει τὸ πουλὶ...* which are sung on the same melody with the four half verses, having the musical form ABCB (Baud-Bovy 1992:22). They are each followed by the exact same *kratema* whose non-lexical syllables are not of the *psaltic* tradition, but are similar to those used in the *terennium* of Eastern music, possibly of Persian origin. Finally, as a kind of final refrain, three stanzas are sung to the same melody as the refrains *Δάφνη καὶ μερσίνη ἐσὺ 'σαι...*, *Τὰ πουλίτσα κοιλαδοῦνε...*, *Τὸ φιλὶν τὸ μὲ ζητᾷς...* According to G. T. Stathis (1976:188-189), the reconstructed song is as follows:

Χαίρεσθε, κάμποι, χαίρεσθε,
χαίρεσθε τὸν καλὸν μου·
περδίκια κακανίσετε
κι ἀποκοιμίστέ τον.

Dousti yallalli doustom
yaila lla llalle

¹ The three songs are:

Ἀμάν, βουνὰ παρακαλῶ εἰπῆτε Island song, *echos* IV *legetos, segáh*, ὁ 2 2 ὁ ἰ, Vatopediou 1428, 156.

Κόρη μαλαγματένια μου Song from Zakynthos, *echos* plagal IV, *rast*, Iaşi 129, 333 / Vatopediou 1428, 304.

Ξένος ἦμουν κι ἦρθα τώρα [folk], *echos* plagal IV, γ / χ, LKP 152/292, 287.

It should be noted that in Vatopediou 1428, a song with the indication “Nisiotikon” (“Island song”) (*Ἄν κι αὐτὸ τό 'καμε βλέπεις*, p. 186) is found. Nikeforos labels it Nisiotikon, however, the poetic text is in the style of the Phanariot songs, and he himself adds the following indication further down: “island song, adapted to these lyrics and notated by Nikeforos”, therefore it is not included here among the folk songs.

tarailine dos toum
yayalale tallallalle
tarla tarla tanatirine

Δάφνη καὶ μερσίνη ἐσὺ 'σαι
καὶ τὰ φύλλα σου μυρίζουν·
καὶ τὰ φύλλα σου μυρίζουν
καὶ χειμὼν' καὶ καλοκαίρι.

Ἔχω βοτάνιν τῆς φιλιᾶς
νὰ σπείρω 'γὼ στὲς στράτες·
τὰ μονοπάτια τὰ περνᾷ
γοργὰ νὰ μὲ τὴ φέρουν.

Dousti yallalli doustom
yaila lla llalle
tarailine dos toum
yayalale tallallalle
tarla tarla tanatirine

Τὰ πουλίτσα κοιταδοῦνε
'γείρου δὲν τὸν ἀγαπᾷς·
κᾶν παράσκυψε καὶ πέμε,
νίότερε, καὶ τί γυρεῦεις.

Νὰ συνηθίσει τὸ πουλί
νὰ μπεῖ στὸ περιβόλι·
νὰ κακανίζει τὰς ἀνγὰς
ὦ διὰ τὴν ποθητὴν μου.

Dousti yallalli doustom
yaila lla llalle
tarailine dos toum
yayalale tallallalle
tarla tarla tanatirine

Τὸ φιλὶν τὸ μὲ ζητᾷς
ἀκόμη οὐκ ἤρτεν ὁ καιρὸς·
κι αὐτὸ δύνομαι ποσῶς
ν' ἀπομένω λυγερή.

It is not known whether this song is a representative sample of songs of similar form or if it is a unique and isolated case. Moreover, the use of Persian words in the *terenniüm* is also of interest. Unfortunately, it is not known whether the insertion of the *terenniüm* was made by the scribe or whether the song was actually sung like that. Perhaps it is connected to the section of Persian music that precedes it in the same manuscript, where an extensive use of *terenniüm* with the ex-

act same or similar syllables is observed. In any case, this fact obviously suggests influences upon song structure from the *mathemata* of the *psaltic* art (Stathis 1979:149-159; Anastasiou 2005:123-166). The *kratemata* here do not delineate the three parts of the song, but rather they delineate each main verse from the refrain. In summary, its structure is as follows:

First stanza

terennium

First refrain

Second stanza

terennium

Second refrain

Third stanza

terennium

Third refrain

Despite the restrictions imposed by the *Old Method* of notation in which the song is written, its melismatic character becomes apparent from the study of the way its notation was architected. Its unbalanced, extended melodic treatment of certain syllables in the main stanzas is of interest. Such treatment is seen at the endings of verses that extend over many syllables, while in contrast, the refrains have a syllabic melody, as is generally the case for the rest of the music score:

Χαίρεσθε, κάκαααμποι, χαί-κάμποι χαίρεσθε,
χαίρεσθε τον καλοοοοοοοοοοοόν μου
περδί-περδίκια κααακανίσετεεεε
κι άποκοιμίσετεεεεεεεεεεέ τοοον.

Έχω βοοτα-βοτάνιν τής να-τής φιλιᾷς
νὰ σπείρω ᾿γὼ στὲς στραααααααάατες
τὰ μο-τὰ μονοπαάατια τὰ περναᾷ
γοργᾷ νὰ μὲ τὴ φεεεεεεεεεεεέρουν.

Νὰ συνηηθιύσει τὸ πουλὶ
νὰ μπεῖ στοοὸ περιβοοοοοοοοοοοόλι
νὰ κακακακανιῖζει τὰς ἀγγαᾶς
ὦ διὰ τὴν ποθητηηηηηηηηήν μου.

The prolonging of cadences is not unknown in Byzantine *melopoeia*. It is very commonly found up to our days. It is a method familiar to Byzantine composers, who among others, contributed to the appearance of the genre of *kratemata*². Influences from the *mathemata* of Byzantine *melopoeia* are obvious here as well.

² For the genesis and origin of *kratemata*, see Anastasiou 2005:77-97.

Oral tradition has not preserved any song similar to this one. Its structure, melodic treatment and overall sophistication magnify its importance. It is not only the oldest transcribed song, but also a unique example of secular Byzantine *melopoeia*. Finally, the use of the term “folk” could be avoided since this specific song differs significantly with respect to the musical form of folk songs, at least as they are known today. It is probably the creation of an imaginative composer, possibly inspired by a folk melody, and bears all the characteristics of a product of high culture; a miniature artistic composition³. It is estimated that the song must be somewhat older than the date of writing of codex 1189 in which it is preserved. High culture required a suitable social environment to flourish, and such an environment existed in the years before the fall of Constantinople.

*Fourteen Folk Songs from the 17th c.*⁴

These songs originate from three manuscripts dating from the early to the middle of the 17th century. However, it is estimated that they are older than the time of their transcription. Thirteen of these, which constitute the main body of the collection, are found in MS Iviron 1203b and have attracted the interest of researchers in the past.⁵ They do not appear to bear uniform characteristics in regard to musical form, though their study is hindered by significant difficulty as all songs are written in the old music notation. It is however possible to express certain observations and findings:

Firstly, all songs belong to the soft diatonic genus. Eight of them are in *echos* IV, three in *echos* I, and three in *echos* plagal IV. The quantitative data here shows an unusual domination of *echos* IV as well as a complete absence of the chromatic genus.

Secondly, according to Bertrand Bouvier (1955:72-75; 1960; 1967), certain songs preserved in these specific manuscripts were either transcribed in the late 17th century or later, or they are also found in living oral tradition with similar or even identical poetic verses:

Αἰτὲ ποῦ κάθῃσαι ψηλὰ εἰς ὄρος χιονισμένον, Folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 4v.

Διόχνεις με μάνη διόχνεις με καὶ ᾧ πηγαίνει θέλω, Folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 3v.

Εἰς πρασινάδα λιβαδιοῦ καὶ κάτω σ' κρῖο πηγάδι, Folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 4r / Xeropotamou 262, 211v.

Εἰς τὰ ψηλὰ παλάτια, στὰ ἴμορφα βουνά, Folk, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 1r.

Εἰς ὑψηλὰ βουνά, εἰς ὄρος χιονισμένον, Folk, *echos* IV: Xeropotamou 262, 212r.

Θλίβει με τοῦτος ὁ καιρός, λυπεῖ με ὁ χρόνος τοῦτος, Folk, [*echos* I]: Iviron 1203b, ar.

³ Samuel Baud-Bovy (1992:22) is also convinced of the art music origins of the song.

⁴ The complete table of songs is given on p. 83.

⁵ See analytical list of citations in the Introduction of this book, p. 24.

Κάλεσμα κάμνει ὁ βασιλιάς, κάλεσμα κάμνει ἀφέντης, Fol k, *echos* I: Iviron 1203b, γν.

Ὅλα τὰ Δωδεκάνησα στέκουν ἀναπαμένα, Fol k, *echos* plagal IV: Iviron 1203b, 1v.

Ὅλοι τὰ σίδηρα βαστοῦν κι ὅλοι στὴ φυλακὴ εἶναι, Fol k, *echos* plagal IV: Iviron 1203b, γτ.

Ὅταν λαλήσῃ ὁ πετεινὸς κι ἐκκλησιᾶς σημαίνουν, Fol k, *echos* plagal IV: Iviron 1203b, 1v.

or at least they share many common references:

Τ' ἀηδόνια τῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ τὰ πουλιὰ τῆς δύσης, Fol k, *echos* I: Iviron 1203b, βν / Xeropotamou 262, 212v.

Θωρεῖς τὸν ἀμάραντον πῶς κρέμεται στὸν βράχο, Fol k, *echos* IV: Iviron 1203b, 2r.

Ἄγριον πουλί, μερώθου μου καὶ γένου μερωμένον, Fol k, *echos* IV: Iviron 1054, 172r / Iviron 1203b, 3r.

As well as this, their melodies also appear to exhibit many similarities. Therefore, from a poetic point of view, the songs can be classified as folk. This conclusion is reached, first and foremost, by the study of their poetic texts as published, revised and annotated by Bouvier.

Thirdly, listed below are three of the fourteen songs of the group studied here. In their heading, they bear the description “*organikon*”, literally meaning “instrumental”, a description that is contradictory to the existence of poetic text in the songs.

Εἰς τὰ ψηλὰ παλάτια, στὰ ἴμορφα βουνά, *echos* IV, Iviron 1203b, 1r.

Εἰς ὑψηλὰ βουνά, εἰς ὄρος χιονισμένον, *echos* IV, Xeropotamou 262, 212r.

Θωρεῖς τὸν ἀμάραντον πῶς κρέμεται στὸν βράχο, *echos* IV, Iviron 1203b, 2r.

The question of what is actually meant by the “*organikon*” description here, must be asked. The answer relates to the rhythmic substance of these three songs compared to the rest of the fourteen. It is known that in the *Old Method* of notation the “*organikos dromos*”, literally “instrumental way” or “instrumental style”, of the *Sticherarion* in the slow style is based on rhythmic bars and denotes pieces in a certain rhythm, as opposed to the slow *Papadikon* melos, which lacks a specific rhythmic structure (Apostolopoulos 2002:227, 229). Hence, these three songs are performed with some kind of rhythm that the scribes of these two manuscripts either did not mention or were not in a position to mention due to their lack of knowledge, or their inability to define the style. These three pieces are therefore distinguished from the other eleven songs, which can be reasonably assumed to be belonging to the genre of arrhythmic *epitrapezion* songs.

Fourth, in all fourteen songs, an extended development and a melismatic character is evident, with each stanza occupying between five to nine lines of music score in the *Old Method* of notation. Two of the songs, which have been transcribed into the *New Method* by Thomas Apostolopoulos⁶, allow the conclu-

⁶ These two songs can be found on the CD *Κοσμικὴ μουσικὴ ἀπὸ Ἀγιορειτικῶς κώδικες βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς*. *Exegesis* attempt by the *psaltes* Andreas Tsiknopoulos, recited by S.

sion – and not just the assumption – to be made, that they have a more extended melodic development and elaboration compared to their contemporary surviving counterparts. For example, song No. 3 of the collection, *Όλοι τὰ σίδερα βαστοῦν κι ὅλοι στὴ φυλακὴ εἶναι*, exhibits a close relationship with the well-known Macedonian *epitrapezio* song, *Ντούλα*, both in terms of its theme and its music.

Ο λοι τα σί δε
 ρα βα στού ούν κι_ό ό
 λοι στη φυ λα κή 'ναι κι_ό
 ό τα πει νό ό
 ό ός ο Κω
 δρο σιά μου
 ο ο Κω ω στα α ντής

Extended melodic development such as this is not however found in folk music that survives today. Based on the above evidence, a hypothesis can be made that these songs were possibly of art music origin or, at the very least, that they were influenced by art music. Bouvier (1955:15) also made similar speculations for the song *Θλίβει με τοῦτος ὁ καιρός* without however justifying his position. Samuel Baud-Bovy (1992:22-23) also made similar speculations for this song, as well as *Κάλεσμα κάμνει ὁ βασιλιάς* motivated by the particularities of the poetic text. This speculation however, is contrary to the undisputed folk origins of the poetic text.

Lambros (op. cit., 426) and K. Romanos (1996: I, 164) where “the Aramis [Perikles Aravan-
 tinos] sings *Όλα τὰ Δωδεκάνησα στέκουν ἀναπαμένα* at a function at Parnassos (1903)”.

Hence, a paradox occurs, where the poetic text is folk and the music is of high art origins. It cannot be excluded of course that the melismatic elements and any elaboration, may be extensive interventions of the scribe. Bouvier's (1955:51) assessment of the song *Εἰς πρασινάδα λιβαδιοῦ καὶ κάτω σ' κρύο πηγάδι* is relevant here. Noticing that this song survives in six versions in western Crete, he hypothesises that

"either Athanasios gave us an old form of the song which later evolved and became faster, or that he took the old, plain song to which he or his advisor, added his own elements".

However, this possibility seems quite extreme too. The theory that appears to be perhaps closest to the truth, is that at the time of creation or transcription of these songs, folk songs had a more extended melodic development. As a genre, older folk songs and especially *epitrapezion* songs had a more extended form compared to their contemporary counterparts – as transmitted to this day by oral tradition and by sound recordings or in notation from the late 19th century onwards. Indeed, in relation to the above-mentioned example, Bouvier (1955:51-52) deems, always with the necessary reservation, that

"the Ivron song... (is) a fragment of an old *paraloge*⁷ and the contemporary versions are subsequent renditions of that. Some poet from western Crete must have taken an older song, similar to the Ivron song, and by condensing it and giving it a faster narrative rhythm, must have put together the simple and beautiful song still heard today."

This process, described so simply by Bouvier, could hold true for all the songs of the collection, which survive in a more condensed form today. A related note is made by S. Lambros (1914:424) in the first relevant publication of the thirteen songs of Ivron Monastery:

"...the text [of the contemporary counterparts] is very much similar to the original, accounting for any changes incurred through oral tradition, which took place over a long period of time..."

It appears that, for some reason, more extended musical phrases were favoured in past times and that whatever the influences ecclesiastical *melos* had upon folk song, they adapted dynamically over the course of time. Folk songs were of extended form, like ecclesiastical compositions were, while later, the trend of abridging works in the *psaltic* art influenced folk tradition as well.

Art Music of Constantinople

The use of the term "art music of Constantinople" was explained in the chapter titled "The Social Context – The Cultural Environment". In this section here, the genres performed at the Ottoman court, as well as "Phanariot songs" as they

⁷ Translator's note: A *paraloge* is a narrative song; a folk ballad.

have come to be known, are examined. These genres make up the vast majority (over 90 percent) of the transcriptions, witnessing, among other things, the aesthetic orientations and artistic pursuits of the scribes, as well as those of the musical community of the Greeks of the time.

Their study allows the drawing of conclusions on the more general customs of the time regarding the urban music of Constantinople. The majority of the sources originate from the 18th and 19th centuries. At that time, the long and extended vocal genres, such as the *kâr*, were no longer fashionable and for that reason they are rarely found in the manuscripts. Petros's transcriptions, which constitute the most important source on this music, from the 18th century, preserve mainly *peşrevs* and *semâ'îs*, while in RAL 927 his transcriptions constitute the first collection of Phanariot songs. A relatively small number of *bestes*, *ağır* and *yürük semâ'îs*, and *şarkıs* are found, while from the late 18th century onwards, Phanariot songs dominate in the sources.

The genres of Ottoman music were performed in a sequence of pieces that came to be called *fasıl*. *Fasıl* draws its origin from the Arabic *nûba* and constitutes a macro-form where the pieces are performed in a certain successive order by genre, with the unifying element being their common *makam*. For example, a typical succession of pieces in a *fasıl* as it took shape in the middle of the 19th century is as follows:

Taksîm

Peşrev

Taksîm

One or two *bestes*

Taksîm

Ağır semâ'î

Taksîm

Yürük semâ'î

One, two or more *şarkıs*

Saz semâ'î

The above ordering of pieces is indicative only and is open to many variations, with the addition or subtraction of genres. However, with the exception of one single case in the sources, no listing of works was found with the logical grouping of genres that would indicate a *fasıl*. The exception is fragment LKP (dossier) 59 written by Gregorios Protopsaltes. Apart from that, the only related evidence found is in the manuscripts of Petros, where, when a *peşrev* is transcribed in one *makam*, usually it is followed by a *semâ'î* in the same *makam*. This leads to the

conclusion that any knowledge and understanding of Ottoman music by the scribes was more theoretical in nature and less experiential. They probably heard the transcribed songs individually and fragmented. Potentially, apart from Petros Peloponnesios for whom relevant accounts exist, the rest of the scribes did not experience a *fasıl* themselves, especially in its natural environment, in the palace for example. They probably heard the elements of a *fasıl* from other Greek musicians who participated in concerts at the palace. Otherwise, examples in the sources of transcriptions organised on the logical grouping of a *fasıl* would have been found. Petros, of course, from what is known, was present at the concerts of the palace in the capacity of a musician. It is however unknown as to why he did not order his transcriptions based on the logic of a *fasıl*.

In particular, the three manuscripts of Petros containing art music of Constantinople, even though not adhering to the logic of the *fasıl*, contain content defined by the music customs of the court. For example, in Gritsanis 3, as in LKP (dossier) 60, the vast majority of pieces given are instrumental. That is not surprising given that the music of the Ottoman court for various reasons, makes a great shift towards instrumental music during the 17th century. Finally, another important finding is that in the third quarter of the 18th century, the time in which Petros was most active, pieces which were composed in the previous centuries, reaching back as far as the 16th century, were performed in the Ottoman court and in art music circles. It can be easily observed that this music had a vivid continuity, with the 16th century as a boundary – essentially coinciding with the consolidation of Ottoman rule over the former Byzantine region. The above may allow the determination of the chronological time frame pertaining to the beginnings of this new musical reality, as being the 16th century.

The surviving genres in the sources are as follows:

A. Musical genres of the Ottoman court

Instrumental genres

1. *Peşrev*
2. *Saz semâ'i*
3. *Taksîm* (revealing the *echoi*)
4. *Seyir*

Vocal genres

1. *Kâr*
2. *Beste*
3. *Semâ'i* (*ağır* and *yürük*)
4. *Şarkı*
5. Compositions of indiscernible genre

B. Phanariot songs

Genres of the Ottoman Court

A Instrumental Genres

Peşrev

The *peşrev*⁸ is an instrumental genre that has the character of an introductory piece within the grouping of *taksîms*, vocal, and instrumental compositions sharing a common *makam*, commonly known as *fasıl*. The word *peşrev* comes from the Persian word *pîşbrow*. Its etymology reveals its functional role in the macro-form of *fasıl*, as the term means to “come before” or “precede”. Its rhythmic cycle is traditionally a longer one: 16-bar, 20-bar, 24-bar, 28-bar, 32-bar and so on up to 64-bar. From the 16th century when it first appeared, until the late 19th century, the *peşrev* was the crown of instrumental musical creation. Its structure, as well as a series of characteristics pertaining to its musical form, did not remain unchanged over time. Some of these characteristics evolved or were modified, others disappeared and yet others appeared in the course of time. The manuscript tradition of ecclesiastical music contributes to what is known overall about the genre of the *peşrev*, not only with respect to musical form, but also by the broadening of the corpus of the repertoire with newly discovered works. Previously unknown *peşrevs* by known composers come to the surface, thus contributing to a more complete outline of the composer’s work. In addition, many other *peşrevs* of unnamed composers are discovered as well, which at present remain undated.

Information from the Sources

One hundred and forty-four *peşrevs* survive, having been transcribed into the notation of the *psaltic* art, excluding those that for various reasons were found incomplete. Sixty-six of those either state the composer’s name explicitly or their composer could be identified, while around seventy-eight *peşrevs* remain unattributed to a composer as yet. With the exception of two *peşrevs* transcribed by Gregorios Protopsaltes in LKP 2/59a and one composed by Ioannis Protopsaltes transcribed by the unknown scribe of Iviron 1038, all the rest originate from two autographs of Petros Peloponnesios, MSS Gritsanis 3 and LKP (dossier) 60. The following observations and references concern these two codices of Petros, unless another reference source is explicitly stated.

⁸ An extended study on the genre of *peşrev* is published by Feldman (1996:303-459) together with a historical overview, structural analysis and a rich bibliography on the topic. In Turkish literature, the work which stands out is Yavaşca 1985. A brief presentation of the genre is given by Özalp (1992:5-7). In the Greek language, a description is given in Kiltzanidis 1978:165; Tsiamoulis & Erevnidis 1998:291-292); Smaniss 2011:334 and I. Zannos (accompanying text of LP “Βόσπορος, Έλληνες Συνθέτες της Πόλης 17^{ος}-19^{ος} αι., OM 2LP A/001-2, 1989). See also, Wright 1988:1-108; 2000.

Codex Gritsanis 3 is dominated by instrumental compositions, and in particular, *peşrevs*. One hundred and twenty of them in total are found therein, while LKP (dossier) 60 contains approximately twenty-four. They all date from the middle of the 16th century through to the middle of the 18th century. The anonymous pieces that could not be otherwise identified, prove difficult to date with certainty. The *peşrevs* of known composers, dating from the 16th century are eleven in number, from the 17th century are twenty-five, and from the 18th century are twenty-six. Given the fact that for the 18th century no *peşrevs* survive in other written sources, these twenty-six transcribed *peşrevs* are of particular importance for the study of the genre.

First of all, regarding the name of the genre, it is observed that Petros often writes the term in slightly varied ways, from *pestref* to *pestrefi*:

Gritsanis 3

- 5v **pestrefi** of Mr. Zacharias, *makam bestenigâr, usûl devrikebîr, echos varys*
 68r another **pestrefi** *aşîrân, usûl çember*.

LKP (dossier) 60

- 11r **pestrefi** *makam karcığar, diyyek* from *rast teterela terelela*
 30v **pestrefi** by Hasan Aga, *diyyek*, from *diğâh, hüseyinî*

“*Pestrefi*” is the name used also by Gregorios in LKP 2/59a and by the unknown scribe of Iviron 1038. This spelling perhaps preserves a different pronunciation of the word than that which is known today. Petros only sometimes inscribes the name of the genre, while he always gives the *makam* and the *usûl*. A detailed observation, however, of the structure and the melodic development of these works leads to the safe conclusion that they are, indeed, *peşrevs*:

Gritsanis 3

- 7v *makam büziürk, usûl zencîr*. Then the *orta hâne*. Then the *ser hâne* for *mülazime*
 8r *Son hâne*. Then the *ser hâne* for *mülazime*
 83r *mâbûr tatarhan, usûl diyyek*. Then the *mülazime*, 2nd *terkîb*, *orta hâne*, 2nd *terkîb*, then the *mülazime*, *Son hâne*, 2nd *terkîb*, then the *mülazime*

LKP (dossier) 60

- 36r the *agaraza sakîli hüseyinî* from *diğâh*
 mülazime
 2nd *terkîb*
 36v *orta hâne*
 37r the *son hâne hicâz*

Apart though from the examination of these particular works from the perspective of musical form, there is other clear evidence supporting the claim they are *peşrevs*. Some of these compositions are found in the collections of Bobowski and Dimitri Cantemir, written a hundred and ten, and sixty years, respectively,

before those of Petros⁹, therefore it is possible to ascertain their genre from these sources as well. The following are some indicative examples:

Seif miseyn naziresi, makam arak, tonyek, Gritsanis 3, 61v → *Irak Nazire-i Seyfü'l-Misri, Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 103-104, work 194.

Asik buseini, tonyek, Gritsanis 3, 148r → *Aşık Hüseyin Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 46-47, work 84.

Muhayer donyek kioutsonk Ali Pei, Gritsanis 3, 154v → *Pişrev-i 'Ali Beğ, der Mağām-ı Muhayyer, Uşüleş Düyek*, Bobowski, 70-1.

Neva [peşrev] [Persian], [echos plagal II], *feri mouhames*, LKP (dossier) 60, 25v. → *Nevā 'Acemler Fer'-i Muhammes*, f. 37, work 68.

Gioulistan pentziougiab [peşrev] [Persian], [echos plagal IV tetraphonic], *donyek*, Gritsanis 3, 146v. → *Pencgâh Gülistân Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 17-18, work 27.

Houseini [peşrev] [Indian], [echos plagal I], *devri revan*, LKP (dossier) 60, 52r. → *Hüseyin Dev-i Revân Hindliler*, Cantemir, f. 93, work 172.

[*Rast*] *gioul tevri pesrefi* [unspecified composer], *echos plagal IV, devr-i kebîr*, Gritsanis 3, 231v. → *Rast Gül Devr'i Devr-i kebîr*, Cantemir, f. 67, work 122.

Houseini gamzekiar naziresi pesrefi [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I], *donyek*, Gritsanis 3, 246v. → *Hüseyin Nazire-i Gamzekâr Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 170-171, work 314.

Houseini soukoufizar naziresi [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I], *donyek*, LKP (dossier) 60, 39v. → *Hüseyin Nazire-i Şüküfezâr Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 50, work 90.

Hitzaz tourna, [peşrev] [unspecified composer] [echos plagal II], *sakîl*, LKP (dossier) 60, 22v. → *'Uzzal Turna Sakîl*, Cantemir, f. 176-177, work 324.

Segâh [roubhan peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV legetos], *donyek*, Gritsanis 3, 60v. → *Segâh Roubhan Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 97-98, work 182.

Beyiati [peşrev] [Behrâm Ağa (Nefiri)], [echos IV], *devr-i kebîr* LKP (dossier) 60, 18r. → *Pisrev-i Behram Nefiri*, Bobowski f. 69-1.

Neva bougiouk [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *donyek*, LKP (dossier) 60, 26r. → *Büyük Nevā Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 38-39, work 70.

Rast mourasa pesrefi [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV], *donyek*, Gritsanis 3, 218v & Gritsanis 3, 220v. → *Rast Muraşş'a Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 113, work 214.

Neva bougiouk [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *tsemer*, LKP (dossier) 60, 47r. → *Büyük Neva çember*, Cantemir, ff. 102-103, work 191.

The Practice of Naming Peşrevs

The study of the corpus of *peşrev* transcriptions leads to the finding that in their titles, apart from the usual indications concerning the genre, the composer, the

⁹ Bobowski's collection was written around 1650. Unfortunately, both Cantemir's and Petros's collections are undated.

makam, the *usûl* and the *echos*, other details are found as well, which at first glance either seem unusual or raise questions:

“Peşrev *kûb-pâre*, *makam bisâr*”

“*Makam* necd, *uşûleş sakîl*, *eipliler subb-i sabar*”

“The *turna sakili*, *bicâz*”

“*Hüseynî şevk-efzâ nazirent*, *düyek*”

“*Peşrev gül devri*” and others.

The clarification by the scribe of Iviron 1038, on f. 681r, where the *peşrev* of Ioannis Protopsaltes is introduced, is enlightening:

Peşrev, called *Isach Sakili*, also known as *karapataki*, written by Mister Ioannis Protopsaltes [...]

The scribe clearly informs the reader that the *peşrev* has a name: “*Isach*”. *Sakili* means *usûl* “*sakîl*”, while the term “*karapataki*” will be analysed extensively below. The practice of naming *peşrevs* is also seen in the other two main sources of art music of Constantinople, the collections of Bobowski and Dimitri Cantemir, while W. Feldman (1996:305-306) characteristically mentions that:

“Each individual *peşrev* was seen as a distinct, sometimes named entity, not as a generic combination of *makam* and *usûl* which fulfilled a function within the cycle”.

The above is quite reminiscent of the phenomenon of naming the *kratemata* of the *psaltic* art, already in existence in the 14th century (Anastasiou 2005:393-406).

The *peşrev* names found in Petros’s collections are:

Ασίκ [Aşik] (Lover), Gritsanis 3, 148r.

Γαμζεκιάρ [Gamze-kâr] (Arrogant view), Gritsanis 3, 246v.

Γγελικντζίκ [Gelincik] (Young bride), LKP (dossier) 60, 32v.

Γγιουλιστάν [Gülistan] (Rose garden), Gritsanis 3, 146v.

Γκιούλ τέβρι [Gül Devri] (The time of roses), Gritsanis 3, 231v.

Κιαηνάτ [Kaynat] (Existence), Gritsanis 3, 247v & LKP (dossier) 60, 38r.

Κιοχ παρέ [Kûb-pâre] (Mountain), Gritsanis 3, 22v.

Μπουγιούκ [Büyuk] (Great), LKP (dossier) 60, 26r & 47r¹⁰.

Ρουχπάν [Roubhan] (The monks), Gritsanis 3, 60v.

Σαλιντζάκ [Salincak] (Vibration), LKP (dossier) 60, 45r.

Σοϊλού [Soylu] (Majestic, Artistocrat), Gritsanis 3, 234v.

Σουκιουφεζάρ [Şüküfezâr] (Blooming garden), LKP (dossier) 60, 39v & 27v / Gritsanis 3, 110v.

¹⁰ They are different *peşrevs* sharing the same name.

Σουλεϊμάνμε [*Süleyman-Nâme*], Gritsanis 3, 170v.

Σούπχου σαχάρ [*Subb-i Sabar*] (Dawn), Gritsanis 3, 186v.

Τουρνά [*Turna*] (Crane, Heron), LKP (dossier) 60, 22v.

Χαχάπ [*Haphap*], Gritsanis 3, 103r.

However, certain care must be taken in the clarification of names as misunderstandings and mistakes may easily occur. For example, on f. 18r of LKP (dossier) 60, the name “behrām” is found, which refers to a composer and not to a *peşrev*.¹¹

A Wealth of Descriptions and Details Pertaining to Musical Form

The wealth of descriptions and details provided in the transcription headings is noteworthy. Petros does not stop at transcribing the melody, he also gives performance instructions using the musical terminology of his time. The following indicative samples are from the analytic catalogue of Gritsanis 3 of LKP (dossier) 60¹²:

Gritsanis 3:

- 42v *Segâb makam, usûl muhammes, echos IV legetos. Ser hâne, orta hâne, terkîb, ser hâne and mülazime, son hâne usûl sofyan. 2nd terkîb, 3rd terkîb. Then ser hâne mülazime .*
- 50v *Makam acem, usûl çenber, peşrev ama çenber. The same. Mülazime. The same. Terkîb. The same. Then the 1st terkîb. Orta hâne. Tolapi. 2nd terkîb . Mülazime. Son hâne. Again.*
- 68r *another peşrev aşîrân, usûl çenber. The same, mülazime, tolapi, 2nd terkîb, orta hâne, 2nd terkîb, ntolapi, next the ser hâne and then the mülazime, Son hâne, tolapi, ntolapi, next the ser hâne and then the mülazime.*
- 218v *Peşrev murasa, makam rast, usûl diyyek. mülazime, 2nd terkîb, 3rd terkîb, orta hâne, 2nd terkîb, 3rd, 4th, then the last terkîb of the mülazime and later from the beginning the mülazime until the end then the son hân[e], Son hâne, 2nd terkîb, 3rd terkîb, of the orta hâne, then the last terkîb of the mülazime and immediately following mülazime from the beginning and it then it finishes.*

LKP (dossier) 60:

- 6v *The irak darbeyn, from irak, mülazime from dügâb, 2nd terkîb from nevâ, 2nd terkîb from irak, the orta hâne from nevâ, 2nd terkîb from muhayyer, the mülazime from the beginning, the son hâne from rast (and indications, bûselik, sabâ).*

¹¹ “*Beyâtî devrikebîr*, starts from *nevâ* and *beyâtî*, called *mechram*”. It is the *beyâtî peşrev* of Behrâm Ağa (Nefiri).

¹² It is observed that in this manuscript, Petros insists on indicating the tonic of each piece or each part (*hâne, mülazime, terkîb* etc.).

- 11r *Peşrev makam karcıgar, diiyek* from *rast teterela terelela*, the *mülazime* from *segâh, teterela terelela*, 2nd *terkîb* from *segâh teterela terelela*, 3rd *terkîb* from *rast teterela terelela*, 4th *terkîb* from *segâh teterela terelela*, *orta hâne* from *segâh teterela terelela*, the *son* from *nevâ teterela terelela*.
- 47r The *bîyûk nevâ çenber*, from *nevâ, mülazime* from *büseynî*, 2nd *terkîb* from *segâh, orta hâne* from *nevâ, mülazime*, the *son* from *nevâ* with *nihavent, beyâtî*.

Similar descriptions, either shorter or more analytic, accompany the transcription of nearly all *peşrevs*. Such descriptions are invaluable. They generally allow, firstly, a clear understanding of the musical form or structure of each work providing indications for as accurate a performance as possible. Secondly, they allow the ascertaining of the outline of the parts of each composition and its comparative study against other available sources of the time, thus enriching knowledge on the musical form of the *peşrev*. And thirdly, the descriptions also allow the drawing of more general conclusions about the structure and layout of the basic musical genres at the time of Petros, regardless of the fact that the collection also contains works dating from much earlier. At the same time, given that Petros essentially recorded not only the music of the *peşrevs* but also the performance instructions he himself was perhaps taught, they constitute a significant source indicating the manner in which this music was taught. And lastly, they are another proof, indeed a strong one, of the fact that a large part of this terminology gradually changed from the late 18th century onwards, to such a degree that contemporary musicians cannot understand it without the necessary explanations.

Despite the fact that only two *peşrevs* survive in the autographs of Gregorios Protopsaltes, these are also significant for the study of the genre. In LKP 2/59a, Gregorios, continuing in the tradition of Petros, does not stop at the faithful transcription of the melody. He also lists very detailed performance instructions, with a focus on musical form and theory. The relevant introduction of *beyâtî darb-i fetih peşrev* of Tanbûrî Isak, occupies one whole page of the manuscript and related extensive comments are inserted frequently within the music score, between parts.¹³ Excerpts from the analytical catalogue constructed for this book are presented case by case in the relevant sections.

¹³ “1r *Peşrev* called *beyâtî*, composed by Isak. *Beyâtî* starts from *echos* IV and it finishes on *aneanes* and instead of *evîç* it touches *acem* a few times, touches *evîç* and the *phthora* of *neanes* is placed so to know when it has to be *acem* and when *evîç*; this *peşrev* also mixes in *hüzzâm* when you see the *phthora* of *neanes* on *nevâ* then it is *hüzzâm*; it also does *arabân* with the same *phthora* with the difference that we put the *nenano* on *gerdâniye* [...] so here is the *beyâtî*.

However, this *peşrev* finishes on *neagie* [...] the first *hâne* is called *ser hâne*, the second one is called *mülazime*, the third one is called *orta hâne*, the fourth *hâne* is called *zeyl* which finishes on *agia* and the */////* this *hâne* is called *son hâne*. The *peşrev* whose *usûl* is *zarb-i fetih* must have five *hânes* [...] the *peşrev* being *zarb-i fetih* in its *usûl* it is five *hânes* therefore this *usûl* has 44 *zarbia* for each *hâne*, so there is one *usûl* which has forty four single beats that is *zarbia*.

Form

The form of the *peşrev* as it developed from late 18th century until today has four parts:

1st *Hâne* → *teslîm*

2nd *Hâne* → *teslîm*

3rd *Hâne* → *teslîm*

4th *Hâne* → *teslîm*

The above structure however, is not found in the manuscripts examined here, since older *peşrevs* prior to late 18th century studied in this work display different terminology and more variation in terms of structure. The basic nomenclature of the parts in use at the time were as follows:

Ser (head or first) *hâne* → *mülazime*

Orta (middle) *hâne* → *mülazime*

Miyan hâne → *mülazime*

Son (last) *hâne* → *mülazime*

The above terminology was the main one in use at the time of Petros and it reveals differences to that which was used by Bobowski and Cantemir several decades earlier (*hâne-i sani* and *hâne salis*, instead of *orta* and *son hâne*). The form of the *peşrev* is varied and does not always follow the above-mentioned basic structure. In certain *peşrevs*, Petros does not give the names of the parts at all. The sections however are clear and can be identified by the notation. Even when he does explicitly give the names of the sections, he rarely names the *ser hâne*. When he does name the *ser hâne* it is because it also takes the role of the *mülazime*. This

1v Second *hâne* called the *mülazime*, [echos] plagal IV *terelelele*.

2r And again the *mülazime* up to this point where it has the *neagie* and then the *teslîm* is performed by ascending to *evîç* and it finishes on *nevâ* to enter the *orta hâne* with a good *istitai* because the *orta hâne* starts from *gerdâniye*, so that is how it finishes, you ascend from *rast* to *evîç* like that
[echos] plagal IV *terelelele*

And again [the] *orta hâne* and at the end as it is with the red [writing] only with the two [of them] it finishes [on] *rast* and here is the 4th *hâne* that is the *zeyl* which starts from *bûselik* [continues on the next page]

2v Note that this *hâne* starts from *bûselik* and works like this: *bûselik çârgâb nevâ* and *büzzâm* up to where the *phthora* of [echos plagal II] is found on top of the three *ison* signs which as on the *perde* of *çârgâb* then follows the *büseynî* and raising the *phthora* it works from there as *büseynî acem bisâr* up to this *martyria* [...] that is in *metrophonia* the note is *ananes* while in the melos it is *neanes* and then again with the *phthora* of [echos III] which is in front of the *martyria*, that is with the *perde* of *acem* it returns to its normal state, that is, to *beyâtî*

[echos] plagal IV *terelelele*

5th *hâne* which is the last one, starts [from] *büzzâm temtirilelele*

3r Each *hâne* as it is written, twice”.

occurs frequently in the *peşrevs* that were composed from the middle of the 17th until the middle of the 18th century:

Gritsanis 3

7v *makam büzürk, usûl zencîr*. Then the *orta hâne*. Then the *ser hâne* for *mülazime*.

8r *Son hâne*. Then the *ser hâne* for *mülazime*.

109r *segâh makam, karapazae, usûl sakîl*. *orta hâne*, then the *ser hâne* for *mülazime*.

LKP (dossier) 60

4v The *küçük zencîr, hüseyinî*, begins,
ser hâne mülazime.

In general, his transcriptions are dominated by *peşrevs* with a single *mülazime*:

Ser hâne → *mülazime*

Orta hâne → *mülazime*

Son hâne → *mülazime*

It is also observed that the *miyan hâne* is missing, since *peşrevs* with four *hânes* had not yet appeared. Moreover, Petros often uses the words “Πάλιν” meaning “again”, “ὁμοιον” meaning “similarly”, “τὸ αὐτό” meaning “the same one”, “δις” meaning “twice”, “ἅπας” meaning “once”, and “ἐξ’ ἀρχῆς” meaning “from the beginning”. Their meaning and functional role is clear and for that reason no further commentary is deemed necessary.

Structural Elements of the Peşrev

Apart from the above terms, in certain cases Petros also uses the terms ζέιλ (*zeyl*), *τολάπι* (*tolapi*) and, even more frequently, *τερκίπι* (*terkîl*). In rare occasions, the term *τεσλίμ* (*teslîm*) is also found. These terms indicate a structural unit of smaller size in comparison with the *hânes* and the *mülazime* and they are discussed below.

Zeyl

Zeyl literally means “appendix”¹⁴. From the collections of Bobowski and Cantemir it can be seen that it appears as part of the form of *Peşrevs* throughout the whole of the 17th century. From the transcriptions of Petros and Gregorios it is found that the *zeyl* exists even up until the early 19th century. After that, it is not found in the art music of Constantinople. The *zeyl* was performed after the second *hâne* without an intermediate *mülazime*, instead, the *mülazime* was played after the *zeyl*. In Petros’s manuscripts, the word *zeyl* is mentioned thirteen times

¹⁴ For more on the *zeyl*, see. W. Feldman 1996:319-320 & 513 and O. Wright, *Cantemir II*, pp. 537-539.

in total. In LKP 2/59a, Gregorios clearly delineates its existence after the *orta hâne*. From the outline of the *peşrev*, the following form is observed:

Ser hâne → *mülazime*

Orta hâne → *mülazime*

Zeyl

Son hâne → *mülazime*

The oldest *peşrev* which includes a *zeyl* is “*kûl-pâre*” *peşrev* of Ağa Mu’min (Gritsanis 3, 22v). The rest of the *peşrevs* containing *zeyls* are:

‘*Uşşak [peşrev]* [Solakzâde, [echos I], *hafif*, Gritsanis 3, 161v

Muhayyer peşrev Solakzâde, echos I heptaphonic, *darbı fetih*, Gritsanis 3, 28r.

Hicâz [peşrev] Küçük Hatib, echos plagal II, *muhammes*, Gritsanis 3, 109v.

‘*Uşşak peşrev* Dimitri Cantemir, echos I, *darbı fetih*, Gritsanis 3, 43v.

Müste’âr peşrev, Tanbûrî Haman Moisi, echos IV *legetos*, *muhammes*, Gritsanis 3, 44v.

‘*Uşşak peşrev* [Torlak Neyzen], [echos I], *evsat*, Gritsanis 3, 133v.

Beâtî peşrev, Tanburi Isak, echos IV, *zarpıfet*, LKP 2/59a, 1r.

Rast [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV], *darbı fetih* (*zarbı peşrev*), LKP (dossier) 60, 41v.

Rast [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV], *darbı fetih* (*zarbı fetih*), LKP (dossier) 60, 43v.

Bâselik [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I hard diatonic], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 217v.

Mâbûr [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV⁷], *darbı fetih* (*zarbı fetih*), Gritsanis 3, 236r.

[*Peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal II], *sakıl*, Gritsanis 3, 227v.

[*Peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], ger *darbı fetih* (*zarbı fetih*), Gritsanis 3, 239v.

Tolapi

The label, *tolapi*, is found only in Gritsanis 3. Absolutely no reference to or explanation of the term is found in the Greek or other literature. Moreover, the meaning of the word itself does not allow the drawing of any conclusion as to its purpose.¹⁵ The study of the four *peşrevs* in which the term *tolapi* appears, reveals that

¹⁵ From the Greek-Turkish dictionary: “ντουλάπι” (cupboard), “ἐρμάριο” (cabinet) και “κομπίνα” (scam), “σχεωρία” (scheme), “ζαβολιά” (roguey).

the term is related to the form, that is, it is some kind of a subdivision of the *peşrev*. In three cases, the *tolapi* label is found after the second *terkîb* (51v, 48v & 86), without however there being a clear distinction in the music, like, for example, a *martyria* of an *echos*. In the fourth *peşrev* (68r) the term is used four times. Two after the second *terkîb* (second *terkîb* of *mûlazime* and second *terkîb* of *orta hâne*) and twice in succession after *Son hâne*. The four *peşrevs* in which the term *tolapi* is found are:

Dügâb peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, *fabte*, Gritsanis 3, 86v.

Râbat-fezâ peşrev Kemânî Yorgi, *darbeyn - devrikebîr sofyan*, Gritsanis 3, 48v.

Acem peşrev [unspecified composer], *ama çenber*, Gritsanis 3, 51v.¹⁶

[*Hüseynî*] '*Aşîrân peşrev* [unspecified composer], *çenber*, Gritsanis 3, 68r.

Terkîbs

In the transcriptions of *peşrevs*, the subdivision of the *hânes* of a *peşrev* or an instrumental *semâ'i* into smaller component parts is called "*terkîb*":

Gritsanis 3, 107v of Cantemir, *segâb makam*, *usûl berefşan*. *mûlazime*, 2nd *terkîb*, *orta hâne*, and then the *ser hâne*. after that the *mûlazime*, the second *terkîb* of *orta hâne* is on the reverse side, *son hâne*, 2nd, 2nd *terkîb*, first the *ser hâne* then the *mûlazime*, the second *terkîb* of *orta hâne*, again.

Gritsanis 3, 83r mâhûr tatarhan, *usûl düyek*. then the *mûlazime*, 2nd *terkîb*, *orta hâne*, 2nd *terkîb*, then the *mûlazime*, *son hâne*, 2nd *terkîb*, then the *mûlazime*.

LKP (dossier) 60, 3r The *dügâb devrikebîr* from *dügâb*, the *mûlazime* from *dügâb*, 2nd *terkîb*, *orta hâne* from *rast*, 2nd *terkîb* from *şehnâz* and *hicâz*, the *son hâne* from *zîrgûleli* with *bûselik*.

The word "*terkîb*" means "union" or "synthesis". Its use in the compositions of the Ottoman court appears to denote two things: firstly, an entity of a certain modal character and secondly, a section of a composition. Petros mainly uses the term with the latter meaning.¹⁷ The *terkîb* appears as a subdivision of each *hâne* in all the *peşrevs* transcribed in the collections of Bobowski and Cantemir, therefore it can be safely assumed that it was a characteristic of all *peşrevs* of the 16th and 17th centuries. Petros's transcriptions show that this method continued during the 18th century as well, since the term appears in nearly all the *peşrevs* in his manuscripts. This finding negates W. Feldman's view that "By 1750 the *terkîb* divisions had disappeared from Turkish music"¹⁸. Petros wrote the two codices under examination in the third quarter of the 18th century, and makes extensive use of the term, as does Gregorios Protopsaltes in his works dating from the early 19th century.

¹⁶ The same *peşrev* is also preserved in MS LKP 60, however the transcription is most likely unfinished and there are no indications for "*tolapi*".

¹⁷ The first meaning is referred to in "*Echoi and Makams – Rhythmic Cycles and Usûls*".

¹⁸ Feldman 1996:338. Information on the *terkîb* is found on pp. 321 & 336-8.

From the study of the corpus of *peşrevs* it is understood that usually each *hâne* consists of two, or more rarely three or four, *terkîbs*. However, Petros indicates the *terkîbs* from the second onwards and almost always omits the indication for the first. A *terkîb* is composed of one or two *usûl* cycles, depending, as is the case ultimately for each *hâne*, on the duration of the *usûl* and never beginning or ending in the middle of an *usûl* cycle. In certain *peşrevs*, as seen also in other sources of the time, a discrepancy is observed in the number of *terkîbs* and consequently in the size of an *hâne*. An indicative example is the *büseynî düyek şükûfezâr peşrev* of Hasan Can (Gritsanis 3, 110v). In Petros's manuscript, its structure is generally similar to Cantemir's transcription, with the addition of one or two extra *terkîbs*. It can be reasonably assumed that they are either a creative addition of Petros's, or that he transcribed the piece as he was taught or as it was performed in his time, that is, with the specific additions.

In only one *peşrev*, the indication of each *terkîb* is accompanied by the name of a *makam*. That *peşrev* is *hicâz nev kislât fabte* by Kemânî Yorgi (Gritsanis 3, 188v) and the *terkîb* there represents both notions at the same time: firstly that it is a description of modal behaviour, and secondly an indication of a structural unit of a *peşrev*. Given below is a part of the analytical catalogue that was constructed during the course of the writing of this book:

- 188v *Hicâz makam*, usta tziortzinin, *peşrev nev kislât, usûl fabte, mülazime dügâh*, 2nd, 3rd *mubayyer*, 4th *kürdî*, 5th *terkîb bûselik*, 6th *terkîb muperka*, 7th *terkîb isfabân*, 8th *terkîb hüseynî*, 9th *terkîb aşîrân, teslîm, orta hâne*, 2nd *terkîb*, again and it moves to *evîç* (*martyria* of *heptaphonia*) 3rd *terkîb*, 4th *terkîb*, 5th *terkîb irak*, 6th *terkîb bestenigâr*, 7th *terkîb râbatü'l-ervâh, teslîm* twice then it moves to *çârgâh* and then begins either the *mülazime* or the *orta hâne* and it finishes.
- 192v *Son hâne sabâ*, 2nd *terkîb 'uşşak*, 3rd *terkîb maye*, 4th *terkîb müste'âr*, 5th *terkîb makam hüzzâm*, 6th *terkîb makam beyâtî*, 7th *terkîb makam acem*, 8th *terkîb acem aşîrân*, 9th *terkîb rast*, 10th *terkîb rehâvî*, 11th *terkîb nikrîz makam*, 12th *terkîb nihavent makam*, 13th *terkîb nişâbûr*, 14th *terkîb pencgâh*, 15th *terkîb mâbûr*, 16th *terkîb*, 17th *terkîb tâbir*, 18th *terkîb gerdâniye*, 19th *terkîb arazbâr*, 20th *terkîb nevâ*, 21st *terkîb nühiyf, teslîm*, then the *mülazime*.

It is a very rare and special type of *peşrev*, although at present it is not known whether this special character was given to it when Kemânî Yorgi himself composed it or whether it was adapted during its transcription by Petros. In any case, it exhibits the following form:

Ser hâne in *hicâz makam*, consisting of two *terkîbs* (which are not mentioned)

Mülazime, consisting of nine *terkîbs* and one *teslîm* in eight different *makams*

Orta hâne, consisting of seven *terkîbs* and one *teslîm* in four different *makams*

Mülazime, of unknown form

Son hâne, consisting of twenty *terkîbs* and one *teslîm* in twenty different *makams*

Mülazime, of unknown form

This is a very interesting matter in need of more research, which, however, does not fall into the scope of the present study.

Teslîm

The term *teslîm* (cadence) is found four times in the examined sources, appearing three times in *hicâz nev kislât fabte* by Kemânî Yorgi (Gritsanis 3, 188v) and once in *beyâtî darbî fetih peşrev* of Tanbûrî Isak (LKP 2/59a, 1r) transcribed by Gregorios Protopsaltes. It is known that in the early 19th century, the term *teslîm* replaced the term *mûlazime* to describe the part of the *peşrev* or the *semâ'î* that acted as the ritornello. In this case though, it represents an older meaning. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the *terkîbs* of an *hâne* or *mûlazime* ended with a special melodic line, a long cadential phrase.¹⁹ That is, the role of the *teslîm* was that of a closing part, a cadence, and a part of the *terkîbs*. Gregorios in LKP 2/59a (f. 2r) explains its operation clearly:

“And again the *mûlazime* up to this point where it has the neagie and then the *teslîm* is performed by ascending to eviç and it finishes on *nevâ* to enter the *orta hâne* with a good *istitati* because the *orta hâne* starts from gerdâniye, so that is how it finishes, you ascend from rast to eviç like that”.

This is also found in Gritsanis 3 (188v) in the *mûlazime*

mûlazime düğâh, ..., 9th *terkîb aşîrân*, *teslîm* (followed by the *orta hâne*)

in *orta hâne*

..., 7th *terkîb râbatü'l-ervâh*, [the] *teslîm* twice then [it goes] into *çârgâh* and then starts the *mûlazime* or the *orta hâne* and finishes,

and in *son hâne*

..., 21st *terkîb nübüfî*, *teslîm*, then the *mûlazime*.

Some Notes on the Makams and Usûls of the Peşrevs

The *peşrevs* preserved in the manuscripts of ecclesiastical music are associated with a great variety of *makams* and *usûls*, covering the broad spectrum of available combinations²⁰. Certain *peşrevs*, which use more than one *usûl* in their development, are of interest:

¹⁹ The *terkîbs* in Bobowski's collection followed one another without a *teslîm*, while in Cantemir's versions, they finished with an elaborate *teslîm*.

²⁰ For more information see the chapter titled “*Echoi and Makams – Rhythmic Cycles and Usûls*”.

a) *Hüseyinî peşrev* of an unspecified composer (Gritsanis 3, 115v), which consists, rhythmically, of four different *usûls*:

(*Ser hâne*) / *düyek*
Mülazime / *çenber*
Orta hâne / *fabte*
Mülazime
Son hâne / *berefsan*

b) *Hüseyinî peşrev* by Mehmet Ağa (Gritsanis 3, 122v) in *düyek*, but with the *mülazime* in *çenber*

and

c) *Sabâ değışme* (LKP 60, 15r) in four different *usûls*:

Ser hâne hafîf
Mülazime sakîl
Orta hâne havî
Son darbîfetih

This phenomenon of the changing of the rhythmic cycle in the different parts of a *peşrev* is called *değışme*, that is, change or variation.²¹

On the topic of melodic variations, the surviving *peşrevs* generally confirm what is already known. They exhibit movement to different *makams*, mainly in the last *hâne* or even earlier in some cases. Some *peşrevs* remain in the same *makam* in all *hânes*, and those are usually the oldest, since modulation was rare prior to the 17th century. In his *peşrev* transcriptions, Petros, indicates *makam* changes analytically in LKP (dossier) 60:

- 3v 2nd *terkîb* from *şehnâz* and *hicâz*
the *Son hâne* from *zîrgûleli* with *bîselik*
- 4v the *son hâne* with *hisâr*
- 7r the *son [hâne]* from *rast* (and examples, *bîselik*, *sabâ*)
- 7v *nazli düğâb*
- 27r the *son [hâne]* from *nevâ* with *beyâtî* and *nihavent*
2nd *terkîb* from *çârgâb* with *nihavent*
- 34v the *son [hâne]* from *düğâb* and *acem*
- 41r the *son hâne* from *düğâb* with *hicâz*
maye
- 42r the *zeyl nevâ* with *hicâz*
the *son hâne* from *gerdâniye* with *mâbûr*
mâbûr

²¹ Few details exist about *değışme* in the literature. Short references are found in Öztuna 1990, I, 212 and Wright 2000:70.

He does not generally do the same in Gritsanis 3, where, with the exception of two or three *peşrevs*²², he does not indicate the movements to other *makams*, though this can be deduced by reading the music score. The reason for his change in approach to the annotation method of modulations, may be due to the improvement in his notating method seen in the Gritsanis manuscript, therefore he probably did not deem it necessary to list any *makam* changes by name. The analytical commentary of *beyâtî darbî fetih peşrev* by Gregorios in LKP 2/59a is invaluable for understanding the manner in which *makams* behave in terms of movement and modulation. The introduction begins with a presentation of the main *makam* of the *peşrev* and continues with an explanation of the modulations to other *makams* through the various degrees of the scale²³. The trend towards compositions in which a great number of modulations occurred, was already established by the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and a characteristic representative of that trend was Tanburi Isak, to whom the abovementioned *peşrev* belongs.

Special Types of Peşrevs

The manuscripts examined here raise questions, as they contain certain terms related to the genre of the *peşrev*, which are no longer in use in contemporary Eastern music. These terms are *nazîre*, *küll-i külliyât*, *karabatak* and *murasa*.

Nazîre

Nazîre, meaning imitation, is a technical term found in three *peşrevs* in Petros's manuscripts that has disappeared from modern Turkish music terminology. Its origin is literary and refers to "parallel" compositions. That is, it refers to the creation of a new poem on the basis of another, older poem. In music, the term meant a method of composition where a new *peşrev* was created based on another, older *peşrev*. Even though in certain cases, the *nazîre* replicated the original *peşrev* in certain parts of the *ser hâne* or *mîlâzime*, it was not considered an imitation but rather a new composition. In some cases, *nazîre* composers were inspired by older pieces, however, that did not mean they copied or adapted pieces from the older *peşrevs* into their own compositions.²⁴ The following "*nazîre*" *peşrevs* survive in Byzantine music manuscripts:

²² *Bestenigâr* [*peşrev*] [Unspecified composer], *varys* tetraphonic diatonic, *sakîl*: orta hâne in *evîç* (Gritsanis 3, 75r) / *Hicâz peşrev nev kislât* Kemânî Yorgi, [*echos* plagal II], *fabte*: see above for analytical information on the movements to various *makams* (Gritsanis 3, 188v).

²³ See p. 270-271.

²⁴ See Feldman 1996:413-415 and in particular the chapter for the *Nazîre* on pp. 431-440 and Wright 2000:71, 134, 565.

1. *Irak nazîre* [peşrev] Seyf el-Mısrî, *echos varys, düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 61v. → The original piece is *irak düyek* tou Seyf el-Mısrî, Cantemir, ff. 21-22, work 34.
2. *Hüseyinî gamze-kâr nazîre peşrev* [unspecified composer], [*echos plagal I*], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 246v. → The original piece is *hüseyinî gamze-kâr nazîre* by unspecified composer, Cantemir, ff. 178-179, work 327.
3. *Hüseyinî şükûfezâr nazîre* [Peşrev] [unspecified composer], [*echos plagal I*], *düyek*, LKP (dossier) 60, 39v. → The original piece is *Hüseyinî şükûfezâr nazîre* of Hasan Can, Cantemir, f. 16, work 25.
4. *Muhayyer peşrev* [Osman Dede], *echos plagal I* heptaphonic, *devrikebîr*, LKP 2/59a, 4r. → The original is probably *sünbûle devrikebîr peşrev* of Kemanî Mustafa Ağa, Bobowski f. 284.

It is obvious that the first three are clearly stated as being “*nazîre*”, in other words, imitations. As for the fourth, the conclusion is reached by the study of relevant literature.²⁵

Küll-i külliyyât

Küll-i külliyyât aksak - fabte, of unspecified composer, which is preserved in manuscript LKP (dossier) 60 (1r-2v) is a very interesting type of *peşrev*, differing from the rest:

- 1r The *küll-i külliyyât hüseyinî usûl aksak fabte* from *dugâb*
The *mülazime* from *hüseyinî*
Terkîb 4 from *acem*
- 1v *Terkîb* 5 from *acem*
Terkîb 6 from *dugâb*
Terkîb 7 from *acem*
Orta hâne from *////*
- 2r From *hüseyinî*
Hisâr
From *hüseyinî* with *bûselik*
From *muhayyer*
- 2v *Terkîb* from *acem*
Terkîb from *tiz bûselik*

The *küll-i külliyyât*, (meaning compendium) or *fibrîst* (meaning index) *peşrev* originates from a medieval Persian vocal genre called *kollîyât*, and is associated with a *taksîm* by the same name, beginning in one *makam*, modulating to many others

²⁵ This *peşrev* is also found in Cantemir's collection (f. 67, work 122). The original is indirectly referenced by Wright (2000:577) and is identified in Bobowski (Cevher 2003: 860 – 862).

in a very fitting and harmonious manner and returning to the first *makam*; its character being purely educational. The purpose of this type of *peşrev* was the presentation of the total *makam* system, and its form was spectacularly different than the usual *peşrevs*, with every *terkîb* in a different *makam* from the other. According to O. Wright (1992:138),

“[in] effect, the *küll-i külliyyât* may have had almost symbolic importance, representing a summit of technical skill but, as a result, existing on the margin rather than within the mainstream of normal compositional practice”.²⁶

The *küll-i külliyyât peşrev* in MS LKP (dossier) 60, also bears the basic characteristics of the genre. It is of medium or small size compared to the other four surviving *peşrevs* of its type. It is in *makam hüseyinî*, like the three surviving *peşrevs* in Cantemir's collection. Unfortunately, the manuscript is worn out at the place where the *usûl* is defined. It is given in *aksak* and *fabte*, however more study is required on that. The numbering of both the *terkîbs* and the *makams* transcribed is also problematic. It appears that either its transcription is incomplete or that in the time of Petros that particular tradition had faded; a fact which impacted its transcription and preservation.

As a genre, *küll-i külliyyât peşrev*, like *makamlar kiari*²⁷, the educational compilation of verses for the study of *makams*, is associated with the *Methods of Ecclesiastical Music*²⁸. The similarities with respect to form, technical level of difficulty, and their use, are many. The *Methods* are clearly older, with the first available manuscripts dating from the 14th century, although as a practice they are significantly older. At the moment there is no comparative study available affording the opportunity to distinguish whether the creation and development of the *küll-i külliyyât peşrev* or of the *makamlar kiari* was influenced by the *Methods*. Nevertheless, such a relationship can possibly be speculated.²⁹

²⁶ For the *küll-i külliyyât peşrev* see also Feldman 1996:296-297, 314 & 320; Özalp 1969:6; Öztuna 1990, I, 466-467; Wright 2000:539-540. See also the three *küll-i külliyyât peşrevs* which are preserved in Cantemir's collection (work 22, pp. 13-14; work 24, pp. 15-16; work 159, pp. 157-159) and one in the collection of Bobowski (pp. 172-3).

²⁷ The *makamlar kiari* of Peyzade Yiangos Karatzas (verses) and Yiangos Theologos (melody) “was originally written in the old system of music by the most musical teacher Konstantinos Protopsaltes, and already [transcribed] into the new [system] by Mr. Stephanos First Domestikos of the Great Church of Christ”. It is preserved in Stephanos First Domestikos, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς μουσικῆς καὶ ἐφαρμογῇ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς μουσικῆς* ἐρανισθεῖσα καὶ συνταχθεῖσα παρὰ Στφ. Α. Δομεστίκου, ἐπιθεωρηθεῖσα δὲ παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου Πρωτοψάλτου τῆς Χ. Μ. Ἐκκλησίας. Νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδίδεται παρὰ τῶν Διευθυντῶν τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, Constantinople, Patriarchal Press of the Nation, 1843.

²⁸ Of the multitude of *Methods* and manuscripts that contain them, some indicative references are: *Ὁ θέλων μουσικὴν μαθεῖν; Ἀββᾶς ἄββᾶν ὑπήντησεν; Οὕτως οὖν ἀναίβειν; Ἰσον, ὀλίγον, ὀξεία, πεταστή; Χαίρου ὦ μαθητὰ καὶ λέγε τὰ χαρμόσυνα; Ἀρχον τροχὲ χαρμόσυνε; Ἐπέστη ἡ εἴσοδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* by Xenos Koronis; *Μία, μία, ἀνανεε, δύο, δύο* and others.

²⁹ It cannot be excluded that the *bicâz nev kislât fabte peşrev* of Kemânî Yorgi (Gritsanis 3, 188v) examined above, is also a *küll-i külliyyât*. The great number of *makams* inside a single *peşrev* allows this hypothesis.

Karabatak

The word *karabatak* literally means “cormorant”. Initially this meaning creates the impression that this is a *peşrev* name such as those discussed earlier. In music terminology however, it denotes a particular performance characteristic of a *peşrev* or *semâ’î*: some *hânes*, usually the third in order, was performed by only one or two instruments of the orchestra alone, thus creating a noticeable change, an alternation, in the orchestra's dynamic and timbre.³⁰ This particular information allows for the drawing of another conclusion concerning orchestration. Given the heterophonic treatment of the melody and since the performance of an *hâne* by one or two instruments was an action predictable by the composer, hence the assignment of the special name, it is then possible to assume quite safely that, in general, instrumental pieces were performed by the full orchestra from beginning to end.

The above clarifications contribute to the interpretation of the titles of the two surviving *karabatak peşrevs*:

Pestrefi called Isach sakili also known as karapataki ... (Ivion 1038, 681r). → *bicâz Karabatak peşrev*, Ioannis Protopsaltis, *echos* plagal II, *sakîl*, Ivion 1038, 681r.

Segâh makam, karapatak, ousoules sakîl... (Gritsanis 3, 111r). → *segâh karabatak peşrev*, [H1Z1r Ağa], [*echos* IV legetos], *sakîl*, Gritsanis 3, 109r.

Murassa'

Unfortunately, it was not possible to draw conclusions with surety about the term *murassa'*. It literally means lead-plated, or tin-plated, which is a notion unrelated to music. *Rast murassa' peşrev* in *usûl diyyek* of unspecified composer is transcribed twice in Gritsanis 3 (218v & 220v) with little differences in orthography, while it also exists with the same title in Cantemir's collection (work 214). In the Gritsanis manuscript, “*mourasa kioutzouk*” is also found (Gritsanis 3, 214v), whose form resembles that of a *peşrev*. Öztuna³¹ informs that a genre bearing the name *murassa'* existed in the 15th century, however no more information is given. On the other hand, Petros clearly refers to it as a *peşrev*. A possible expla-

³⁰ The choice of the name is quite successful, since this alternation reflects the flight of the cormorant (phalacrocorax cargo). Its flying exhibits altitudinal shifts with short periods of gliding through the air. See the related edition of the Greek Ornithological Society *Τα πουλιά της Ελλάδας, της Κύπρου και της Ευρώπης*, Athens 2007, pp. 28-29. Few pieces of information on *karabatak* are found in Özalp 1969:6, Öztuna 1990 I, 428, W. Feldman, texts accompanying the CD *Lalezar – Music of the Sultans, Sufis & Seraglio, Volume IV Ottoman Suite*, Traditional Crossroads CD 80702-4304-2, New York 2001, p. 6. The same disk includes an audio recording of this composition (track 1).

³¹ Öztuna 1990, I, 69; Wright (2000 :569) also cites the term, again without giving any related information.

nation is that it is a type of *peşrev* originating from the older genre with the same name, or somehow associated with that.

A Final Word

Lastly, there are also words whose meaning was not determined. They are potentially technical terms, names of *peşrevs*, or first names of composers. It is certain though that the compositions belong to the genre of the *peşrev*. The unknown words are listed here in hope that future research will uncover their meanings:

Ey plerinin, Gritsanis 3, 134v / **eyplilerin**, Gritsanis 3, 73v

Pegli, Gritsanis 3, 230r

Nevgulat, Gritsanis 3, 202v.

Tevir, LKP (dossier) 60, 2

Nev Kislât, Gritsanis 3, 188v.

A comprehensive and in depth examination of the form and structural behaviour of *peşrevs* and their particular characteristics surviving in the manuscripts of ecclesiastical music, exceeds the boundaries of this work, which is limited to drawing conclusions and information from the four available manuscripts. The above, constitutes a contribution to the advancement of knowledge on this significant instrumental genre, as well as to the definition of the main directions for further investigation into the source material. The combination of *exegesis* in the *New Method*, their transcription into staff notation, and their musical performance, will result in a more complete study as well as a more analytical commentary.³²

Petros Bereketis – “Nagmes omou me to Pesrefi”, Theophanis Karykis – “Pesrefi”, and the Relationship Between Peşrevs and Kratemata

At the end of this section on *peşrevs*, two *kratemata* for which the issue of whether they belong to the corpus of the repertoire of the *peşrev*, is outstanding, are examined. As already mentioned in the beginning of this book,³³ the only pieces from the genre of *kratemata* integrated into the corpus of secular music were those containing syllables different to the usual non-lexical syllables of Byzantine *melopoeia* such as *terirem*, *tenena*, etc. However, two *kratemata* explicitly bear the title “*pesrefi*”, a term clearly referring to the genre of the *peşrev* and not simply a title related to secular music, such as, the name of a musical instrument.

³² This method is a basic requirement for drawing conclusions with more surety about some particular characteristics, especially the size of each *hâne*, which depended on the number of rhythmic cycles (*usûls*) after which the *hâne* was completed, as well as the movements to other *makams*.

³³ See Introduction, pp. 22-23.

For that reason, they are discussed here, their relationship to the genre of *peşrevs* remaining an open question:

Theophanis Karykis, *echema kaloumenon pesrefi* [*echema* which is called *peşrev*], *echos varys*
 Petros Bereketis, *nagmes me to pesrefi* [*nağme* with the *peşrev*], *echos plagal I*³⁴

Karykis's composition is found only in three manuscripts, while Bereketis's is found in a multitude of codices³⁵, one instance being an *exegesis* by Chourmouzios (MHS 712, 218r-220r), a fact that allowed a more analytical examination. No foreign or other syllables are found in their music score, apart from those commonly used in the *kratemata* of ecclesiastical music. Moreover, a *peşrev* form is not discernable; instead a typical three-part layout of a *kratema* with two *nenanismoι* and one extended intermediate *teretismos* is evident. There is still a possibility that these two pieces are in some way associated with secular music; however, in no case do they present the characteristics of the form of a *peşrev* or any other secular genre. Their character and melodic development place them clearly in the corpus of ecclesiastical music. The term "*pesrefi*" in their title was perhaps the result of the widespread custom for many *kratemata* to be given names pertaining to secular music (Anastasiou 2005:393-406).

However, this melding of concepts, namely of the genres of the *peşrev* and *kratema*, motivated a further investigation into this issue. *peşrevs* and *kratemata* come from two different musical worlds. The *peşrevs* constitute the crown jewel of the instrumental repertoire of secular music while the *kratemata* are "the pinnacle of Byzantine *melopoeia* from the point of view of the artistic listening experience" (Stathis 1979:116), however both genres have certain attributes in common. A first observation is the common custom of giving a name to the composition, a rare practice in the rest of the genres of both secular and ecclesiastical music. Moreover, *peşrevs* and *kratemata* are noticeably different from the tradition each belongs to, since such traditions were centred on serving the poetic text in musical practice and production. A main characteristic of both is their instrumental nature, and independence from the text, which results in more freedom in terms of the melodic workings of the pieces. Nonetheless, the most interesting fact is that the origins of the *peşrev* are found in a genre very familiar to *kratemata*, the *terennüm*³⁶. According to O. Wright and W. Feldman, in the Timurid period and during the 16th century in the Ottoman court, the *peşrev* must have been performed as a vocal genre with special syllables of the *terennüm* style, and it devel-

³⁴ According to Cantemir, the term *nağme* is synonymous with *taksım*. The title therefore could be translated as "*taksım* with the *peşrev*".

³⁵ At least twenty-three codices from have been found so far. A more systematic investigation may increase that number considerably. Karykis's *peşrev* is found in manuscripts NLG 867, 426r, Iviron 988, 381r, and Panteleimonos 1012, 239v.

³⁶ For the *terennüm* see related: Tannkorur 1991; 2003:171-187; Feldman 1996:308-310; Wright 1992:163-164, 168-72.

oped into a purely instrumental genre in Turkey during the early 17th century.³⁷ Similar information is also given by E. Seroussi: Jewish manuscripts from Turkey preserve the use of *peşrev* as an actual vocal genre from the late 16th century, even though poetic text is used there instead of non-lexical syllables³⁸.

Hence, both in Theophanis Karykis's time and a little later in the time of Petros Bereketis (early 18th century), the *peşrev* still existed as a vocal genre with the defined structure discussed above. Whatever the inspiration of these two composers from the secular music of the time during the composition of their *kratemata* named "pesrefi", it emanated from a vocal genre, related to the genre of *kratemata*, and not from instrumental *peşrevs* in the form they are known today.

Saz Semâ'i

The *saz semâ'i*³⁹, as its name states, is an instrumental genre.⁴⁰ It is traditionally the last part of a *fasıl* set even though in the last few decades it is also performed on its own, independent from the macro-form of the *fasıl*. The term *semâ'i* is found in Eastern music with various meanings. The original stem of the work is associated with *semâ'*, the liturgical practice of the *Mevlevi* dervishes. Its whole layout is quite reminiscent of the *peşrev*, by which it was influenced during its development, though there are a few differences between them as well.

Today, it has three or four parts and a 10-beat rhythmic cycle. Its parts are called *hânes* (singular, *hâne*) and the *mîlazime* or *teslîm* is played after each *hâne*. The last *hâne* presents a change of *usûl* to a three or six beat cycle (3/4, 3/8, 6/4, 6/8). From the middle of the 20th century onwards, the *semâ'i* gradually undermines the importance of the *peşrev* and becomes the focus of instrumental composition and performance. A result of that development, was the introduction of different rhythms in the last *hâne*, such as 7/8 (*nihavent saz semâ'i* of Mesut Cemil Bey), and 9/8 (*nikriz saz semâ'i* of Refik Fersan), as well as its uneven lengthening.

³⁷ See many references on the topic in Wright 1992, as well as in Feldman 1996:308. A little later (310), Feldman also notes that "Such a description (of Marâghî) allows for the possibility of the existence of vocal *pîşbrows*, sung to the usual non-textual syllables, e.g. *terennâ*, *ten*, *dir*, *nâ*, *yel lel lî*, etc."

³⁸ Seroussi 1991. The only difference between the Jewish and Ottoman vocal *peşrevs* is the use of poetic text by the former and not of non-lexical syllables characterising the latter.

³⁹ The most extensive presentation of the instrumental *semâ'i* is given by Feldman 1996:460-493, together with a historical overview, form analysis and a rich bibliography related to the topic. In Turkish literature the work of Yavaşca 1985 stands out. An outline presentation of the genre is given by Özalp 1982:7. An introduction-style description in Greek is given by Tsiamoulis & Erevnidis 1998:292) and Ioannis Zannos (CD booklet "Βόσπορος, Έλληνες Συνθέτες της Πόλης 17^{ος}-19^{ος} αι., OM 2LP A/001-2, 1989). See also, Wright 1988:1-108; 2000.

⁴⁰ *Saz* means "instrument" in Turkish, therefore the noun is here converted to an adjective. Cantemir refers to the instrumental *semâ'i* as *semâ'i-i sazenide*. During the 18th century the term was modified to *saz semâ'i* or *saz semâ'isi*, as it is known today.

Information from the Sources

A sufficiently large number of instrumental *semâ'îs*, approximately forty-five in total, survive in the manuscripts, in thirty-one different *makams*. This number, relative to the preserved transcribed *peşrevs*, reveals both their importance and their place in the musical practice of the Ottoman court. For nineteen of them, their composer was named or was identified, while for around twenty-five the composer remains unidentified, two of them labelled “old” (“*παλαιόν*”). With the exception of two *semâ'îs* transcribed by Gregorios Protopsaltes in LKP 2/59a, all the rest are preserved by Petros Peloponnesios in MSS Gritsanis 3 and LKP (dossier) 60. The following observations and references concern those two codices of Petros, unless Gregorios’s dossier is explicitly referenced. As mentioned above, instrumental compositions dominate MS Gritsanis 3. That is where the vast majority of *semâ'îs* is preserved, thirty-nine in number, while the remaining four are found in LKP (dossier) 60. As a result, the available sources essentially originate from the third quarter of 18th century and from the first quarter of the 19th century (which the two *peşrevs* preserved by Gregorios are dated from) covering a time period of two centuries, that is, from the third half of the 16th century to the third half of the 18th century. The anonymous *semâ'îs* and those of unidentified composers, all found in the two manuscripts of Petros, are hard to date with surety. The *semâ'îs* of named and/or identified composers originate from the 16th century (one *semâ'î*), 17th century (six *semâ'îs*) and from the 18th century (eight *semâ'îs*), while three more are by named composers for whom no other details are known, thus making it possible to classify the pieces by date.

To the above information, the following must be added: The *semâ'î* transcriptions of Cantemir and Bobowski are also few in number and lack historical depth. They are often incomplete and lacking references such as those indicating movements to other *makams*. Lastly, they are missing *semâ'îs* in basic *makams*, therefore making it impossible to compare. The fact that there are no other available sources from the early 18th century until the time of writing of the two manuscripts of Petros⁴¹, increases the importance of the available transcriptions in Byzantine notation. It is also possible to assume that the anonymous, undated *peşrevs* originate from this period, regardless whether they were composed by Petros himself or by other, earlier composers.

It is worth noting that neither Petros nor Gregorios ever used the term *saz* in headings. They only write *semâ'î* with various spellings. Moreover, the practice of name giving is here very limited compared to what occurred with the genre of the *peşrev*, the only *semâ'îs* with a name being the following:

⁴¹ It is the sixth period (1710 – 1780) in the chronological classification of *semâ'îs* according to W. Feldman (1996: 465-466).

Segâb büyük semâ'î [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, Gritsanis 3, 63v.

Hüseyinî turna saz semâ'î Ağa Mu'min, [*echos* plagal I], Gritsanis 3, 155r.

This finding regarding the absence of name giving for *semâ'îs* is supported by the fact that neither of the above two *semâ'îs* is preserved in other manuscripts of the time. Moreover, in the two other main sources of art music of Constantinople, the collections of Cantemir and Bobowski, no named *semâ'îs* are found, except for *büyük semâ'î hüseyinî*⁴². The two *semâ'îs* surviving in Byzantine notation that bear a name in their heading, may possibly be the result of the influence of similar *peşrevs*. For example, *segâb büyük semâ'î* (Gritsanis 3, 63v) has the same name with *nevâ büyük peşrev* (LKP (dossier) 60, 26r, *usûl diyyek*) and *nevâ büyük peşrev* (LKP (dossier) 60, 47r, *usûl çenber*)⁴³, while *hüseyinî turna saz semâ'î* (Gritsanis 3, 155r) has the same name as *hicâz turna peşrev* (LKP (dossier) 60, 22v).

Indications Pertaining to Musical Form

The form of the *semâ'î*, as mentioned above, since the 19th century is four-part:

1st *Hâne* → *teslîm*

2nd *Hâne* → *teslîm*

3rd *Hâne* → *teslîm*

4th *Hâne* → *teslîm*

However, in the sources concerning *semâ'îs*, which were composed prior to the late 18th century, a three-part form is presented with the parts named as follows:

Ser (head) *hâne* → *mülazime*

Orta (middle) *hâne* → *mülazime*

Son (last) *hâne* → *mülazime*

This form is also confirmed by the transcriptions of Cantemir and Bobowski. More generally, the term *miyân* is not found, neither is the term *teslîm*, which, similarly to the *peşrev*, appears after the 19th century. Questions are raised by the fact that the *usûl* is not mentioned in the transcribed *semâ'îs*, even though, in general, performance rubrics are given, together with other details that clarify the form of each work:

LKP 2/59a

- 3r *Semâ'î* called *arabân beyâtîsi* composed by Tatari for the *gümüşü gerdan* which is played in every *beyâtî* starting from *dügâb*, that is from [*echos*] plagal I *terelelele*

⁴² Cantemir's theory book contains information about the existence of this particular *semâ'î*, but he does not transcribe it in his musical collection. It is included by Petros in MS Gritsanis 3, 176v: *Büyük Semâ'î Hüseyinî*.

⁴³ As already discussed, they are two different *peşrevs* sharing the same name.

- Another *terkîb* of *ser hâne* [echos] plagal I *terelelele*
Mûlazime from [echos] plagal I *terelelele*
 Another *terkîb* of *mûlazime* from [echos] II *terelelele*
 3v Third *terkîb* of *mûlazime* [echos] IV *terelelele*
Orta hâne from [echos] plagal I *terelelele*
 Another *terkîb* of the *orta hâne* *terelelele*
 This one as it is
 And again the same one from *mubayyer* as it is and then the *son hâne* [echos] plagal I *tem-terelia*
 Another *terkîb* of *son hâne* *terelelele*
 Third *terkîb* of *son hâne* *terelelele*

LKP (dossier) 60

- 13r *semâ'i acem aşîrân*, old, from *dügâb*
 13v *orta hâne* from *dügâb*
 14r the *son hâne* from *çârgâb*
 21r *semâ'i bicâz*, starting from *dügâb*
orta hâne from *sehnâz*
 21v *mûlazime*
 22r the *son* [*hâne*] from *dügâb*
 49r *semâ'i acem* from *nevâ*
mûlazime from *acem*
 then this one
 49v *terkîb* first this one
 the *orta hâne* from *dügâb*
mûlazime
 the *son hâne* from *segâb* with *beyâtî*
 50r the *mûlazime*

Gritsanis 3

- 103v *semâ'i makam Beyâtî*, usta tzortzinin, echos I. again from the start. At the end ... [short musical phrase] it moves to *büseynî* and the *mûlazime* starts, 2nd *terkîb*, again. Then finishes in *mubayyer* and the *orta hâne* starts. 2nd, 3rd, *son hâne*. From the beginning of the *son hâne*, then it moves to *büseynî* and the *mûlazime* starts.

The term *terkîb*, which was discussed analytically in the presentation of the *pesrev* above, is often found, and the corresponding existence of this practice in the *semâ'îs* is noted. The parts of the *semâ'î* consist of one, two, or three *terkîbs* that are clearly referenced, both in Petros's transcriptions, and in those of Gregorios.

Usûl

The rhythmic character of the *semâ'îs* is of special interest. It was mentioned above that questions were raised by the fact that the transcribed *semâ'îs* never mention the *usûl*, while both Petros and Gregorios always mention it in the *peşrevs*. Additionally, any variation in rhythm from 10-beat to 3 or 6-beat, considered standard in today's instrumental *semâ'îs* as they have been transmitted to us, is not noted.

Here, it must be taken into account that essential characteristics of the *semâ'î* changed in the late 17th century, the main change being a modification of its rhythm. It is known that the *semâ'î* as a genre is part of the music history of various regions of Central Asia with its *usûl* always being 6/8. All *semâ'îs* in Bobowski have a 6/8 rhythm, while in Cantemir two groups are distinguished: an older group with a 6/8 *usûl*, and a newer with 10/8. Subsequently, however, this rhythmic form (6/8), of Mongolian origin, disappeared from every Turkish secular genre in the late 18th century and few pieces survive today, only within the Sufi repertoire (Feldman 1996:463). The vocal *yürük semâ'î*, the *son yürük* of *Mevlevî semâ*, as well as the fourth *hâne* of the modern *semâ'î peşrev*, all in six-beat rhythm, witness the relationship and kinship with the old *semâ'î*. Hence, according to W. Feldman (1996:465-466), the critical periods over which the modification of rhythm took place are:

Period 5 (1690 – 1710): The *usûl* becomes 10/8 for all *hânes*. Return to (old) *usûl* 6/8 in the third or fourth *hâne*.

Period 6 (1710 - 1780): No available sources exist.⁴⁴

Period 7 (1780 – 1815): Standard 10/8 rhythm, with a change in the last part. No *terkîbs*. Four *hânes* without a ritornello.

Period 8 (1815 – 1850): 10/8 rhythm, three *hânes* and a fourth in 6/8 or 6/4 (*sengin semâ'î*). Modulations in the 2nd and 3rd *hâne*. After 1850 the 4th *hâne* had to use a variation of a 6/8 pattern instead of the old classical rhythm of the *semâ'î*.

The fact that absolutely no reference to the *usûl* of the *semâ'îs* exists in the sources, limits any contribution towards enlightenment on this topic. On the other hand, this exact absence shows what was obvious for the scribes: the *usûl* of the *semâ'îs* was already fixed to 10/8.

⁴⁴ Apart from those presented in this book.

Taksîm⁴⁵

The original meaning of the term *taksîm* was “division”. The *taksîm* is a structured improvisation with an introductory character, adhering to certain rules directly related to the *makam* it is named after, e.g. *hicâz taksîm*, *‘uṣṣak taksîm*, and so on. Initially, it referred to either vocal or instrumental performance, however, from the 19th century onwards it is performed as an instrumental genre only. As concluded from the sources, the oldest notated *taksîms*, a series of twelve, originate from Petros Peloponnesios. They are found in the codices of Iviron 997, Xeropotamou 305 and Xeropotamou 299 and they are introduced as

“Proemia, that is *taksîm* in Turkish, pieces composed by Mr. Petros Peloponnesios”

As mentioned above, the series consists of twelve complete *taksîms* in the eight *echoi*: one in each *echos* with the exception of two in *echos* II, two in *echos* III, two in *echos* *varys*, and two in *echos* plagal IV.⁴⁶ The term *taksîm* (ταξίμ) is also used by Apostolos Konstas in his theory book as an alternative name for the great or slow *paraklitiki* (Apostolopoulos 2005:149). This fact, in conjunction with the absence of a *makam* name and the existence of only the name of the *echos* in the headings of these specific *taksîms*, leads to the speculation that perhaps the use of the term by Petros also referred to possible introductions, or in other words, preludes, of *Cherubic* hymns. However, the study of their notational make-up and the nature of their musical form, classifies them as belonging to the corpus of secular music. In any case, their melodic development reflects the logic of key movements between ranges exactly as it is preserved in contemporary *taksîm* tradition in the Near East. For example, in the *taksîm* of *echos* plagal IV⁴⁷ the melody moves to *echos* I and II, resting intermediately on Vou and on Ga, then moving to *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, followed by successive downward movements towards the tonic Ni.

Seyir⁴⁸

The theory book of Kyrillos Marmarinos contains the oldest notated *seyirs* of Eastern Music (HESG 305⁴⁹ and LKP 124[123]). As seen also from its name (*seyir*

⁴⁵ A short monograph on *taksîm* is given by Akdoğan 1989. See also, Öztuna 1990, II, 370; Danielson, V., Marcus, S., Reynolds, D., (ed.) 2002, *The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music*, Volume 6, *The Middle East*, New York and London, p. 1178 in the entry *taqsîm*; Feldman 1996:274-294.

⁴⁶ For an analytical table of Petros's *taksîms* see chapter “Catalogue of Secular Compositions”, p. 155.

⁴⁷ Its *exegesis* in the *New Method* by T. K. Apostolopoulos has been included in the CD “En Chordais”, Petros Peloponnesios, track no 10.

⁴⁸ On the *seyir* see Feldman 1996:260-273.

⁴⁹ Popescu-Judetș & Sirli 2000:18.

= course), the *seyir* is a musical genre of limited range that reveals the melodic progression of a *makam*. In his transcriptions though, Kyrillos does not use the term *seyir* but instead uses the, probably self-inspired, term “clarity” (“σαφήνεια”):

“Clarity, which and how many *echoi* comprise each *makam*, and what is its progression from beginning to the end”.

The *seyirs* are very reminiscent of the logic of the lengthy *apechemata* of the *Old Method*, the difference being that the *apechemata* introduce the *echos* to follow and concern liturgical practice, while the *seyirs* are used strictly for educational purposes; they serve as learning tools for understanding the *makams*. A genre related to the *seyir*, though much longer, is the *makamlar kiari*, known only from its printed publications, as no manuscripts containing this genre, although certain to have existed, survive today. A few decades prior to Kyrillos, Dimitri Cantemir, whom Panagiotis Chalatzoglou seems to imitate in his corresponding work, records a good number of *seyirs* in text, in his theory book. The “clarities” of Kyrillos, seventy-two in number, unfold over one, two, or more rarely, three lines of music score in the *Old Method*, resembling the length of *seyirs* as they have been transmitted in Eastern music to the present.

Kyrillos lists the *seyirs* based on the position of the tonic of each *makam* on the *diapason* scale of ecclesiastical music according to the system of the *Old Method*:

Ni - *Rast, rebâvî, nikrîz, pençgâb, nihavent, zâvil, mâbûr, mumberka, penggâb* (other)

Pa - *Dügâb, dügâb* (pure), [found in order after *çârgâb*] *sabâ, kara dügâb, zamzeme*

Vou - *segâb, karcığar, maye, müste’âr, geveşt*

Ga - *çârgâb*

Di - *Nevâ, yegâb, pençgâb* (other?), *bûzî, hüzzâm, nişâbûr, isfabân, nübüft, arabân, nihavent kebîr*

Ke (Pa) - *Hicâz, ‘uzzal, zirgüle, hümayûn, şehnâz, şehnâz bûselik, suri, hüseyinî, hüseyinî aşîrân, kiocek, selmek, hüseyinî kürdî, horasan, acem, kürdî, acem kürdî, nevrûz-i acem, paisan kürdî, beyâtî, ‘uşşak, bûselik, bûselik aşîrân, bisâr aşîrân, bisâr, bisâr bûselik, gerdâniye bûselik, vecdî*

Zo - *acem aşîrân, irak, sultânî-irak, mubâlîf irak, dilkeş-bâverân, dilkeş, râbatü’l-ervâb, bestenigâr, eviç, baba tâbir, ‘arazbâr*

Nî’ - *gerdâniye*

Pa’ - *muhayyer, muhayyer bûselik, sünbüle.*

The list above is followed by the textual description of thirteen *makams* without a music score:

Zirevked, babri nazik, ru[y]i irak, gülizâr, beste isfabân, beste bisâr, bûzî bûselik, bisarik, nevrûz-I ru[m]I, zilkeside, musikar, rekb ‘uzzal, sefer.

B Vocal genres

In this section, the vocal genres of Ottoman music, preserved in Byzantine music manuscripts, are examined. Before reviewing each particular genre, listed here, are some findings that are valid across the whole of this category.

a) In these particular transcriptions, there are often cases of ambiguity and problems with determining the genre. Moreover, the pieces are often lacking references to the composer, *makam* and *usûl*, a fact that makes the identification of each work difficult to a great degree.

b) The poetic text of vocal compositions is in the Ottoman language with heavy influences from Persian and Arabic *divân* poetry.⁵⁰

c) The verses are written with Greek characters, a practice which relates to the *Karamanlidika* literature. The transliteration is often problematic, a fact shown by the comparison of the poetic text of the available transcriptions with those from the Turkish sources. The writing direction is left to right, underneath that of the music notation.

d) There are unusual types of compositions consisting of three, four, five or even six identical parts. No similar types are found in the forms of Eastern music, and they are either fragments of transcriptions, or vocal genres that are unknown.

Kâr

*Kâr*⁵¹ is considered the most extended, oldest and most artistic vocal genre of Ottoman music. *Kâr* is the Persian translation of the Arabic word '*amal*', which means "work", and is used to name every part of the macro-form "*nûba*" (Feldman 2005a:408). In the manuscripts, the Greek scribes maintain the Ottoman pronunciation "*kâr*" (*kiar*) instead of the Persian one "*kar*". As a form, it exhibits great freedom and complexity in its structure, a main characteristic of which is the pronounced presence of *terennüms*, in its different parts. Moreover, it nearly always starts with a *terennüm* (Bektaş 2005). Its structure is usually two, three, or four-part. In each part, an alternation of verses of the poetic text with *terennüms*, with or without meaning, is evidenced. Its performance faded fairly early, due precisely to its length, as well as the fact that it demanded a very high level of musical virtuosity.

There are few *kârs* surviving in the sources, nine in total, by eleven scribes, in sixteen manuscripts and fragments. Their freedom of form and lack of clear information about their structure, as well as the rare reference to the genre in their

⁵⁰ Ursula Reinhard, "Turkey: An Overview", *Garland 6, The Middle East*, p. 773.

⁵¹ On the genre of *kâr* see Wright 1992:166-172; Yavaşca 1985:403-473; Özalp 1969:11-14, Öztuna 1990, I, 426-427, Özkan 1987:84-86.

headings, lead to reservations with regard to their classification. In any case, the genre was transcribed from the middle of the 16th century, by Leontios Koukouzelis (Ivion 1189), Athanasios Katepanos (Ivion 1203), Kosmas the Macedonian (Ivion 1080), Petros Peloponnesios (Gritsanis 3 & LKP 137), Ioannis Konidaris (Stathis), Nikeforos Kantouniars (RAL 784, Iaşi 129, Vatopediou 1428, CAMS P1), Gregorios Protopsaltes (LKP dossier 81), Ioannis Pelopidis (LKP 152/292) and the unspecified scribes of the manuscripts Ivion 1038, Xeropotamou 329, Gennadius 231, and Archdiocese of Cyprus 33.

With regard to the composers, firstly, there is Georgios Soutsos, who however, composes on Greek verses. One work attributed by Turkish sources to Abdülkadir Marâghî, and another with a clear reference to Nikeforos Kantouniars in its heading, have been identified, but it is not certain they are indeed *kârs*. Moreover, only three out of the nine, are explicitly labelled as “*kârs*”. They are those originating from the manuscripts of Petros, Nikeforos, and Gregorios and his students. Gregorios in particular, states this with absolute clarity in LKP (dossier) 81, 1r:

The following, by the most genial archon postelnikos Mr. Georgios Soutsos, text and music. Notated by me, Gregorios lambadarios as taught by him. *Makam bestenigâr, usûl haffî*. It is called *kiari* by the external [secular] musicians, *echos varys*, Zo.

The information in the sources pertaining to the genre's form is poor. In some, the *miyân* is indicated. There is no other information of interest regarding musical form. Its main structural attribute is the existence of lengthy *terennüms* in the beginning and the middle of the music score.

Of special interest is the “Persikon” [Persian] piece transcribed first in Ivion 1189 and fragmented in Ivion 1080, Ivion 1203 and Xeropotamou 329:

Persikon Yelleyellli... Etierkian, echos varys

Terennüm... (6 lines)

Houn eshakiol yarama

Terennüm... (18 lines)

Echos varys

[H]alast karampen ei jima bag dan ki peizen

O ki yi arama gda gda do

Terennüm... (10 lines)

Abouye ragda kleoyetzen ain

Jahanet sbekastou tin hou rayoune

Jan tan pediela la pri pri pri ke

Terennüm... (11 lines)

Hastouha riftab kenparabhafi ashian kardi

Terennüm... (12 lines)

Echos varys

Ei ki mpertos titan bha me ain oki tariiii

Terennüm... (4 lines)

Kifta mpo iki takin talpekes ke dehem

Kif tampr kitam kin dil peke ekede hem

Terennüm... (4 lines)

Kiafules asike ekelampri kiafules asike belaba

Terennüm... (5 lines)

Ta bo eab amza etili buberi gdi tiritana

Terennüm... (12 lines)

The initial impression is that they are different works. The second piece in particular, *Ei ki mpertos titan bha me ain oki tariiii*, is found as an autonomous piece in MSS Iviron 1080, Iviron 1203 and Xeropotamou 329. In Iviron 1080, f. 130v *Tiritana... Kiafules asike ekelampri kiafules asike*, also exists, without any other indications. It is estimated that this is not a different composition but a verse of the preceding *Ei ki mpertos titan bha me ain oki tariiii*. That is, while they seem like two different works, they are probably one. Its second part starts with an extended *kratema*. That is how it is also preserved in Iviron 1203, as one piece. It is possible that the same holds for *Ei ki mpertos* as well, that is, it is a part of the composition preserved in complete form only in Iviron 1189. On the other hand however, the manuscripts list different *echos*: Iviron has *echos varys* and Xeropotamou has *echos I* (Atzemikon organikon *Ei ki mpertos titan bha me ain oki tariiii*, *echos I*). The study of the versions in manuscripts Iviron 1080, 130r and Iviron 1203, 239v found that they are related with respect to their notation. In contrast, Iviron 1189 being the oldest one, has a different writing style.

Therefore, the following two possibilities arise:

a) The whole Persian music section in Iviron 1189 is a *kâr*, its initials marking the beginning of each part.

b) The section contains two or three *kârs* or other works of undetermined genre with musical form characteristics very similar to those of the *kâr*.

The 17th century, during which the oldest manuscript, Iviron 1189, was written, is the peak period of the *kâr* as a genre, therefore, given the structural characteristics discussed above, it is speculated that these pieces comprise one or more sections of *kârs*.

Lastly, let it be noted that this piece seems to be related to the [piece missing heading] *Dir tarou dilli terella...* preserved in MS Megistis Lavras E4, f. 244r, also dating from the 16th century. The plain verses given at the end of the Iviron manuscript are the same as the Megistis Lavras manuscript. However, the melody of the first is in *echos* plagal IV while the second is in *echos varys*.

The following pieces are also considered *kârs*, as they are seen to bear the general characteristics of that genre. They have extended development, they begin

with a *terennüm*, and they have *kratemata* interspersed in the middle, as well as elaborate melodies:

Ach Tanatini dir dir ten til lelel bûselik [kâr] [Hoca], sakîl, LKP 137, 27r.

[‘Uşşak kâr] *Yeyeli yeyela canım cibayimen* [unspecified composer], *echos* I, Iviron 1038, 662r.

Tanadir nenena yâr aman ach gel yârim ach cenanım Nikephoros Kantouniaries⁵², *echos* I, *hiüseynî, sofyan*, RAL 784, 135v / Iaşi 129, 8 / Vatopediou 1428, 9.

One more composition of Georgios Soutsos (RAL 784, 161v / CAMS P1, 4 / Iaşi 129, 310 / Vatopediou 1428, 320) in *makam mâbûr* and *usûl haff*, belongs to this genre although in the manuscript heading the scribes name it a *beste*. It begins with an extended *terennüm* and there are also *terennüms* interspersed between the verses:

Tadir dir diride en terede lla der der ten tene tine tine tiine ach tenena dir neî aman

Τὴν ώραίαν σου εἰκόνα στὸν καθρέπτην ἄν ἰδῇς

Θέ νὰ σὲ φανοῦν οἱ ἄλλαις δίχως ἄλλο ἀηδεῖς

Chêi chêi chêi chêi chêi yâr chêi chêi chêi chêi chêi dost acha acha êî aman

Μαῦρον πουλί μου, θέ νὰ σὲ φανοῦν οἱ ἄλλαις δίχως ἄλλο ἀηδεῖς.

The second *beyti* and the *miyân* have a similar form:

Terennüm

First verse

Second verse

Terennüm

Second verse

Lastly, *Rizachti chaxariraman* in *echos varys* (Stathis, 38r) is also considered a *kâr*. The scribe labels it “*kratema*” and its length is around four pages in the *New Method*. However, the scribe notes that “most of it is missing”! Some parts can be discerned by the change of rhythm annotated by the scribe as well as by the long *terennüms*.

Beste

The *beste*⁵³ is a vocal genre of extended length, its main characteristic being the *kalophonic* character of the melody. The term originates from the Persian meaning

⁵² It is not clear if it is by Nikeforos. The manuscript states “By Nikeforos [...] a game of imagination [translator’s note: musical fantasia], followed by an Arabic hymn in verses”. It is estimated that it is some Arabic hymn to which a “game of imagination” composition of Nikeforos’s precedes.

⁵³ The main bibliographical references on the genre of *beste* are: first and foremost in Turkish literature the distinguished work of Yavaşca 1985:474-501. A brief presentation of the genre is given by Özalp (1992:14-17) and Özkan (1987:86-87) and an introductory-type description is given in Greek by Tsiamoulis & Erevnidis (1998:293). See also, Feldman 2005a:413-417 and 2005b:225-234.

“whole” or “encompassed”, however, the genesis of the genre took place within the Ottoman musical environment in the 17th century. In the Turkish language the meaning of the word is “attached” or “dedicated”, while in musical terminology, it means a musical work, a composition. Its rhythmic cycle is traditionally long, as is also seen in the *peşrev* and the *kâr*: 16-beat, 20-beat, 24-beat, 28-beat, 32-beat and so on up to 64-beat.

It usually has four verses and unfolds in two possible ways; a differentiation which gives it its name as a result: *murabba’ beste* and *nakış beste*. The former has four parts and the latter two. The typical structure of *murabba’* is:

- | | | |
|-----------------|----|---------------------|
| 1. verse | A1 | <i>zemin hâne</i> |
| <i>terennüm</i> | A2 | |
| 2. verse | A1 | <i>nakarat hâne</i> |
| <i>terennüm</i> | A2 | |
| 3. verse | B1 | <i>miyân hâne</i> |
| <i>terennüm</i> | B2 | |
| 4. verse | A1 | <i>nakarat hâne</i> |
| <i>terennüm</i> | A2 | |

The first, second and fourth parts have exactly the same melodic line. In the third, called *miyân*, the melody ascends to the higher range of the notes of the *makam* and exhibits a greater tendency of movement to other *makams*. All four parts are concluded with a *terennüm*. *Nakış* (meaning “embroidery”) *beste* presents a greater variability in its form and it usually extends over two verses. Its basic shape is as follows:

- | | | |
|-------------------|----|--|
| <i>hâne I</i> | A | verse 1 |
| | b | second half-verse of verse 1 |
| <i>hâne II</i> | B | verse 2 |
| <i>miyân hâne</i> | C | verse 2 |
| <i>hâne III</i> | Dd | <i>terennüm</i> , second half-verse of verse 2 |
| | b | second half-verse of verse 2 |
| | b | second half-verse of verse 2, cadence |

The *beste* dominates vocal compositional creation for approximately two centuries, the 18th century being considered its peak period. The composers of the time considered the *beste* the most practical form, gradually abandoning the relatively lengthier *kâr*, a fact related to the evolution of the broader aesthetic preferences of the Ottoman court.

Information from the Sources

The number of available sources is relatively small. Compared to the *peşrevs* and *semâ'îs*, *beste* transcriptions are scattered throughout quite a few manuscripts spanning a short period of time. Correspondingly, the knowledge and new evidence drawn from the music manuscripts is limited. Approximately thirty-eight *beste* transcriptions are preserved, seventeen for which the composer was given or has been identified, and nineteen which appear anonymously. For six of them, reservations exist as to whether they are indeed *bestes*.

At first glance, it is found that until the late 18th century the scribes, and consequently the *psaltic* community in general, do not have any particular familiarity with this specific genre. Its form is rarely stated explicitly and any name is absent, while other times misleading or confusing titles are given such as:

bestes called *naia* (Ivion 1038, 670r)

Furthermore, in MS Panteleimonos 994 for instance, the description “*semâ'î*” is given on a piece although it is actually a *beste*, and other times, a composition belonging to a different genre is characterised as a *beste*. The *usûl* and the *makam* are almost never mentioned, the parts comprising the internal structure are not named and the composer's name is usually missing. Apart from these problems, certain *bestes* preserved in the manuscripts of Petros LKP 137 and Gritsanis 3 are especially poorly written, thus making their *exegesis* into the *New Method* and their performance difficult. All of the above increase the difficulties in the study and the drawing of conclusions with surety.

On the Genre of Beste

The oldest transcription of *bestes* in the sources dates from 1680 in MS Ecumenical Patriarchate 6 (ff. 111v-112r). Therein, the scribe Kosmas the Macedonian records a piece titled, *Atzemikon erotikon imeteron*. The composition begins with *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade*, it is in *echos* plagal IV, but no other identifying details, such as genre, *makam* and *usûl*, are given, although it was extensively copied for nearly two centuries.⁵⁴ The following layout can be discerned in the composition:

A + A1 *terennüm*

B + B1 *terennüm*

C + B2 *terennüm*

D + A2 *terennüm*

⁵⁴ For the codices containing this composition, as well as for who composed it see p. 81, fn 22.

Where A, B, C and D are different melodic units with their only common parts being the *kratemata* A1 - A2 and B1 - B2. All four parts end with the phrase *Sakimeî zalom Hey Dol Tourkjaloum pade* and one *terennüm*. Its structure bears resemblance to the examples of *nakiş bestes* as presented by A. Yavaşca (1985:489-501; see also figure 11) in his related study.

A little later than this first transcription of a *beste*, in codex Gritsanis 8, dating from 1698, the term *murabba'* is found for the first time:

328 *Murabba'*, [echos] *protovarys*, *Siatepe steie sike*

330 Another one in *echos* plagal IV *Ruşlerin cena emanciüyir*

335 and the same again, another in *echos* plagal II, that is, *nenano*, *Menasi yime cuniperi*

That should not be a surprise, since until the 18th century and in order to define this particular genre, instead of the term *beste*, the term *murabba'* was used, which in Persian literally means "square", but in the composition of the Ottoman court it means the genre of the four-part *beste*. Hence, *murabbas* are often found in Ali Ufkî's collection, as well as in the various *mecmu'as* (although they preserve only the poetic text), essentially revealing the genre of *murabba' beste*⁵⁵. The term *beste* is found a little later, in the early 18th century (Ivion 949):

175v *Beste*, *echos* plagal I *mezil iste*

The use of the term *murabba's* in the heading of the relevant section in Gritsanis 8 is however misleading, since only three of the seven compositions are indeed *bestes*, presenting the typical four-part layout of *murabba' beste*. There is no special annotation for each part, nor are they named, the conclusion above was reached though an examination of their musical form. The parts a, b and d are notationally similar (*zemin* and *nakarât hâne*), while the third part, which is the *miyân hâne*, clearly differs. Thus, looking beyond the information contained in the heading and applying this method, leads to the conclusion that in this particular manuscript, the following compositions belong to the genre of the *beste*:

Murabba' [*beste*] [unspecified composer], *Siatepe steie sike*, *echos* proto *varys*, Gritsanis 8, 328.

[*Rast*] *Murabba'* [*beste*] [unspecified composer], *Ruşlerin cena emanciüyir*, *echos* plagal IV, Gritsanis 8, 330.

[*Hicâz hümayîn* *murabba' beste*] [unspecified composer], *Menasi yime cuniperi*, *echos* plagal II *nenano*, Gritsanis 8, 335.

[*Rast*] *Ey canım canasalounounpa* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, Gritsanis 8, 332.

⁵⁵ Apart from Gritsanis 8, the term is found only one more time in a manuscript, specifically in Gritsanis 3, 214v: "*Murabba' küçük* [Unspecified composer], however there are no verses to confirm that it is indeed a *murabba' beste*. Perhaps the scribe intended to add them later, resulting in an incomplete transcription.

A little later, in the early 18th century, in Panteleimonos 994, a similar phenomenon is found. In the five compositions attributed to Kyrillos Marmarinos, the term *semâ'i* is mentioned twice and there is no mention of the term *beste* or even *murabba'*. Nevertheless, an examination of the notation and musical form of the whole transcription shows that they are two pieces after all: one *ağır semâ'i* and one *beste*. The *ağır semâ'i* begins on f. 323v and ends on 324r and the *beste* begins on 324r and ends on 325v. Moreover, the *beste* is recorded in full:

1. verse	<i>Abe diri xoulfisia bim sapa</i>	A1	(<i>zemin bâne</i>)
<i>terennüm</i>	<i>Yeleleli</i>	A2	
2. verse	<i>Ab naliana sebmaze</i>	A1	(<i>nakarat bâne</i>)
<i>terennüm</i>	<i>Tereliye</i>	A2	
3. verse	<i>Acb mehalepene temekristara</i>	C1	(<i>miyân bâne</i>)
<i>terennüm</i>	<i>Yeleletereli</i>	C2	
4. verse	<i>Ab perelâifia skounaptare</i>	A1	(<i>nakarat bâne</i>)
<i>terennüm</i>	<i>Yeleleli tereli</i>	A2	

Therefore the complete title of the composition is formed as follows:

Hüseyinî [beste] Ache diri xoulfisia chim sapa Kyrillos Marmarinos, *echos* plagal I, Panteleimonos 994, 324r.

A similar problem also occurs in Iviron 1038 where the mention of the genre of *beste* is also misleading:

663r *Arabic beste*, *echos* plagal I *Segringoulingoulou*

670r *Bestes* called *naia*, *echos* IV *Ormatipichereitzcha*

It is observed that the first composition is probably a vocal *semâ'i*, while the label “*naia*” makes it unclear whether it belongs to that genre. Only for the pieces below can there be relative certainty:

Beste Ormatipichereitzcha [unspecified composer], *echos* IV, Iviron 1038, 670r.

[‘Uşşak] *beste*⁵⁶ *Yar kimin canesi* [unspecified composer], *echos* I, Iviron 1038, 672r.

[‘Uşşak] *beste Bagipakerpe* [unspecified composer], *echos* I, Iviron 1038, 664r.

The label *şarkı* by Nikeforos Kantouniaries in RAL 784, 176r⁵⁷, is also an error, as it is estimated that the piece is a *beste*. Its form is A-B-C-A and a *terennüm* is found at the end of each verse. Moreover, its length is long for a *şarkı* and its *usûl* (*remel*) is similarly long. All of the above evidence leads to the conclusion that it is a *beste*.

⁵⁶ Even though at first glance they appear to be three different songs, they possibly comprise one *beste* after all. In the manuscript, the *beste* begins on f. 672r (Another one /// difficult of mine), and continues on ff. 672v ([*echos*] I *Yar Efendim penteteriya*) and 673r ([*echos*] I *Yar byzyfeta*).

⁵⁷ *Hicâz şarkı Birla ach za seni* [old], *echos* plagal II, *remel*, RAL 784, 176r.

In a similar fashion, the examination of the musical form of the available transcriptions, allows for a fairly confident classification of a series of works belonging to the genre of the *beste*, although a relevant inscription is missing from their headings:

Hüseyinî [*beste*] *Ab yar cemâlin Hânende Zacharias*, *echos* plagal I, LKP 152/292, 144.

Hacınyâr biüzzâm [*beste*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* II], *haff*, Gritsanis 3, 182v.

The layout of the work transcribed in Gregoriou 23 (f. 187v) is unusual. It bears the ambiguous heading “*Heirmos Ismailitikos*” and it consists of the following parts:

A + 2 lines of *terennüm*

A + 2 lines of *terennüm*

B + 2 lines of *terennüm*

A + 2 lines of *terennüm*

11 lines of *kratema*

C (one and a half times as long as A and B)

A + 2 lines of *terennüm*

Half of the piece bears the characteristics of a *murabba’ beste*, however, the interspersing of a lengthy *kratema* and the additional poetic text, as well as the fourth stanza with the melody of A are confusing.

In some *bestes* in MSS Gritsanis 3, LKP 60 and LKP 137, Petros usually only transcribes the first and second part. The fact they are *bestes* is concluded with the help of four plain text verses listed prior to the notation of the melody. It can be clearly discerned that the first part is a transcription of the first verse and the second part is a transcription of the third verse. This allows the speculation that the second and fourth verse are performed according to the melody of the first verse, exhibiting therefore the typical four-part layout of the *murabba’ beste*. These compositions are:

Têgafoul didêi civrem o sobinaz eviç [*beste*], Tanbûrî Haham Musî, *nim devri*, [*echos* plagal IV hard diatonic], Gritsanis 3, 238v.

Moulmouzon gülsen [*beste*] Tanbûrî Haham Musî, LKP 137 (dossier), 23r.

Kanite vora sayei servi [*beste*] Kemânî Yorgî, *havî*, Gritsanis 3, 121v.

Yar pîlîm êim pezmîze /// Ismael Tsaous, Gritsanis 3, 167r.

Edir zouflounê ta/dîr [*beste*] testeichi Emir-i Hac, [*echos* I], *haff*, LKP 137 (dossier), 5v.

Bey zade acem followed by text only verses and then the music score [*echos varys*] *Yâr oloup*, LKP (dossier) 137, 3v.

text only verses and then the music score [*echos varys*] *Yâr oloup kögin* /// *sedi padisebin* [unspecified composer], *echos varys, remel*, Gritsanis 3, 242ar.

It is with several reservations that following pieces from LKP 137, which are especially poorly written and hard to make use of, are classified as *bestes* :

Mour dil tzasmedechadaze rast [beste] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV], LKP 137 (dossier), 19r.

Gördabol tabi cane dir eviç [beste] [unspecified composer], [echos varies], LKP 137 (dossier), 20r.

Chep nasezalech havî [beste] [unspecified composer], LKP 137 (dossier), 20v.

Hey ab itmez idim [beste] [unspecified composer], *mouhapez tatli*, LKP 137 (dossier), 22v.

as well as the following pieces from three other manuscripts:

Sechakisouphourvisali canım [unspecified], [echos varies diatonic], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 163r.

Hey tabtihi camir aman [unspecified composer], *echos varies* diatonic, γ/χ , LKP 152/292, 149.

Pir iglis [unspecified composer], *echos plagal IV*, γ/χ , LKP 152/292, 289.

[*Hicâz nakış beste*] *Hey cisme-i abu bizrin* [unspecified composer], *echos plagal II*, Stathis, 33r / LKP 152/292, 164.

It should be noted that from the *bestes* preserved in the sources, only three were found in Turkish sources as well, thus also allowing the identification of their composer:

Hicâz beste Ab olmada dirlele rouponte gamze [*Olmada diller rubûde gamze-i câdûsuna*], [Abdülhalim Ağa]⁵⁸, *echos plagal II*, [hafîf], [verses by Fitnat Hanım], Stathis, 30v / LKP 152/292, 159.

[*Sabâ*] *beste Mezil iste* [*mecliste âftâb gibi bir nev-civan gerek*] [Kemânî Yorgi]⁵⁹, *echos plagal I*, [hafîf], verses by Râif, Iviron 949, 175v.

Sâzkâr beste, Bir dil oloutzak olousechin [*Bir dil olicak ol meh-i büsnün*] Elias, *echos plagal IV* diaphonic, *remel*, verses by Elias, LKP (dossier) 59, 1.

Indications and Information Pertaining to Musical Form

Apart from the above details, the information that can be gathered about the genre of the *beste* is poor. It reasonably leads to the conclusion that up until the 18th century, when the *beste* flourished as a genre, the *psaltic* world was not particularly familiar with it. A similar limitation is observed also in terms of the

⁵⁸ Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 8477 and Öztuna 1990, I, 15. The scribe of MS Stathis mistakenly gives Ismail Dede Efendi as the composer with the following note: “this one was composed by the excellent Ottoman teacher Ismailakis. It was transcribed by Theodoros Phokianos”. In contrast, the scribe of LKP 152/292, 159, appears to be better informed and attributes it to the correct composer.

⁵⁹ Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 7530.

makams and the *usûls* of the *bestes*. In the available transcriptions, references to the *makam* and the *usûl* are very rare. Any sporadic references are found from the third quarter of the 18th century onwards, in Petros's manuscripts. There are no annotations pertaining to musical form, nor any performance rubrics, and the parts comprising each *beste* (*miyân*, *nakarât*, etc.) are generally missing. For example, Nikeforos Kantouniaries in codex RAL 784 names all four parts in the following manner: (a), b, *miyân* & d or as (*beyti* b), *beyti* b, *miyân* & *beyti* d. The term *beyti* is also used in two *bestes* in Iaşi 129 and Vatopediou 1428, while the scribe of Gennadius 231 refers to the *veilou* (ff. 5r, 5v) and the scribe of LKP 152/292 in certain cases uses the term *miyân*.

This lack of explicit annotations in *bestes* should not be surprising. It is the rule for the music scores written in staff notation, which were widely circulated in Turkey during the 20th century. *Beste* transcriptions consist only of the first section and the *miyân*, which is the only part named. The two or four verses comprising the poetic text of the *beste* are given in plain text at the beginning, or more commonly at the end of a piece. Therefore, a correspondence in the manner of transcription of the *bestes* with that of the scribes of post-Byzantine music codices is discerned.

The *miyân bâne* was briefly discussed in the introduction to the genre of the *beste*.⁶⁰ The term *veilou* is not found in the Turkish literature, from which a clearer explanation could have been sought.

The scribes, preserving compositions of G. Soutsos either out of ignorance, confusion, or an error on the part of the composer, name some of his compositions *beste*, while, however, they are *kârs*⁶¹. Similarly, it is observed that in three *kârs* by Soutsos, the broader section containing within it the individual parts, is concluded with a musical section called *beste*.

[*Nisâbürek*] *beste*, Πρέπει πὰ νὰ μὲ θρηνεῖ καὶ Ανατολὴ καὶ Δύσις, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 173r / Vatopediou 1428, 341.

Karari beste Εἰς ἐκείνην ὅπου εἶναι τῶν παθῶν σου ἡ κρηπίς, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* I from low Ke, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 4v / Iaşi 129, 329 / Vatopediou 1428, 15.

[*Mâbûr*] *beste*, Γίνεται σὰ ἄλλα κάλη, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV *heptaphonic*, *haffif*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 167v / CAMS P1, 12 / Iaşi 129, 314 / Vatopediou 1428, 324.

It is of a very short length, almost two lines in the *Old Method* notation, which excludes the possibility that it is indeed a *beste*. No probable explanation is revealed by the literature, thus it can be assumed that it is an indication of a caudential structural unit which bears the same name as the extended genre of *beste*.

⁶⁰ See above, p. 227.

⁶¹ For more see the section on *kârs*, pp. 223-226.

Vocal Genres of Semâ'î – Ağır and Yürük Semâ'î

Both a study of the instrumental *semâ'î*, and a brief discussion on its origins were previously presented. There are two kinds of vocal *semâ'îs*, the *ağır* (heavy, slow) and *yürük* (fast). Their form resembles a small version of the *murabba' beste*, though it exhibits a greater number of variations. The main differentiation pertains to their rhythmic character: the *usûl* and the tempo. The *ağır semâ'î* has a 10-beat rhythm, 10/4 or 10/8, and is performed in a slow tempo, as its name reveals. Sometimes, the *usûl* changes to 6/4 in the fourth part. The *yürük semâ'î* in contrast has a 6-beat rhythm, 6/8 or 6/4, and a faster and more “joyous” tempo. During the performance of a *fasıl*, *ağır semâ'î* is found immediately after the *beste*, while *yürük semâ'î* is the last of the vocal compositions and before the *saz semâ'î*, which is the last piece.

The scribes who recorded vocal *semâ'îs* do not seem particularly familiar with that form. For that reason, the distinction and classification of *semâ'îs* in cases where the genre is not clearly mentioned, is problematic. Moreover, this difficulty is increased when the *usûl* is not explicitly stated.

Twenty-seven vocal *semâ'îs* survive in total. Five of them are *ağır*, eight are *yürük*, while for the remaining fourteen of them, their type remains undetermined. It should be noted here that eight of them have Greek verses: five by Georgios Soutsos and four “*exomeritika*” (s. “*exomeritikon*”), as named by Nikeforos Kantouniaries.

These twenty-seven *semâ'îs* are found across thirteen manuscripts. The term *semâ'î*, is seen for the first time in the corrupted form, “*soumaî*”, in MS Gritsanis 8 (in the year 1698), while a little later the unknown scribes of Panteleimonos 994 and Timios Prodromos 93, transcribe a *semâ'î* by Kyrillos Marmarinos. A contribution to the preservation of this genre was also made by Petros Peloponnesios, with the codices Gritsanis 3 and LKP (dossier) 137, and by his student Petros Byzantios with LKP 19/173. Most are written by Nikeforos Kantouniaries in MSS RAL 784, CAMS P1, Iaşi 129 and Vatopediou 1428. This group of scribes who preserved *semâ'îs* is completed by Gregorios Protopsaltes (LKP (dossier) 59), Ioannis Konidaris (Stathis) and Ioannis Pelopidis (LKP 152/292).

The composers named in the sources are Kyrillos Marmarinos, Tab'î Efendi⁶², Ismail Dede Efendi, Georgios Soutsos and Peligratzoglou, for whom we have no information. Furthermore, *semâ'îs* by Abdülkadir Marâghî and Tab'î Mustafa Efendi were identified and attributed to their composers during the course of this work.

The details derived regarding the form of the genre are very few. Its constituent parts are very rarely mentioned. In older transcriptions (until the middle of

⁶² It is worth noting that no vocal *semâ'î* is found in his catalogue of works in the Turkish sources.

the 18th century) lengthy *terenniüms* are discerned in the middle of the compositions. Short *terenniüms* are also found in the *semâ'îs* dated from the middle of the 18th century until the early 19th century. Petros Peloponnesios, Petros Byzantios, Gregorios Protopsaltes and in certain cases Nikeforos Kantouniaries, seem to be more familiar with the genre, hence their annotations are somewhat clearer. In some *semâ'îs*, the above-mentioned scribes explicitly annotate the form A - A - B - A, where B = *miyân*.

Nikeforos uses the term “*beyti*” in three *semâ'îs* to indicate the plain text verses, which, it can be reasonably assumed, were sung to the exact same melody as the first verse. In two *semâ'îs* he indicates three *beytis* and in another, four:

[*Mubayyer*] *semâ'î*, *Bir cesmi pisourmesiach Taousianikon*, *echos* I, *sofyan*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 140r / Iaşi 129, 48 / Vatopediou 1428, 49.

[*Şedd-i arabân*] *semâ'î*, *Bir orum dilber Taousianikon*, *echos* plagal II *phthorikos*, *sofyan*, RAL 784, 145r / Iaşi 129, 128 / Vatopediou 1428, 119.

[*Beyâtî arabân*] *semâ'î*, *Gönül verdim Taousianikon*, *echos* IV, *sofyan*, RAL 784, 150r / Vatopediou 1428, 224.

The same term is found one more time in

Hüseynî 'aşîrân yüürük semâ'î, *Χέρια μου ετοιμασθήτε γὰρ νὰ σφίξετε καλά*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* I from low Ke, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 3r / Vatopediou 1428, 14.

Here though, it concerns parts A2 and A4, where in the last section the term “*sani*” is added, becoming *beyti sani*. Potentially, this term was in use when Nikeforos transcribed these particular pieces. However, that cannot be concluded from the literature, or from contemporary musical practice.

Twice, he also gives the term, *nakarat*, though only plain text verses are given along with it. Lastly, in four of his *semâ'îs* labelled as such, Nikeforos Kantouniaries probably makes a mistake. All four are very short – only three or four lines of music score in the *old notation*, their length thus rendering their classification very difficult:

[*Mahûr*] *semâ'î* *Δὲν ἰζεύρω τί νὰ κάμω*, [exomeritikon], *echos* plagal IV: Iaşi 129, 337 / Vatopediou 1428, 319.

[*Mahûr*] *semâ'î* *Δὲν τὸ μετανοιώνω ὅτι ἔφτασα νὰ σ' ἀγαπῶ*, [exomeritikon], *echos* plagal IV: Iaşi 129, 337 / Vatopediou 1428, 319.

Mahûr semâ'î *Ὁ ἔρωτας μὲ ἔκανε πολλὰ νὰ συντυχαίνω*, exomeritikon, *echos* plagal IV: Vatopediou 1428, 319.

Nişâbürek semâ'î *Τῆς τύχης ἡ κακὴ βουλή*, exomeritikon, *echos* plagal IV, Iaşi 129, 331 / Vatopediou 1428, 343.

Şarkı

*Şarkı*⁶³ in Turkish literally means “song”, while at the same time the term is used to refer to the shortest vocal genre in Ottoman music. It appears in Ottoman music in the middle of the 17th century, but its peak period as a genre was from the middle of the 19th century (Feldman 2005:116-117) onwards, a fact which is also reflected in the sources. Traditionally, the rhythmic cycle of *şarkı*s is of limited length, up to 15 beats. Usually they have four verses and the typical form is similar to that of the *murabba’ beste*:

- | | | |
|------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1. verse, melody | A | (<i>zemin</i>) |
| 2. verse, melody | B | (<i>nakarat</i>) |
| 3. verse, melody | C | (<i>miyân</i>) |
| 4. verse, melody | B | (<i>nakarat</i>) |

The above layout is the rule, which, however, has many exceptions and variations omitted here for reasons of economy and relevance to the topic.

Information from the Sources

In the music manuscripts of the psaltic art, twenty-three *şarkı*s are found in a total of eleven manuscripts and booklets. There are also another three pieces which bear the inscription *şarkı*, but were ultimately classified as Phanariot songs. Taking into account the compositional output of the time, this number seems rather small. Of these, sixteen explicitly state the genre in their heading, while for one of them, this is certain because the genre and composer were identified from its incipit. Two more are also labelled as “*şarkı*”, but they have Greek verses. For the remaining nineteen pieces, some reservations remain, for some more than others, with respect to their genre. The pieces attributed to their composers in the sources along with those whose composer was identified, are only ten.

All surviving *şarkı*s originate from manuscripts dating from the middle of the 18th century onwards. That is, there are no transcriptions of *şarkı*s before the late 18th century. This is because the *şarkı*, as described above, becomes the centre of attention of the musical matters of Constantinople after the middle of the 19th century.

The preserved *şarkı*s are transcribed by Petros Byzantios, Nikeforos Kantouniars, Ioannis Konidaris, Ioannis Pelopidis and the anonymous scribes of LKP 169, LKP (dossier) 73, Gennadius 231 and CAMS, P2.

⁶³ An extensive study on the *şarkı* is found in Yavaşca 1985:122-245, and Özkan 1987:87-89. A brief presentation of the genre is given by Özalp 1992:19-24. An introductory-style description in the Greek language is given by Tsiamoulis & Erevnidis 1998:294). See also Feldman 2005b:215-220, Öztuna 1990, II, 232-236.

Indications and Information Pertaining to Musical Form

The typical form of the *şarkı* described above (A-B-C-B) is adhered to by only three of the transcribed *şarkıs*, while three others present small variations: A-A-B-A, A-B-B, A-B-C (three times). Ten *şarkıs* have a simple two-part layout with the *miyân* explicitly annotated in some. Six *şarkıs* have from four to six parts, all of which are identical in melody. Lastly, in the remaining eleven, no parts can be discerned by studying the notation, or they are of very short length.

In general, there is no labelling of the parts, nor any performance information or instructions. Sometimes, there are references to terms such as, *miyân*, *nakarat* and *beyti*. Of these, the first two were discussed above. The term *beyti* could be related to the Turkish word *beyit*, which means double verse. From the way it is used it can be concluded that it refers to each section of music comprising the *şarkı*.

With the exception of nine *şarkıs*, in which the *usûl* is not mentioned, the rest are all in the simple and easy to understand *usûls* of *sofyan* (4-beat) and *düyek* (8-beat). It is obvious that the scribes were not familiar with more complex *usûls*, or they did not have a special preference for them.

Unspecified Genre

In two manuscripts from two different periods there are some compositions consisting of from three up to six identical parts. The first manuscript is Gritsanis 8 (year 1698) and the second, LKP 152/292 (year 1827). The following works are found in them:

Hey canım canasalounoupna, *echos* plagal IV, Gritsanis 8, 332.

“*Ethnikon varvarikon*” *Pencesin tekiğlemiş ol*, *echos* I, Gritsanis 8, 337.

“*Varvarikon*” *Sala sala koloum seithi*, *echos* I, Gritsanis 8, 339.

“*Mousoulmanikon*” *Oλου güstüne köprüi*, *echos* *varys*, Gritsanis 8, 341. 341.

Hey gonce [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ , LKP 152/292, 141.

Ah, ben bilmedim [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ , LKP 152/292, 175.

Düstügöy nuba [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ , LKP 152/292, 185.

Makam, *usûl* or genre are not mentioned in any of the above works, thus making their study difficult. Moreover, none of the pieces were located in the available catalogues of Ottoman music. Their dating is difficult, and so they may be considered contemporary to the period in which the codices were written. However, the following findings are stated below in the hope that future research will shed more light upon the matter.

Compositions originating from Gritsanis 8.

The first two each have four identical parts; the third has six and the last composition, five. They are three or four lines long in the *Old Method*, with the exception of the last composition, which is somewhat longer – seven to eight lines. A *terennüm* is found only in the third composition, which extends to approximately two lines.

Compositions originating from LKP 152/292:

The first composition has three identical parts, the second has five, and the third has four. They are clearly longer, taking up one to two manuscript pages each, and written in the *New Method*. The elaborate nature of the melody and the absence of a *kratema* can be discerned.

There is no relation between the two manuscripts and the pieces found transcribed in them. Moreover, they were written very far apart chronologically. As for the first group, it is found that at the time they were transcribed, there were two genres with similar characteristics: *varsâğı* and *türki*. However both genres are clearly of shorter length, while the pieces examined here are certainly longer. Their size alludes to them being of the genre of *beste*, which however, has a different form. It cannot be excluded that they belong to a different, yet unknown, genre. If this is the case, the absence of a reference and a description, if not of notated examples as well, of such a genre is puzzling. The above observations are made in the hope that they will contribute to a further investigation of the genre.

A similar phenomenon is also discerned in six compositions that are explicitly named *şarkı*s, each having between four and six identical parts, without any melodic difference:

Rast şarkı, Sevdimin aslı yaslı [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, RAL 925, 36r / LKP 19/173, 151r.

Hicâz şarkı, Ah kim düştü gönül bir güzel [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, ó 2 ó i, LKP 19/173, 153v.

Hicâz şarkı, Bey ben yasa vardım kûl [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, *sofyan*, RAL 925, 37v / LKP 19/173, 150r.

[*Segâh*] *şarkı, Tzoukinsedepirichaki* [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, *sofyan*, LKP 19/173, 152r.

Uşşak şarkı İsmail Dede Efendi, *echos* I, *sofyan*, verses *Mehin ceynle balım diyer gün bey ledivah*, RAL 784, 137v / İaşi 129, 29 / Vatopediou 1428, 38.

Rast şarkı, Bu husule İsmail Dede Efendi, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by İsmail Dede Efendi, RAL 784, 158r / Vatopediou 1428, 296.

Finally, the attempt to determine the genre of twenty-six compositions that appear to belong to the repertoire of the Ottoman court was fruitless:

Taraxisezichefiz nihavent kepir Tanbûrî Haham Musî, [echos plagal IV hard diatonic]: Gritsanis 3, 122r.

Yar pilim ėm pezmize //// İsmail Tsaous: Gritsanis 3, 167r.

Kögin /// *sedî padisehin* [unspecified composer], *echos* varies, *remel*: Gritsanis 3, 242ar.

Ah vetzichious niounseïrderken [unspecified composer], *echos* IV *legetos*, *segâh*: CAMS P2, 46.

Ech zaleves pirngon zeïra [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *rast*: RAL 925, 57r.

[*Rast şarkı*] *Meclî di yel bey dil rupa*⁶⁴ “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 40r.

[*Hüzzâm*] *Ey gönce-î payimel* “another Turkish one”, *echos* II: Stathis, 41r.

[*Rast*] *Dost o giđi nounoumsa nadim dieïpiri* “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 42r.

[*Hicâz*] *Chenkiami sefadir* “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal II: Stathis, 43r.

[*Rast*] *Cemalin'ten cuda olmak benim* “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 44r.

[*Rast*] *Mfchameti halime gel* “another Turkish one”, *echos* plagal IV: Stathis, 45r.

[*Uşşak*] *Semâ'î Eïrele gül rugikinev* [unspecified composer], [*echos* I]: Stathis 37r / LKP 152/292, 172.

[*Hicâz*] *Ah, ben bilmedim* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 175.

[*Rast*] *Düstügöy nuba* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 185.

Hey gönce [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 141.

Hey tabtihi camir aman [unspecified composer], *echos* varies diatonic, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 149.

[*M*] *antousaintir* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 137.

Meclise gel [unspecified composer]: LKP 152/292, 195.

Bir bibeden [unspecified composer], *echos* I, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 134.

Poutilpin pempiyen [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal I: LKP 152/292, 138.

Bir iglis [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 289.

Rast Eymeh cepigim [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV Nη, γ/χ : LKP 152/292, 196.

⁶⁴ The annotation “Another Turkish one, along the same lines, transcribed by Ioannis” appears in the manuscript.

Rast Cananedine bir tanesi [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*: LKP 152/292, 139.

Ai ma canım [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 295.

Aman canayonum [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal II, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 297.

Igontempagivefa [unspecified composer], *echos* *varys* diatonic, γ/χ: LKP 152/292, 296.

Genres of the Ottoman Court with Greek Verses

The musical genres of the Ottoman court include certain vocal compositions, around twelve in number, the poetic text of which is in Greek. Nearly all of them cite Georgios Soutsos as the composer. It is observed that Soutsos made an attempt to couple the Greek language with Ottoman form, composing in genres of art music and using the shared modal tradition as a common denominator. That is, he moved further than the new-found genre of Phanariot songs and experimented with the use of the Greek language in forms developed clearly on the basis of Ottoman *divân* poetry with its related metric and rhythmic patterns. The two others who composed genres of the Ottoman court with Greek verse, are the unspecified composer of the *beste* Ὡσὰν νὰ ἔπιες τὸ νερόν τῆς λήθης and Nikeforos Kantouniaries, with two *şarkis* (Τύχη σκληρὰ καὶ αὐστηρά and Σκληρὰ μου τύχη ἔλεος), which rather mimic Soutsos. The compositions are as follows:

Kârs

[Hüseyin] *Aşîrân kâr*, *Tâ dir tene teni tene*, Ἀμὲν μάτια μου ἂν ξηρανθοῦν οἱ πικροί σας ποταμοί, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* I from low Ke, *sofyan*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 1r / Iaşi 129, 11 / Vatopediou 1428, 13.

Bestenigâr kâr, *Tatatadîr*, Ἔως πότε τύχην ἔχεις, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* *varys* *tetrachonic* chromatic, *haffî*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, LKP (dossier) 81, 1r / Stathis, 27r / Gennadius 231, 51v / LKP 152/292, 122 / Archdiocese of Cyprus 33, 1.

Mâhûr [*Kâr*], *Tadîr tenenî*, *aman*, Τὴν ὡραίαν σου εἰκόνα, στὸν καθρέπτην ἂν ἰδῇς, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV *heptaphonic*, *haffî*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 161v / CAMS P1, 4 / Iaşi 129, 310 / Vatopediou 1428, 320.

Bestes

Nişâbürek beste, *Ti megalî symforá*, τί ἡμέρα, τί εἰδήσεις, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 168r & 189v / Iaşi 129, 327 / Vatopediou 1428, 339 / Stathis, 20v / Gennadius 231, 3r / LKP 152/292, 70. It has all four parts transcribed and named.

Rast [*beste*] Ὡσὰν νὰ ἔπιες τὸ νερόν τῆς λήθης, [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, ὁ 2 ὁ ἰ, RAL 925, 59r / LKP 19/173, 148r.

Ağır Semâ'î – Yürük Semâ'î

[*Mâbûr*] *Ağır Semâ'î*, *Oi σειρήνες τριγυρίζουν*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, *ağır*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 164v / CAMS P1, 8 / Iaşi 129, 312 / Vatopediou 1428, 322.

[*Nişâbürek*] *Ağır Semâ'î*, *Τί κακὸν θανατηφόρον, τί ἀνίατος πληγή*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 170v / Iaşi 129, 328 / Vatopediou 1428, 340 / Stathis, 23v / LKP 152/292, 75.

[*Mâbûr*] *Yürük Semâ'î*, *Ἐμψυχώθηκαν σὲ σένα αἱ καθόλου ἀρεταί*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV heptaphonic, *ağır*, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 166r / CAMS P1, 10 / Iaşi 129, 313 / Vatopediou 1428, 323.

[*Nişâbürek*] *Yürük Semâ'î*, *Ἦστραπτε στὸ πρόσωπόν σου καλλονὴ ἀγγελικὴ*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 171v / Iaşi 129, 329 / Vatopediou 1428, 341 / Stathis, 25r / LKP 152/292, 78.

Hüseyinî Aşîrân Yürük Semâ'î, *Χέρια μου ἐτοιμασθῆτε γιὰ νὰ σφίξετε καλά*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* I from low Ke, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 3r / Vatopediou 1428, 14.

Both Nikeforos and Soutsos, mainly the latter, also composed works with Ottoman verses, adhering strictly to the rules of composition:

Rast beste, Arzit metiya Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *fî-rengi fer'*, RAL 784, 152r / Iaşi 129, 281.

Rast beste, Zalîvez bir Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *bağf*, RAL 784, 153v.

Nişâbürek şarkı, Gönuler sangaidini Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan* small, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 173v / Iaşi 129, 329 / Vatopediou 1428, 342.

Hüseyinî [Kâr] Tanadir nenena yâr aman ach gel yârim ach cenanım Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* I, *sofyan*, RAL 784, 135v / Iaşi 129, 8 / Vatopediou 1428, 9.

The following songs are also of interest because of their bilingual (Greek and Turkish) poetic text:

Beyâtî arabân semâ'î İki de turna gelir of the Gypsies, *echos* IV, *sofyan*, Vatopediou 1428, 120. / followed by the same in text only Greek verses ...

Rast şarkı Bu husule Ismail Dede Efendi, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses Ismail Dede Efendi, RAL 784, 158r / Iaşi 129, 288 / Vatopediou 1428, 296.

Rast şarkı Tüçhe skληρά, Ismail Dede Efendi, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries, RAL 784, 159r.

Arabân beyâtî semâ'î Soyle güzel robti, Ismail Dede Efendi, *echos* IV, *sofyan*, verses by Ismail Dede Efendi, RAL 784, 142r / Iaşi 129, 126 / Vatopediou 1428, 117.

“Hellenisation” of Şarkı

Along the same lines, it is worth noting that Nikeforos Kantouniaries added Greek verses to one *şarkı* by Dede Efendi. He transcribed it in RAL 784 and introduced it as

158r *Şarkı* by royal khanendeh Ismailakis, most beautiful, transcribed by Nikeforos who also compiled and added the Greek verses for the sake of some friends. *Makam rast*, [echos] plagal IV, *usûl sofyan*, in Turkish *Bou chousoule*

159r In Greek [echos] plagal IV *Τύχη σκληρά καὶ αὐστηρά*

Lastly, Nikeforos again names one of his Phanariot songs “*şarkı*”:

Rast Şarkı Σκληρά μου τύχη ἔλεος, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries, RAL 784, 70v / Iaşi 129, Iaşi 129, 292 / Vatopediou 1428, 300.

The Terennüm in Vocal Compositions

The study of the corpus of the surviving vocal genres of Eastern music, finds that their content is embellished with non-lexical syllables, corresponding to the Byzantine *kratemata*, which do not convey any meaning, rather give the voice the ability to improvise without the restriction of a poetic text. Their use is universal in the extended genres of the *kâr* and *beste*, while they are only used occasionally in *ağır semâ’î*, *yürük semâ’î* and *şarkı*. *Terennüm* is also found in one of the works of undetermined genre in which all its parts are identical, in the folk song “*Χαίρεσθε κάμποι, χαίρεσθε*”, and in the following compositions of undetermined genre: *Persikon Ar yi yi yi a to go go gor ri gi*, NLG 2401, 122v, *tasnîf persikon* by Abdülkadir Marâghî, Leimonos 259, 184r, Gregoriou 23, 187v, and in Theophanis Karykis’s work ending with the words *Doustum yelela... janım del del del er be tanni tanni... rinetine zulfê....* The *terennüm* syllables are found either with or without meaning. Listed below, as an example, are some of the syllables found in Eastern musical genres:⁶⁵

- a) *Tè-ne-nen, te-ne-nen-nâ, ten-nen, ten-nen-nî, Ye-le-lel-li, De-re-dil-lâ, dir-dir, Lâ-nâ, ten-dir*, etc (*îkâî* or *anlamsız terennüm*)
- b) *A cânım, aba abba, Ab cenânım, Belî ömrüm, Cânâ, Efendim, Gel, Gel efendim, Ömrüm cânım*, etc. (*lafzî* or *anlamli terennüm*)

Their use in the East is documented from the 16th century at least, but their origin is unknown at present. In the literature on Eastern music they are generally referred to as the genre of the *terennüm*. The term is of Arabic origin: *tarânım* is

⁶⁵ An extensive catalogue of the syllables found in Ottoman music is given by Tanrıkorur (1991).

the plural of *tarnîma* meaning hymn or song.⁶⁶ It has been determined that the similar syllables of *tanatin*, *tanatin* etc. were used in Persian classical music from the 11th century for the comprehension and teaching of the rhythmic cycles, and after the 16th century were replaced by the *düm tek tekke* etc. of the Ottomans.⁶⁷ Their use in composition is not witnessed prior to the 16th century. That is, they were exclusively confined to the areas of theory and teaching. From the 16th century onwards they are found in various forms, though they never developed into an autonomous genre as happened in Byzantine music. A possible explanation is given by taking into account the fact that the neighboring non-Greek peoples had no such need, since instrumental music occupied a dominant place in high culture.

At first sight, the similarity between the names *terennüm* and *terirem*, as well as between some other non-lexical syllables in use in Eastern music and those of the *kratemata* of ecclesiastical music, are obvious:

Eastern Music	Byzantine Music
<i>terennüm</i>	<i>terirem</i>
<i>tini</i>	<i>tini</i>
<i>tenena</i>	<i>tenena</i>

From the above, as well as by examining the way they were used in the available vocal compositions, the following findings are obtained:

A. The two categories of *terennüm*, that is, those with and those without meaning, resemble the *mathemata* and the *anagrammatismoi* of the Byzantine *melopoeia*. It is observed that the meaningful syllables extend the melody by repeating and varying certain syllables of the poetic text, as occurs in the *echemata*:⁶⁸

ale ge on ebe ge ge hantos aboua gkaon allege (NLG 2401, 122v)

Jan tan pediela la pri pri pri ke (Ivion 1189, 122r)

Boubou tasina taggana

anaiter bou tasina taggana (Leimonos 259, 185r)

B. The *terennüms* play a regulatory role within the structure of vocal compositions, as is the case for the *kratemata* in Byzantine *melopoeia*.⁶⁹ The parts of each composition are separated by *terennüms*. This phenomenon is seen universally in *kârs* and *bestes*, and to a smaller extent in *ağır* and *yürük semâ'îs*. Reference must be made here to the relevant sections concerning the transcribed *kârs* and *bestes* which are the most elaborate musical genres of Eastern music, as well as to those

⁶⁶ Its root is *ramnama* which means “to sing”.

⁶⁷ See related, Bardakçı 1986:78-88, where a discussion of *usûls* in Marâghî's theory book is also found.

⁶⁸ See related Anastasiou 2005:77-97 & 123-167.

⁶⁹ See in particular, Stathis 1979:149-160; Anastasiou 2005:123-126.

works of undetermined genre, all of which were mentioned above and are examined here below.

Amongst the pieces of Eastern origin there is also a Greek piece, the *Χαίρεσθε κάμποι, χαίρεσθε* (Iverson 1189). In its poetic text, a *terennium* is inserted, with syllables that are not in Greek but in Persian. Given that *kratemata*, at least of this form, are unknown in the Greek tradition, as is their insertion within the musical and poetic text, it is speculated that it is an excellent example of a cross-cultural exchange.

C. The piece labelled “*Persikon*” in codex NLG 2401, as well as the *tāsnif persikon* of Abdülkadir Marāghî from Leimonos 259 enable the shifting back in time of the date of the first use of the *terennium* in art music traditions of the East, by at least one century, to the 15th century.

The above, in conjunction with the discussion on *kratemata* in the section about *peşrevs*, support the hypothesis of a significant cross-influence between the art music traditions of the East and Byzantine ecclesiastical music. Given that the work of G. G. Anastasiou has now provided a clear picture regarding the appearance and evolution of the genre of *kratemata*, from the late 13th century and definitely from early 14th century,⁷⁰ it can be reasonably speculated that, in an unknown place and time and under undetermined circumstances, an osmosis took place in the broader framework of relations and cross-influences between the *psaltic* art and the music traditions of the Near East, which not only affected the course of development of the *peşrev* by giving it characteristic attributes of the *kratemata*, but also defined the form of the vocal compositions.

To the above, the traditional use of the terms of secular music to name *kratemata*, such as: *nai*, *nagmes*, *pesrefi*, *tasnif* and others, can be added. Moreover, a link was found during the study of the *kratemata* bearing the name “*pesrefi*”. All of these points, justifiably lead to speculations and theories of a common origin. Additionally, it seems that prior to the 16th century, and now prior to the 15th century according to the sources examined here, the *terennium* was not used by the Eastern nations. The use however of non-lexical syllables such as *tanatin*, *tanatin* etc., by the Persians for the comprehension, memorisation and teaching of the *usûls*, already in existence in the 11th century, leads to the hypothesis that the appearance and evolution of the *kratemata* and the *terennium* are somehow related. The existence of non-lexical syllables in the Persian tradition perhaps became the motivation or even the inspiration for the use of similar non-lexical syllables by the Byzantine composers in the body of the musical text, while in turn, Persian, Ottoman and Arab composers along the way, adopted the Byzantine

⁷⁰ Interesting information on the Byzantine *apechemata* in the West is found in Maliaras 2007:387-394), estimating that these were already known to the West at least from the first half of the 9th century, if not earlier.

practice of using non-lexical syllables in composition, as well as their function as a regulating section within the form of vocal compositions.

Phanariot Songs

The bibliographical references to this important genre of Neo-Hellenic artistic creation are poor, concern mainly their poetic aspect, and are definitely disproportionate to both the volume of the source material and its importance. For this reason, the analysis of this genre will probably exceed the strict examination of musical form. The genre of Phanariot songs was discussed by J. Plemmenos (2010) in “*Ottoman Minority Musics: The Case of 18th-century Greek Phanariots*” and by Nicolae Gheorghijă (2010) in “Secular Music at the Romanian Princely Courts During the Phanariot Epoch (1711-1821)”. Other than this, the occupation with the *melos* of Phanariot songs is limited to a few lines in the works of Samuel Baud-Bovy, *Δοκίμιο για το Δημοτικό Τραγούδι* (Athens, 1984, pp. 58-60), M. F. Dragoumis, “Δημοτική καὶ λόγια μουσική στην προεπαναστατική Ἑλλάδα” (*Τζαζ*, pp. 206-207, 240-243, 266-267, Athens, 1979/80) & “Τὸ φαναριώτικο τραγούδι” (addendum to *Μισμαγιά, Ἀνθολόγιο φαναριώτικης ποίησης*, Andia Frantzis (ed.), Athens, 1993, pp. 283-298) and in L. Vranousis, *Ἐφημερίς 1797*, vol. Προλεγόμενα (Academy of Athens 1995, pp. 291-296 & 615-617), where a short musicological note by G. T. Stathis can also be found⁷¹. Lastly, a first small morphological presentation of Phanariot songs as a special genre with general characteristics was included in the accompanying text of the recording “En Chordais”, *Petros Peloponnesios* by the author of this book. In that text, an initial definition was given in the following note

“these songs have come to be called “Phanariotika” because their composers and lyricists-cantors, men of letters and nobles-lived in the Phanar district of Constantinople or came from it. According to Chysanthos, amongst the “Phanariots”, who formed the Greek elite, there was even “a song –writing craze”. By absorbing Arabic makams and combining them with Byzantine echos and French verse systems, they produced an interesting musical output”.

The name “Phanariot songs” is considered suitable, as used by Samuel Baud-Bovy (1984:55), Markos Dragoumis (1979/80:241-242; 1993:283-298), and Andia Frantzis (1993:14), and is used in this book here as well. More rarely, amongst *psaltic* circles, the name “*psaltic* songs” is found, encompassing, however, other similar songs as well.

These vast majority of these songs in the manuscripts are notated in the *Old Method*. Only the first stanza is notated and the rest of the verses, where given, are sung according to its melody. The songs mainly preserved in the *New Method* are songs by Gregorios and few or none by other composers. The *exegesis* of

⁷¹ Apart from the above bibliographical references, see also Politis 1966; Kamarianos 1959:94-112; and K. O. Dimaras (ed.), *Ιστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, Athens 1948.

many songs were later included in secular music publications, printed and circulated during the 19th century, while earlier, on the 22nd of May 1797, as already mentioned, the first printed Phanariot song was published, transcribed into the old music notation.⁷² The study of the available sources leads to the conclusion that the period of their appearance is the third quarter of the 18th century, and their peak lasted until the middle of the 19th century. A similar conclusion was also reached by Andia Frantzis (1993:17) who wrote that:

“The manuscript anthologies, the *mizmagies* (*mecmua*’), flourish during the fifty years before the Greek revolution; more accurate boundaries of that practice remain however uncertain”.

Around 1770, Petros Peloponnesios wrote the earliest musical anthology of Phanariot songs and, from what it seems, he composed the oldest of them. It is believed that he himself was the one who introduced the genre of Phanariot songs. This is supported by the following: firstly, the manuscript tradition shows he is the oldest known composer of Phanariot songs, with the exception of Ioannis Protopsaltes, who, even though was his teacher in the *psaltic* art, is essentially his contemporary and only one song is attributed to him. Secondly, he is the scribe of the oldest surviving anthology of Phanariot songs in MS RAL 927⁷³. Thirdly, compared to the music teachers of his time, Petros seems to be the most familiar with secular music and, as a result, given also his great talent in composition, was innovative in creating a new genre. Finally, he wrote a great number of songs, a hundred and twelve in total, which occupy a dominant place in the corpus of the music manuscript collections and they comprise the basic corpus of the Phanariot songs. The study of the surviving songs shows that Petros excels in this genre in terms of quantity, the variety of the *echoi* and *makams* used, as well as the inclusion of the works in many manuscript anthologies. The rest of the composers wrote a much smaller number of songs and it seems they imitated Petros’s example.

Apart from Petros, the known named composers of Phanariot songs listed in chronological order are: Ioannis Protopsaltes (1), Iakovos Protopsaltes (12), Petros Byzantios (10), Georgios Soutsos (15), Manuel Protopsaltes (1), Gregorios Protopsaltes (31), Nikeforos Kantouniars (66), Athanasios Dimitriadis (1), Ioannis Konidaris (3), Panagiotis Pelopidis (7) and Ioannis Pelopidis (36). These,

⁷² See related mention in chapter “Historical Overview”, p. 71. Analytical bibliographical citations of these editions are found on p. 72. On the other hand, Phanariot songs in staff notation were published in certain publications of the period prior to the Greek revolution, such as those of Guys and of Laborde: P. Guys, *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce*, vol. II, Paris 1783, p. 41; J.B. Laborde, *Essai sur la musique*, vol. I, Paris 1780, p. 427; Werner von Haxthausen, *Neugriechische Volkslieder*, Münster 1935. Von Haxthausen’s transcriptions took place in 1814-15, it was just that the manuscript was published much later. See related M. Dragoumis 1979/80:241-242 and 1993:287, fn. No. 8, Leandros Vranousis, *Πήγαι*, 1954, pp. 205-206.

⁷³ For more see chapter “The Sources”.

twelve named composers, and perhaps some anonymous ones as well, produced the corpus of the known repertoire of Phanariot songs over a period of approximately seventy years.⁷⁴ There are 295 songs preserved by known composers, and 133 preserved anonymously, that is a total production of around 428 songs.

A Few Words on the Poetry

Following here, are some observations on the poetry of the Phanariot songs. The Phanariot songs give more weight to the verse than to the music. This is also seen by the length of the melodic lines of each song in comparison to the number of verses, with up to twenty verses in each song. Often the initials of the verses form an acrostic with a female name such as “*Ταρσίτσα*” (*Tarsitsa*), “*Εὐφροσύνη*” (*Ephrosini*), “*Εὐτέρπη*” (*Euterpe*), “*Μαριώρα*” (*Mariora*), “*Βητορίτζα*” (*Vitoritza*), “*Αλεξάνδρα*” (*Alexandra*), “*Σοφίτσα*” (*Sophitsa*), “*Σμαραγδίτσα*” (*Smaragditsa*), or a male name such as “*Παναγιωτάκης*” (*Panagiotakis*).⁷⁵ The verses are in trochaic 15-syllable, alternating 8-syllable and 7-syllable, 5-syllable or pseudo 10-syllable, iambic and trochaic 8-syllable or trochaic 11-syllable, either catalectic or acatalectic, with influences from the French and Italian poetry of the time.⁷⁶ Their themes are to a great extent romantic, while patriotic, laudatory, cautionary and other songs are found, as well as some that take on the role of a riddle⁷⁷.

Their literary and aesthetic worth, is greatly doubted by scholars. Skarlatos Byzantios (1869:599) states that such songs were:

“one more loathsome than the other”.

and went on noting that:

“But the poets of that time, lacking true poetry, as it is considered today, were concerned with filling their vacuum of ideas, with rushed, but exact, rhyme and puns, in the absence of loftiness, aestheticism, rhythm and the rest of the virtues of poetic beauty...”

Leandros Vranousis⁷⁸ characterises them as:

“most miserable verses, like most of their kind”

⁷⁴ One song each is also found by the following composers, for whom however, it was not possible to find any other information: Skouloumbri Chios, Yiangeros Ağa Siphnios, and Spyridon Laphaphanas.

⁷⁵ See for example the MSS: Gennadius 231, 24r-25r acrostic *Tarsitsa* (*Ταρσίτσα*); 25r-26v acrostic *Ephrosini* (*Εὐφροσύνη*). RAL 1561, 1r acrostic *Vitoritza* (*Βητορίτζα*); 35v acrostic *Alexandra* (*Αλεξάνδρα*); 37r acrostic *Panagiotakis* (*Παναγιωτάκης*); 124r acrostic *Sophitza* (*Σοφίτζα*); 127v acrostic *Smaragditsa* (*Σμαραγδίτσα*); 157r acrostic *Mariora* (*Μαριώρα*).

⁷⁶ See related, L. Vranousis 1995:296 & 619-620; Frantzis 1993:12, 16; Baud-Bovy 1980:1224-1226.

⁷⁷ “Αντωνίου Φωτεινού Ἰατροῦ αἰνιγμα στιχουργικόν” *Υποστρόγγυλος ὑπάρχω, ὑπομέλανος εἰμί, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, echos plagal IV, rast, ó 2*, (Vatopediou 1428, 288).

⁷⁸ Leandros Vranousis, *Πῆγας* (Βασική Βιβλιοθήκη 10), Athens 1953, p. 209.

describing the poetry as

“meaningless and dry”

and Dragoumis (1979/80:242) notes that they are distinguished by:

“boring rhyme, inartistically stated sentences and a plethoric use of Turkish words”.

Frantzis (1993:15) is in agreement with that, considering that:

“the Phanariots write verses with insistent and almost monotonous rhyming”.

However, she herself notes that:

“the verse making versatility of the Phanariots attracts special interest, mainly because it heralds the development of the artistic Neo-Hellenic verse-making, not exclusively related anymore with iambic 15-syllable” (Frantzis 1993:16).

Lastly, three cases of bilingual songs are noted, where one half-verse is in the Turkish language and the second is in Greek:

Gül ratzilir gibi bülbül ıyrya kalmış, tréça tóρ’ autó mè léγει, féτος δὲν λαλοῦμαι μεῖς, unspecified, echos varies diatonic pentaphonic, rábatü’l-erváh, sofyan: RAL 784, 53v / Iaşi 129, 255 / Vatopediou 1428, 263.

Hey gönül fergiateileme sapreilecu zizeman, κ’ ἴσως τὴν ὑπομονήν μου λυπηθῇ ἡ τύχη μ’ κᾶν, unspecified, echos IV⁷⁹, beyâtî, sofyan: RAL 927, 56r / RAL 925, 51v / LKP 19/173, 89r / ELIA, 52r / RAL 784, 107v / CAMS P2, 27 / Iaşi 129, 116 / Vatopediou 1428, 107.

Σ’ ένα πουλί meil verdim odur benim büyük derdim, unspecified, echos plagal IV dipphonic, saz-kâr, sofyan: RAL 784, 73v / Iaşi 129, 299 / Vatopediou 1428, 309.

The poets are often the composers themselves, such as Petros Peloponnesios, Iakovos Protopsaltes, Petros Byzantios, Georgios Soutsos, Athanasios Dimitriadis, Yiingos Aga Siphnios, Manuel Protopsaltes, Gregorios Protopsaltes, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, Ioannis Konidaris, Spyridon Laphaphanas, Panagiotis Pelopidis and Ioannis Pelopidis.⁸⁰ Other poets referenced or whose identity was possible to determine in the course of this book, are Yiingos Karatzas, Kyrillos Archidiaconos, Nikolaos Logadis, Govdelas Philosophos, Alexandros Sophianos, Selim III⁸¹, Athanasios Christopoulos, Dimitrakis Mourouzis, Alekos Balasidis, Germanos of Old Patras, Giakovakis Rizos, Nikolakis Eliaskos, Theodorakis Negrís, Antonios Photinos, Dionysios Solomos, and Ioannis Vilaras, while the poets of a great number of verses remain unknown.

⁷⁹ RAL 925 gives the indication: *echos* I.

⁸⁰ Petros Peloponnesios, Petros Byzantios, Manuel Protopsaltes, Spyridon Laphaphanas, Panagiotis Pelopidis and Ioannis Pelopidis are listed as poets with reservation, since they are not explicitly listed in the manuscripts as the poets of the verses of their songs.

⁸¹ The verses were composed in their Greek translation.

Observations on Musical Form

Phanariot songs are found in a great variety of *makams*, but in a small number of rhythmic cycles. It seems that the composers, and by extension the scribes, were very familiar with the variety in the modal system, due to the great structural kinship between *echoi* and *makams*. In contrast, they exhibit great discrepancies in the naming of the *usûls*, a fact that reveals their limited knowledge on the topic. The vast majority of these songs are in *usûl sofyan*, even though songs are also found in *düyek*, *yürük semâ'i*, *aksak semâ'i*, *frengi* and others. Often different scribes give a different *usûl* in the description of the same song. The songs are generally two-part, and these parts are of differing lengths, with the second part acting essentially like the *miyân* in the vocal genres of the art music of Constantinople. In the *miyân*, a movement is observed to the higher range of the *makam*, that is, a melodic climax is observed. Hence, a typical form of Phanariot songs is the following:

1st verse first melodic line + second melodic line

2nd verse (*Miyân*) third melodic line + fourth melodic line

The development of the melodic phrases directly depends on the make-up of the verses of each song. For example, the pattern of a stanza made up of two decapentasyllabic verses is very common. Each stanza in turn is developed into four melodic lines of two bars each, which follow the behaviour of the *echos* - *makam* that the song belongs to:

Petros Peloponnesios, *Ti skληρότις εἶναι φῶς μου*, *echos* IV legetos, *makam segâh*, *usûl sofyan*. RAL 927, 38v

Part I

Τι σκληρό τη ης εἶ ναι φῶς μου

α φού τό σον σε πο θῶ

Part II

τη ην δι κή σου την α γά πην

δε εν μπο ρώ ν'α ξι ω θῶ

Gregorios Protopsaltis, *Mόνον εἶσαι ποὺ κατ' ἔτος*, *echos plagal I phthorikos*, *beyâtî-arabân*, Çifte dişyek. LKP (dossier) 76, 3

Part I

Part II

Another common form is the two-part structure with the asymmetric pattern of two melodic phrases of two bars each in the first part and three phrases of two bars each in the second:

Metre	Part I	Part II	Verse	Song
10	4	2+2+2	15-syllable+8+8+7	<i>Ένας εὔμορφος πλανήτης</i>
10	4	2+2+2	15-syllable+8+8+7	<i>Τρέξετε ἔρωτες ἐλάτε</i>

Moreover, an example of a more extended form is found in songs where the melodic development extends to twenty bars. In the first part, there are two melodic lines of four bars each in the first type of 15-syllable verse, while the second part

presents four melodic lines. Of the four lines of the second part, the first two are two bars each, and the last two are four bars each. The three first lines of the second part are in the second type of 15-syllable verse and the fourth line repeats the second half-verse:

Metre	Part I	Part II	Verse	Song
20	4+4	2+2+4+4	15-syllable	Συλλογή πολλῶν χαρίτων
20	4+4	2+2+4+4	15-syllable	Πιὰ ἰνσάφι κάμε δέφι

Gregorios Protopsaltes, Συλλογή πολλῶν χαρίτων, *echos varies heptaphonic* chromatic, *enīṣ-ârâ, sofyan*.

A1: Συλλογή πολλῶν χαρίτων

A2: σ' ἓνα σῶμα νὰ δοθῇ

B1α: μήτ' ἐφάνη

B1β: μήτ' ἠκούσθη

B2α: μήτ' κἂν νὰ εἰπωθεῖ

(See figure 15)

Πιὰ ἰνσάφι κάμε δέφι, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos plagal I, strf bûselik, sofyan*.

A1: Πιὰ ἰνσάφι κάμε δέφι

A2: ἄδικα νὰ τυραννεῖς

B1α: την καρδιά που

B1β: σὲ λατρεύει

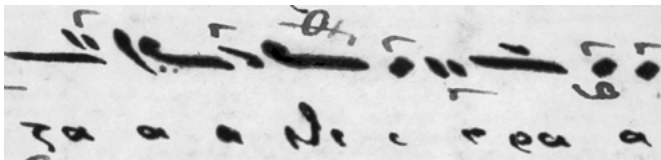
B2α: νὰ φονεύσεις δὲν πονεῖς

B2β: νὰ φονεύσεις δὲν πονεῖς

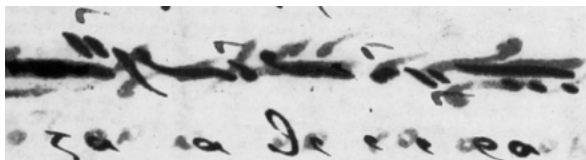
This repetition of a part of the last verse with a different melodic line is a structural element borrowed by the vocal genres of the Ottoman court and is called *nakarat*. The phenomenon of repetition of verses or phrases is observed in various forms, the main one being the repetition of each verse with a variation of the last bar acting as a bridge to the subsequent phrase:

Gregorios Protopsaltes, Ἐλπίζα καὶ πάλι ἐλπίζω, *echos plagal I spathios, bisâr bûselik, çiftë dîyek* (Stathis, 2v – 3r).

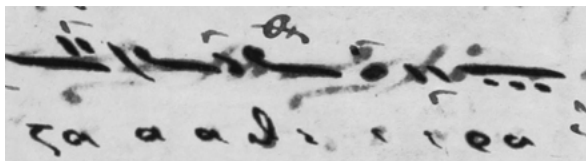
Cadence 1a



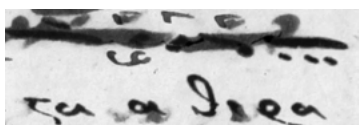
Cadence 1b



Cadence 2a



Cadence 2b

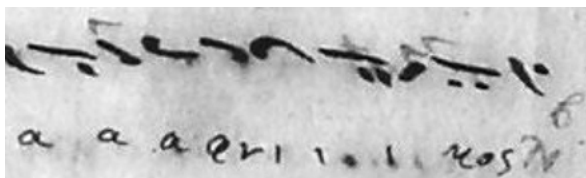


Ένας εὐμορφος πλανήτης, Gregorios Protopsaltes, *echos* plagal IV *diphonic*, *sázkâr*, *sofyan*, verses by Nikolaos Logadis (LKP 152/292, 23).

Cadence 1a



Cadence 1b



In general, there is great diversity in the structure of Phanariot songs. As mentioned above, song structure directly depends on the metric pattern and the structure of the poetic text. However, that does not mean that a song with decapentasyllabic verses, for instance, will have the same melodic development as another with decapentasyllabic verses. Each composer had the freedom to construct the melodic development of each song as he so desired; there were no restrictions placed on form. The following cases are listed below for the sake of example:

Metre	Part I	Part II	Verse	Song
10	4	4+2	15-syllable	Ἐχεις φῶς μου κάλλος νοῦρι
12	6	6	alternating 8 & 7-syllable	Βλέπω ναι πῶς ἀμφιβάλεις
16	10	6	alternating 8 & 7-syllable	Πανδαμάτωρ εἶν' ὁ ἔρω
16	4+4	4+4	alternating 8 & 7-syllable	Εἷς ἓνα κάλλος θαυμαστόν
16	4+4	4+4	4 X 8-syllable	Στὸ ταξείδι τῆς ζωῆς μου
20	4+6	4+6	15-syllable+8+8+7 X 2	Μὲ τὰς ζωνηρὰς ἀκτῖνας
24	12	12	8 + 15-syllable & 15+8-syllable	Τὰς σειρήνων μελωδίας
28	4+5+5	5+5+4	alternating 8 & 7-syllable	Τί περιφορὰ ἀθλία

The “rules” stated and described above have exceptions as well. These are songs which are classified as Phanariot, but follow the structural rules of other genres, such as the *kâr*, the *beste*, the *ağır semâ’î* and the *yürük semâ’î*. The compositional output of Georgios Soutsos is exclusively of the above forms of the Ottoman court, something that is not seen in regard to any other composer.⁸² The relevant sections where these genres were examined, in each case mention the songs preserved in ecclesiastical music manuscripts that have Phanariot verses. Here, this phenomenon is simply noted, since these works follow the rules of the aforementioned genres. They are also named “Phanariot songs” because with the exception of their musical form, they fulfil all other classification criteria of this genre: poetic text, social environment they were created in, composers etc.

Phanariot songs, in general, were influenced by the vocal genres of the Ottoman court, especially by the *şarkı*, which seems to have been their prototype. *Şarkı* was the shorter and “lighter” of genres, and its preferred *usûls* (two beat up to fifteen beat) are more reminiscent of the Phanariot songs than lengthy compositions that use rhythmic cycles starting from twenty-beats and reaching up to one-hundred and twenty-eight. Moreover, most Phanariot songs are named “*şarkıs*” in their headings by the authors of Pandora. In contrast, similar explicit labels are absent in manuscript collections, with the exception of the transcriptions of the *şarkıs* of Turkish composers as well as the following two songs:

Rast Şarkı, Σκληρά μου τύχη ἔλεος, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by Nikeforos Kantouniaries, RAL 784, 70v / Vatopediou 1428, 300.

Nişâbürek Şarkı, Gönuler sangaidini Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan* short, verses by Georgios Soutsos, RAL 784, 173v / Vatopediou 1428, 342.

Nonetheless, apart from the above influences, these songs were definitively influenced by the post-Byzantine *melopoeia* – the climate in which they were born and flourished. The character of the music of Phanariot songs resembles that of the fast *sticheraric* or the slow *heirmologic* style of ecclesiastical music, always within the narrow bounds of the style of the stanza. Each syllable is presented

⁸² See relevant catalogues in chapter “Catalogue of Secular Compositions”.

with two up to four vocal signs. Usually, a syllable takes up two beats, while often it occupies three and a half beats according to the following pattern:

Ἔχεις φῶς μου κάλλος νούρι, echos IV, segâh, çifte dâiyek



Ἕνας εὐμορφος πλανήτης, echos IV diphonic, sâzkâr, sofyan



Συλλογή πολλῶν χαρίτων, echos vâryş heptaphonic chromatic, evîç-ârâ, sofyan



Πανδαμάτωρ εἶν' ὁ ἔρω, echos IV with zygos, müste'âr, çifte dâiyek



Ἐλπίζα καὶ πάλι ἐλπίζω, echos plagal I spathios, bisâr bûselik, çifte dâiyek



In very rare cases it exceeds four syllables, like in the song *Τί περιφορὰ ἀθλία*, where it takes up to six:

Τί περιφορὰ ἀθλία, echos IV, müste'âr, dâiyek.



Another interesting element alluding to the environment of ecclesiastical music is the total absence of a purely instrumental part such as an introduction or a bridge. That leads to the conclusion that perhaps they were sung without instrumental accompaniment or, that it was not deemed necessary. And this is a clear distinction from the vocal genres of the Ottoman court, which contain instrumental parts either as introductions or as bridges. Unfortunately, there is no

available direct or indirect information on the topic of instrumental accompaniment of the Phanariot songs, even though it is known that some of their composers (Petros Peloponnesios, Iakovos Protopsaltes, Petros Byzantios and Gregorios Protopsaltes), and Athanasios Christopoulos the poet, played musical instruments.

With these above notes, the discussion of Phanariot songs is completed. The above discussion certainly does not completely cover the issue of their structure, however, it is the first systematic presentation, and it is hoped it will contribute effectively to possible future research.

Works Unclassified by Form and/or Tradition

In the previous section, genres that were already known, were examined. Moreover, they are genres, for which an analysis possibly leads to safe conclusions, since there are adequate available sources. However, some of the works of secular music are not classified into some specific genre. Here, some observations are state, as a starting point for their further investigation.

Ar yi yi yi a to go go gor ri gi Persikon, *echos* IV, NLG 2401,122v.

The codex dates from the early 15th century (see plate 1), and is the earliest sample of secular music written in Byzantine notation. The score spans eleven lines in the Byzantine notation of the time. It is known that a multitude of *kratemata* have been preserved bearing the title “*persikon*” or “*atzemikon*”, which however, were excluded from the field of study of this book since there is no other evidence supporting their classification into secular music. In this instance, the certainty that this piece is indeed a transcription of secular music stems from the examination of the poetic text,⁸³ the body of which includes extended *terenniims*:

Ar yi yi yi a to go go gor ri gi gi gi abou agk on
ale ge on ebe ge ge ge hantos ahona gkaon allege
ne he ge ge he ge ge he ge ge da ni gi gi tou mpel ha // gi
hair hair agiar yi argiar argarou ti animebe gegetzi
rillavaga rimetzi animegge anatla fafigi
ebege hege hart ou a tlafa figi ebegege
hegege hegege ibalmpir varou tanatiri
tanatiri tanatiri na tanatiri tanatiri tanatiri tanatiri na tiritana
tirita tirita na tilile tilile tilile tati
rititana tirita rataila titiri taraila tititi tanatirite yatirilala
lela e jiam balmpir varou

⁸³ This piece was examined together with renowned Iranian musician, Kiya Tabassian.

It is nonetheless very hard to define the genre of this particular composition and to discern any specific characteristics pertaining to form. Only two *martyriai* divide the text, which do not seem to define special parts. More conclusions can be potentially drawn from a future *exegesis* of the piece into the *New Method*.

Täsnîf Persikon *Ab yarim, eteroud ritteri tina tillilir Abdülkadir Marâghî*, *echos* I, Leimonos 259, 184r

In the manuscript tradition, the term *tasnif* is found as a name in *kratemata* such as that of Chrysaphis in *echos* I⁸⁴. As well as this, the term is known from Persian art music.⁸⁵ However, in Marâghî's time, the term *tasnif* was used to refer in general to the genre and not some specific form. This piece is particularly extended as it occupies four pages of score in the *old notation*. The first two and a half pages are in *echos* I, and the other one and a half pages are in *echos* II with intermediate transitions to other *echoi*. The form, discerned by examination of the score, is as follows:

[short phrase of poetic text]

terennüm (five and a half lines)

[short phrase of poetic text]

terennüm (fifteen and a half lines)

[three lines of poetic text]

terennüm (three lines)

[three lines of poetic text]

One line of *terennüm*

[three lines of poetic text and short phrases of *terennüm*]

This is a unique sample of a notated secular composition from the 15th century and its importance for that reason is great (see plate 3).

[Composition of undetermined genre] *Anene... Anene... Doustum yelela... junim del del del er be tunni tunni... rinetine zulfé... Theophanis Karykis, echos plagal I*, Megistis Lavras E9, 141v / Iviron 1203, 176v / Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 111v / Iviron 1080, 94r / Koutlounousiou 449, 205v / NLG 897, 425v / NLG 941, 404r / NLG - MHS 399 / Iviron 988, 366v / Great Meteoron 416, f. 56a / Koutlounousiou 446, 517v / Panteleimonos 1012, 241r / NLG 2175, 814v / Xeropotamou 330, 378r / Xeropotamou 305, 310v / LKP 45/195, 551v / NLG - MHS 722, 386v.

⁸⁴ No citations to particular codices are given, since it is included in the content of nearly all *Kratemataria*, both as a self-contained codice or as a special section inside the *Papadikes*.

⁸⁵ On the *tasnif* see, as an example, Tabassian 2005; Talai 2005.

Karykis has a leaning towards secular music, and apart from this composition, *kratemata* of his are known, which even though are classified as ecclesiastical music, bear titles which reveal clear influences from secular music: *ethnikon* (ἔθνικόν), *nai* (νὰι), *ismailitikon* (ισμαηλιτικόν), *pesref* (πεσρέφ). This composition is found in many manuscripts, *exegised* into the *New Method* by Chourmouzios Chartophylax as well, therefore any differences pertaining to its notation or musical form can be readily observed. It unfolds like a *kratema*, and it is possible to distinguish the following parts:

a *nenanismos* ending with the word “dos”

b *tererismos* ending with the words “doustuum yellela”

c *nenanismos*

d *tererismos*

while at the end its poetic text ends with words of Persian origin, which however are reminiscent of the cadential phrase of a *beste*:

Doust ai teremet nena... doustum yeleva janim del del del er be tanni tanni ni rinetine zulfé an doust / janim dil dil kendi zulfé yek doust.

The above lead to the conclusion that Karykis attempts to compose secular music but, without knowing it sufficiently, he moves between the genre of *kratemata* and that of the *beste* or the *peşrev* with the use of non-Greek syllables (see figure 4).

Yene Persiab jibanou Theophanis Karykis, *echos* plagal I, Sinai 1327, f. 190r - ***Aineseráï Ioasaph the New Koukouzelis***, *echos* plagal I, Sinai 1327, f. 190v

No parts, *terennüm* or other characteristics pertaining to musical form are discernible in either work. It is concluded that both works are compositions of poems from the Persian or Ottoman language with a melodic behaviour alluding to the genre of *beste*. However, the genre cannot possibly be determined with certainty.

Ἀναρχος Θεὸς καταβέβηκε, [unspecified composer], *echos* I, Gritsanis 8, 324 (see figure 5)

This manuscript preserves the oldest notated version of the alphabetic *acrostic* song on the birth of Jesus Christ.⁸⁶ It is in *echos* I and *echos* plagal I and the poetic text unfolds with the first letter of each verse being one of the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet. The transcription is of great importance as it allows the comparative study of a “song” which oral tradition has preserved through to this

⁸⁶ On the religious alphabetic acrostic songs see more in Kakoulidis 1964, especially pp. 17-20 and E. Sagriotis, “Ἀλφαβητικά ἁκροστιχίδες”, *Φόρμυξ*, pp. 2-3, Season 2, Year 4 (6) vol. 23-24, (15-31 March 1909).

day. Indeed, this particular alphabetic *acrostic* song, since it belongs to the popular genre of the carols, became wide spread as a folk song among the refugee populations. However, both in its poetic text and in its melody, its art music origins are evident.

The importance of this particular composition is also due to the fact that all twenty-four stanzas are given in music notation. It is observed that the alphabet evolves melodically in two alternating musical themes with the exception of the first verse “Ἀναρχος Θεὸς καταβέβηκε”, the melody of which is different from the rest:

1st Theme

Ἀναρχος Θεὸς καταβέβηκε

2nd Theme

Βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων καὶ Κύριος

Δεῦτε ἐν σπηλαίῳ θεάσασθαι

Ζητοῦν προσκυνῆσαι τὸν Κύριον

Θεός, Βασιλεὺς προαιώνιος

Κράζει καὶ βοᾷ πρὸς τοὺς λειτουργούς

Μέγα καὶ φρικτὸν τὸ τεράστιον

Ξένον καὶ παράδοξον ἄκουσμα

Πάλιν οὐρανοὶ ἠνεώχθησαν

Σήμερον τὰ πάντα εὐφραίνονται

Ὑμνοὺς καὶ δεήσεις ἀνέμελπον

Χάριν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπέλαμψεν

Ὡ παρθενομήτηρ καὶ Δέσποινα

3rd Theme

Γηγενῆς σκιρτᾷται καὶ χαίρεται

Ἐξ Ἀνατολῶν μάγοι ἔρχονται

Ἦνεγκεν ἀστήρ μάγους ὁδηγῶν

Ἰδὼν καὶ Ἡρώδης ὡς ἔμαθεν

Λέγεται σοφοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι

Νύκτα Ἰωσήφ ρῆμα ἤκουσεν

Ὁ μακροθυμῆσας καὶ εὐσπλαγχνος

Ρήτορες ἐκθόντες προσέπεσον

Τάξεις τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐξέστησαν

Φῶς ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ ἀνέτειλεν

Ψάλλοντες Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν

The poetic text exhibits similarities, to some degree, though without music notation, to the surviving version in the MSS Megistis Lavras K113 (year 1518), Megistis Lavras K 22 (year 1697), Megistis Lavras I 165 (17th century), Dochiariou 124 (year 1712) and University of Thessaloniki (year 1792). The main simi-

larity of these manuscripts, which preserve only the poetic text, with Gritsanis 8 is the absence of the stanza returns *Ἐποπόμε, Ἅγιος* etc., which are known from the version recording the oral tradition of the Pontos refugees in the journal *Χρονικά τοῦ Πόντου* 1 (1943-44).

Incomplete Transcriptions from MS LKP (dossier) 137

This manuscript is dominated by a series of transcriptions bearing only the *makam* name as a title that have a score without words or *terelele* etc. Relevant excerpts from the analytical catalogue are listed below:

- 12r *sâzkâr*
- 12v *nihavent*
‘uṣṣak
- 14r *pençgâh*
- 15v *hicâz*
- 16r *arazbâr*
- 16v *nühîft*
- 17r *‘uṣṣak*
- 18r *râbatü’l-ervâh*
- 18v *‘uṣṣak*
- 21r *evîç*
hisâr
nikrîz
- 21v *nikrîz*
hüseynî
- 23v *dügâh*
- 32v *arazbâr*
sâzkâr
rast
- 33r *nim dügâh*
- 33v *beyâtî*
hisâr beyâtî
- 34v *arazbâr*
‘uṣṣak
- 35r *sâzkâr*
- 35v *hüzzâm*
- 36r *hüzzâm*
- 36v *nevâ*
- 39r *arazbâr*
rast

- 39v *nühüft* [echos] IV
eviç [echos] varys
 40r *Müste'âr*
mâbü'r

It cannot be excluded that some of them are *makam seyirs* or part of a *küll-i külli-yât peşrev*. However, most likely, Petros wrote the music aiming to complete the poetic text or the *terella*, and the rest of the annotations later. This suspicion is supported by the fact that many of the scores have a melodic development greater than what was common in the “*methods*”. In some of them especially, the indications “twice” and “*m[ülazime]*” are found, clearly alluding to a *peşrev* or a *semâ'i*. Furthermore, it is found that these pieces are not ordered sequentially but have other compositions interspersed between them. Also, some of them are repeated in subsequent folios:

- 12r *sazkâr* & 32v *sazkâr* & 35r *sazkâr*
 12v ‘*uşşak* & 17r ‘*uşşak* & 18v ‘*uşşak* & 14r *pençgâb*
 16r ‘*arazbâr* & 32v ‘*arazbâr* & 34v ‘*arazbâr* & 39r ‘*arazbâr*
 16v *nühüft* & 39v *nühüft*
 21r *eviç* & 39v *eviç*
nikrîz & 21v *nikrîz*
 32v *rast* & 39r *rast*
 35v *hüzzâm* & 36r *hüzzâm*

II *Echoi* and *Makams* – Rhythmic Cycles and *Usûls*

The main identifying elements of compositions in modal traditions, are the names of the *echos* or the *makam*, and the rhythmic cycle that governs it¹. Another important element, is the study of its melodic behaviour (its modulations and movement between *makams*) and the rhythmic variations between its different parts. Secular music manuscripts offer interesting information on these topics. Listed below, are some observations which bring forward new elements, thus contributing to research on theoretical issues. The first direct finding is that two time periods can be clearly distinguished. During the first, from the 15th through to the 17th century, the scribes give only the *echos* in the heading of each piece, either with its initial *martyria* or with the use of letters (*echos* α' , β' and so on, except for *varys* which is given in words). Any kind of reference to *makam* and *usûl* is absent.

During the second period, that is, from the 18th century onwards, a qualitative differentiation appears: the *makam* and the *usûl* are mentioned in each piece and a more explicit reference to the genre of each composition is made, thus forming a more complete identity for each piece. Concerning theoretical treatises, in the early 18th century, Panagiotis Chalatzoğlu (Ivion 968, 731-740) first attempts the corresponding of *echoi* to *makams*, and makes the first presentation of the rhythmic cycles of secular music, the *usûls*. Around two decades later, Kyrillos Marmarinos, continuing the work of Chalatzoğlu, goes a little further and also gives the extended *apechemata*, that is, the short musical phrases exposing the nature of around seventy *makams*. Additionally, in one of his compositions (Panteleimonos 994, 323v), *makam Hüseyinî* is given in correspondence to *echos* plagal I.

However, clear indications of the *makam*, the *usûl* and often the genre as well, are given for the first time in the four autograph collections of Petros. They are

¹ The following references are examples of works from the very broad and very rich bibliography on the topic: Alygizakis 1990; D' Erlanger 2001; Ezgi 1933- 1953; Feldman 1996: 195-299; Mavroidis 1999; Özkan 1987; Tala'i 2000; Jürgen Elsner & Risto Pekka Pennanen (ed.), *The structure and idea of maqām*, University of Tampere, Tampere 1997; Habib Hasan Touma, *The Music of the Arabs*, Portland 1996; Ungay 1981; Yekta 1922; Signell 1977; Owen Wright, *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music, A.D. 1250-1300*, London 1978, Ioannis Zannos, *Ichos und Maqam*, Bonn 1994, Amir Hosein Pourjavadiy, *Nasimi, Nasim-I Tarab, The Breeze of Euphoria (a Sixteenth Century Persian Music Treatise)*. Teheran: Iranian Academy of Arts, 2007. See also the relevant articles of Mahmoud Guettat, Thomas Apostolopoulos, Markos Skoulios, Tufic Kerbage, Walter Feldman, Fikret Karakaya, Daruishi Talai, in the collaborative work W. Feldman, M. Guettat, K. Kalaitzides (ed.), *Music in the Mediterranean*, "En Chordais", Project MediMuses in the context of European Union programme Euromed Heritage II. Thessaloniki, as well as those of Karl Signell (pp. 47-58), Scott Marcus (pp. 89-92) in Danielson, V., Marcus, S., Reynolds, D., (ed.) 2002, *The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music, Volume 6, The Middle East*, New York and London; Tanrıkorur 2003:85-105, in chapter "Türk Müsikişinde Usûl-vezin Münâsebeti". G. Smanis, 2011.

given, either by name in Gritsanis 3, LKP (dossier) 60 and LKP (dossier) 137, or with the use of symbols in RAL 927. In the late 18th century, *makam* indications are found in MSS Iviron 1038 and Gennadius 725, and both *makam* and *usûl* indications are found in MSS RAL 653 and LKP 19/173 (the scribe of the latter being Petros Byzantios), a custom which was subsequently followed by the rest of the scribes.

Finally, it is worth noting that the scribes never mention the *makams* or the rhythmic cycles in folk songs, neither are they mentioned in the transcriptions of the 16th and 17th centuries, nor in those of the 19th century. Indications of *makams* and *usûls* are also generally absent from the vocal genres of Ottoman music, as well as from the various songs labelled “persikon” and “atzemikon”. It seems that, unlike instrumental compositions, the identity of each work in such cases was adequately determined by the incipit, making a reference to the *makam* unnecessary.

Echoi and Makams

Primary and Secondary Makams

It is known that the modal system did not remain static but evolved over the course of centuries. This had a direct impact upon the use and categorisation of the *makams*, which are the core of the theoretical system. Some of them gradually fell into disuse, while others appeared or were invented along the way. Furthermore, in some periods, certain *makams* were more important than others. This is not only demonstrated in the whole of the theoretical tradition, but is also understood from the study of the music collections of the time, with or without notation². The information obtained from the research embarked upon for this book, confirms the above claims, though the findings are limited to the 18th century. Before that, the manuscripts do not make mention of the *makam* or the *usûl*. With 1830 as the end chronological boundary of this study, any attempt at painting a picture of the 19th century would be incomplete. In addition, there is satisfactory information from other sources on the 19th century regarding the *makams* and *usûls*, therefore any contribution offered by this work would be of lesser importance.

The sources examined here, are mainly the four manuscripts of Petros Peloponnesios, as well as Panteleimonos 994 (one *makam* reference), Timios Prodromos 93, 251r (one *makam* reference), Gennadius 725 (two references), and Iviron 1038 (one reference). Their content concerns Ottoman music, except for the two Phanariot songs of Gennadius 725. Petros, with very few exceptions, always mentions the *makam*, and fifty-one *makam* names in total are found in his manu-

² See related, Feldman 1996:234-236 and Wright 1992.

scripts. He usually omits the *makam* name in vocal compositions, as well as in some *semâ'îs*, which are in the same *makam* as the *peşrev* presented immediately before them. From the fifty-one *makams* named by Petros, some appear in higher frequency (listed immediately below), which indicates their importance in the art music practice of the court:

hüseynî (35 works)³, *bicâz* (25), *'uşşak* (18), *nevâ* (17), *rast* (17).

Some others appear less frequently:

segâb (13), *evîç* (13), *beyâtî* (13), *nihavent* (12), *isfabân* (11), *sabâ* (11), [*hüseynî*] *'aşîrân* (11), *büzzâm* (10), *'arazbâr* (9), *dügâb* (9), *acem* (8), *irak* (8), *mahûr* (8), *nühüft* (8), *müste'âr* (7), *yegâb* (6), *bestenigâr* (6), *sazkâr* (6), *râbatü'l-ervâb* (6), *nikrîz* (5), *büzürk* (5), *pengâb* (5), *bisâr* (5).

And finally, others are more rare:

bûselik (3), *şehnâz* (3), *çârgâh* (2), *kürdî* (2), *muhayyer* (2), *muhayyer bûselik* (2), *rehâvî* (2), *râbat-fezâ* (2), *nişâbûr* (2), *'acem-'aşîrân* (2), *şehnâz-bûselik* (2), *sultânî-irak* (2), *sünbüle* (1), *tâbir* (1), *havî* *acemî* (1), *havî* (1), *bümayûn* (1), *baba tâbir* (1), *acem kürdî* (1), *nevgûlat* (1), *nevrûz acem* (1), *necd* (1), *karcığar* (1).

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the importance of the *makams* in each century with surety, since the dated pieces from the 15th and 16th centuries are very few – two and ten respectively – while there are twenty-six from the 17th century. Moreover, only the compositions by known composers allow for accurate dating. The anonymous compositions, which occupy a significant part of the transcribed repertoire, remain undated.

Petros does not distinguish primary and secondary modal entities in his transcriptions. He names them all *makams*, even though many of them were initially *terkîbs*⁴. In the middle of the 17th to the early 18th century, the term denoted a type of scale, but in no way did it mean a “*makam*”. According to Cantemir, *mürekkkeb* (mix) and *terkîb* (combination) defined the modal entity more precisely, and he criticised his contemporaries for ignoring the distinction between *makam* and *terkîb*. Indeed, he writes in his theory book that:

“due the fact that a number of *terkîbs* are more prominent than others, among musicians it is a widespread error that they are named “*makam*”... Nevertheless it cannot be denied that every *terkîb* is subordinate to a major *makam*”.⁵

³ The dominant presence of *hüseynî* is also confirmed by other musical collections of the time. See Feldman 1996:234-236.

⁴ Here the term *terkîb* denotes a modal entity, and not a structural part, as examined in the chapter “Genres of Secular Music”.

⁵ See related Feldman 1996:231-232, containing translated quotes in English from Cantemir’s work, with the relevant citations.

The way the term *makam* is used by Petros, already evident by the third quarter of the 18th century, witnesses its universal use, the gradual elimination of the term *terkîb* as a modal entity, and its concurrent conversion to a component of the form of instrumental compositions. A similar view on the topic of the establishment of the term *makam* in all *terkîbs* is also expressed by W. Feldman:

“Throughout the 18th century we can see the gradual elimination of the various categories of modal entities, resulting in an “open-ended” modal system by the mid-19th century through Turkey and much of the Ottoman Empire”.⁶

This transitional period is highlighted in MS Gritsanis 3 and especially on ff. 188v - 196r. Therein, as was also noted in the chapter “Genres of Secular Music”, the term *terkîb* is used with both meanings: as a modal entity and as a component of the form of a composition. More specifically, in the *bicâz nev kislât fabte peşrev* of Kemânî Yorgi, Petros lists around thirty-one *terkîbs* in an equal number of different *makams*, in addition to the main *makam* of the *peşrev*⁷. The *exegesis* of some *terkîbs* from this particular work by Thomas Apostolopoulos proves the above and leads to a number of observations:

- a) Each *terkîb* extends over two or four rhythmic cycles.
- b) The listing of so many *terkîbs* in so many *makams*, does not adhere to the logical development of a *peşrev*.
- c) It is obvious that the treatment of the melody goes beyond the logical structure of a *peşrev* and is more similar in its characteristics to a *küll-i külliyyât peşrev*.

⁶ Feldman 1996:231 and 2005b:231-234. This topic is also mentioned in the chapter “Genres of Secular Music”, pp. 206-207.

⁷ See the analytical description in the chapter “Genres of Secular Music”, pp. 206-207.

Mûlazime of hicaz peşrev nev kislât, Kemânî Yorgi, [echos plagal II], fabte: Gritsanis 3, 188v



Repetition of *mûlazime*



4th *terkib* of *mülazime: kürdî*8th *terkib* of *mülazime: büseyrî*

Modulation - Transposition

With the exception of two manuscripts, LKP (dossier) 60 & LKP 2/59a, clear written indications of modulation or transposition are generally absent from the sources. Relevant conclusions are drawn only by locating *phthorai* and by the meticulous study of the melodic behaviour of each composition. For example, the *bestenigâr peşrev* of Hânende Zacharias (Gritsanis 3, 5v) is lacking relevant written indications. Its *exegesis* into the *New Method* by Thomas Apostolopoulos, makes it possible to recognise transitional movements to *hüseyinî* and to *'uşşak*, as well as a longer transition to *hicâz* in the *son hâne*.

Son hâne *Hüseyinî*

Hicâz

'Uşşak

The movement to *hicâz* is discerned in the manuscript by the existence of a chromatic *phthora*, while the other two transitions are deduced by the movement of the melody, the dominant notes and the cadences.

Below is another example, two centuries earlier, from the *tasnîf persikon* by Abdülkadir Marâghî. The second large section of the piece is in *echos* II – *makam hüzzâm*. The last part of that section is dominated by two lengthy transitions to *echos* plagal I – *makam hüseyinî*. The transitions are recognised by the melodic behaviour, since written indications or *phthorai* do not exist in the exegesis of the piece, with the exception of the two *martyriai* of the chromatic and diatonic genus:



It is worth noting that Petros Peloponnesios, in MS LKP (dossier) 60, defines the initial note of each composition, as well as the initial note of each of its parts, explicitly by name:

- 3r The *dügâb devri kebîr* from *dügâb*
the *mülazime* from *dügâb*
3v *orta hâne* from *rast*
2nd *terkîb* from *şelmâz* and *bicâz*
24r *Hicar tevîr*, starts from *büseynî*
the *mülazime* from *bicâz*
2nd *terkîb* from *büseynî*
24v the *Son hâne* from *büseynî*

Similar information is given in almost the whole manuscript. In some cases, he names the movements to other *makams*:

- 27r the *son [hâne]* from *nevâ* with *beyâtî* and *nihavent*
2nd *terkîb* from *çârgâb* with *nihavent*
41r the *son hâne* from *dügâb* with *bicâz*
47v the *son hâne* from *nevâ* with *nihavent*

In nine out of fourteen cases where Petros annotates the movement to another *makam*, he does so at the last part of the instrumental composition, the *son hâne*⁸. The practice of the modulation taking place in the last *hâne* existed in the 18th century, and Petros's transcriptions confirm that.

In fragment LKP 2/59a, Gregorios continues and improves the method of representing movements to other *makams*, in relation to the initial presentation found in LKP (dossier) 60. He is more analytical and descriptive, and as already discussed, that may be indicative of a possible educational dimension to this particular work⁹. His main differentiation is that within the score, the annotations refer only to *echoi*, either by name or by the use of *phthorai*.

Another *terkîb* of *ser hâne* [*echos*] plagal I *Terelelele*

Another *terkîb* of *orta hâne* *Terelelele*

Makam names are used in the headings of the pieces, and sometimes also in the explanatory texts inserted at the beginning of, or within a piece. The only place he does not follow that rule is in the note:

5th *hâne*, the last one, starts [with] *büzzâm Temtirilelele* (2v).

⁸ See relevant reference in chapter "Genres of Secular Music", pp. 209-210.

⁹ It should probably be taken as a given that Gregorios had taken manuscript LKP (dossier) 60 into consideration, since it was found in the remnants of his archive which are now part of the library of Konstantinos Psachos of the University of Athens.

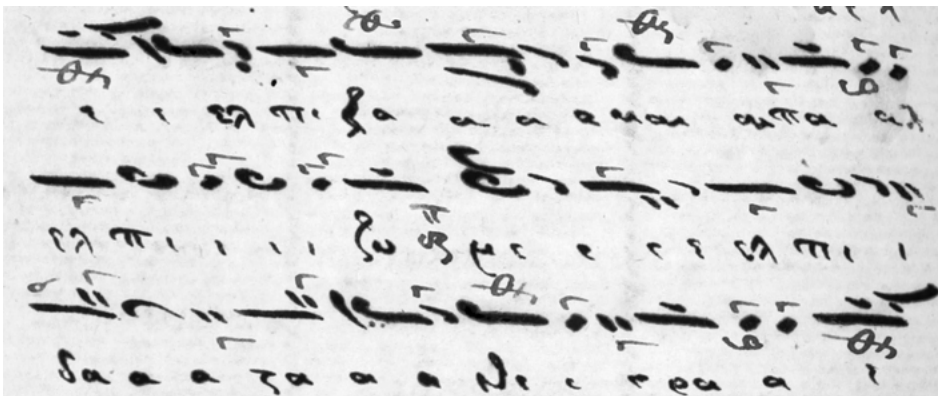
In the plain text descriptions of modal movements, he uses the names of the notes of Eastern music¹⁰, and almost never those of ecclesiastical music. Analytically, his descriptions are as follows:

- 1r [...] *Beyâtî* starts from *echos* IV and it finishes on *aneanes* and instead of *eviç* it touches *acem* a few times touches *eviç* and the *phthora* of *neanes* is placed so to know when it has to be *acem* and when *eviç*; this *peşrev* also mixes in *hüzzâm* when you see the *phthora* of *neanes* on *nevâ* then it is *hüzzâm*; it also does *arabân* with the same *phthora* with the difference that we put the *nenano* on *gerdâniye* so that we know instead of *eviç* we use *mâhûr* and then *gerdâniye* which becomes *arabân* when we put the *nana* on *tiz segâh* we use *sünbüle* instead of *tiz segâh* and when we put the *nana* on *segâh* we use *kürdî* instead of *segâh* and when we put half *phthora* on *irak* we descend only half a tone, that is, from *mubayyer* to *şelmâz*, from *gerdâniye* [to] *mâhûr*, from *eviç* to *acem*, from *hüseyinî* to *hisâr*, from *nevâ* to *bicâz*, from *çârgâh bûselik* [to] *segâh* ///// from *dügâh zîrgûle* [to] *rast* //// that is from *irak* *acem* os *kairon* o (sic) /// we descend half a tone [when] the half *phthora* is placed; while in the ascending [movement] whole *phthorai* are placed so that ascending from ‘*aşîrân* to ‘*acem* we put [phthora of *nana* sign given], ascending from *dügâh* to *kürdî* again [phthora of *nana* sign given], from *hüseyinî* to ‘*acem* again [phthora of *nana* sign given], from *mubayyer* to *sünbüle* again [phthora of *nana* sign given], however as soon as the *phthora* is placed on a main *perde*, then *nenano* is placed, that is, *bicâz* on *agia*, *mâhûr* on *gerdâniye* and *şelnâz* on *mubayyer* and so on //// *tiznia* //// //// such is the way that the *phthora* of *nenano* is placed, so here is the *beyâtî* [...]
- 1v *beyâtî*, *echos* IV *terelelele*
second *hâne* called the *mûlazime*, [*echos*] *plagal* IV *terelelele*
- 2r And again the *mûlazime* up to this point where it has the *neagie* and then the *teslîm* is performed by ascending to *eviç* and it finishes on *nevâ* to enter the *orta hâne* with a good *isitai* (sic) because the *orta hâne* starts from *gerdâniye*, so that is how it finishes, you ascend from *rast* to *eviç* like that
[*echos*] *plagal* IV *terelelele*
And again [the] *orta hâne* and at the end as it is with the red [writing] only with the two it finishes [on] *rast* and here is the 4th *hâne* that is the *zeyl* which starts from *bûselik* ...
- 2v Note that this *hâne* starts from *bûselik* and works like this: *bûselik çârgâh nevâ* and *hüzzâm* up to where the *phthora* of (*echos* *plagal* II) is found on top of the three *ison* signs which as on the *perde* of *çârgâh* then follows the *hüseyinî* and raising the *phthora* it works from there as *hüseyinî* *acem* *hisâr* up to this *martyria* (...) that is in *metrophonia* the note is *aneanes* while in the *melos* it is *neanes* and then again with the *phthora* of (*echos* III) which is

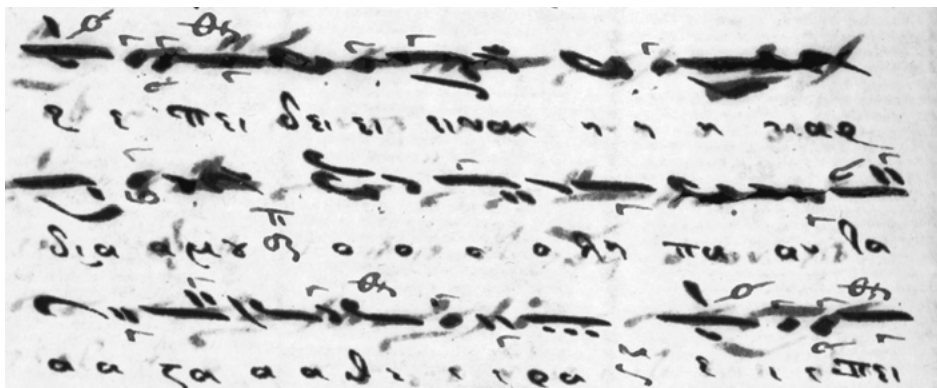
¹⁰ While there are seven note names in ecclesiastical music, there are around fifty on the double diapason scale of Eastern music, since each note of different pitch is given its own name. Often, the names of the notes and the names of the *makams* having those notes are either tonic notes or as dominant notes are identical e.g. *irak* note – *irak makam*, *kürdî* note – *kürdî makam*, *nim hisâr* note – *hisâr makam*, and so on.

- in front of the *martyria*, that is with the *perde* of *acem* it returns to its normal state, that is, to *beyâtî*
 [echos] plagal IV *terelelele*
 5th *hâne* which is the last one, starts [from] *büzzâm temtirilelele*
- 3r [...] *semâ'î* called arabân *beyâtîsî* [...] starting from *dügâh*, that is from plagal I
Terelelelele
 Another *terkîb* of *ser hâne* [echos] plagal I *terelelele*
Mülazime from [echos] plagal I *terelelele*
 Another *terkîb* of *mülazime* from [echos] II *terelelele*
- 3v 3rd *terkîb* of *mülazime* [echos] IV *terelelele*
Orta hâne from plagal I *terelelele*
 Another *terkîb* of the *orta hâne* *terelelele*
 [...]
- 4r *peşrev muhayyer* [...]
- 6v *Son hâne* // *terkîb* ... [echos] plagal I *terelelele*
 [...]

Lastly, the Phanariot songs, which occupy a large part of the available manuscripts, have a much simpler form, thus justifying the absence of any indications of modal interest within the melody; only the *echos* and *makam* are given in their heading. Again, any possible modulations are stated here with the use of *phthorai* or they are deduced by the movement of the melody. The variety and clarity of the *phthorai* in the *New Method* simplifies matters. From the many possible examples, the song of Gregorios Protopsaltes *Ἐπιζα καὶ πάλι ἐλπίζω*, is chosen where an alternation of the *chroa* of *spatbi* with the *phthorai* of *echos* plagal II and the enharmonic *phthora* of *Ga*, are seen both in the first part,



as well as in the *miyân*.



Corresponding Echoi and Makams

It is known that the Greek theoretical system, as expressed in writings relevant to ecclesiastical music, organised modal entities on the basis of the *octoechos*¹¹. It categorised and interpreted the related modal systems with the same logic, having as a reference the four main and four plagal *echoi*, with terminology clearly alluding to the *octoechos*. In contrast, related non-Greek traditions adopted a different method. Although the *makams* are distinguished into primary and secondary (or subordinate) as aptly noted by P. Kiltzanidis, every melodic deviation is also named, thus greatly increasing the number of *makams*¹².

The Greek musical community, expressed a particular interest in the issue of the correspondence of *echoi* and *makams* quite early. The beginnings of a comparative approach in music theory are found in the work of Panagiotis Chalat-zoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos, and from Petros Lambadarios onwards, as well as in the transcribed repertoire of secular music. Hence, a large volume of information of theoretical interest is available; a pool from which it is possible, among other things, to extract a wealth of correspondences of *echoi* and *makams*. Petros, in his four manuscripts containing secular music, rarely gives the *echos* by name. The *echos* is understood by the initial *martyria*. The same practice is fol-

¹¹ See indicatively, Alygizakis 1985, containing a rich bibliography on the topic.

¹² See Kiltzanidis 1978. This Kiltzanidis's scholastic approach is due to the fact that a notational system did not exist in these traditions for many centuries. The lack of a written means to express each modal subdivision, contributed to the development of a complex system where even the smallest melodic differentiation is given a name and takes a special place in the theoretical system. Despite the system's complexity, *makam* names rarely divulge musical information. Usually, names relate to geographical indications (*bicâz*, *isfahân*, *irak*) or other notions such as, *'uṣṣak* = in love, *sûz-nâk* = hot, *rast* = straight, *hüseynî* = belonging to Hussein, *gûlizar* = the rosy cheeked one, their greatest percentage coming from the Persian or Arabic language. Related statements are also made by T. K. Apostolopoulos in his unpublished paper from the Third Conference of the Institute of Byzantine Musicology (Athens, October 2007), titled "Ανάλυσεις στην περί τροπικότητας διδασκαλία του Αποστόλου Κώνστα του Χίου" (kindly provided by its author).

lowed by Petros Byzantios (LKP 19/173), Evgenios (ELIA) and the unknown scribe of RAL 653, while others, in contrast, always mention the *echos*, such as, Nikeforos (in RAL 925 & 784, Vatopediou 1428, and Iaşi 129), Ioannis Pelopidis, and the unknown scribes of Gennadius 231, and RAL 2238.

With its more analytical character given to it by the Three Teachers (Chrysanthos, Gregorios Protosaltos and Chourmouzos Chartophylax), and mainly by Chrysanthos in his theory book, the introduction of the *New Method* aided scribes. Correspondences between *echoi* and *makams* became clearer, and more in line with today's practice. For example, in the manuscripts of the *Old Method*, *müste'âr* is usually named *echos* IV *legetos* while in the *New Method* it is rendered with the *chroa* of *zygos* which is the correct practice.

However, the correspondences of *echoi* and *makams* derived from the manuscript tradition must be viewed critically. In certain cases, some problems are observed, at least according to today's practice in the theoretical systems of ecclesiastical and Eastern music. There is confusion, in particular, around the *makams segâh* and *hüzzâm*, which depending on the case, are corresponded to either *echos* II or *echos* IV *legetos*. Appended to this book is an analytical table outlining the correspondences found in the various sources as well as those discerned in the course of this research.

Complementary to the appended table, the following points ought to be noted:

- a) In certain songs, the *echos* and *makam* correspondences are not mentioned in the manuscripts. They are, however, deduced by an examination of the melody.
- b) Given the changes in the theoretical systems of the ecclesiastical and Eastern music, the above correspondences concern the 18th century and the early 19th century.
- c) The correspondences of Kyrillos Marmarinos which are not found in the transcribed repertoire, are excluded from the table. More specifically, twenty-one of the *makams* referenced by Kyrillos, are only found in his treatise and they are absent in the rest of the transcriptions, therefore they are not included in the above table. These *makams* are:

Echos plagal IV: *rehâvî, zâvil, mumberka*,

Echos II: *maye, gevest*,

Echos plagal I: *zemzeme, paisan kürdî, gerdâniye bûselik*,

Echos IV: *bûzî, nihavent kebîr*,

Echos plagal I: *'uzzal, suri, vedci, gerdâniye*,

Echos I tetraphonic: *kiocek, selmek, horasan, bisâr 'aşîrân*,

Echos varys: *muhâlif irak, dilkeş-hâverân, dilkeş*,

Echoi and *Makams* as Organisational Criteria for Music Collections

The grouping method based on the *echos* is a common phenomenon in the manuscripts of ecclesiastical music. The layout of the various groups of similar pieces in each codex is based on the *echos* e.g. *kekragaria*, *doxologies*, *cheroubika*, *koinonika* etc. They are often preceded by the phrase “Beginning, [in the name of] the Holy God, of the *echos* I”, for example. In the *kratemata* in particular, which as discussed earlier, are the genre most related to secular music, the layout of the material is organised on the basis of the *echos*, in both the cases where they constitute a special section of a manuscript, and in the self-contained codices of *kratemataria*¹³.

The codex writing practices of secular music, borrowed from ecclesiastical music, among many other things, the method of organising the repertoire on the basis of the eight *echoi*. That is, it is observed that with the appearance of the first extensive music collections, the majority of compositions are categorised on the basis of their *echos* and its subdivisions or its *makam* correspondence. For example, the section of the collection belonging to *echos* plagal IV contains pieces in the following order of *makams*: *rast*, *sâzkâr*, *nikrîz*, *nîhavent*, *rehâvî*, *sûznâk* etc. Similarly, the section of *echos* I contains pieces in *makams*: *‘uṣṣak*, *‘acem*, *muḥayyer* and so on. Within each *makam*, the songs are further grouped by composer.

This categorisation method was applied for the first time by Petros Peloponnesios in MS RAL 927 and was implemented more comprehensively by Nikeforos Kantouniaries in Vatopediou 1428. On this specific issue, of course attention is focused on the codices, since the fragments and booklets do not lend themselves to the extraction of relevant information. Nikeforos in his earliest manuscripts (784, 925 & CAMS P1) does not seem to care particularly about the layout of the material. He first organises the presentation of the repertoire on the basis of the *octoechos* in Iași 129 and especially in Vatopediou 1428. Within each *echos*, songs are grouped initially by *makam* and then by composer, while in the beginning of each section he writes “beginning of the [name] *echos*”. With the exception of *echos* I, which is missing a relevant inscription, he follows this method for all eight *echoi*, though some small deviations are noticed.

Due to the restrictions involved in the writing of a codex, as well as the possible lack of sufficient preparation and systematic approach with regard to this issue by the scribes, inconsistencies are often noticed in the layout of the material. For instance, a composition of *echos* I or *echos* plagal II is seen to be inserted within the section of *echos* III, and so on. Given the copying of the material from manuscript to manuscript, this scenario is repeated often. A notable exception is MS Vatopediou 1428, where Nikeforos, through his own foresight, leaves a few

¹³ See related, Anastasiou 2005:207 where he states that “[t]he pieces of the *Kratematarion* are ordered by *echos*”, and also the whole of the chapter “Τὰ κρατήματα ὡς αὐτόνομες μελικεῖς συνθέσεις”, pp. 167-243.

blank pages between *echoi*, in order to add any forgotten songs without upsetting the order of the material.

The classification model based on the criterion of the *makam* is not unknown to Eastern music. It is found in the manuscript collections of poetic texts of the Arabs, Ottomans and Persians; the well known *mecmu'a*. The logic behind the ordering of the pieces of the *mecmu'a* was defined by *makam* theory, and in some cases, it in turn influenced the organisation of the materials by *makam* in the manuscripts examined here. The categorisation criterion was the base note of each *makam*, starting from the lowest notes and progressing to the higher ones.¹⁴ That is the model followed, for example, by Petros Byzantios who, with small deviations, organised his material beginning from the note of *yegâh* (low *Di*) and the *makam* of the same name, progressing upwards toward the note of *muhayyer* (high *Pa*) and the *makams* *şehnâz* and *muhayyer*:

Pa	<i>şehnâz, muhayyer</i>
-----	-----
Zo	<i>evîç</i>
Ke	<i>hüseynî, 'acem</i>
Di	<i>nevâ, nübüft, beyâtî, isfahân</i>
Ga	<i>çârgâh</i>
Vou	<i>segâh, müste'âr, hüzzâm</i>
Pa	<i>dügâh, sabâ, 'uşşak / bicâz, hümayûn</i>
Ni	<i>rast, sâzkâr, nihavent, nikrîz, mâbûr</i>
(low) Zo	<i>irak, bestenigâr, râhatü'l-ervâl</i>
(low) Ke	<i>hüseynî 'aşîrân</i>
(low) Di	<i>yegâh</i>

In relation to the above, the unique case where the organisation of the material made on the basis of the *makam* and the order of the pieces performed in the sequence within the macro-form of *fasıl*¹⁵ in particular, is of interest. The source in which it appears is the fragment LKP (dossier) 59. Its scribe, Gregorios Protopsaltes, lists the songs with the *fasıl* logical order, even though it is an incomplete sample. Furthermore, on the first page he indeed names it as “*Fasıl Sâzkâr*”:

- 1 *Fasıl Sâzkâr, baste-i Ilia, usûl remel, echos plagal IV, Bir dil oloutzak olousehin*
- 3 *Yürük Beste Sâzkâr, usûl zarbeyn, echos plagal IV, Ah dionsitedikim*
- 6 *Yürük Tabi Efendinin, [echos] plagal IV Yionz verme*

¹⁴ For more see Wright 1992.

¹⁵ The *fasıl* has already been discussed in the chapter “Genres of Secular Music”, and in particular in the introductory comments for the art music of Constantinople.

Rhythms and Usûls

As already noted in the beginning of this chapter, the rhythmic cycle and the *makam* constitute the two main aspects of a composition. The mention of the rhythmic cycle in the heading of a piece, along with the name of the composer and the incipit comprise the identity of a work, and this information is especially valuable, particularly for those pieces written in the *Old Method* of notation. The work of the *exegesis* is significantly facilitated by the fact that the rhythmic cycles delineate the notated phrases and their rhythm. The term *usûl*, was established early in Eastern music and it is in use even today. *Asl* (pl. *usûl*) in Arabic, means “correct”, that is, metaphorically, the “right way” in the performance of a piece, while in the Turkish language, apart from the meaning it has in music, the word is used to mean “method” or “manner”. However, reference to the *usûl* is made only within works of art music of Constantinople, that is, in works of the music of the Ottoman court as well as in Phanariot songs. Relevant indications in folk songs or in compositions of undetermined genre could not be found in any manuscript. As previously discussed, the first attempt at *usûl* transcriptions was made by Panagiotis Chalatzoglou in his well known treatise, followed shortly afterwards by Kyrillos Marmarinos¹⁶. The former presents twenty-eight *usûls* and the latter, twenty-two (although he introduces twenty-six). The presentation is brief and consists only of explanations by the use of the words *düm*, *teke*, *tek* etc., without using symbols or musical examples¹⁷. From the time of Petros Peloponnesios, who introduced the practice of writing the *usûl* in the heading of transcribed works, onwards, this practice was universally adopted by subsequent scribes of codices containing secular music. As with *makams*, it became a custom to give *usûls* names, such as *arrogance*, *turtle dove* and others, which usually do not convey any information of musical interest.

Usûls in the sources

Twenty-six *usûls* are found in the examined manuscripts, often with small variations in their names as a result of their transliteration into the Greek language. They are listed here in alphabetical order:

aksak *semâ’î*, *yürük semâ’î*, *evsat*, *zarbeyn* or *darbeyn*, *zencîr*, *küçük zencîr*, *küçük sakîl*, *bereşân*, *muhammes*, *nim devri*, *nim sakîl*, *darb-ı fetb* or *zarpuşet*, *devr-i kebîr*, *devr-i revân*, *düyek*, *devir*, *ramal*, *sakîl*, *sofyan*, *çenber*, *çifte düyek*, *fahte*, *fer’-i muhammes*, *fi-rengi fer’* or *frengi* or *frangi*, *havî*, *hafîf*.

¹⁶ See related Popescu-Judetz & Sirli 2000:31–34, 84–86 & 135–137.

¹⁷ Explanations of *usûls* using words are also found by Stephanos Lambadarios in *Ερμηνεία τῆς ἑξωτερικῆς μουσικῆς*, Constantinople, 1843, pp. 43–45.

Combinations of two, three or four *usûls* are found in three *peşrevs*,

Zarbeyn: *devrikebîr* and *bereşân* (Gritsanis 3, 48v)

[*Zarbeyn*]: [*çifte*] *düyek*, *çenber*, *fahte*, *bereşân* (Gritsanis 3, 115v)

[*Zarbeyn*]: *hafîf*, *sakîl*, *zarpufet* (LKP (dossier) 60,15r)

a practice quite common in the music of the East. In these cases in particular, the *usûl* gains a special name preserved by Petros: “*zarbeyn*”.

Four compositions bear rhythmic descriptions which were not possible to identify:

gul devri, *zarbeyn tero peref*, *devri*, *rakip*.

The following table presents the *usûls* found in the manuscripts, the number of beats in each *usûl* (2-beat, 4-beat, 6-beat and so on), and the frequency with which they appear.

	beats	total references in the manuscripts
<i>Sofyan</i>	4	731
<i>Yürük semâ’î</i>	6	227
<i>Aksak semâ’î</i>	10	87
<i>Düyek</i>	8	63
<i>Fi-rengi Fer’</i>	28	24
<i>Hafîf</i>	32	19
<i>Darb-ı feth</i>	88	14
<i>Çenber</i>	24	15
<i>Çifte Düyek</i>	16	13
<i>Sakîl</i>	48	13
<i>Fahte</i>	20	13
<i>Devr-i kebîr</i>	28	12
<i>Bereşan</i>	32	11
<i>Devr-I revân</i>	26	9
<i>Muhammes</i>	32	9
<i>Semâ’î</i>		8
<i>Darbeyn (Zarbeyn)</i>	30	7
<i>Zencîr</i>	120	4
<i>Ramal</i>	28	4
<i>Küçük Zencîr</i>	60	4
<i>Havî</i>	64	2
<i>Evsat</i>	26	2
<i>Küçük Sakîl</i>		1
<i>Nim Sakîl</i>	24	1
<i>Nim Devri</i>	9	1
<i>Fer’-i Muhammes</i>	16	1
<i>Tevîr (Devîr)</i>	9	1

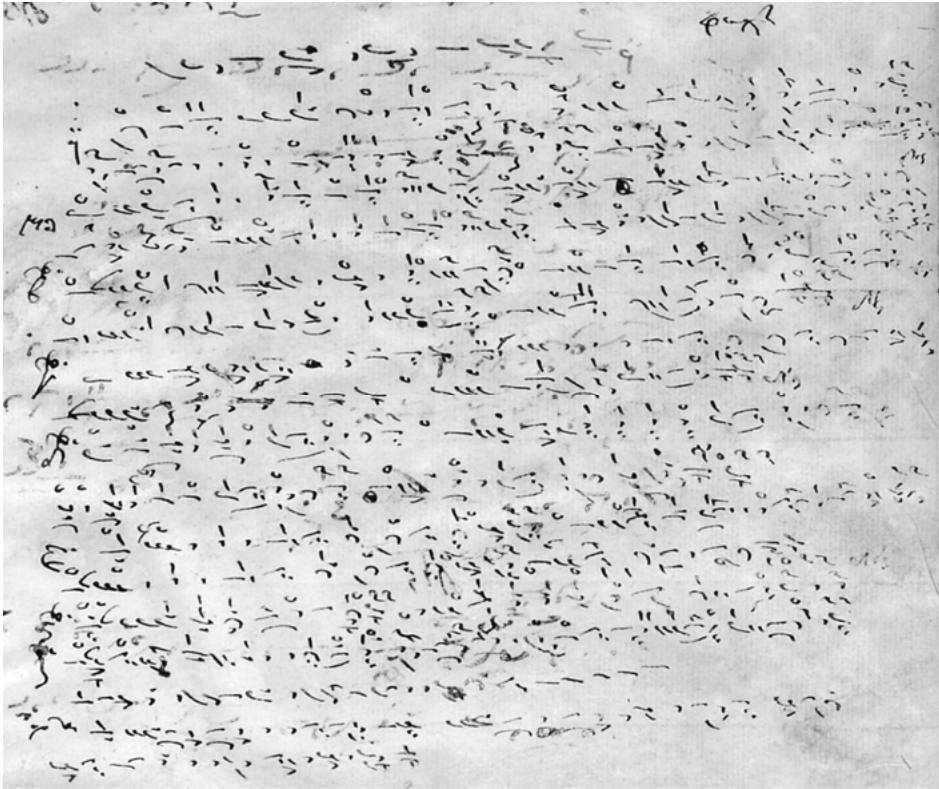
The greatest variety of *usûls* is found in the codices of Petros, MSS Gritsanis 3 and LKP (dossier) 60, which contain mainly instrumental compositions of the Ottoman court. In the rest of the manuscripts containing *usûl* descriptions, only three or four *usûls* are found, they are: *sofyan*, *yürük semâ'î*, *aksak semâ'î* and *düyek*. This is easily explained: the largest volume of manuscripts from the 18th century onwards contains Phanariot songs, which in their vast majority were composed in these simple and easily comprehensible *usûls*. The numbers are indeed impressive. Skimming through the above mentioned codices, *usûl sofyan* is found seven-hundred and thirty-one times, *yürük semâ'î* is found two-hundred and twenty-seven times, *aksak semâ'î* is found eighty-seven times and *düyek* is found sixty-three times. *Firengî fer'* exists twenty-four times. After that, the frequency with which different *usûls* appear decreases continuously, with some *usûls* found only once or twice.

The scribes of secular music do not appear particularly familiar with the *usûls*. The *makams*, due to their relationship with the *echoi* of ecclesiastical music, were probably more easily comprehensible and for that reason a satisfactory volume of relevant information is available. *Usûls*, by contrast, were less known within the theory and practice of both secular and ecclesiastical Greek music, remaining for a long time an unknown field. An exception in this case, as already mentioned, is Petros Peloponnesios, while, for instance, another important scribe of secular music, Nikeforos Kantouniaries, who made a serious attempt to transcribe and even to provide an *exegesis* of *usûls* in certain cases in the Arabic songs he preserved, does not give any information pertaining to their rhythm. It seems that perhaps he was unable to define their rhythmic content, as it was quite different from that which was characteristic of the music of Constantinople. Therefore, the *psaltai* who were also occupied with the composition of secular songs are found to make almost exclusive use of the three easiest to understand *usûls*: *sofyan* (4-beat), *yürük semâ'î* (6-beat) and *düyek* (8-beat), which probably were a better fit in terms of the Greek verses.

As will be shown below as well, *usûls* made up the frame of a composition, upon which modal melodic behaviour was built, in both vocal and instrumental compositions. In the vocal compositions in particular, musical development was directly related, or rather, depended upon the meter of the poetic text (Bektaş 2005). The *usûls* were a separate and “closed” field, perhaps inhospitable for the composition of vocal works in the Greek language, which required different techniques and practical preconditions. In addition, it must be taken into consideration that Byzantine *parasimantiki* did not possess any system of “bars” as in staff notation; therefore the practical issues arising from rhythmic matters became even more challenging for someone not familiar with the genres of the Ottoman court.

Method of Illustration and Analysis of Usûls

The first indications of *usûls* in the music manuscripts are in words, without the use of any explanatory symbols. In MS Gritsanis 3 (f. 203r), the symbols, 0 I, which define rhythm are found for the first time and, as a matter of fact, within the score itself.



These symbols are also found sporadically on folios 27r – 28r & 31v of MS LKP (dossier) 60. Essentially, Petros introduces the use of these numerical symbols in MS RAL 927. Therein, he defines the *usûl* sometimes in words (*sofyan*, *semâ'î*), other times with the use of symbols (ó 2, ó 2 ó i), and at other times in both of these ways combined,

7v *usûl sofyan* ó 2, Aşîrân, [echos] plagal I heptaphonic, *Αὐτὸ τ' εἶναι τὸ δικόν μου, τὸ κακὸν τὸ ριζικόν μου*

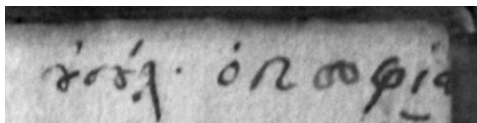
15r *makam irak*, [echos] *varys* diatonic, *usûl semâ'îs* ó 2 ó i, *Ἡθέλησεν ἡ τύχη μου, μόλις νὰ μ' ἐλέησει*

while in many songs he completely omits any mention of the *usûl*. His example of the use of symbols to indicate *usûl* was followed by Petros Byzantios (LKP

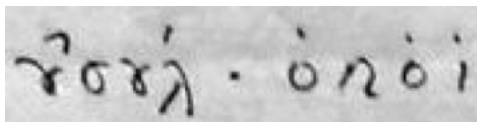
19/173), Nikeforos Kantouniaries (RAL 784, CAMS P1, Iași 121, Vatopediou 1428), as well as by the unknown scribes of MSS RAL 653 and CAMS P2¹⁸. The same symbols are found in Chrysanthos's theory book (1832:67-80), where they are offered

"for the exercise of rhythm by the beginners, the hit of the downbeat called *Düm*, and the hit of the upbeat, called *Tek*" (80).

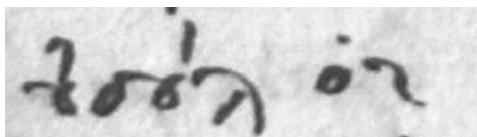
They are written using three symbols. The first, looks like an accented zero or omikron and means the downbeat, that is, the *düm*. The second, looks like the digit "2", or rather the *gorthmikon* "τ" = n of the *kratemata* and the *nenanismoi*, meaning two upbeats, either *te ke* or *tek tek*. The third symbol resembles an accented *iota* and symbolises the single upbeat, *tek*. This particular way of explaining the rhythm with symbols, which seems to have been introduced by Petros, was followed by all codex writers who used them in order to describe the *usûls*:



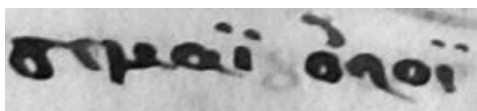
Petros Peloponnesios, RAL 927



Petros Byzantios, LKP 19/173



Nikeforos Kantouniaries, RAL 784



unspecified composer, RAL 653

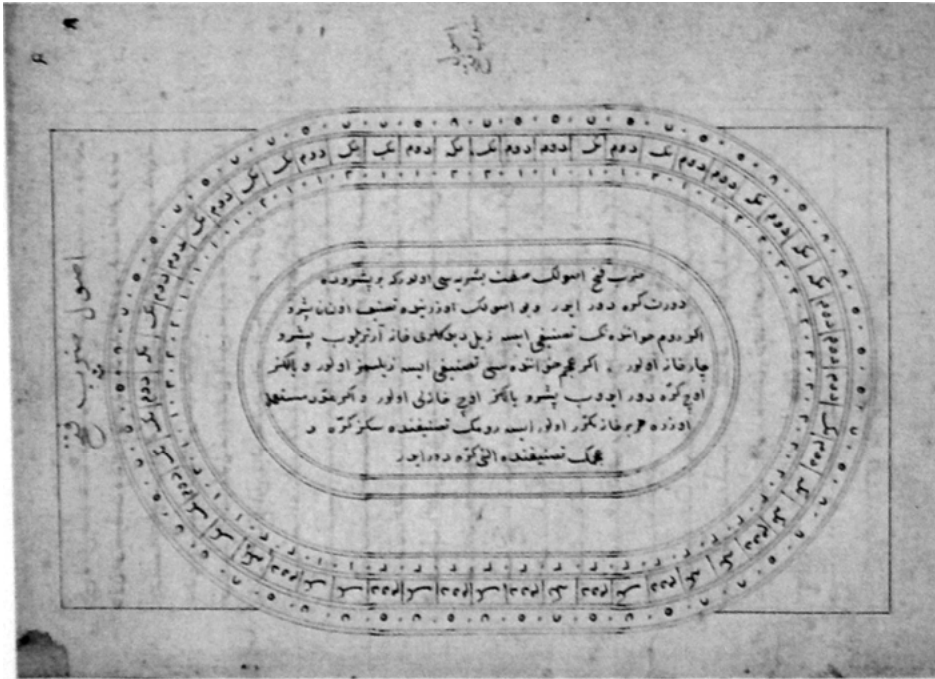
Generally in the sources, only two *usûls* are written with these symbols, they are *sofyan* and *yürük semâ'î*. The former is consistently written as *ó 2* and read as *düm te ke*, while the second one exists in three variations: *ó 2 ó i*, *ó 2 2 ó i* & *ó i ó i*, where all three are read as *düm tek tek düm tek*. Panagiotis Kiltzanidis (1978:25-31), Ioannis Zographos Keyvelis¹⁹, and Agathangelos Kyriazidis²⁰, who give the *usûls*

¹⁸ These symbols are also used in the only song by Evgenios in the ELIA manuscript.

¹⁹ *Μουσικὸν Ἀπάνθισμα (Μετζμουναὶ Μακαμάτ)*, Constantinople 1872, pp. 13-23. Explanatory notes on the *usûls* are also given by K. Psachos in the introduction of the collection *Ἀσιῶς Ἀύρα* Athens (1908:8-14).

with the above symbols as well as their interpretations of the beats, explain the issue thoroughly.

It cannot be supported that Petros invented these symbols. After all, he himself does not appear certain of their use, only taking advantage of them occasionally in RAL 927, and not at all in his other three manuscripts containing secular music. According to the evidence so far, he introduced them into the notational practice, but they were probably already known to him, either in this exact form or in a similar form. Furthermore, one of them which is similar to a 0 or an O, the symbol of *diim*, is also found in Cantemir's work²¹, where for the *tek*, *teke*, the given symbols are two or three variations of curved lines:



Nikeforos, generally also uses the above-mentioned symbols, even though he often mentions *usûls* only by name.²² In certain cases in particular, he does not stop at the mention of the *usûls* but also gives an analytical presentation using mono-syllabic words like, *diim*, *tek* etc.:

²⁰ Ὁ Ρυθμογράφος, Constantinople 1909, pp. 28-35

²¹ D. Cantemir f. 78 & 80-86 (Wright 1992).

²² Stathis (2001c:616-617, fn. 13) implies that Nikeforos was perhaps taught this system in the Common School of the Nation by Chrysanthos himself. This view is supported by the fact that in Nikeforos's earliest manuscript of secular music, RAL 925, the rhythmic cycle of the songs is not stated in any way. In contrast, in his later manuscripts, RAL 784 and Vatopediou 1428, he gives the *usûls*, either by name or with the above-mentioned symbols.

Beste of archon postelnikos Georgios Soutsos, transcribed by Nikeforos, *makam rast*, [echos] plagal IV, *usûl fi rengi fer'*, that is, *düm düm düm düm düm tek düm düm te-ek teke teke Arzit metiyia* (RAL 784, 152r / Iaşi 121, 281 / Vatopediou 1428, 289)

By the same composer, *beste*, in another *usûl*, that is, *hafif düm tek te-ek düm tek te-ek düm teke düm te-ek tek düm teke düm düm tek teke düm tek teke düm tek teke teke*, echos plagal IV (Iaşi 121, 282 / Vatopediou 1428, 289).

By the same composer [Georgios Soutsos], *beste*, in another *usûl*, *hafif, düm tek te-ek düm tek te-ek düm teke düm te-ek tek düm teke düm düm tek teke düm tek teke dü[m] te[k] teke teke*, [echos] plagal IV, *Zalívez bir* (RAL 784, 153v / Iaşi 121, 282).

Ağır semâ'î [echos] plagal IV, *usûl ağır Düm teke düm tek*, *Oi σειρήνες τριγυρίζουν* (RAL 784, 164v / Vatopediou 1428, 322).

Ağır semâ'î [echos] plagal IV, *usûl ağır düm tek tek düm te-ek*, *Εμψυχώθηκαν σὲ σένα αἱ καθόλου ἀρεταί* (RAL 784, 166r / Vatopediou 1428, 323).

Another *beste* by the same archon postelnikos Georgios Soutsos, compiled in a much sorrowful and artistic way, for the sake of his deceased daughter, beloved by him beyond measure: Transcribed by Nikeforos archdeacon, *makam nişâbürek*, [echos] plagal IV, *usûl sofyan*, *düm te'-ke düm tek Tí μεγάλη συμφορά, τί ημέρα, τί ειδήσεις* (RAL 784, 168r / Vatopediou 1428, 339).

Şarkı by the same archon postelnikos [Georgios]. Transcribed by Nikeforos, *makam nişâbürek*, [echos] plagal IV, *usûl sofyan* short: *düm teke düm tek Gönüler sangaüdini* (RAL 784, 173v / Vatopediou 1428, 342).

In one case, in MS RAL 784, he does not seem certain about the *usûl* and thus writes

Usûl sofyan or hafif düm tek te-ek düm tek, tadir teneni, aman, *Τὴν ὥραίαν σου εἰκόνα, σὸν καθρέπτην ἂν ἰδῇς* (RAL 784, 161v).

Later on though he seems to have resolved the issue, clearly stating in Vatopediou 1428:

Most artistic *beste*, compilation of verses and music by archon postelnikos dragoumanakis Georgios Soutsos, transcribed by Nikeforos archdeacon of Antioch: *usûl hafif*, that is, *düm tek te-ek düm tek te-ek düm teke düm teke te-ek düm teke düm düm tek teke düm tek teke düm tek teke*, *makam mâbü'r*, echos plagal IV heptaphonic, 1st *beyti*, *tadir teneni, aman*, *Τὴν ὥραίαν σου εἰκόνα, σὸν καθρέπτην ἂν ἰδῇς*, Vatopediou 1428, 320

That is, in total, Nikeforos analytically presents several versions of four *usûls*: *sofyan*, *hafif*, *ağır semâ'î* and *fi-rengi fer'*:

Sofyan: *düm teke düm tek*

Sofyan: *düm teke düm tek* (small)

Ağır: *düm teke düm tek* (in the title it is recorded as *ağır semâ'î*)

Ağır düm tek tek düm te-ek (in the title it is recorded as *ağır semâ'î*)

Fi-rengi Fer': *düm düm düm düm düm tek düm düm te-ek teke teke*

Hafif: *düm tek te-ek düm tek te-ek düm teke düm te-ek tek düm teke düm düm tek teke düm tek teke düm tek teke teke.*

Hafif, *düm tek te-ek düm tek te-ek düm teke düm te-ek tek düm teke düm düm tek teke düm tek teke düm tek teke teke.*

Hafif, *düm tek te-ek düm tek te-ek düm teke düm teke te-ek düm teke düm düm tek teke düm tek teke düm tek teke.*

Inconsistencies are noted between the two versions of the *ağır semâ'i* and the three versions of *hafif*. The style of presentation of the *usûl* analyses given by Nikeforos are reminiscent of those of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos²³. From these two sources, similar correspondences are found both between them and with Nikeforos's analyses. It seems that the phenomenon of rhythmic cycles remained perplexing and difficult to understand.

Usûls as Guides for Composition

A piece of information drawn from fragment LKP 2/59a gave rise to an issue directly related to the function of the *usûls* in composition. Gregorios writes:

"the *peşrev* whose *usûl* is *zarbı fetih* must have five *hânes* and one of the five is called *zeyl*, the *peşrev* being *zarbı fetih* in its *usûl* it is five *hânes*, therefore this *usûl* has 44 *zarpia* for each *hâne*, so there is one *usûl* which has forty four single beats that is *zarpia*".

Indeed, the *peşrev* transcribed immediately afterwards consists of five *hânes*. Its *usûl* is *zarbeyn* or as it is known today, *darbeyn*. Its rhythmic cycle has forty-four *zargia*, that is forty-four beats. And the most interesting fact, "each *hâne* is one *usûl*", therefore each part of the *peşrev* develops within the limits of one rhythmic cycle of forty-four beats.

It is therefore understood that the *usûls* do not only make up the rhythmic content of the compositions but they also determine their length, thus also essentially defining their constituent parts. Depending on the length of the *usûl*, each part of a composition of art music occupies one, two, three, four or more rhythmic cycles. E.g.

[*Rast*] *Gül tevri peşrev* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *devr-i kebîr* (Gritsanis 3, 231v) [identified from Cantemir, f. 67, work 122]: *Ser hâne* = two rhythmic cycles, *mûlazime* = five rhythmic cycles.

²³ See related Popescu-Judetzy &, Sirlı 2000:31-34, 84-86, 135-137 and especially on pp. 148-149 where a comparative listing of the *usûls* from both works can be found. The use of "*düm, tek*" is also mentioned by Apostolos Konstas in his *Θεωρητικόν* (Apostolopoulos 2002:142).

Hicâz nev kislât fabte peşrev by Kemânî Yorgi (Gritsanis 3, 188v): *mülazime* and *terkîb* 2, 4, 9 & 8 = four rhythmic cycles. *Terkîb* 3 = two rhythmic cycles.

Seyf miseyn nazîresi, makam irak, uşûleş diyek (Gritsanis 3, 61v) [identified from Cantemir, f. 103-104, work 194]: each *hâne* has from seven up to thirteen rhythmic cycles.

Hicâz turna [peşrev] [unspecified composer] [echos plagal II], *sakîl*, (LKP (dossier) 60, 22v) [identified from Cantemir, f. 176-177, work 324]: *Ser hâne* = one rhythmic cycle, *mülazime* = one and a half rhythmic cycles.

Hüseyinî [beste] Ab yar cemâlin Hânende Zacharias, echos plagal I, (LKP 152/292, 144): *Zemin hâne* = four rhythmic cycles, *miyân hâne* = four rhythmic cycles.

Explaining this practice, the kanun virtuoso Nikos Stephanidis (1986:52) characteristically writes that:

“The old composers did not have the European notes like the contemporary musicians do, they composed their melodies with the *düm teks*”.

while Chrysanthos notes in his theory book (1832:79):

“their other use is that which leads them to remember the melodies which they are taught and which they teach. Because the Ottomans, by not using notation to write the melodies, remember them through the rhythms”.

Chrysanthos’s views are shared by both Stephanos Lambadarios and Panagiotis Kiltzanidis:

“[the *usûls*] primary use is to remember the melodies, which they teach and they are taught, since by not using notation to write the melodies, they remember them through their rhythms”²⁴

“Whereas for the Arabo-Persians the rhythm becomes not only necessary but also, as mentioned, required, since by not having notation to write the melodies, they can only remember them by the rhythms”. (Kiltzanidis 1978:25)

and quite later this view was also shared by Agathangelos Kyriazidis 1978:28):

“Rhythm in Turkish music is most necessary, since the Turks by not having notation to write the melodies, can remember them through the rhythms”.

The Greek music teachers are an alternative source of information on the function of the *usûl* as a guide for composition. Also, Yetkin Özer's note is also relevant:

“In Turkish traditional music, *usûl* is one of the outstanding elements in the progression of the melodic line, and thus has a significant role in the perception of composed pieces”²⁵.

²⁴ Stephanos Lambadarios, op. cit., p. 45.

²⁵ Özer 1990:5. See also the chapter *Türk Müsikiinde Usûl-vezin Münâsebeti*, pp. 85-106, in Tannkorur 2003 and Tannkorur 1990.

Apart from Gregorios's fragment giving this direct information, it is possible to draw relevant conclusions in the rest of the manuscripts solely from the study of the notation and the architecture of each composition, as in the above examples.

III The Use of Byzantine Notation in Secular Melodies

The Use of Byzantine Notation in Secular Melodies

Byzantine *parasimantiki* was devised as a notational system in parallel to the development and cultivation of ecclesiastical music. It is known that until the introduction of the *New Method*, in 1814, notation had a stenographic character using combinations of voiceless and voiced signs to represent specific extended musical lines. Byzantine and post-Byzantine *melopoeia* owes much to the capabilities of that sophisticated notational system, which in turn, evolved through the centuries in order to serve its purpose with greater clarity and efficiency. With regard to secular music, around 85 percent of the transcribed material is in the *Old Method* and the remaining 15 percent is in the *New Method* of notation. Interest is thus justifiably turned to the *Old Method* for two reasons. Firstly, the main volume of the manuscripts, and predominantly those containing rare or unknown pieces, and certainly older pieces, are written in the *Old Method*. Secondly, the topics connected to the study and *exegesis* of the old notation continue to occupy researchers to this day, especially in cases where the same pieces also survive in other notational systems, such as staff and alphabetic notations, and others.

Consequently, the analysis of the notation in the available sources raises a fundamental question: How can a “closed” notational system with a stenographic character, such as the Byzantine *parasimantiki*, which is based on the function of *theseis* and the use of *voiceless signs*, and with a quantitative and qualitative melodic function, be able to transcribe other melodies adhering to different compositional, and in turn, orthographic rules? It becomes immediately obvious that the object under investigation is at the same time the biggest obstacle. Secular music was not fortunate enough to have a tradition of *exegesis* analogous to that of ecclesiastical music, which would have allowed a delving into the past with more surety.

In order to answer the question above, two different methods are used. The first, is based on the study of the notation, taking into account the findings of musicological research to date, while the second, utilises the available transcriptions which, apart from being found in the old notation, are also found either in the new notation or in another notational system, either numerical or staff-based, thus allowing a parallel examination.

Observations from the Study of the Notation

It is known that in the *Old Method* there were four melodic styles (or melodic ways): fast, *heirmologic*, *organikos* and slow (Apostolopoulos 2005:226-229). With

a few exceptions, notation in secular pieces follows the heirmologic style, which, using the relatively simple formula of doubling or quadrupling the rhythmic duration of the old vocal signs, facilitates the transcription of non-ecclesiastical music. The melody unfolds in a syllabic manner and in only a few circumstances syllables are extended. As characteristically stated by Thomas Apostolopoulos:

“Secular melodies have very few ecclesiastical synoptic theseis. Most of them work on the general principles of the notation of the *kratemata*, where a simple doubling or quadrupling of the beats of the old vocal signs is required.”¹

In ecclesiastical music, the *great hypostases* signs of the *cheironomia* are important stenographic tools, since they constitute *theseis*, and as a result, more extended melodic lines. Of course, *parasimantiki*, in its basic principle with its plain signs and without stenography, can easily be used to transcribe nearly any kind of modal melody, as emphatically noted by Gabriel, as early as the 14th century. The appearance and wide use of the genre of *kratemata*, which clearly provided greater freedom to the composer, created a suitable climate, conducive to the notation of secular pieces. In the *kratemata*, there are generally no combinations of signs and elaborate *theseis* like those found in the ecclesiastical melodies. Similarly, they are also rarely found in secular music, and in the cases where they are, they are *exegised* not with their extended form, but with their synoptic form. Relevant here, are the findings of G. G. Anastasiou (2005:409,412) with regard to the *kratemata*, valid also for the notation of secular melodies:

“Very limited use of elaborate theseis is observed... Theseis which indicate extended melody are rarely used... Less use of voiceless signs is observed...”

A thorough study of the available transcriptions of secular music from the 16th up until the 18th century, supports the above findings. In the first period examined here, the 16th and 17th centuries, there are only a few instances of the signs *psephiston*, *antikenoma*, *vareia*, *piasma*, *lygisma* and even more rare instances of *paraklitiki*, *eteron*, *apoderma* and the *parakalesma*. The *psephiston parakalesma*, *kylisma*, *ekstrepton* and *antikenokylisma* are only found one, two or three times.

Furthermore, two pieces from known composers, spanning the corpus of the sources across the 17th and 18th centuries, offer valuable information for the comprehension of notational developments. They are the work of undetermined genre by Theophanis Karykis and the *Isaki zade // Dol Tourkjaloum pade* by Kosmas the Macedonian. The composition of Karykis seems to be notationally richer, as it bears a larger variety of signs. Apart from the common signs of *antikenoma*, *vareia*, *piasma*, *lygisma*, *eteron* and *psephiston*, in some of the manuscripts, the *tromikon*, *paraklitiki*, *kseron klasma*, *ekstrepton*, *tromikon hemiphonon* and

¹ T. K. Apostolopoulos, “Ρυθμός και ἐξήγηση κοσμικῶν μελῶν ἀπὸ τὴν παλαιὰ παρασημαντικὴ”, unpublished presentation at the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Byzantine Musicology (Athens December 2009), (kindly provided by its author).

eteros exo thematismos, are also found. The composition of Kosmas the Macedonian, found in anthologies of the 17th and mainly the 18th century, is notated with the use of the voiceless signs: *piasma*, *antikenoma*, *lygisma*, *eteron*, *apoderma* and *vareia*. In two versions of the composition, the *omalon* appears once and in another version the *paraklitiki* appears once. And so, the adherence to an unwritten rule is observed, which dictates the use of only certain voiceless signs, thus implying an *exegesis* corresponding mainly to phrases of short duration.

The main sources for the study of the topic in the 18th century are the secular music transcriptions of Petros Peloponnesios, while the rest of the individual folios play a complementary role. Firstly, codex Gritsanis 3 stands out due to its size and its appearance alternating between two-colour and single colour writing. In both cases, the writing is quite analytical and the use of voiceless signs is limited to the *lygisma*, *antikenoma*, *psephiston*, *tromikon*, *vareia* and *apoderma*. The *piasma* appears rarely and the *thes kai apothēs* and the *antikenokylisma* are found once. His other two manuscripts containing works of the Ottoman court are written exclusively in black ink and voiceless signs are rarely found. In manuscript LKP (dossier) 60 the signs *tromikon* and *paraklitiki* are found once or twice, while a few more appearances of the signs *apoderma*, *psephiston* and *antikenoma* are noted. In manuscript LKP (dossier) 137 the signs *ouranisma*, *pelaston*, *tromikon* are used once or twice and the signs *apoderma*, *psephiston* and *antikenoma* are used a few more times. In the manuscript RAL 927, where the music score for each song is of limited extent, taking up between two to four lines, Petros also uses mainly voiced signs, the voiceless being *antikenoma*, *vareia* and *eteron*. The signs *omalon*, *psephiston*, and *piasma* appear sporadically, and the *kylisma*, *antikenokylisma*, *paraklitiki* and *kseron klasma* appear once or twice.

Apart from Petros's transcriptions and the two compositions of Theophanis Karykis and Kosmas the Macedonian that were examined above, the sources available for review from the 18th century are the works preserved in MSS Iviron 949, Iviron 1038, Panteleimonos 994, Iviron 997 and Xeropotamou. Also evident here, is the presence of the following seven voiceless signs: *eteron*, *lygisma*, *antikenoma*, *vareia*, *piasma*, *psephiston*, *apoderma*, while the signs *antikenokylisma*, *tromikon*, *paraklitiki*, *omalon* and *kratemoyporroon* appear very rarely.

Finally, the phenomenon of *palilogia* is often seen, where some variation can be observed in the writing and consequently the ornamentation of musical lines that are similar in their basic progression. Small differences are noticed in the notation of the same piece between scribes, which indicates that the basic melody is fixed, and is only open to minor embellishments.

Comparative Review

The comparative examination of the available sources acts as a pathway to the comprehension and documentation of the above observations, as well as of the stenographic character of the *Old Method*.² The sources here can be classified into two categories: a) *Exegeses* into the *New Method* and b) Transcriptions into staff and numerical notation.

Exegeses into the New Method

Exegesis, as a method for analysing pieces, has been applied by Greek researchers, the first of which was K. Psachos (1978), and subsequently by S. I. Karas (1990; 1976), G. T. Stathis (1993) and his students³. Given our sources, the chronological boundaries within which this research is performed, are the third quarter of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. The compositions found notated in both the *Old* and the *New Method* are fourteen in number. Although the fourteen compositions concern a small percentage of the total number of Phanariot songs, they are a satisfactory sample for drawing relevant conclusions. An analytical listing of the compositions follows:

Ἄν οἱ ὀρμές του ἔρωτος δὲν ἦτον μαζωμέναις, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* plagal I heptaphonic from low Ke, [*büseyinî*] *aşîrân, semâ'î*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 11v / RAL 653, 34v / LKP 19/173, 6r / Iaşi 129, 22 / Vatopediou 1428, 20.

New Method: LKP (dossier) 117, 4.

Αὐτὸ τ' εἶναι τὸ δικόν μου, τὸ κακὸν τὸ ριζικόν μου, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* I heptaphonic from low Ke, [*büseyinî*] *aşîrân, sofyan*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 7 v / RAL 653, 34r / LKP 19/173, 3r / CAMS P2, 47 / CAMS P1, 1 / Iaşi 129, 19 / Vatopediou 1428, 17.

New Method: LKP (dossier) 117, 1.

Δὲν εἶν' τρόπος ὅταν θέλῃ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos* *varys* *tetraphonic* diatonic, *bestenigâr, sofyan*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 16v / RAL 925, 10v / LKP 19/173, 11r / ELIA, 11r / CAMS P2, 58 / Vatopediou 1428, 256.

New Method: LKP (dossier) 117, 11.

² Using a method similar to the one used in previous chapters, anonymous works were identified and/or attributed to composers and certain intractable issues concerning genre were clarified.

³ See for example relevant chapters in the works of Anastasiou 2005:409-502; Apostolopoulos 2005; Chaldaiakis 2003:499-931.

Εἶναι σὸν κόσμον καὶ ἄλλα κάλλη, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos varies tetraphonic diatonic, bestenigâr, sofyan*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 17r / RAL 925, 11v / RAL 653, 35v / LKP 19/173, 12r / ELIA, 12r / CAMS P2, 59 / Iaşi 129, 247 / Vatopediou 1428, 255.

New Method: LKP (dossier) 117, 12.

Ἡθέλησεν ἡ τύχη μου, μόλις νὰ μ' ἐλεήσῃ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos varies diatonic, irak, semâ'î*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 15r / RAL 653, 34v / LKP 19/173, 7r / CAMS P2, 50 / Iaşi 129, 229 / Vatopediou 1428, 237.

New Method: LKP (dossier) 117, 6.

Καὶ αὐτὸ πῶς ἀνασαίνω καὶ πῶς ζῶ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos I heptaphonic from low Ke, [Hüseynî] 'aşîrân, sofyan*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 7r / RAL 653, 33v / CAMS P2, 46 / CAMS P1, 1 / Iaşi 129, 18 / Iaşi 129, 18 / Vatopediou 1428, 16.

New Method: LKP (dossier) 117, 1.

Τὸ ἐδικόν μου ριζικὸν εἶν' ἀπερίγραπτον κακόν, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos varies diatonic, irak, sofyan*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 15v / RAL 925, 31r / RAL 653, 35r / LKP 19/173, 8r / ELIA, 9r / CAMS P2, 58 / Iaşi 129, 230 / Vatopediou 1428, 238.

New Method: LKP (dossier) 117, 8.

Τὸ φῶς μου ὅταν μὲ θωρῇ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos varies diatonic, irak, yüriük semâ'î*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 16r / RAL 653, 35v / LKP 19/173, 9r / ELIA, 10r / CAMS P2, 58 / Iaşi 129, 231 / Vatopediou 1428, 239.

New Method: LKP (dossier) 117, 10.

Τελεία καὶ σωστὴ χαρὰ καὶ εὐτυχία καθαρὰ, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos plagal IV, rast, sofyan*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 18v / RAL 925, 43r / RAL 784, 59r / RAL 653, 36r / LKP 19/173, 15r / ELIA, 15r / CAMS P1, 13 / Iaşi 129, 269 / Vatopediou 1428, 277.

New Method: Stathis, 16v / LKP 152/292, 33.

Μέσα σὲ θάλασσα πλατιά, ὅπου ἀνάπτει σὰν φωτιά, Petros Peloponnesios, *echos II legetos, hüzzâm, sofyan*.

Old Method: RAL 927, 35v / RAL 925, 17r / LKP 19/173, 60r / CAMS P2, 17 / Iaşi 129, 96 / Vatopediou 1428, 66.

New Method: Stathis, 4v / LKP 152/292, 32.

Τρέξετε ἔρωτες ἐλάτε, Ιακώβου Πρωτοψάλτου, *echos I from low Ke, bûselik [hüseynî] 'aşîrân, sofyan*, verses by Beyzade Yiangos Karatzas.

Old Method: RAL 784, 5v / CAMS P1, 3 / Iaşi 129, 23 / Vatopediou 1428, 25.

New Method: Stathis, 4v / Gennadius 231, 17v / LKP 152/292, 42-49 / LKP (dossier) 73, 14.

Niṣābûrek *beste*, *Τὴ μεγάλη συμφορά, τί ἡμέρα, τί εἰδήσεις*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, *sofyan*, verses by Georgios Soutsos.

Old Method: RAL 784, 168r & 189v / Iași 129, 327 / Vatopediou 1428, 339.

New Method: Stathis, 20v / Gennadius 231, 3r / LKP 152/292, 70.

[Niṣābûrek] *ağır semâ'î*, *Τὴ κακὸν θανατηφόρον, τί ἀνίατος πληγή*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, verses by Georgios Soutsos.

Old Method: RAL 784, 170v / Iași 129, 328 / Vatopediou 1428, 340.

New Method: Stathis, 23v / LKP 152/292, 75.

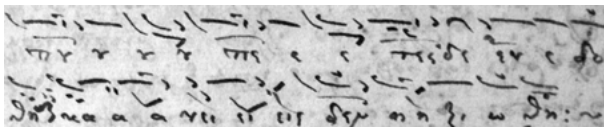
[Niṣābûrek] *yürük semâ'î*, *Ἦσπραπτε στὸ πρόσωπόν σου καλλονὴ ἀγγελικὴ*, Georgios Soutsos, *echos* plagal IV, verses by Georgios Soutsos.

Old Method: RAL 784, 171v / Iași 129, 329 / Vatopediou 1428, 341.

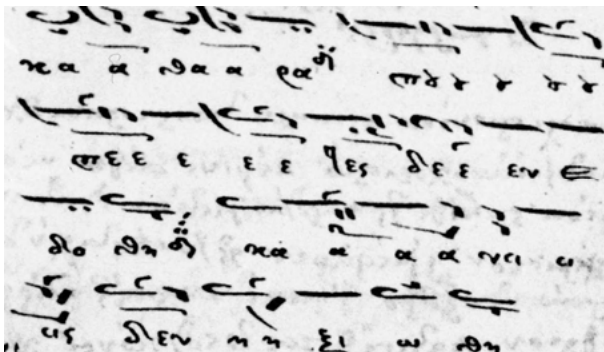
New Method: Stathis, 25r / LKP 152/292, 78.

Some examples from these songs are presented below, justifying the *exegesis* of the pieces in “fast style”. The first one is *Τελεία καὶ σωστή χαρὰ καὶ εὐτυχία καθαρὰ*, by Petros Peloponnesios. The song is found first in the composer's autograph, codex RAL 727, in the original notation. It is also preserved in seven other manuscripts, four of Nikeforos's and one of each of Evgenios, Petros Byzantios and an unknown scribe. Examination of the phrase “Ποῦ ποτέξ δὲν ἐδόθη καὶ κανεῖς δὲν ἤξιώθη” shows that Petros uses the *lygisma* in the word “δὲν” and he uses the *piasma* in the cadence “κανεῖς”. The same orthography is followed by Petros Byzantios, Evgenios and the unknown scribe of MS RAL 653. Nikeforos follows the same orthography in RAL 784, while he seems to avoid using both *lygisma* and *piasma* by choosing an even more analytical notation in codices RAL 925, CAMS P1, 13 Vatopediou 1428, 277:

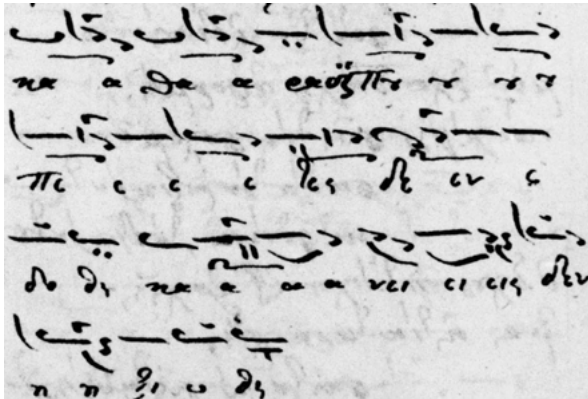
RAL 927, 18v



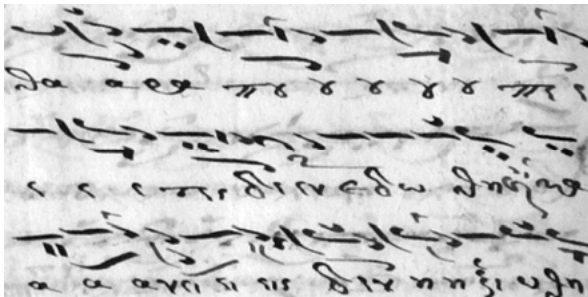
RAL 925, 43r



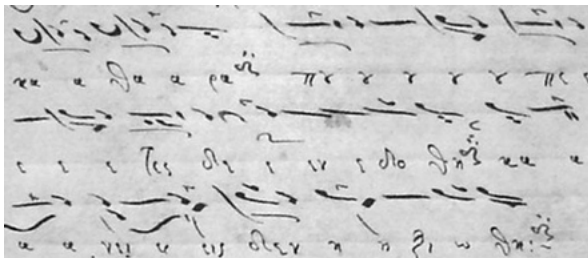
RAL 784, 59r



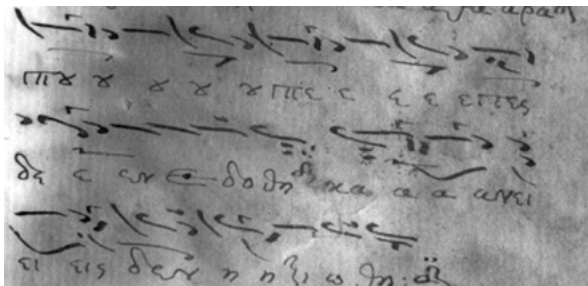
RAL 653, 36r



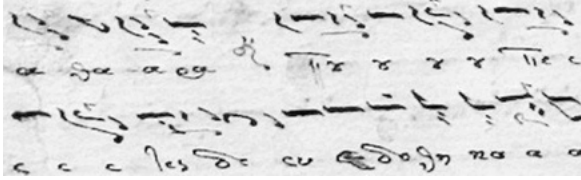
LKP 19/173, 15r



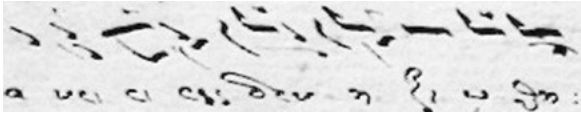
ELIA, 15r



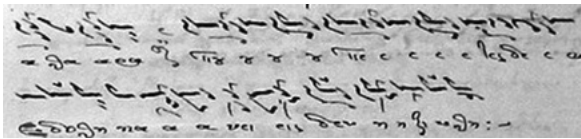
CAMS P1, 13



which continues on p. 15

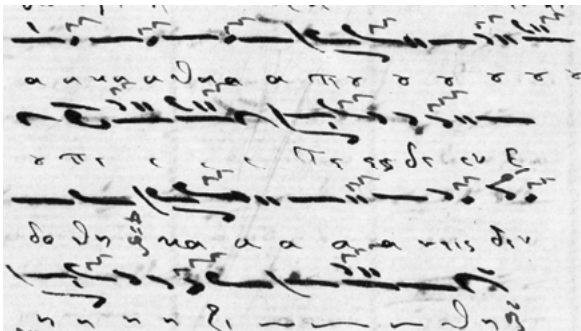


Vatopediou 1428, 277

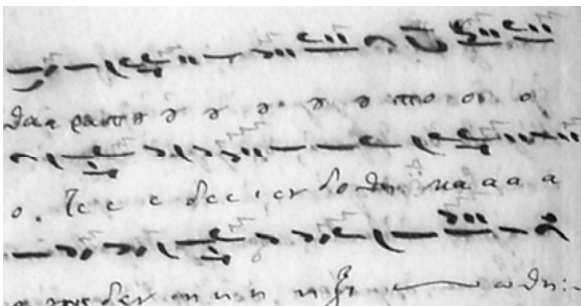


The examination of the same phrase from the two samples available from the *New Method*, shows the *exegetic* approach of the scribes:

Stathis, 16v

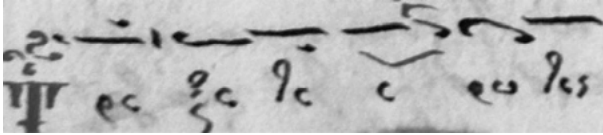


LKP 152/292, 35

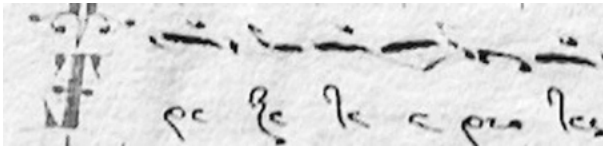


The second example is from Iakovos Protopsaltēs's song, *Τρέξετε ἔρωτες ἐλᾶτε*. It is first found in the *Old Method* notation in three codices of Nikeforos's. The notation is already almost analytic, corresponding to the final stages of the evolution of exegesis, either prior to the introduction of the *New Method* and/or parallel to that. All three versions are nearly identical, with very few differences. For example, the initial line *Τρέξετε ἔρωτες* is notated as follows:

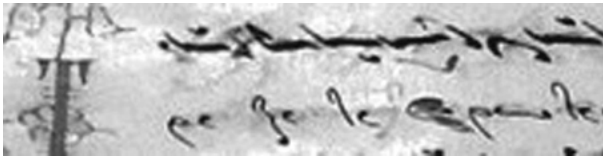
RAL 784, 5v



CAMS 1, 3

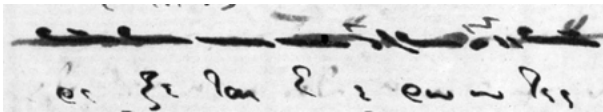


Vatopediou 1428, 25

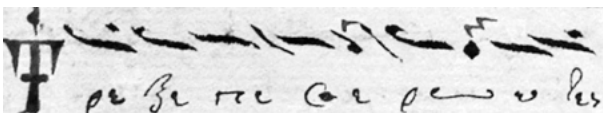


The *exegesis* of the same song in the *New Method* is found in five manuscripts which contain generally similar versions, with a visibly more analytical presentation compared to the transcription in the *Old Method*. A similar *exegesis* was also made by Thomas Apostolopoulos in 1997 and recorded by the musical ensemble "En Chordais"⁴.

Stathis, 4v

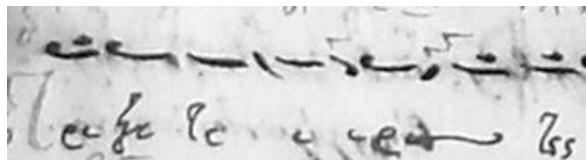


Gennadius 231, 17v

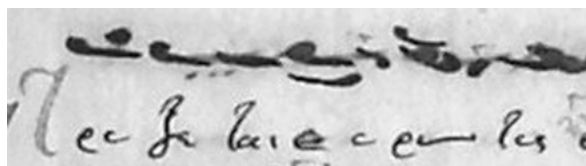


⁴ "En Chordais", *Secular Music from Athonite Codices*, No. 2.

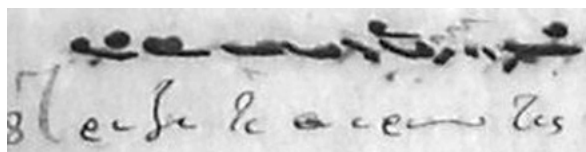
LKP 152(292), 42



LKP 152(292), 43

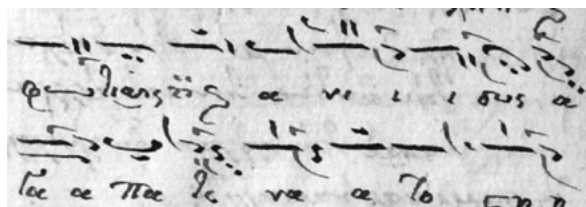


LKP 152(292), 43

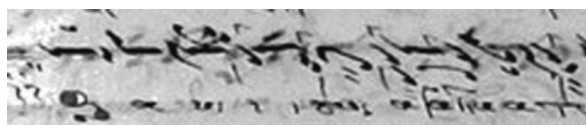


Analogous observations can be made from the study of the whole of the song. For example, the phrase “Καὶ ἂν ἴσως ἀγαπᾷτε” from the same song:

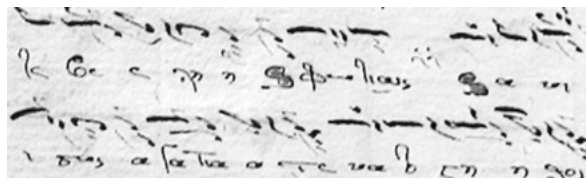
RAL 784, 5v



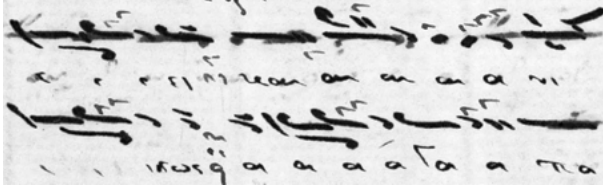
Vatopediou 1428, 25



CAMS 1, 3



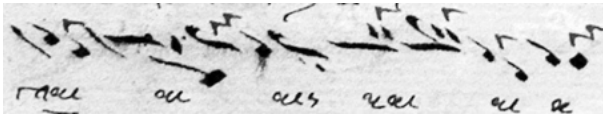
Stathis, 4v



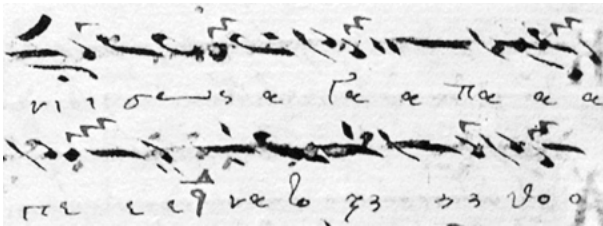
continued on f. 5v



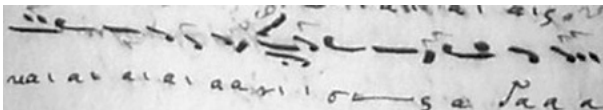
Gennadius 231, 17v



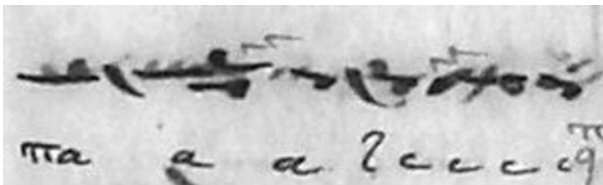
continued on f. 18r



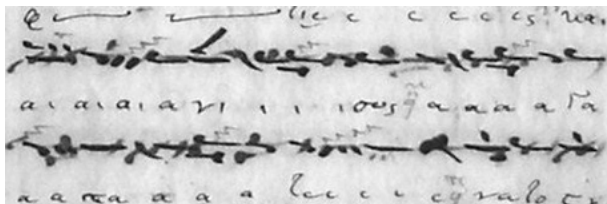
LKP 152(292), 42



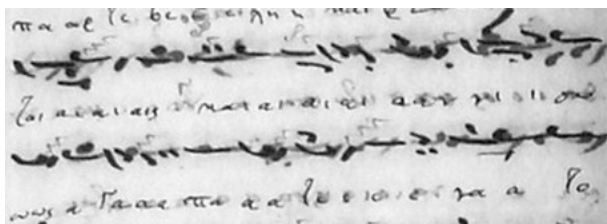
continued...



LKP 152(292), 43



LKP 152(292), 44



As a historical note, it ought to be mentioned that, one and a half centuries after its first publication, G. T. Stathis attempted an *exegesis* of the song “*Τί περιφορὰ ἄθλια*”.⁵ Finally, the *exegeses* of T. K. Apostolopoulos⁶, whose music scores though yet unpublished have been recorded on CD, and cover a greater sample of genres and periods than those of the examined repertoire, are invaluable to the topic. More specifically, the *exegeses* concern the following compositions:

Tāsūf persikon ab yarim, eteroud ritleri tina tillilir Abdülkadir Marâghi, *echos* I: Leimonos 259, 184r.⁷

Τ' ἀηδόνια τῆς Ανατολῆς καὶ τὰ πουλιὰ τῆς Δύσης, *echos* I: Iviron 1203b, β^v / Xeropotamou 262, 212v.⁸

Ὅλοι τὰ σίδερα βαστοῦν κι ὅλοι στὴ φυλακὴ εἶναι, *echos* plagal IV: Iviron 1203b, γ^r.⁹

Bestenigâr Peşrev Hân ende Zacharias, *echos* varies tetraphonic diatonic, *devr-i kebîr*: Gritsanis 3, 5v.¹⁰

Mûlazime and *terkîbs* in various *makams* from *bicâz peşrev nev kislât* by Kemânî Yorgi, [*echos* plagal II], *fahte*: Gritsanis 3, 188v.¹¹

⁵ The *exegesis* is published in Vranousis 1995:293-294.

⁶ These specific pieces were recorded on CD and were presented in concerts worldwide by the musical ensemble “En Chordais”. See for example the recordings referenced in the Introduction, pp. 25.

⁷ First performance by the musical ensemble “En Chordais” with the participation of Kiya Tabassian and Ziya Tabassian at the The Grace Rainey Rogers Auditorium of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 19 October 2009.

⁸ CD *Secular Music from Athonite Codices*, “En Chordais”, No. 8.

⁹ CD *Secular Music from Athonite Codices*, “En Chordais”, No. 9.

¹⁰ CD *Zakbaria Khanendeb*, “En Chordais”, No. 1.

¹¹ CD *Petros Peloponnesios*, “En Chordais”, No. 5.

Gioulistan pentziongiab [peşrev] [Persian], [echos plagal IV tetraphonic], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 146v. → *Pencgâb Gülistân Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 17-18, work 27.

Hüseynî [peşrev] [Indian], [echos plagal I], *devri revan*, LKP (dossier) 60, 52r. → *Hüseyni Dev-i Revân Hindliler*, Cantemir, f. 93, work 172.

[Rast] *Gül tevri peşrev* [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV, *devr-i kebîr*], Gritsanis 3, 231v. → *Rast Gül Devr'i Devr-i kebîr*, Cantemir, f. 67, work 122.

Hüseynî gamzekiar naziresi peşrev [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 246v. → *Hüseyni Nazire-i Gamzekâr Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 170-171, work 314.

Hüseynî soukoufezar naziresi [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal I], *donyek*, LKP (dossier) 60, 39v. → *Hüseyni Nazire-i Şüküfezâr Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 50, work 90.

Hicâz turna, [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos plagal II], *sakîl*, LKP (dossier) 60, 22v. → *‘Uzzal Turna Sakîl*, Cantemir, f. 176-177, work 324.

Segâb [rouhban peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV legetos], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 60v. → *Segâb Rûhban Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 97-98, work 182.

Nevâ bouyouk [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *düyek*, LKP (dossier) 60, 26r. → *Büyük Nevâ Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 38-39, work 70.

Rast mourasa peşrev [unspecified composer], [echos plagal IV], *düyek*, Gritsanis 3, 218v & Gritsanis 3, 220v. → *Rast Muraşş‘a Düyek*, Cantemir, f. 113, work 214.

Nevâ bouyouk [peşrev] [unspecified composer], [echos IV], *çenber*, LKP (dossier) 60, 47r. → *Büyük Neva çenber*, Cantemir.

The following are preserved in staff notation:

Muhayyer donyek kioutouk Ali Pey, Gritsanis 3, 154v → *Pişrev-i ‘Ali Beğ, der Maqâm-ı Muhayyer, Uşûl Düyek*, Bobowski, 70-1.

Beyâtî [Peşrev] [Behrâm Ağa (Nefiri)], [echos IV], *devr-i kebîr*, LKP (dossier) 60, 18r. → *Pisrev-i Behram Nefiri*, Bobowski f. 69-1.

Güzesht-i aizou hal nihavent kâr [Abdülkadir Marâghî], [echos plagal IV hard diatonic], *kavli arabân, tevri revan*, verses by Hâfiz- Şîrâzî, Gritsanis 3, 120v. Identified from *TRT Repertu-art*, work No. 5895.

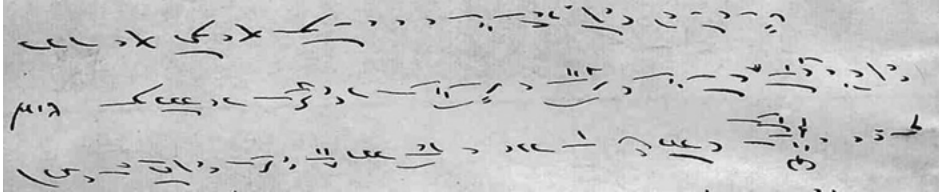
[Sabâ] *beste mezil iste* [mediste âftâb gibi bir nev-civan gerek] [Kemânî Yorgi], [echos plagal I, [hafîf]], verses by Râif, Iviron 949, 175v. Identified from *TRT Repertuari*, work No. 7530.

Of course, there was not a codex containing comparative “exegeses” available for examination during this investigation, however, there was a satisfactory number of works that survive in both the *Old Method* and in one of the two other notational systems available. This allowed the drawing of certain conclusions with surety. Here are some examples from the above works¹⁸:

¹⁸ These comparative listings originate from an unpublished work by T. K. Apostolopoulos, provided by kind permission of its author.

1. First *hâne* of *gülistân pençgâh* [*peşrev*] [Persian], [*echos* plagal IV tetraphonic], *düyek*:

Gritsanis 3, 146v

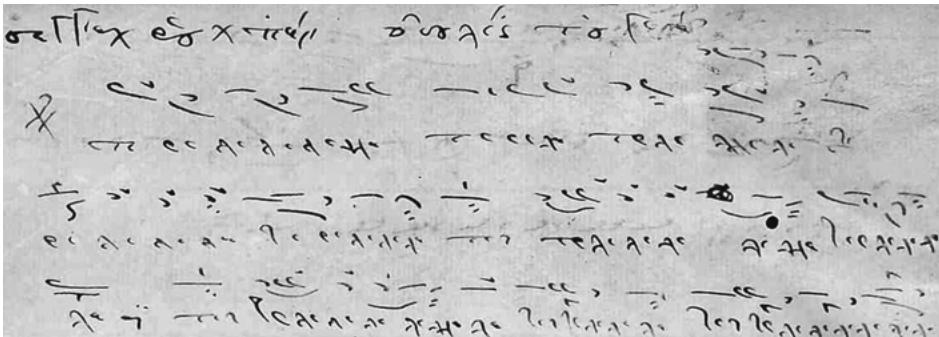


Cantemir, f. 17-18, work 27



2. First *hâne* of *segâh* [*rouhban peşrev*] [unspecified composer], [*echos* IV legetos], *düyek*:

Gritsanis 3, 60v

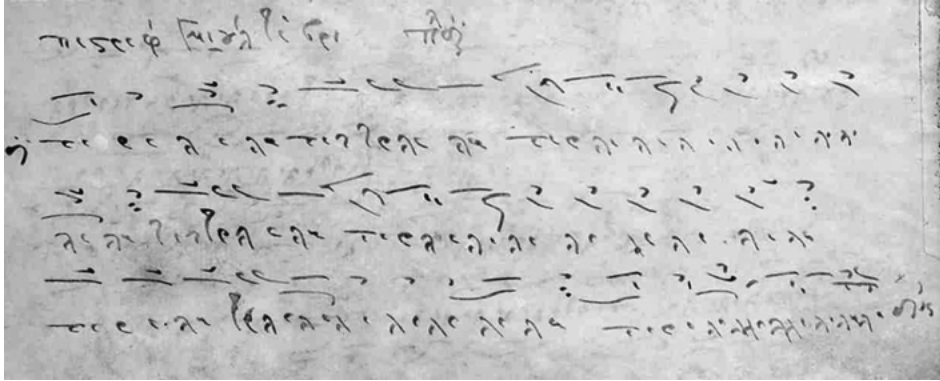


Cantemir, f. 97-98, work 182



3. First *hâne* of *segâh* [*rast*] *gûl devr'i peşrev* [unspecified composer], *echos* plagal IV, *devr-i kebir*:

Gritsanis 3, 231v

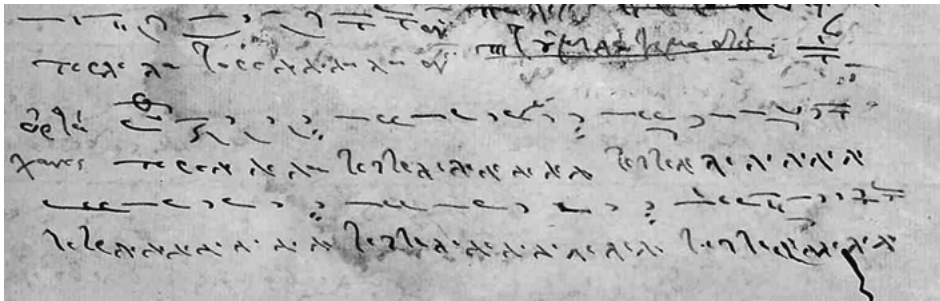


Cantemir, f. 67, work 122



4. Second *hâne* of *nazire-i seyfü'l-misri*, *makam irak*, *usûl düyek*:

Gritsanis 3, 61v

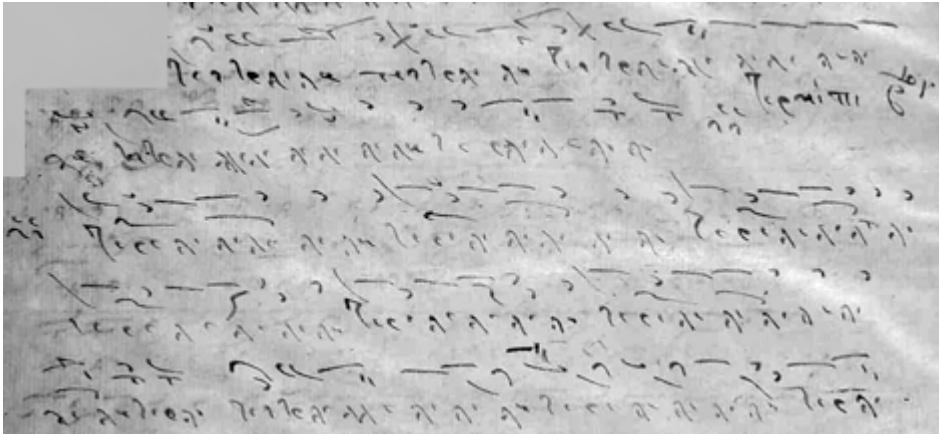


Cantemir, f. 103-104, work 194



5. *Mülazime* of *rast muraşş'a peşrev* [unspecified composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *düyek*:

Gritsanis 3, 218v

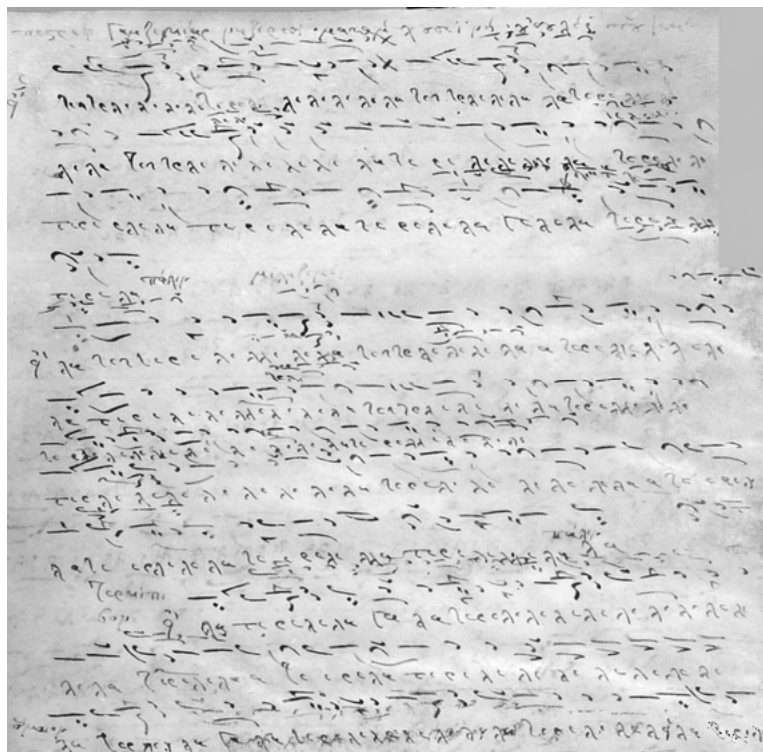


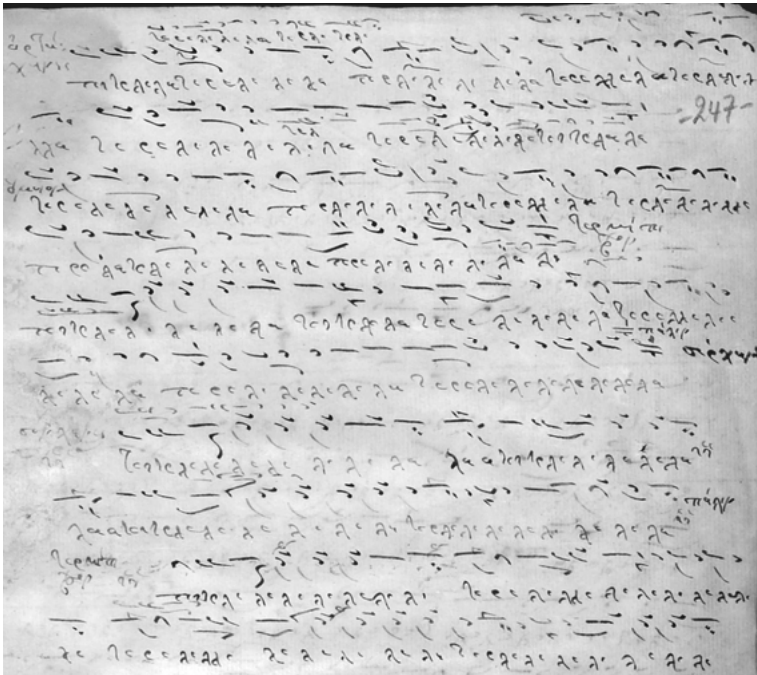
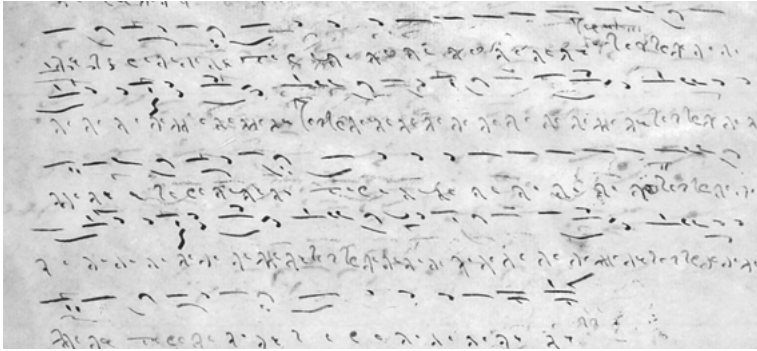
Cantemir, f. 113, work 214



6. *Hüseyinî nazîre-i gamzekâr peşrev* [unspecified composer], [*echos plagal I*], *düyek*:

Gritsanis 3, 246v





Cantemir, f. 170-171, work 314

H2 a

b

H1/M

a

b

c

d

e

f

teslim

H2 a

b

Often the two versions exhibit differences, sometimes minor other times more significant, in the transcription of the melody. This is perhaps due to the subjectivity of each scribe or to the alteration of the melody in the course of time. This is not surprising, since the realisation of a subjective interpretation in performance existed then, as it still does in Eastern music today, and as a result, is reflected in the notation as well, especially when the transcription was not made by the composer himself or herself. However, the comparative study of different notational systems of transcription raises a series of issues for the research and restoration of the music scores. Such issues are: the cross-validated identification of the pieces, the faithfulness of the transcription, the change of the melody in the course of time (even the relabeling of some lines as another *hâne*), and the

transcription style of each scribe. For example, questions raised regarding the transcription style of each scribe include, whether and in which way the scribes indicate the repetitions and filler melodies, the parts of the composition, the improvisational lines in the beginning and so on.

It is concluded that, despite any minor differences, the transcriptions in the *Old Method* produce a melodic result that is the same or at least closely related to the available transcriptions in staff notation or in the *New Method*, only if they are read with the *exegetic* approach of the Greek researchers. If they are transcribed solely on the basis of the signs without their “hidden” action, that is, based on *metrophonia*, then a completely different and foreign-sounding melody is obtained. On this particular issue, the parameter of rhythm is also of great importance. If the *theseis* and the voiceless signs are not *exegised*, it presents a serious problem in terms of the rhythmic cycles, that is, the *usúls*, which are often extended, as already discussed. In conclusion, from both a melodic and a rhythmic viewpoint, an incoherent result is obtained, with rhythmic cycles remaining incomplete.

Summary

The term *ἐξωτερική μουσική*, literally, *external music*, was used extensively by post-Byzantine music teachers in order to denote non-ecclesiastical music, that is, the music that is commonly called today, “secular”. The music manuscripts of ecclesiastical music comprise the most significant written source of the secular music of the East. This is evidenced by the volume of the sources, the time span and the variety of genres covered, the *echoi*, the *makams* and *usûls* contained within them, the composer names preserved within them, and the wealth of information and inscriptions they convey. The chronological boundaries of the source material extend from the 15th century through to 1830 – the year of publication of the first printed collection of secular music. Their existence gains particular importance from the fact that the rest of the peoples of the region, with the exception of the Armenians, had not developed a notational system until the middle to late 19th century, when, almost concurrently, Arabs, Persians and Turks adopted staff notation, devising extra modulation signs in parallel, to represent the intervallic variety of their musical traditions.

The quantitative evidence is impressive: fourteen self-contained manuscripts, twelve fragments, and a large number of individual folios dispersed within ecclesiastical music codices; all together, a total of 4,200 pages containing transcribed secular pieces. The manuscripts bear witness to fifty-three named composers including Greeks, Turks, Persians, Arabs, Jews, as well as to many anonymous composers as well, with a total of approximately 950 works recorded within them. The main volume of the material, preserves art music of Constantinople, both from the Ottoman court and Phanariot songs. Some compositions of Eastern origin, but of undetermined genre, as well as a few Greek folk songs are found within the manuscripts, and they also bring to light previously unknown compositions and new versions of already known pieces.

Secular music transcriptions appear as a consequence of the appearance of the genre of *kratemata*, which also became the connecting link between ecclesiastical and secular music; in essence, the gateway through which secular Eastern music influenced the Byzantine *melos*. The notation of secular pieces was initially a fragmented effort, evidenced in a few individual folios within ecclesiastical music manuscripts. From the 18th century onwards however, the first self-contained *Anthologies* of secular music were made, the main contributor to this development being Petros Peloponnesios.

The secular music scribes are the very same as those that created the Byzantine music codices: *protopsaltai* and *lambadarii* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, music teachers or *hieropsaltai* and clerics of any rank, monks, and laymen. In the cases where prominent personalities were involved in the production of the manuscripts, the credibility and value of the transcriptions is increased. The

most important scribes of secular music are: Leontios Koukouzelis, Athanasios Katepanos, Kyprianos Hieromonk Iviritis, Kyrillos Marmarinos, Petros Peloponnesios, Gregorios Protopsaltes and Nikeforos Kantouniars. A significant number of codices were produced in the codex writing workshops of the monasteries of Mount Athos, especially during the 16th and 17th centuries, as well as in Constantinople and the Dunabian Principalities, in the two centuries that followed.

Petros Peloponnesios is both prominent and iconic. He compiled the first self-contained collections of secular music (MSS Gritsanis 3, LKP (dossier) 60, LKP (dossier) 137, RAL 927), where he preserved the largest volume of the instrumental repertoire of the music of the Ottoman court. He was the first to present each composition with its *makam*, *usûl* and genre, while at the same time recording a multitude of composers. Lastly, he seems to have introduced the genre of Phanariot songs and it was he who compiled their first anthology.

The notation of secular pieces was motivated by the enjoyment, the aesthetic pleasure and the love of learning of the scribes. Along the way, the transcriptions and the related extant manuscripts, influenced musical practice in the *psaltic* circles, creating the conditions enabling new opportunities for their utilisation. Their natural consequence was the systematic transcriptions made by later music teachers, as well as the printed music collections, the first being *Euterpe* in 1830. From the early 19th century, secular music *Anthologies* were seen as a readily usable, practical teaching tool within the *psaltic* circles but also within their surrounding musicophile circles, where the teaching of secular pieces was integrated into the music education program.

The study of the corpus of the transcriptions in relation to texts and sources of the *psaltic* world from the 19th century, leads to important historical and sociological conclusions, thus revealing the spiritual awakening and extroversion of Modern Hellenism in the years after the fall of Constantinople. The material, although appearing heterogeneous at first sight, must be seen in the context of the *psaltic* world's regard of Eastern music as being akin and familiar. According to their aesthetic and knowledge, the *psaltai* and scribes understood Eastern music as part of their Byzantine and post-Byzantine heritage. There was a widespread perception that the non-Greeks preserved many elements of Greek music in their musical traditions. The *psaltai* and scribes were rather convinced that Greek music influenced and defined the birth and development of the related traditions of the East. This conviction, is expressed emphatically in sources of the 19th century, a period that offers a satisfactory number of texts shedding light onto the ideological framework and the motivation for the transcriptions. This, however, did not hinder them from composing patriotic songs with revolutionary content, which are found in the late 18th century and early 19th centuries, a time of national awakening.

With regard to musical form, the sources bring new evidence to light, broadening our knowledge of musical form, naming conventions, and many other

topics. Trends and developments in various time periods are observed, encompassed in the four centuries of manuscript tradition. The sources preserve folk songs, genres of Ottoman court music, Phanariot songs and compositions of undetermined form.

Folk songs are found only in the manuscripts of the 16th and 17th centuries. They are of particular value and present similarities in their melodic behaviour, musical form and language style. These characteristics, in conjunction with their chronological proximity to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, allow the statement that they are probably purely Byzantine songs or at the very least, heavily influenced from the Byzantine period. At the time of the creation or the transcription of these songs, folk songs in general were characterised by longer melodic lines compared to contemporary folk songs, which were transmitted by oral tradition and subsequently recorded as audio or in notation from the late 19th century onwards. Lastly, in one of the songs from the manuscripts (*Χαίρεσθε κάμποι, χαίρεσθε*), the insertion of *kratemata*, seen commonly in *kalophonic mathemata*, is worth noting.

The genres of the music of the Ottoman court can be distinguished as either instrumental (*peşrevs*, *saz semâ'îs*, *taksîms* and *seyirs*), and vocal (*kârs*, *bestes*, *semâ'îs* (*âğır* and *yürük*) and *şarkıs*). There are one hundred and forty-four *peşrevs*, forty-five instrumental *semâ'îs*, twelve *taksîms*, seventy-one *seyirs*, nine *kârs*, thirty-eight *bestes*, twenty-seven vocal *semâ'îs* and thirty-six *şarkıs* preserved in Byzantine *parasimantiki* within post-Byzantine music manuscripts. The contribution of the sources towards a deeper understanding of these genres is two-fold. The discovery of new works broadens the corpus of the repertoire and at the same time enriches the available knowledge regarding their musical form. The sources provide information about the layout of their sections and the structural entities comprising the genres, as well as the particular types of genres. One particular form, the *terennüm*, analogous to the Byzantine *kratemata*, shape and beautify the form of vocal genres. Noteworthy here as well, is the profound knowledge of Petros Peloponnesios on the music matters of the Ottoman court, as also shown by the comparison between the information conveyed by Petros and that of other sources of the time.

The Phanariot songs comprise a special genre of *Neo-Hellenic* artistic creation. They are songs which are commonly called Phanariot, due to the fact their composers and poets lived in the suburb of Phanari (Fener) in Constantinople, or came from there. The assimilation of Arabic *makams* and their combination with Byzantine *echoi* and with French poetic styles, resulted in an interesting production. Around 1770 Petros Peloponnesios wrote the first musical anthology of Phanariot songs and, from what it seems, he composed the oldest one of them. Phanariot songs exist in a great variety of *makams* but in a small number of rhythmic cycles. The vast majority of these songs are in *usûl sofyan*, even though there are also songs in *düyek*, *yürük semâ'î*, *aksak semâ'î*, *frengi* and others. Their form is generally of small extent consisting of two parts, the second part acting

essentially like the *miyân* in the vocal genres of the art music of Constantinople. Phanariot songs give more weight to the verse in comparison to the music.

The body of transcriptions also contains a number of works of undetermined genre and/or tradition, for which certain findings are presented depending on each case.

Interesting details are presented on the use of the *makams* during the examined period, as well as on the correspondences of *echoi* and *makams* and the function of the rhythmic cycles (*usûls*) in composition. The correspondences of *echoi* and *makams* offered, require a critical evaluation. Problems arise in some cases, at least according to today's understanding of the theoretical systems of ecclesiastical and Eastern music. Initially from the 15th through to the 17th century, in the heading of each piece only the *echos* is given by the scribes, either with its initial *martyria* or in writing. Any references to *makam* and *usûl* are absent. During the second period, from the 18th century to 1830, a qualitative difference appears: the *makam* and *usûl*, as well as the genre of each composition is stated, resulting, from then on, in a more complete identifying description.

With the exception of two manuscripts (LKP (dossier) 60 & LKP 2/59a), there are generally no clear inscriptions in the sources indicating a modulation or transposition of the tonic. Conclusions pertaining to modulation are drawn only by the tracing of *phthorai*, and the thorough study of the melodic behaviour of each composition. In fragment LKP 2/59a, Gregorios Protopsaltes improves the manner of representing movement to other *makams*, compared to his initial attempt in LKP (dossier) 60. He is more analytical and descriptive, revealing a possible educational aspect to his work. The codex writing style of ecclesiastical music also influenced the method of organisation of the repertoire, with the ordering criterion being the eight *echoi*. With the appearance of the first extensive music collection, the majority of compositions are transcribed on the basis of the *echoi* and their subdivisions, or their *makam* correspondences.

The *usûls*, a phenomenon less known within the theory and practice of both secular and ecclesiastical Greek music, remained uncharted territory for a long time. The scribes of secular music seem to have not been particularly familiar with them, the only exception again in this case being Petros Peloponnesios. The earliest *usûl* indications in his autographs are in words, without using explanatory symbols. The symbols 0 I used to define rhythm, especially within a composition, are found for the first time in MS Gritsanis 3 (f. 203r). Generally, only two *usûls* are represented with these symbols in the sources, *sofyan* and *yüriük semâ'î*. The former is consistently written as ó 2 and read as *düm te ke*, while the second one is found in three similar versions: ó 2 ó i, ó 2 2 ó i & ó i i ó i where all three are read as *düm tek tek düm tek*. The *usûls* do not only establish the rhythmic content of the compositions but also shape their duration, essentially delineating the boundaries of the constituent parts. The task of *exegesis* is greatly facilitated, since the rhythmic cycles delineate the sections of the piece and define their duration.

The secular pieces are written in the *beirmologic* style, with the relatively simple formula of doubling or quadrupling the durations of the old vocal signs. The appearance and wide use of the genre of the *kratemata*, which clearly provided greater freedom to the composer, created an appropriate and favourable plane for notating secular pieces. The comparative study of works surviving in both the *Old* and the *New Method*, or in the *Old Method* and in staff or numerical notation shows the stenographic nature of the Byzantine *parasimantiki*. The voiceless signs mainly used by the scribes are the *psephiston*, *antikenoma*, *vareia*, *piasma*, *lygisma* and more rarely the *paraklitiki*, *eteron*, *apoderma*, *omalon* and *parakalesma*.

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- στίκου, ἐπιθεωρηθεῖσα δὲ παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου Πρωτοψάλτου τῆς Χ. Μ. Ἐκκλησίας. Νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδίδεται παρὰ τῶν Διευθυντῶν τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Γένους Πατριαρχικῆς Τυπογραφίας.
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Petros Peloponnesios “En Chordais”, musical ensemble, CD *Petros*

Peloponnesios, T. Apostolopoulos – K. Kalaitzidis (ed. & accompanying text), *MediMuses* project in the framework of the Euromed Heritage II program of the European Union. “En Chordais” 1919, Thessaloniki 2005.

Secular Music from Athonite Codices “En Chordais”, musical ensemble, CD *Secular Music from Athonite Codices of Byzantine Music* (contained in the volume of the Proceedings of the Treasures from Mount Athos Exhibition), T. Apostolopoulos, (selection, *exegesis*, accompanying text) – K. Kalaitzidis (music editor). Holy Community of Mount Athos, Athos & Organisation of the Cultural Capital of Europe – Thessaloniki 1997, Thessaloniki 1998.

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Glossary

Acrostic: A poetic form where the initial letters (syllables or words) of a series of verses or stanzas are ordered either alphabetically or in such a way as to form a word or phrase.

Akta: Ceremonial musical acclamations to the Emperor performed in the Palace, the Hippodrome or other public places of Constantinople.

Anthologia (pl. Anthologies): The name given to the Byzantine music manuscripts containing pieces of varied genre.

Antikenoma: A sign of *parasimantiki*.

Apechema (pl. Apechemata): Short, introductory musical phrases revealing the echos of the piece to follow.

Archon Protopsaltes / Archon Lambadarios: The *Protopsaltes* (First chanter) and *Lambadarios* (Second chanter) of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, also bore the title “*Archon*”, meaning noble, and enjoyed respect, honour and certain privileges.

Cheironomia: Hand gestures that depict the signs of Old Method notation and melodic movement, used to direct a choir in the performance of *theseis*.

Chroa (pl. Chroai): Sign of *parasimantiki* that indicates certain intervallic changes.

Chromatic (soft or hard): A type of scale characterised by the appearance of augmented second intervals.

Diatonic (soft): A type of scale employing major and minor tones and major semitones.

Diatonic (hard): A type of scale employing only major tones and Pythagorean *lemmas*.

Diapason (or heptaphonic) system: an eight-note scale. Tetraphonic and Pentaphonic systems also exist.

Despotic and Theometric Feasts: Orthodox religious feast days pertaining to Jesus Christ and the Theotokos (Virgin Mary), respectively.

Doxastarion (pl. Doxastaria): The name given to the Byzantine music manuscripts either solely or predominantly containing pieces of the genre of *Doxastikon* (“glory sticheron”).

Dromos (also **Tropos**): Manner or way of notating melodies. In the Old Method, there existed four ways of notating melodies: fast, *heirmologic*, *organikos* of the *Sticherarion*, and slow of the *Papadike*.

Echos (pl. **Echoi**): Literally meaning sound; In Byzantine music it means mode or *makam*.

Epitrapezion (pl. **Epitrapezia**): Songs of either rhythmic or arrhythmic nature and of a generally narrative character, not associated traditionally with a dance.

Exegesis (pl. **Exegeses**): Through the centuries, *parasimantiki* passed through various stages. Exegesis is the act of transcribing from an older style of notation into the more contemporary notation. A person who makes such a transcription is called an *Exegetes*.

Eteron: A sign of *parasimantiki*.

Great School of the Nation: The most significant Orthodox Christian educational institution after the fall of Constantinople.

Heirmos (pl. **Heirmoi**): A genre of Byzantine music.

Heirmologion (pl. **Heirmologia**): The name given to the Byzantine music manuscripts either solely or predominantly containing pieces of the genre of *Heirmos*.

Heptaphonic: A scale beginning eight degrees (notes) above the tonic.

Kalophonic Heirmos (pl. **Heirmoi**): A genre of Byzantine music.

Kanonia (s. **Kanonion**): the use of the word *kanon* (meaning law) in music can be traced back to Pythagoras and refers to the “rules” of music, as well as to the musical instrument, the Pythagorean *Kanon* (ancient predecessor of today’s *kanun*) which illustrates them.

Kratema (pl. **Kratemata**): a vocal genre of music without words, but where the music is sung on non-lexical syllables, like the *terenüm* of Oriental music. Synonymous terms: *Tererismos* (pl. *Tererismoi*), *Nenanismos* (pl. *Nenanismoi*), *Ecbema* (pl. *Ecbemata*).

Kratematarion (pl. **Kratemataria**): The name given to the Byzantine music manuscripts either solely or predominantly containing pieces of the genre of *kratemata*.

Lambadarios (pl. **Lambadarii**): The second-in-rank chanter of a church.

Lygisma: A sign of *parasimantiki*.

Martyria (pl. **Martyriai**): an initial; a symbol placed at the beginning of a score to specify the *echos* of a chant; special symbols placed within a piece to signify a specific degree, and the scale type.

Mathema (pl. **Mathemata**): A genre of Byzantine music.

Mathematarion (pl. **Mathemataria**) or **Sticherarion** (pl. **Sticheraria**): The name given to the Byzantine music manuscripts either solely or predominantly containing pieces of the genre of *kalophonic stichera*.

Megalynergia: A genre of Byzantine music.

Melos: melody, music; also used to denote a type of music, for example: Ambrosian melos (chant), Gregorian melos (chant), etc.

Melopoeia: the act of the composition of melos.

Method (Old / New): The notational system of Byzantine Music. The *Old Method* was in use from the 10th century until 1814 when the *New Method*, which is still used today, was introduced.

Methodoi: A genre of Byzantine music of an educational nature, its purpose being the teaching of the *echoi* and *parasimantiki*.

Metrophonia: The reading of the signs of *parasimantikii* without their stenographic function.

Neagie, neanes, ananes, nenano, nana: Names of degrees of the scale in the *Old Method*, used as non-lexical syllables for the *Apechemata* of the *echoi*.

Ni, Pa, Vou, Ga, Di, Ke, Zo: The names of the notes in the Byzantine music.

Octoechos: the system of eight primary *echoi* (or modes) in the theory of Byzantine music; also the name of one of the main liturgical books.

Palilogia (palilogy): The repetition of a musical phrase, especially in immediate succession, for the sake of emphasis.

Papadike (pl. **Papadikes**): The name given to the Byzantine music manuscripts with a slow *kalophonic* compositional content, from which all other types of music codices gradually appeared.

Paraklitiki: A sign of *parasimantiki*.

Parasimantiki: The name given to the notational systems in both the ancient Greek and Byzantine music traditions.

Phthora (pl. **Phthorai**): A sign in *parasimantiki* that serves to signify a modulation in the music.

Piasma: A sign of *parasimantiki*.

Polychronion (pl. Polychronia) / PHEME (pl. Phemai): Ceremonial musical acclamations towards the Patriarch, Metropolitan, Bishop etc., either within or outside of the church. Also made towards secular leaders in the post-Byzantine (and earlier) times.

Psaltēs (pl. Psaltai): A chanter; a person occupied with Byzantine music who chants at the Holy Services.

Psephiston: A sign of *parasimantiki*.

Protopsaltes (pl. Protopsaltai): The first-in-rank chanter of a church.

Protosyngelos: A high-ranked cleric; essentially the second in charge after the Bishop.

Sticheron (pl. Stichera): A genre of Byzantine music.

Tetraphonic: A scale beginning five degrees (notes) above the tonic.

Theseis: a group of musical signs that summarize a longer musical phrase.

Tonoi and Pneumata: diacritics and accents introduced by the Alexandrian scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium in the 2nd century B.C. to aid in the better pronunciation of the Greek language – the international language of the time.

Triphonic: A scale beginning four degrees (notes) above the tonic.

Tropos (pl. Tropoi): Mode.

Tropikotita: Modality.

Vareia: A sign of *parasimantiki*.

Appendix (Table)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
	Based on the Octoechos	Summary	Kalaitzidis	Kyrrillos' Theoretikon	Gritsanis 3	LKP (dossier) 60	LKP (dossier) 137	RAL 927	RAL 653	RAL 925
1	'Uṣṣak	I		plagal I				I		I
2	Acem	I		plagal I				I		I
3	'Arazbâr	I		plagal I				I		
4	Karciğâr	----- ----- -	I & II (deutero – protos)	legetos						
5	Beyâtî	IV	I triphonic	plagal I	IV			IV		IV
6	Baba Tâhir	I		plagal I				I		IV
7	Hüzzam	IV soft chromatic	II	IV	legetos			legetos		legetos
8	Müste'âr	legetos with zygos		II	legetos			legetos		
9	Segâh	legetos		legetos	legetos			legetos	legetos	legetos
10	Çârgâh	III		III				III		III
11	Arabân	IV hard chromatic		IV						
12	Arabân Beyâtî		IV mixed, hard chromatic and soft diatonic							
13	Yegâh	IV heptaphonic		IV				IV hepta- phonic	IV hepta- phonic	IV
14	Isfahân	IV		IV				IV		
15	Nevâ	IV		IV	IV			IV		
16	Nühüft	IV		IV			IV	IV		IV
17	Şed-i Arabân	IV hard chromatic								
18	Acem Kürdî	plagal I pentaphonic		plagal I				plagal I		
19	Gümüşü Gerdan	plagal I phthorikos								
20	Dügâh	plagal I	plagal I diphonic & plagal IV heptaphonic	plagal I				plagal I		plagal I
21	Kürdî	----- ----- -	plagal I hard diatonic	plagal I						
22	Muhayyer	plagal I heptaphonic			plagal I			I		plagal I
23	Muhayyer Bûselik	----- ----- -	plagal I heptaphonic hard diatonic							

	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
	LKP19(173)	ELIA	RAL 784	Vat 1428	Stathis	Gennadius 231	LKP 152	LKP 2a	fragments
1	I	I	I	I					
2	I	I		I					
3	I	I		I					
4									
5	IV	IV	IV	IV			I	IV	
6	I	I		I			I		
7	legetos	legetos	legetos	legetos soft chromatic					
8	legetos	legetos	legetos	legetos		legetos with zygos	legetos with zygos		
9	legetos	legetos	legetos	legetos		legetos	legetos		
10	III	III	III	III					
11			IV hard chromatic				plagal I		
12			IV soft chromatic	IV soft chromatic		plagal II	plagal I phthorikos	plagal I	
13	IV heptaphonic			IV heptaphonic					
14	IV	IV	IV	IV					
15	IV	IV	IV	IV					
16	IV	IV	IV	IV		IV	IV		
17			phthorikos plagal II	IV hard chromatic					
18	I	I	I	I			plagal I pentaphonic	plagal I pentaphonic in 89	
19							echos plagal I phthorikos		
20	plagal I	plagal I	plagal I	plagal I					
21									
22	I	I	I	I				plagal I heptaphonic	
23									

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
	Based on the Octoechos	Summary	Kalaitzidis	Kyrrillos' Theoretikon	Gritsanis 3	LKP (dossier) 60	LKP (dossier) 137	RAL 927	RAL 653	RAL 925
24	Muhayyer Sünbüle	plagal I heptaphonic								
25	Bûselîk	plagal I		I tetraphonic						
26	Bûselîk 'Aşîrân	plagal I heptaphonic		I						
27	Sabâ	plagal I	plagal I diphonic	plagal I	plagal I			plagal I		plagal I
28	Sîrf Bûselîk	plagal I hard diatonic								
29	Hüseyîni	plagal I		I tetraphonic	plagal I			I		I
30	[Hüseyîni] 'Aşîrân	plagal I heptaphonic		I	I			plagal I hepta- phonic	plagal I hepta- phonic	I hepta- phonic
31	Tâhîr	plagal I								plagal I
32	Hisar	plagal I tetraphonic chromatic	plagal I spathios	I tetraphonic				I		plagal I
33	Hisar Bûselîk	I spathios from Ke	plagal I spathios	I tetraphonic						
34	Şehnâz Bûselîk	plagal I heptaphonic chromatic			plagal I heptaphonic chromatic			plagal II		
35	Sünbüle	----- ----- -	plagal I							
36	Nişâbûr	plagal I triphonic with kliton		IV						IV
37	Hicâz	plagal II		plagal II	plagal II			plagal II		plagal II
38	Türkü Hicâz	plagal II & varys								
39	Hümayûn	plagal II		plagal II				plagal II		
40	Şehnâz	plagal II heptaphonic		plagal II				plagal II heptaphonic		
41	Zîrgülelî (Hicâz)	plagal II		plagal II						
42	'Acem 'Aşîrân	varys		plagal I				plagal I		plagal I
43	Eviç	varys heptaphonic		varys			varys	varys heptaphonic		varys hepta- phonic

	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
	LKP19(173)	ELIA	RAL 784	Vat 1428	Stathis	Gennadius 231	LKP 152	LKP 2a	fragments
24									plagal I heptaphonic
25	plagal I		I	I			plagal I		
26		plagal I heptaphonic		plagal I heptaphonic					
27	plagal I	plagal I	plagal I	plagal I					
28						plagal I hard diatonic			
29	plagal I	I	I	I			plagal I		
30	I hepta- phonic		I heptaphonic	I heptaphonic		from the 19th c. onwards it is called Hüseyni 'Aşırân...			
31									
32	I	I	plagal I tetraphonic chromatic	plagal I tetraphonic chromatic					
33	I		I						I spathios from Ke
34	plagal II	plagal II	plagal II	plagal II					
35									
36	IV		plagal IV	IV & plagal IV		plagal I triphonic chromatic	plagal I		
37	plagal II	plagal II	plagal II	plagal II		plagal II	plagal II		
38	plagal II with varys								
39	plagal II	plagal II	plagal II	plagal II					
40	plagal II heptaphonic	plagal II heptaphonic		plagal II heptaphonic					
41							plagal II		
42	I	I	varys	varys					
43	varys heptaphonic	varys heptaphonic	varys				varys		

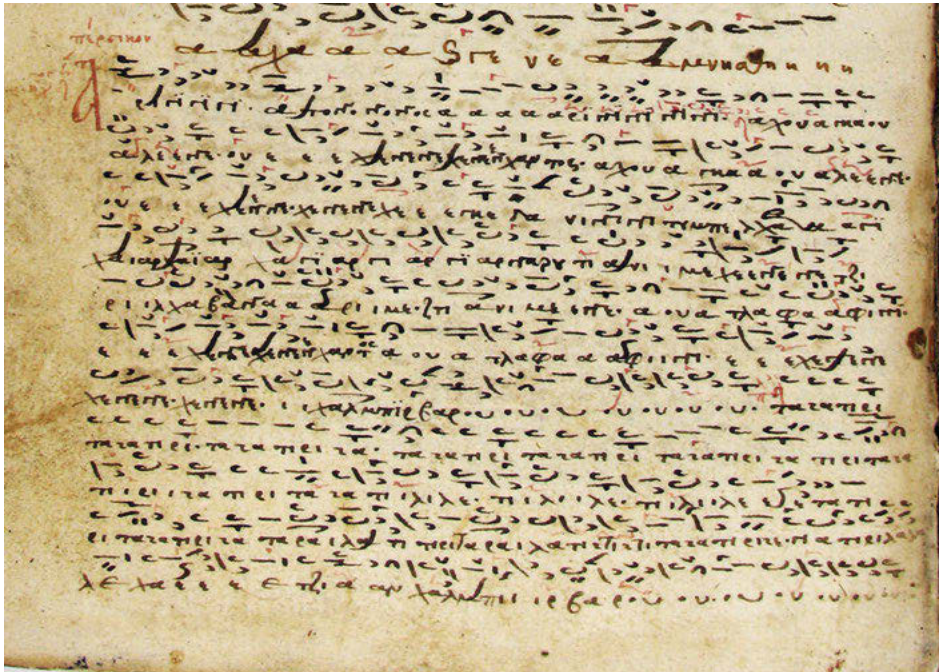
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
	Based on the Octoechos	Summary	Kalaitzidis	Kyrrillos' Theoretikon	Gritsanis 3	LKP (dossier) 60	LKP (dossier) 137	RAL 927	RAL 653	RAL 925
44	Eviç Arak	varys heptaphonic chromatic								
45	Eviç Bûselik									
46	Irak	varys		varys	varys			varys	varys	varys
47	Bestenigâr	varys tetraphonic diatonic		varys	varys tetraphonic			varys		varys
48	Râhatû'l- Ervâh	varys tetraphonic diatonic	varys heptaphonic hard diatonic	I & varys (protovarys)	varys			varys	varys	
49	Rahât-fezâ	varys hexaphonic hard chromatic	varys pentaphonic hard diatonic							
50	Sultânî 'Irak	varys		varys	varys					varys
51	Nevrûz-i Acem	----- ----- -	varys enharmonic	plagal I						
52	Necdi	----- ----- -	plagal IV from low Zo flat							
53	Mahûr	plagal IV heptaphonic		plagal IV				plagal IV	plagal IV hepta- phonic	plagal IV
54	Bozorg	plagal IV			plagal I			plagal IV		
55	Nikrîz	plagal IV chromatic		plagal IV				plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV
56	Nihavent	plagal IV chromatic	plagal IV hard diaphonic	plagal IV	plagal IV			plagal IV		plagal IV
57	Pençgâh	plagal IV tetraphonic		plagal IV - IV	plagal IV tetraphonic					
58	Rast	plagal IV		plagal IV				plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV
59	Pesendide	plagal IV								
60	Rast Mâye	plagal IV								
61	Sazkâr	plagal IV	plagal diphonic					plagal IV	plagal IV	
62	Suzinâk	plagal IV	plagal IV tetraphonic chromatic							

	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
	LKP19(173)	ELIA	RAL 784	Vat 1428	Stathis	Gennadius 231	LKP 152	LKP 2a	fragments
44			plagal II heptaphonic	varys heptaphonic		varys hepta- phonic			
45	I			I					
46	varys	varys		varys			varys		
47	varys	varys	varys tetraphonic diatonic	varys tetraphonic diatonic		varys	varys		III & varys (tritovaros) in 89
48	varys	varys		varys		varys hexaphonic hard chromatic	plagal II		
49	varys		varys pentaphonic hard chromatic	varys pentaphonic hard chromatic					
50				varys					
51									
52									
53	plagal IV heptaphonic	plagal IV heptaphonic	plagal IV heptaphonic	plagal IV heptaphonic					
54	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV						
55	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV					plagal IV chromatic in 87
56	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV					
57	plagal IV								
58	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV		plagal IV	plagal IV		
59									
60									
61	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV	plagal IV					
62			plagal IV	plagal IV					IV in LKP dossier 73

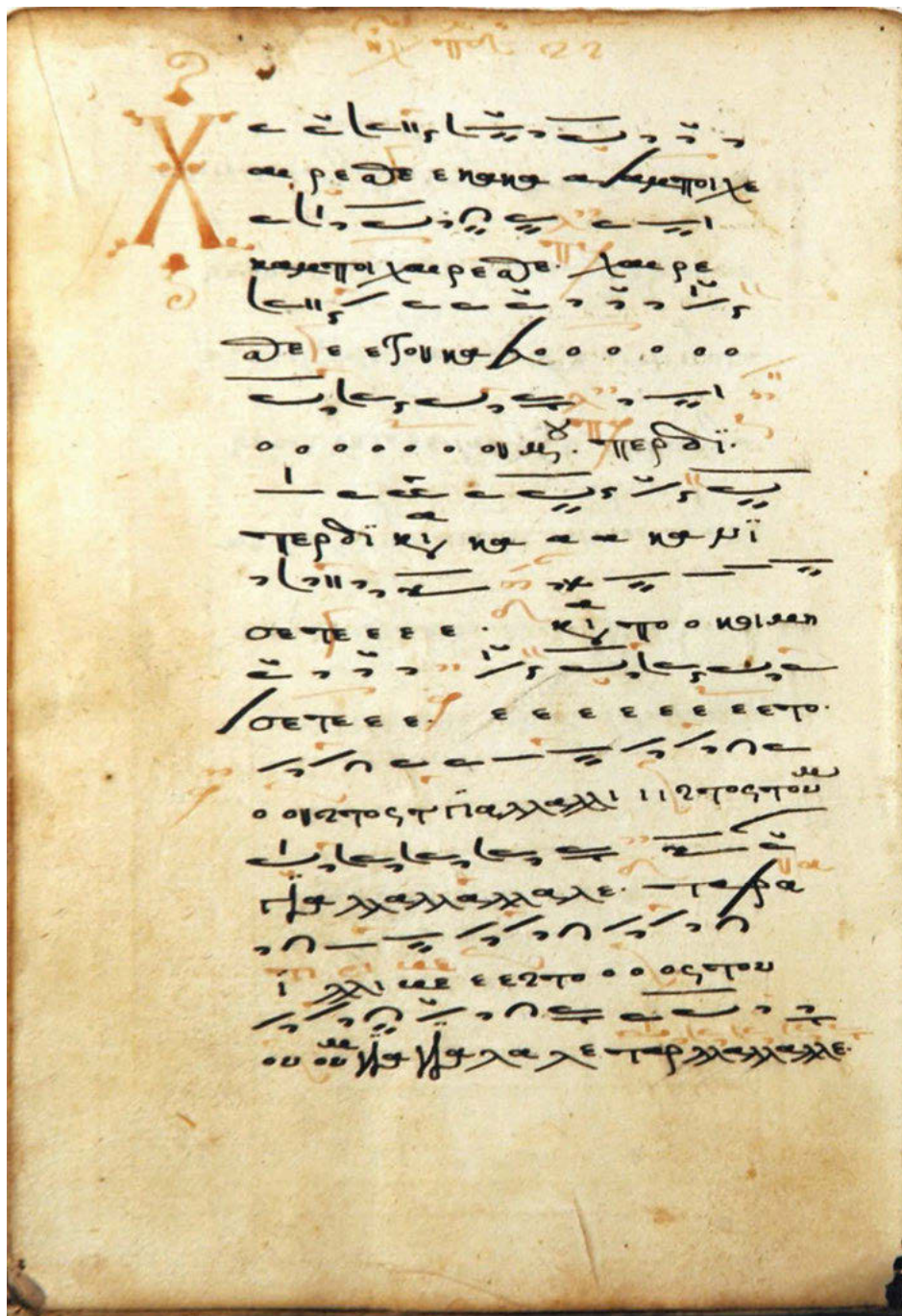
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
	Based on the Octoechos	Summary	Kalaitzidis	Kyrrillos' Theoretikon	Gritsanis 3	LKP (dossier) 60	LKP (dossier) 137	RAL 927	RAL 653	RAL 925
63	Sûz-i Dil-Ârâ	-----	-----	-----						
64	Hicâzkâr	plagal IV	plagal IV chromatic							
65	Havî acemî (probably Rehâvî Acemî...)	-----	-----							
66	Nevgûlat	-----	-----							

	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
	LKP19(173)	ELIA	RAL 784	Vat 1428	Stathis	Gennadius 231	LKP 152	LKP 2a	fragments
63									
64									
65									
66									

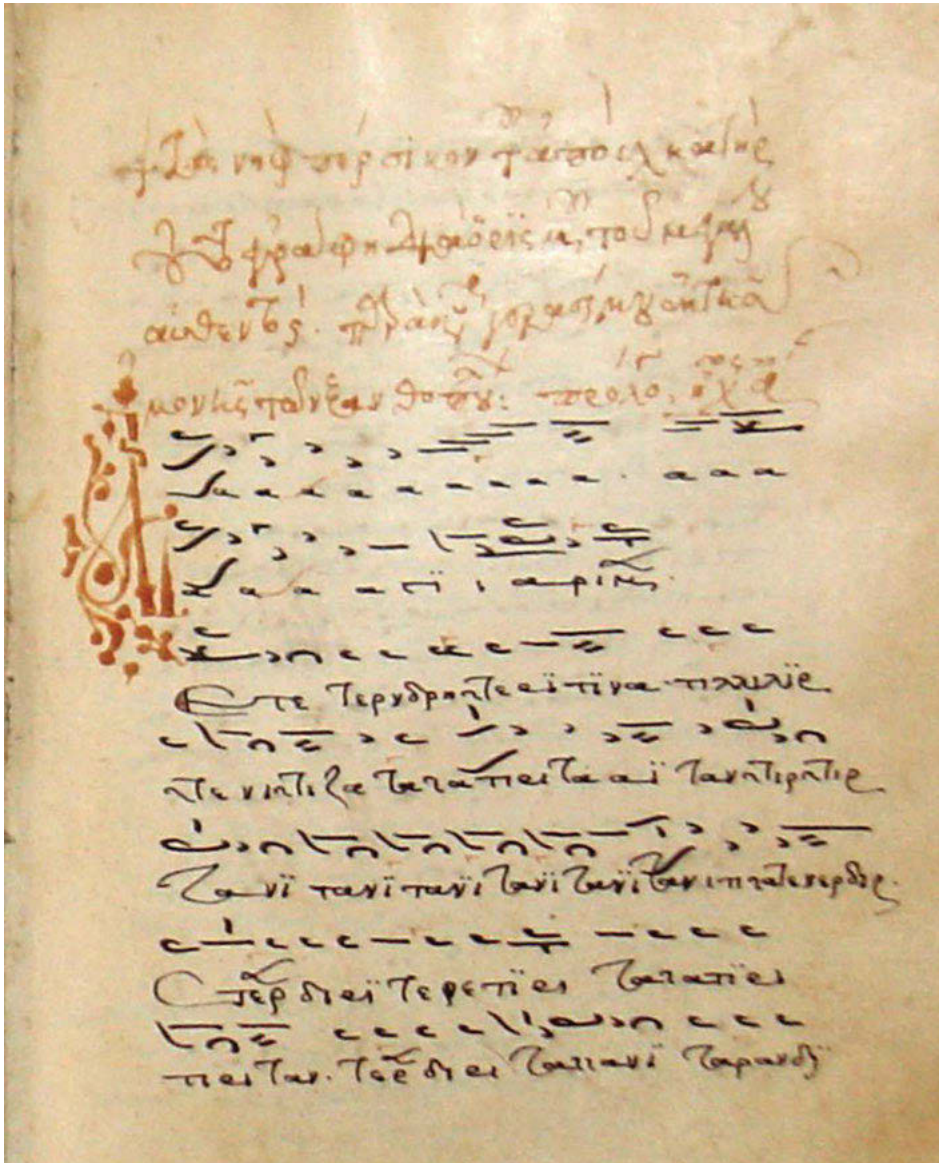
Plates



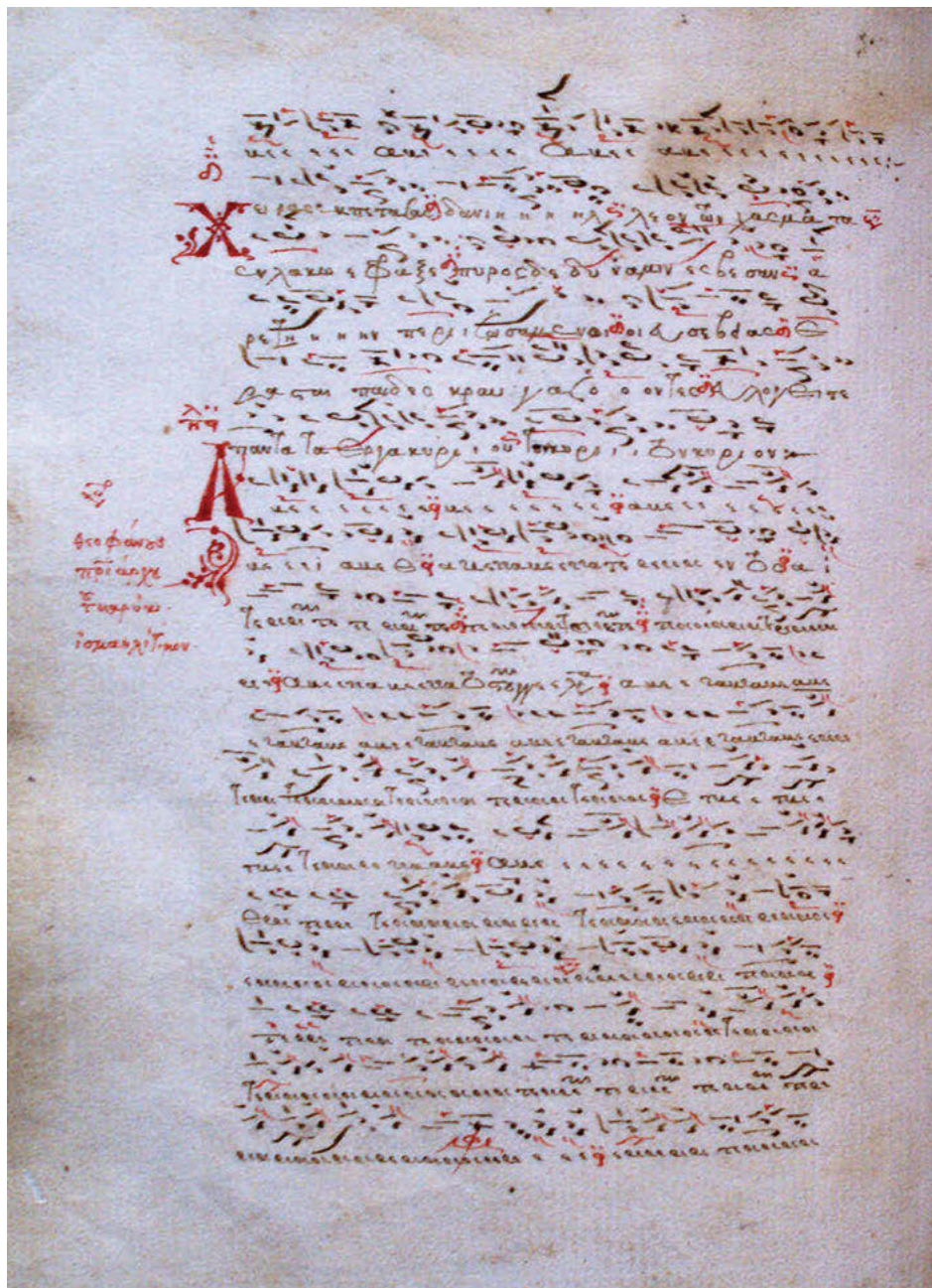
- 1 NLG 2401, 122v (early 15th c.): The oldest sample of secular music written in Byzantine notation and also the oldest notated sample of Persian music.



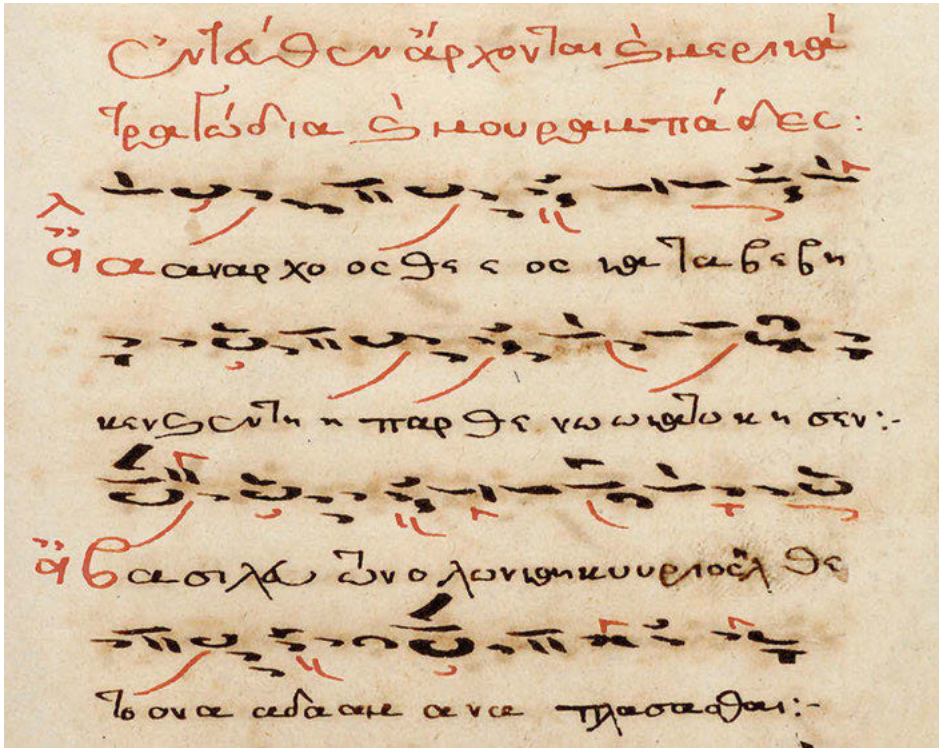
- 2 Iviron 1189, 125v (1562): the oldest transcription of a Greek folk song *Χαίρεσθε κάμποι, χαίρεσθε*.



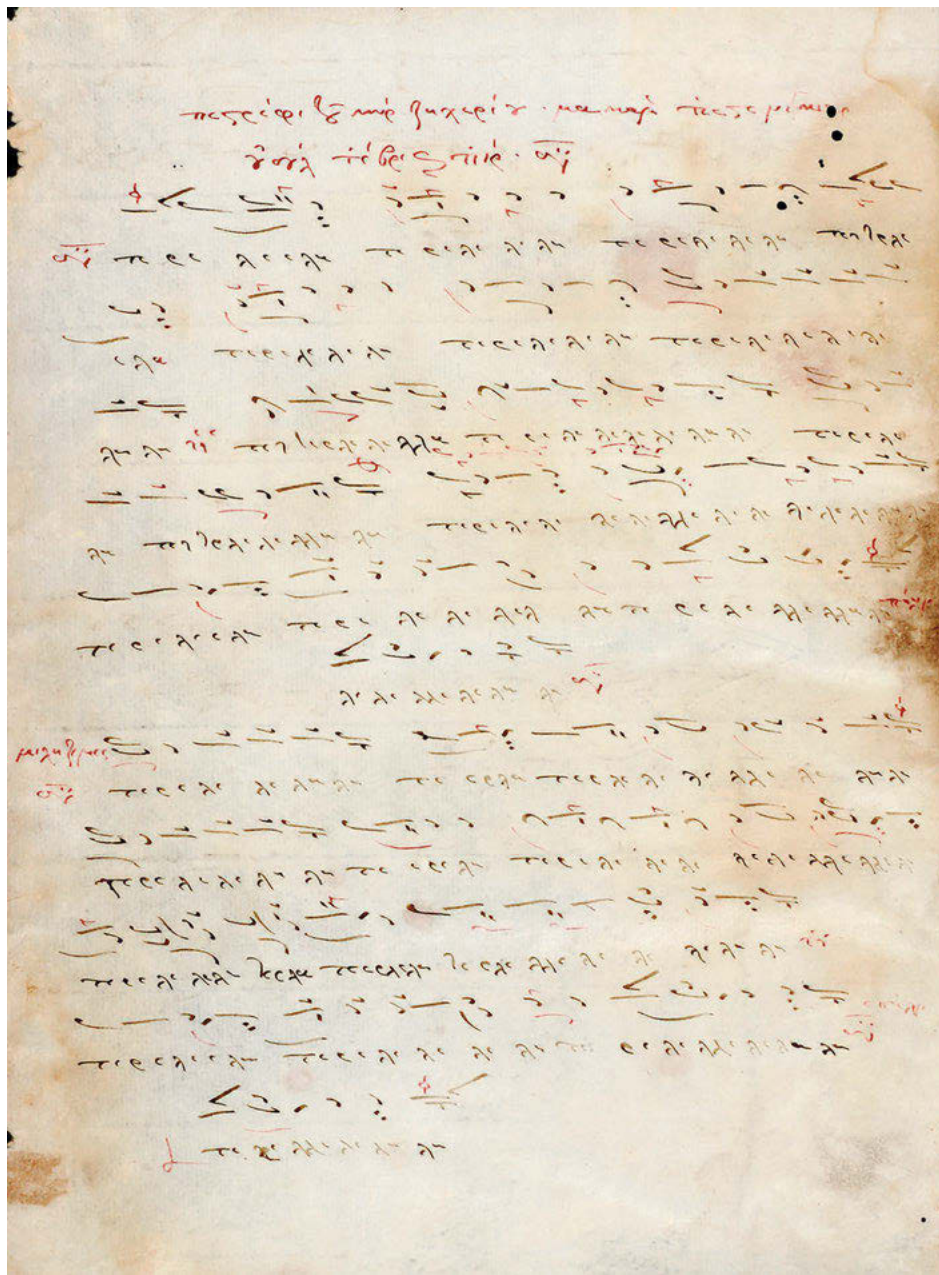
3 MS Leimonos 259, 184r (1572): Persian *tasnîf* by Abdülkadir.



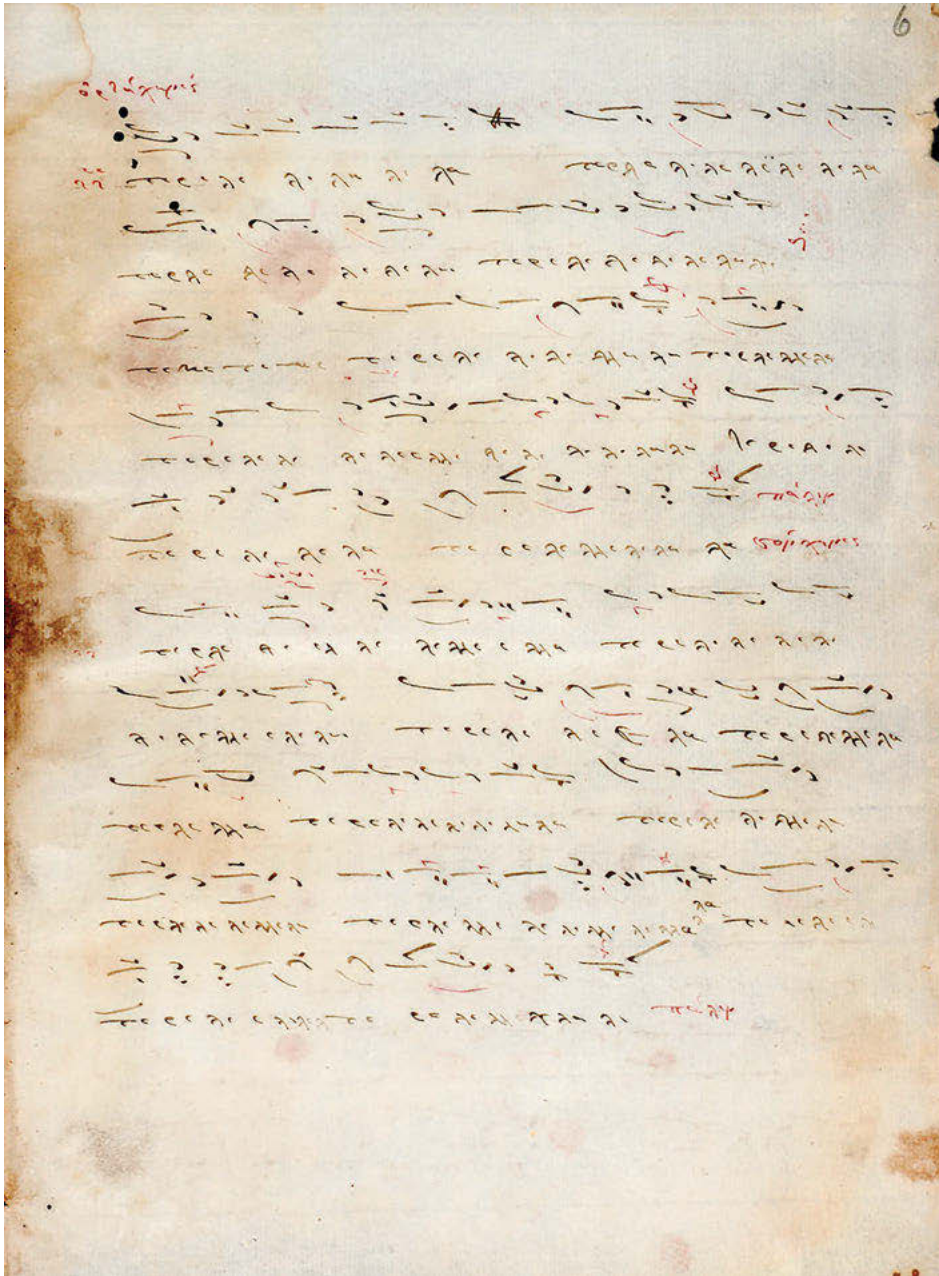
- 4 Ecumenical Patriarchate 6, 111v (1660), scribe Kosmas the Macedonian: Theophanis Karykis Patriarch, Ismailitikon.



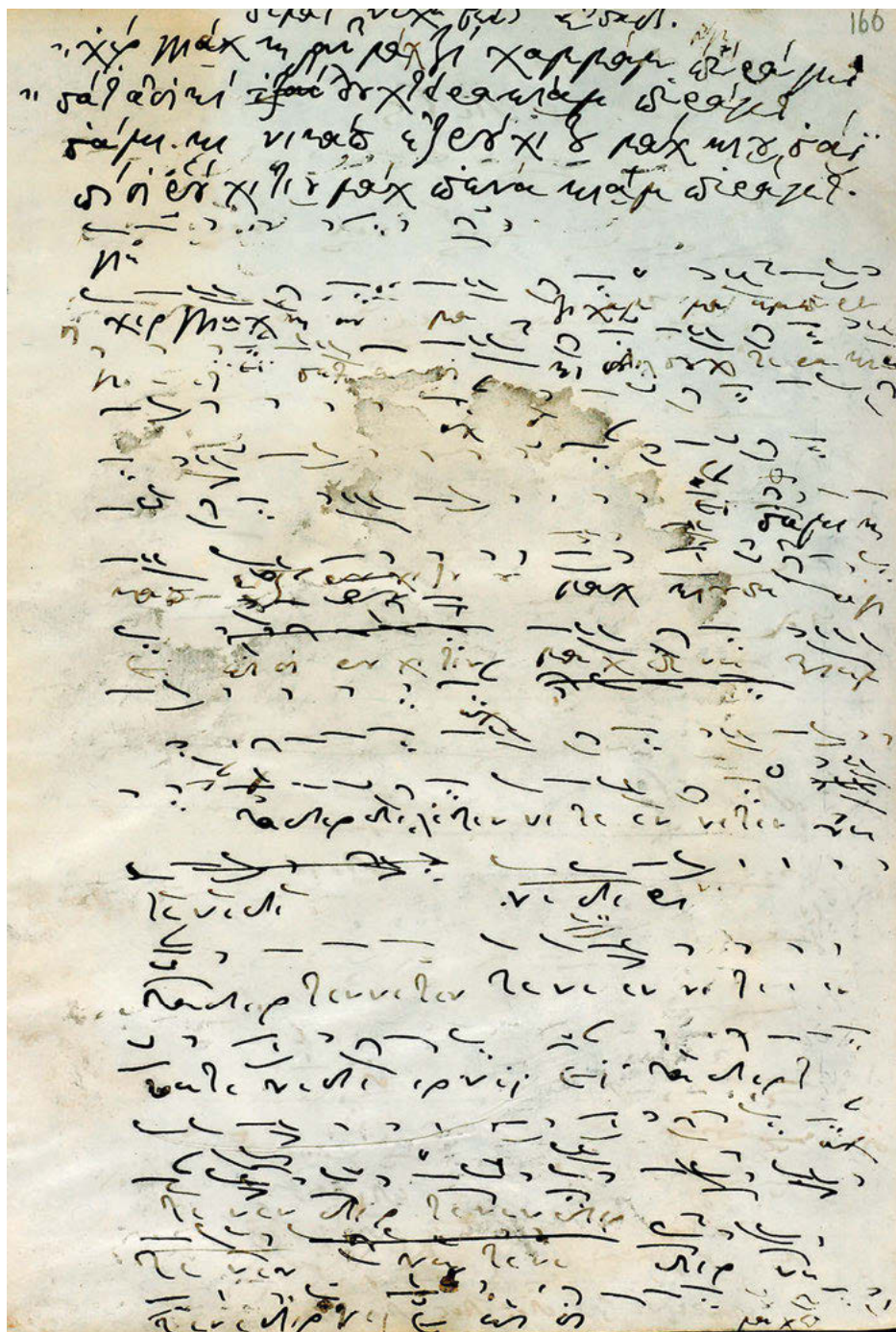
5 Gritsanis 8, 324 (1698): The First Collection of Art Music.



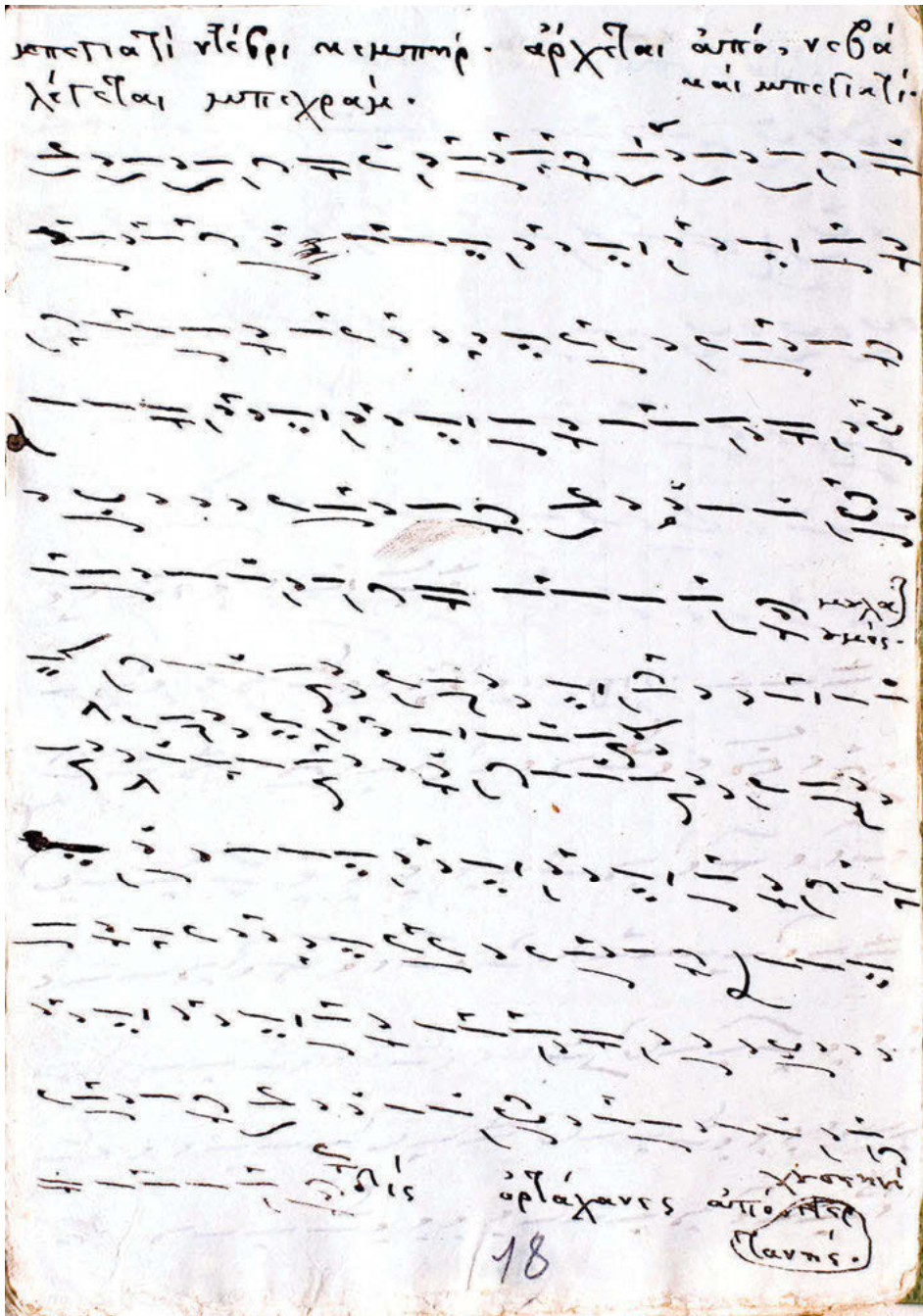
- 6 Gritsanis 3, 5v (18th c.): Petros Peloponnesios collection. *Bestenigâr devr-i kebîr peşrev* by Hânende Zacharias, (echos) *varys* tetraphonic diatonic.



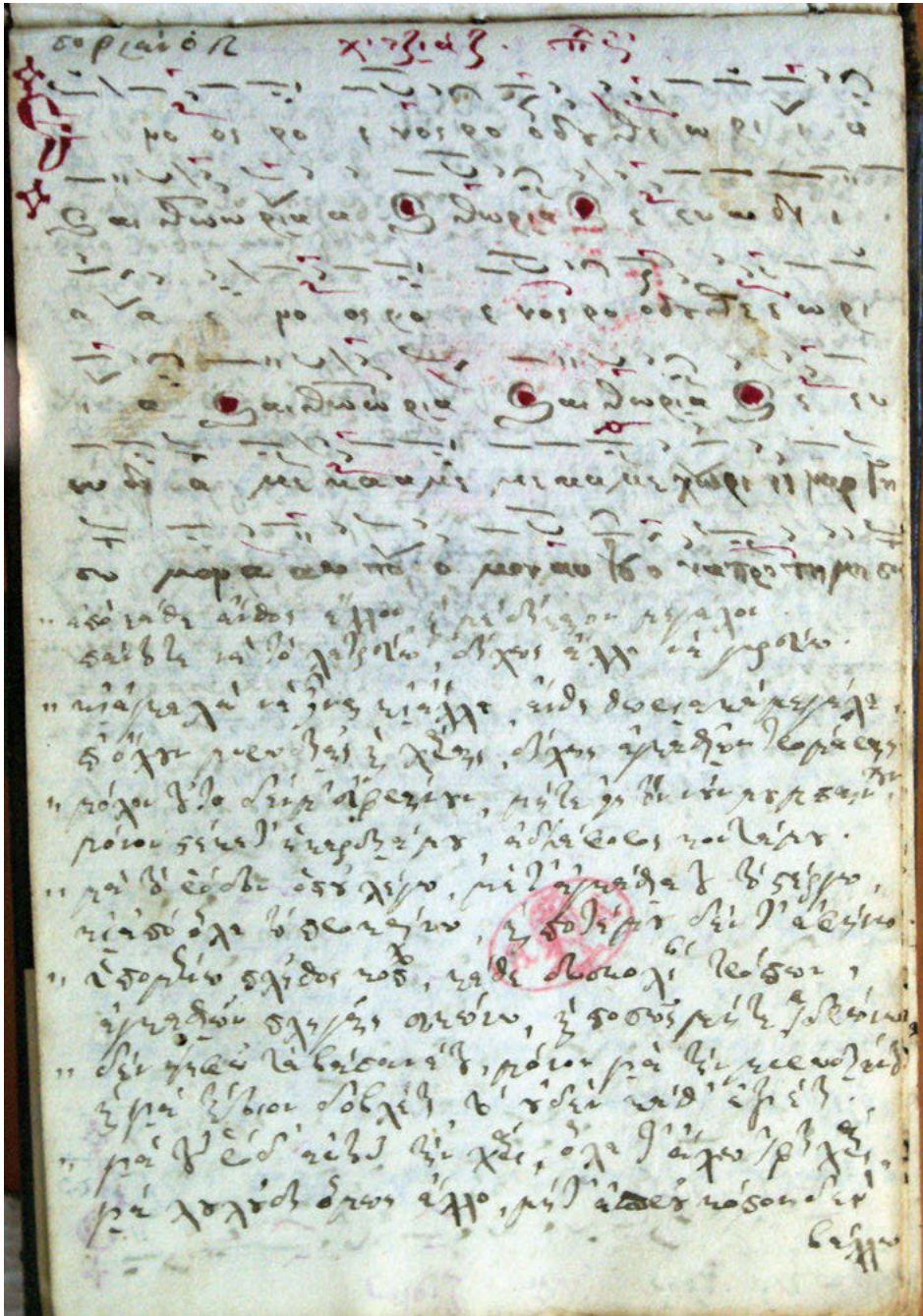
- 7 Gritsanis 3, 6r (18th c.): Petros Peloponnesios collection. *Son hâne* of *bestenigâr devr-i kebîr peşrev* by Hânende Zacharias.



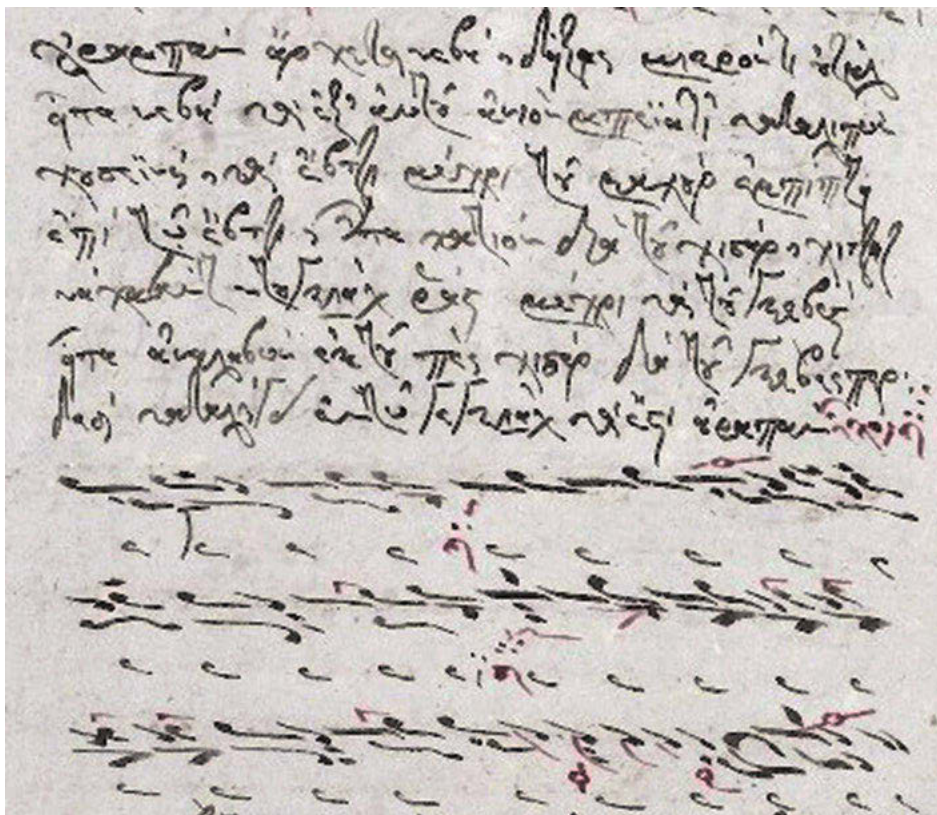
8 Gritsanis 3, 166r (18th c.): Petros Peloponnesios collection. *Semâ'i nihavent, Es'ad, her gâh ti âi mabci hamam.*



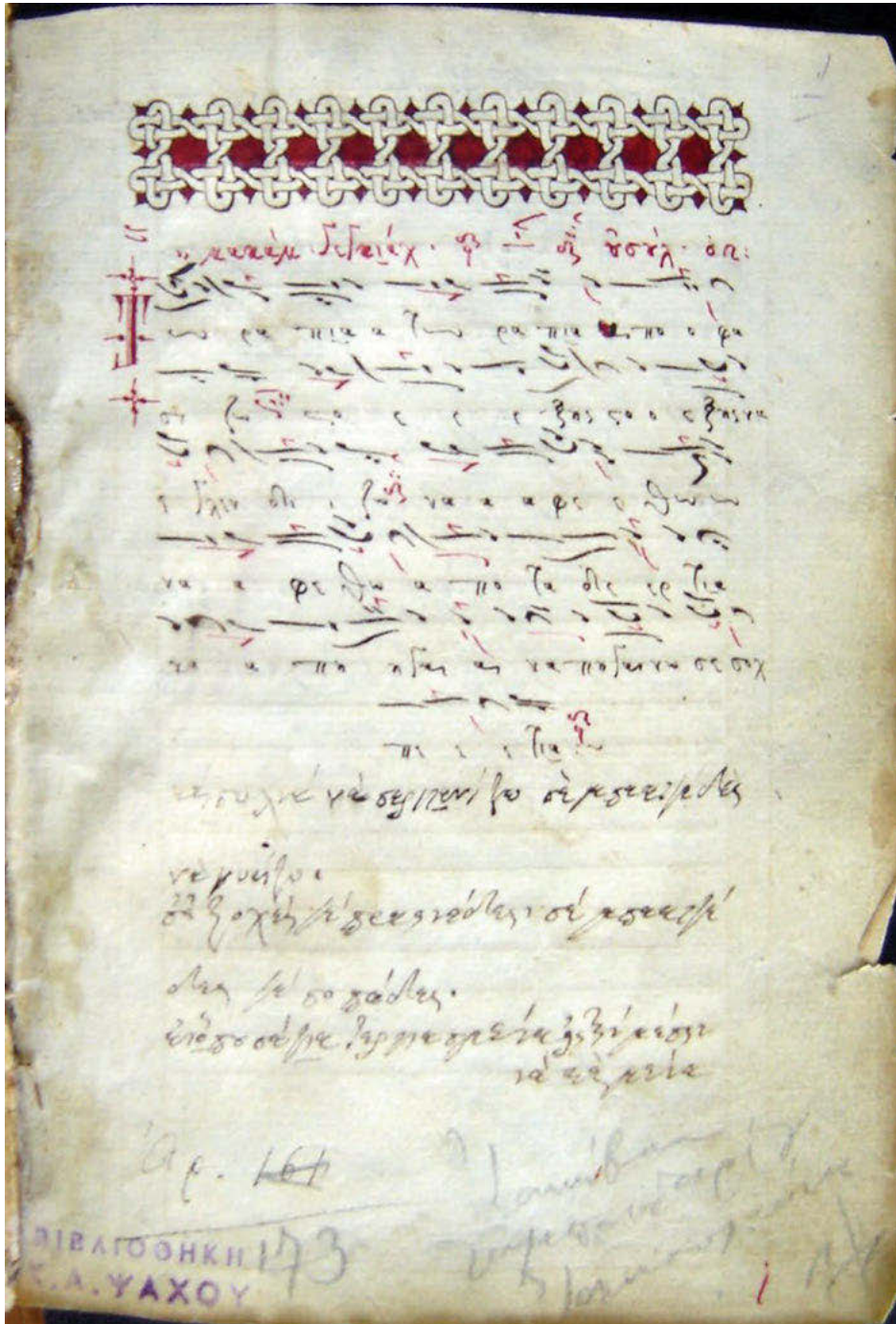
- 9 LKP (dossier) 60, 18r (18th c.): Petros Peloponnesios collection. *Beyâtî devrikebîr*, starts from *nevâ* and *beyâtî*, called *bebram*.



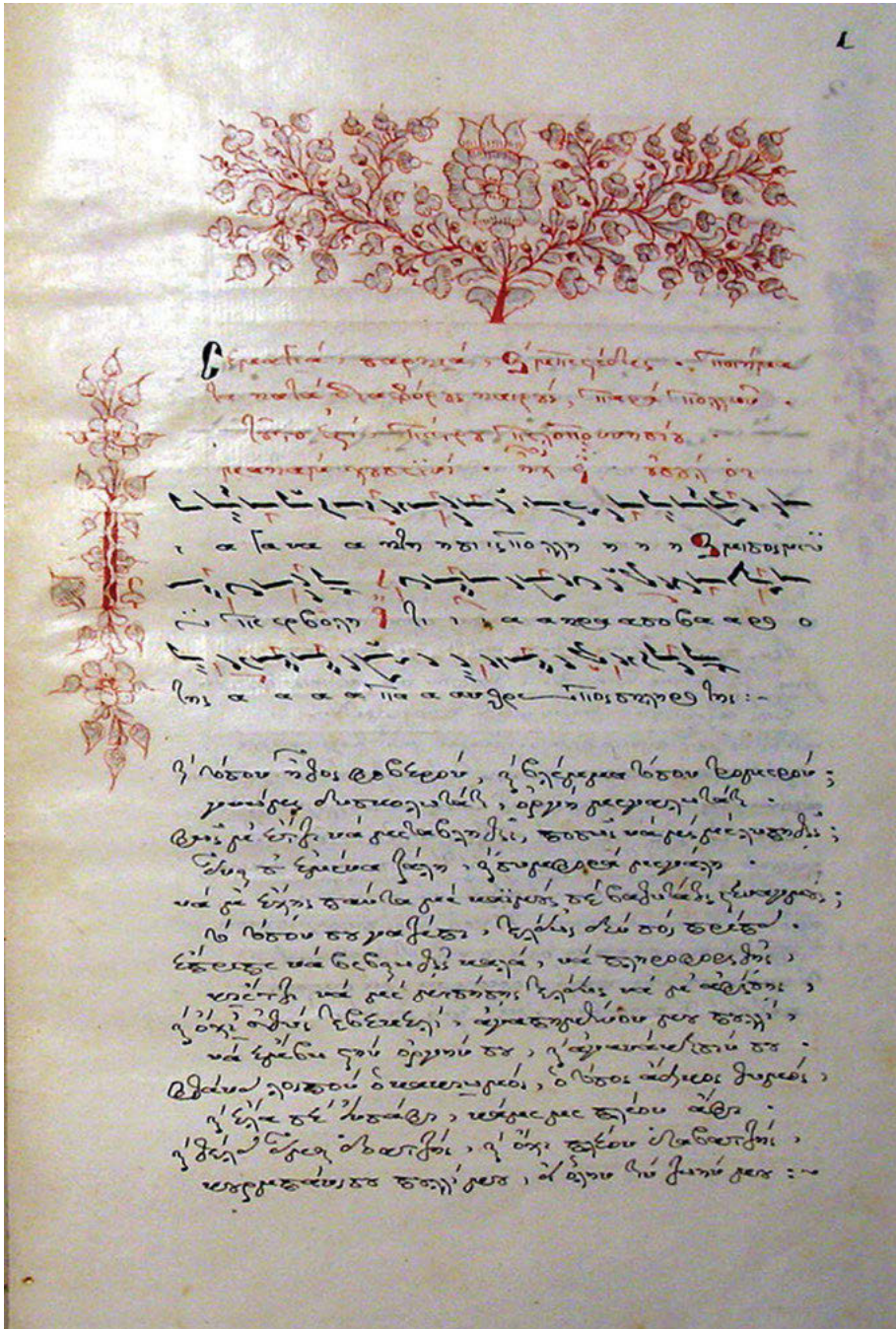
10 RAL 927, 12v (18th c.): *sofyan*, *echos* plagal II, Ἐνός πόδου θεωρία.



- 12 LKP 123/270, 28v: Clarifying which and how many *echoi* each *makam* comprises, and what is its progression from beginning to the end by Kyrillos Marmarinos.



13 LKP 19/173, 1r (late 18th c.): Petros Byzantios collection. *Makam yegâh*, (echos) IV heptaphonic, *usûl* ó 2, Τώρα πιά αποφασίζω στο έξῆς νά ἐγλεντίζω.



- 15 Vatopediou 1428, 1 (1818-1820): Nikeforos Kantouniaris collection. *Semá'ts, sarkis* and *bestes*. Poems from various times, by various poets. This one is by Petros Peloponnesios, *makam hüseyinî, echos I, usûl ó 2, Tí áranákthesis pollhî.*

16 LKP (dossier) 76, 1 (early 19c.): fragment by Gregorios Protopsaltes. *Eviç-ârâ, usûl sofyan*,
 “mine”, (echos) varys, Συλλογή πολλών χαρίτων.

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