

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 lambadariii 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 Ivion 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 epopoii 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 φιλέρημον 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 Marâghi'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 εὐξείνος καὶ εὐκαρπὸς διάδοσις καὶ καλλιέργεια τῆς ψαλτικῆς στὶς περὶ τὸν Εὐξείνο Πόντο περιοχὰς” in *Ἡ ψαλτικὴ τέχνη, λόγος καὶ μέλος στὴ λατρεία τῆς ὀρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας*, Thessaloniki, 2004, pp. 115-146, and Gheorghită 2010, are of interest to the topic.

⁵ They are the *New Anastasimatarion* (*Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον*) 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* *Τί 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, *Δὲν 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, *Δὲν 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 τζετζηρίσατε, βροντίσατε σκεπάρνια*, Iaşi 129, 290 / Vatopediou 1428, 298.

- ¹⁵ Verses and music by Iakovos Protopsaltes. The subject of the verses is the *Δὲν εἶναι τρόπος* by Petros Peloponnesios, the love song, *makam nîlhîft*, *echos* IV, *usûl* ó 2, *Ἡ ὠραιότης δὲν θεωρεῖται, μήτε τελείως ποσῶς 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, Ivion 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 (Ivion 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, *Οι 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, Makrinita, 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’î* 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 (Μετζμουνάι 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 περὶ 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 ἐφαρμογὴ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς μουσικῆς. ἐρανισθεῖσα καὶ συνταχθεῖσα παρὰ Στρ. Α. Δομεστίκου, ἐπιθεωρηθεῖσα δὲ παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου Πρωτοψάλτου τῆς Χ. Μ. Ἐκκλησίας. Νῦν πρῶτον τύποις 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 Ἀσιάτιδος μουσικῆς ἐρασταί. Ἡ ἀκμὴ τοῦ ἀθηναϊκοῦ κατὰ ἅμην 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.

[Ω] 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 ὦ 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 τὰ τραγούδια τοῦ Ρήγα καὶ τῶν μιμητῶν του. Μ' ἓνα ἄγνωστο "Θούριον ἄσμα"*, Athens 1948, S. I. Karas, *Ὁ Θούριος τοῦ Ρήγα καὶ ἡ μουσικὴ του*, Athens 1998, Paschalis Kitromilidis, *Ρήγας Βελεστινλής, Θεωρία καὶ Πράξη*, Athens 1998.

Impoverished Dervish” (“Ο ξεπεσμένος Δερβίσης”)⁶⁰, and for Georgios Vizyinos 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 Vizyinos, “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.