

CULTURAL IDENTIFICATIONS OF THE
GREEK ORTHODOX ELITE OF CONSTANTINOPLE: DISCOURSE
ON MUSIC IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

MERİH EROL

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2009

CULTURAL IDENTIFICATIONS OF THE
GREEK ORTHODOX ELITE OF CONSTANTINOPLE: DISCOURSE
ON MUSIC IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Dissertation submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Merih Erol

Boğaziçi University

2009

Dissertation Abstract

Merih Erol, “Cultural Identifications of the Greek Orthodox Elite of Constantinople:
Discourse on Music in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries”

This dissertation aims to explore the formation of a musical discourse among the Greek Orthodox educated elite of Constantinople in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This discourse was formed mainly through the practices and activities of the voluntary music associations and the debates on musicological issues in the columns of the Greek dailies and journals. This study analyzes the musical discourse within the issues of cultural nationalism, national and social identity formation and modernization. Particular attention is paid to the investigation of the musical discourse in its historical context, namely the social, economic and political transformations that the Orthodox *millet* underwent in the post-Reform Edict (1856) period, and the prospects of certain political and ideological schemes that became potentially available in this era. Furthermore, by uncovering the plurality of discourses, definitions and views pertaining to cultural identity and musical debates, this dissertation aims to contribute to the challenging of the standard approach which sees the Greek Orthodox *millet* as a monolithic unit.

The main body of sources used in this dissertation consists of treatises on music, essays on music in periodicals and newspapers, speeches, patriarchal circulars, the statutes of musical associations and the prologues of the collections of ecclesiastical chants, popular and folk songs. The archives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Greek Orthodox Community of Stavrodromio (Beyoğlu), the Asia Minor Association ‘East’ and the Ottoman archive were used in this study.

Tez Özeti

Merih Erol, “İstanbul Rum Ortodoks Seçkininin Kültürel Kimliği: On dokuzuncu ve Erken Yirminci Yüzyılda Müzik Diskuru”

Bu tez on dokuzuncu ve erken yirminci yüzyılda İstanbul Rum Ortodoks okumuş seçkini arasında ortaya çıkan müzik diskurunu incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu diskur büyük ölçüde gönüllü müzik cemiyetlerinin pratikleri ve faaliyetleri ve Rum gazete ve dergilerinde yer alan müzikolojik tartışmalar yoluyla ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışma müzik diskurunu kültürel milliyetçilik, milli ve sosyal kimlik oluşumu ve modernleşme meseleleri etrafında analiz etmektedir. Müzik diskuru kendi tarihi bağlamında, başka deyişle Ortodoks cemaatinin Islahat Fermanı (1856) sonrasında geçirdiği sosyal, ekonomik ve politik dönüşümlerle ve olası çeşitli politik ve ideolojik tasarımlarla ilişkilendirilerek tetkik edilmektedir. Ayrıca, bu tez kültürel kimlik ve müzik tartışmalarıyla ilgili diskurların, tanımların ve görüşlerin çoğulluğunu ortaya çıkararak, Rum Ortodoks cemaatini bir bütün gören standart yaklaşımı sorgulamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu tezde kullanılan ana kaynaklar müzik üzerine yazılmış incelemeler, dergi ve gazetelerdeki müzik konulu metinler, söylevler, patrikhane genelgeleri, müzik cemiyetlerinin yönetmelikleri ve kilise ilahileri, popüler ve halk şarkıları derlemelerinin önsözlerinden oluşmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu tezde İstanbul Patrikhanesi, Beyoğlu Rum Ortodoks cemaati, Küçük Asya “Doğu” Cemiyeti’nin arşivleri ve Osmanlı arşivi kullanılmıştır.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Merih Erol

PLACE OF BIRTH: Istanbul, Turkey

DATE OF BIRTH: 16 November 1975

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

Boğaziçi University

Free University, Berlin. October 2007- July 2008, DAAD Fellow

University of Crete. October 2004- June 2005, Erasmus student

Sabancı University, 2001- 2002, MA student

Boğaziçi University

DEGREES AWARDED:

2009. Doctor of Philosophy, Department of History, Boğaziçi University

2001. Master of Arts, Department of Sociology, Boğaziçi University

1997. Bachelor of Science, Department of Electrical & Electronics Engineering, Boğaziçi University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Late Ottoman social and cultural history, Greek-orthodox populations of the Ottoman cities in the 19th century, National movements in the 19th and early 20th century Balkans, Turkish speaking Christian Orthodox populations of Asia Minor in the 19th century, Music traditions of the Near East and the Balkans

AWARDS

2008- 2009. Center for Advanced Study Sofia, Fellowship in the project *Regimes of Historicity and Discourses of Modernity and Identity 1900-1945 in East-Central, Southeast and Northern Europe*

2007-2008. German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Fellowship under the program: Kooperative Promotionsförderung

2007. Boğaziçi University Zeynep Ayşe Birkan Doctoral Foundation Scholarship.

2007. American Research Institute in Turkey, W.D.E. Coulson & Toni Cross Aegean Exchange Program, Research Fellowship

2006. American Research Institute in Turkey, Research Fellowship for PhD students

2004- 2005. Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, Research Fellowship for Foreign PhD candidates

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

2001- 2002. Teaching Assistant for the course Humanity and Society I & II, Department of History, Sabancı University.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

“Modernist and Nationalist Discourses on Music in Turkey and Greece in the first half of the twentieth century” contribution to the project *Regimes of Historicity and Discourses of Modernity and Identity, 1900-1945, in East-Central, Southeastern and Northern Europe* at the Centre for Advanced Study, Sofia, [Brill, forthcoming 2010].

“Greek association “Hermes”, Constantinople,” in *Encyclopaedia of Hellenic World*, Athens, 2008.

“19. Yüzyılda Basılan Karamanlıca Eserler” & “Evangelinos Misailidis” *Toplumsal Tarih*, August 2004, Istanbul, pp. 66- 71.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation is the product of a long research process in Turkey, Greece and Germany. Numerous benefit foundations and research institutions, many academicians, friends and musicians contributed to it at different levels. My first thanks go to Alexander Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service), The American Research Institution in Turkey, and BUVAK (Boğaziçi University Foundation) for supporting my work.

I would like to thank above all my principal PhD supervisor Edhem Eldem who supported my project eagerly, especially by encouraging me to apply for numerous fellowships that provided me with the opportunity of traveling to Greece, participating in language courses and doing research related to my topic. Without his constant support, I would not have been able to write this thesis. I am also grateful to Christoph K. Neumann for supporting my project and for his comments on the manuscript of the thesis. I owe sincere thanks to Vangelis Kechriotis for his scrupulous reading of the draft of the dissertation and also for what I learned from him during his courses at Boğaziçi University. My warm thanks should also go to Ahmet Ersoy, Cem Behar, Chryssi Sideropoulou, Arzu Öztürkmen, Meltem Toksöz and Halil Berktaş.

I would like to thank Kaiti Romanou from the Department of Music Studies at the University of Athens for her valuable comments on the manuscript and for the enormous generosity she showed about giving me various music sources from her own library. The faculty members of the History and Archaeology Department of the University of Crete had a great role in making my Erasmus experience a really fruitful one, what was already an unforgettable year on this sunny and picturesque island of the Mediterranean. Also, some of the papers that I wrote for my courses there constituted the initial building blocks of this dissertation. I would especially like to refer to Socrates Petmezas, Hristos Loukos, Hristos Hatziosif, Ioannis Kokkinakis, Efi Avdela, Vasiliki Seirinidou for introducing me to modern Greek history and historiography, and for the inspiratory courses of some of them that I had the chance of following. I want to offer my warm thanks also to the personnel of the Library of the University of Crete, especially to Kostas and Eleni for their prompt help every time I looked for a source in the 'Closed Collections' department. At various stages of my research and travels to Greece, I asked advice from Sia Anagnostopoulou, Haris Exertzoglou, Hristina Koulouri, Stavros Anestidis, Dimitrios Stamatopoulos whom I remember with gratefulness. I would also like to extend my thanks to Antonis Liakos with whom I have had the chance of discussing my topic since last year.

The third country of this dissertation is Germany. The calm atmosphere, comfortable everyday life and the rich libraries were what I needed, especially during the writing process. I would like to especially offer my deepest thanks to Holm Sundhaussen, director of the East European Institute at Free University Berlin, for being my advisor during my DAAD fellowship and for supporting my further stay in Germany. I should also thank Johannes Niehoff- Panagiotidis for his useful academic advice, and Milos Pechlivanos for allowing me to present my work at the Modern Greek Seminar of Free University.

The interdisciplinary nature of the work required the advice of many people outside the field of history. First and foremost, I should thank Markos Dragoumis,

Antonis Hatzopoulos and Maria Varvaki for providing me with some of the music sources that I needed, and I would also like to thank Hasan Saltık, the owner of Kalan Müzik, and Lampros Kostakiotis, the owner of Kouloura Publications in Athens. It is impossible to cite here each research institution that I benefited from. The research process in some of them extended over the years which make it easier and necessary to remember. In this respect, I would like to thank the personnel at the library of the Greek-orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul, particularly Oikonomos Nikolaos Petropellis, Giorgios Benlisoy and Ioannis Stavridis. I would also like to extend my thanks to the staff of the Gennadios Library in Athens.

Many musicians inspired me and instilled in me a love for the eastern orthodox chant and hence contributed to the emergence of this dissertation as the product of a full dedication to the topic. In this respect, I would like to refer to Leonidas Asteris, Likurgos Angelopoulos, Stelios Berberis and Manolis Hatziyakoumis.

I would also like to thank my friend Ourania Liarmakopoulou and her family who opened their home to me during my first Greek language course in Athens, also my friends Fotini Louka, Sophia Kompotiatis, Panagiotis Poulos whose friendship have been crucial at many levels of this process.

I would like to express my deep thanks to my parents who, sooner or later, understood that I did not want to be the engineer that they wished, and supported my trajectory in the humanities. I also want to thank my sister for all the sweet moments that we shared except the times we were both immersed in our dissertations. Finally, I want to thank Nils Neuschaefer-Rube for all his support which was beyond words, and especially for providing me with the perfect conditions during the writing phase of this dissertation.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	xi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework	3
Theories of Nationalism	4
Conceptualizing the Relationship between Music and Identity	10
Two Main Concepts: Discourse and Field	16
The Structure of the Dissertation	21
CHAPTER II: THE GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY	27
The General Historical and Political Context of the Period (1856- 1914)	27
Ottoman Historiography: Non-Muslims, Inter-communal Relations and Challenges to Teleological History Writing	36
Modern Greek Historiography: From ‘Hellenism in Asia Minor’ to the Studying of the <i>Rum Millet</i>	49
An Economic, Cultural and Political Survey of the Greeks of Constantinople in the Post-Crimean War Period	67
CHAPTER III: CLASS, ETHNIC-RELIGIOUS IDENTITY, AND MUSIC	85
Reform of Liturgical Music in the Greek Orthodox Churches of Europe	85
Music and Middle-Class Discourses in the 1860s Greek Orthodox Community of Constantinople	89
The Social Origins, Musical Backgrounds and the Career Trajectories of the Greek Orthodox Church Cantors of Constantinople	100
The Alliance between the Greek Literary Society and the Cantors: The Music Society of Constantinople (1863)	111
CHAPTER IV: HISTORY, CONTINUITY, AND MUSIC: THE INTERPRETATION OF THE MUSICAL PAST.....	124
Modern Greek National Historiography and the Appropriation of the Byzantine Epoch	124
The Debates on the Music Reform in Athens and the Responses of the Greek Diaspora.....	129
The Claims about the “Impurity” of Music and the Response of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Athens	144
Attitudes towards the Past: Memory, the Romantic Motif, and Musical Discourse in Constantinople	152
Ideology and Style: the “Patriarchal <i>Ífos</i> (Style)”	169
The “Thorny” Road from Constantinople to Ancient Greece: Kyriakos Filoxenis’ <i>Lexicon of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music</i>	182

CHAPTER V: MUSICAL FIELD, ACTORS, AND REFORM OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC	204
Orientalism, L. A. Bourgault- Ducoudray's Musical "Mission" and the Greek Music.....	204
Music Committee of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople (1877).	216
Reform between Theory and Practice: Conflicts within the Musical Field..	219
The Greek Music Society and the Vocal Tradition of Ecclesiastical Music.	231
The Patriarchal Music Committee of 1881: “A Reform Not To Lose All....	246
Georgios I. Papadopoulos’ History of Ecclesiastical Music	257
CHAPTER VI: MUSIC, POLITICS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY AT THE END OF THE EMPIRE	265
The Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople (1898- 1922)	265
The Patriarchate, Greece and the Music Heritage at the turn of the Century	281
Joachim III, Moral Education and Music Instruction at the Greek Orthodox Schools	286
Between the Hellenic Nation, Community and Patria: the Multiple Commitments of a Greek Musician	295
Living Together: Music as a Space of Interaction and Contestation	317
Singing Hymns to Foreign Sovereigns at the End of the Empire	339
CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION	348
APPENDICES	
A. Patriarchal letter to the Greek Orthodox Community of Pera	359
B. Patriarchal circular issued on 2 January 1880	361
C. Patriarchal circular issued on 8 January 1880	363
D. A letter sent by musician Georgios Pahtikos to the chairman of the Association ‘ <i>Anatoli</i> ’ Margaritis Evangelidis	365
E. Georgios Pahtikos collecting folk songs in Bithynia	367
F. Patriarch Joachim III at the Consecration of the Holy Curism	368
G. Graduates of the School of the Ecclesiastical Music Association from the 1922-23 academic year	369
H. List of Musical Works in the CD	370
1) 1er Hymne Delphique à Apollon	
2) Hymne Chrétienne d’Oxyrhynchus (Egypte)	
3) <i>Ὅτι σωτήρα έτεκες ηχ βαρύς. Kratima</i> from ‘Hymn to Virgin Mary	
4) Hüseyini ağır semai composed by Zaharia Hanende	
5) Την Παγκόσμιον Δόξαν (Hymn at the Glory of the <i>stiheira</i> of Vespers)	
6) Κράτημα, ήχος δ’ λέγετος (Kratima, ihos 4 legetos)	
7) Αναστάσεως ημέρα	
8) <i>Αξιόν έστιν (εναρμόνιον)</i>	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	371

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Regarding the transliteration of the Greek names and words in the Latin alphabet, I transliterated the different sounds of the Greek alphabet as follows:

B, β ... as ... V, v
Γ, γ ... as ... G, g
Θ, θ ... as ... Th, th
Η, η ... as ... Ī, i
Υ, υ ... as ... Ī, i
Χ, χ ... as ... H, h (Hence I wrote, Χρύσανθος as Hrisanthos)
Ψ, ψ ... as ... Ps, ps (Υψηλάντης as Īpsilantis)
Ευ, ευ ... as ... Ef, ef (Φωκάεως as Fokaefs)
Μπ, μπ ... as ... B, b
Ου, ου ... as ... Ou, ou (Παπαδόπουλος as Papadopoulos)
Α (with diacritical) ... as ... Ha (Hence, Άγιος as Hagios)

PREFACE

Last year in March, an interesting open letter was published in *Apogevmatini*, the newspaper of Mihalīs Vasiliadis, a venerable “Don Quixote” who tries to stand against the wind that has been sweeping away the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul. The letter made me smile and think once more about my dissertation topic. Perhaps the most fascinating thing for a historian is to see that an issue which occupied his/her historical heroes a century ago has maintained its significance with all its vivid motifs and emotional connotations in his/her own time. The author of the open letter addressed the Archbishop of Athens Ieronymos, saying that he was representing all the Istanbulite Greek Orthodox, pleaded with him that the “toneless pigeon growling” in the Cathedral of Athens be stopped and replaced by Byzantine choirs which would ecstasize the believers. I would not have been surprised if I had read the expression in one of my primary sources. This letter proves that the present study deals with a subject which was and is, not marginal, but rather one of the central constituents of the Greek Orthodox identity.

My investigation into music and identity in the Greek Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire was inspired long ago by the nineteenth century popular song collections in *Karamanlidika* (Ottoman Turkish in the Greek alphabet) which were brought to my attention by Prof. Dr. Cem Behar. However, it was obvious that for a dissertation, I needed a broader corpus of music sources which required more than a simple familiarity with the Greek alphabet and a well-formulated and broader topic. As I learned the modern Greek language, I discovered the eighteenth but mostly nineteenth century literature on music, and of course, the problematic of the dissertation gained new dimensions as I became able to read the works of today’s Greek historians.

As for the difficulties regarding the research, I would say that archival work and looking through newspapers was not easy because I was not looking for data or references to an event or an issue that occupied intensively the relevant authorities or the public for a particular period and a short time-span. Music is especially a frustrating topic when it comes to searching for material in the archives of foreign ministries or of any official authority. Systematic research was more possible in the contemporary published texts on music which form the biggest part of the primary

sources used in this study. Let me stress that I have not aimed at writing a dissertation in musicology or ethnomusicology, though I think the resulting work has a lot to contribute to the field of ethnomusicological studies. Therefore, systematic reference to relevant musical sources was not my priority. Again for the same reason, purely musical materials like recordings and musical scores have not been processed. Nevertheless, some examples are provided in the Appendix to familiarize the reader with the topic and whet his/her appetite for the text.

Even though some studies have previously noted the instrumentalization of music in the formation of the Greek national discourse, there has not thus far been a detailed historical and sociological analysis that dealt with the issue of music as a discourse which was formed in the matrix of multiple parameters, i.e. power relations between different social and professional groups of the Greek Orthodox community of Constantinople, the issue of modernization, the anti-European and anti-western discourses and various threats to the Christian orthodox community. This dissertation bears all the advantages and the disadvantages of being a pioneering study in an interdisciplinary field. I have asked new questions to material that is unknown to most historians. Hence, the material is new to the historians and my questions are new to the musicologists. I tried my best in striking a balance between displaying the inspiring and stimulating novelty and originality of the topic and making too many bold assumptions and irrelevant interpretations.

Merih Erol

Berlin, 12 September 2009

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This thesis is born out of the wish to provide a sophisticated analysis of the connections between cultural nationalism, identity formation and music in the Greek Orthodox community of Constantinople in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. In Modern Greek literature, this period, due to the burgeoning cultural and associational activities of the Greek Orthodox educated public of the Ottoman cities, has been associated with a kind of “national awakening”.¹ One can speak about a parallel view in Turkish history writing which sees the Greek orthodox populations of the Empire in a state of linear and monolithic evolution into an autonomous group with full national consciousness. The critique and discussion of these literatures will be made in the next chapter, yet I would like to state here that one of the major aims of this thesis is to show the plurality of typologies regarding the geographical, educational, cultural backgrounds and ideological positions of the Greek orthodox individuals. As for the interpretations of the musical past, not only in Greece, but also in other nation-states that succeeded the Ottoman Empire, the twentieth century music scholarship has generally provided a rather distorted image. Scholarship is abundant with examples of classification and naming of genres tinted with nationalist approaches² or evaluation of the works of

¹ Hristos S. Solomonidis and Nikos Em. Lorentis, *Πανιώνιος Γυμναστικός Σύλλογος (Sporting Club 'Panionios')*, (Athens: Panionios GSS, 1967). Kyriaki Mamoni, “Σωματειακή Οργάνωση του Ελληνισμού στη Μικρά Ασία (Associative Organization of Hellenism in Asia Minor),” *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 26, Athens, 1983, pp.63- 114.

² An appropriate example is the “invented” genre of *smyrneika* or “Smyrnian song”. See Georgios Konstantzos, *Τα Τραγούδια της Σμύρνης (The Songs of Smyrna)*, (Athens, 1997). Finnish musicologist R. P. Pennanen revealed the ideological process at work in the construction of this genre, and noted that while a large part of the Asia Minor refugees’ popular song repertoire was Turkish-language in origin, later this was forgotten and was replaced by the myth of a separate Greek repertoire of Smyrna. See Risto Pekka Pennanen, “The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece,” *Ethnomusicology* 48/1 2004, pp. 1- 25.

certain musicians as nationalist manifestos or revolutionary acts.³ This dissertation aims at correcting the misconceptions created by the ethnocentric and nationalist approaches in the musicological and historical fields. In order to do this, the relationship between nationalism and musical discourse will be situated within the broader social, economic and political transformations that the Ottoman Empire underwent in this era.

Music draws a cognitive and emotional map that individuals register as members of a nation or of a social group. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the image of classical Greece was predominant in the scholarship and the public discourse on music in Europe. This topos which maintained its significance in the artistic and historical imaginations of Europeans throughout the nineteenth century also became predominant in the discourses which were articulated by modern Greeks through the practice of history writing, production of literary works, and writings and discussions on the theory and history of music. However, the increasing interest in the medieval past and the customs of the people posed a challenge to the dominance of this classicist discourse. This dissertation will look at how this dichotomy was negotiated in the musical discourse that will be analysed in its historical context, namely within the prospect of certain political and ideological schemes that became potentially available in the post-Reform Edict (1856) period, and in the context of the emergence of new social groups within the Greek Orthodox communities of the Ottoman Empire. All these parameters will contribute to the investigation of the musical discourse from multiple viewpoints.

³ Nikoghos K. Tahmizian, *The Life and Work of Dikran Tchouhadjian*, (California: Drazark Press, 2001). Tahmizian interpreted the work of the Armenian composer Dikran Tchouhadjian (1837- 1898) as serving the Armenian national liberation movement, failing to see that the composer's references were highly international and inter-communal.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In what follows, I will briefly introduce the theoretical underpinnings and the methodological principles of the thesis. Even though it is a well known literature and I do not claim to cover the topic exhaustively, a description of the recent theories on nations and nationalism will be provided in order to make a meaningful entry to our general analysis in which the processes of national identity formation hold the central place. Since this dissertation is one of the rare examples of historical analysis in which music is taken as an object of study - and is even more unique in focusing on the writing and thinking about music among the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire - a theoretical- methodological section on my approach to music is necessary. Thus, I will briefly mention some studies in musicology and cultural history whose approaches to the study of music and ideology are pertinent to our own quest. Then, I will try to provide a glimpse of my understanding of the relationship between music and identity formation, drawing on the existing ethnomusicological literature. Here I should note that my interest is concentrated more on the musical discourse, hence on the aspects of music that are related to imagination, representation and imposition of authority, rather than the experience of performing and listening. The final theoretical and conceptual part is devoted to two concepts that are central to the interpretative framework of this dissertation which is built on two interrelated axes of analysis. In this respect, some attention is given, first to the concept of ‘discourse’ which shapes our search for meanings in the cognitive and mental realm of the individuals, actors and agents, and then to the concept of (musical) “field” which is a central notion in our sociological analysis of the material conditions and power relations in the society.

Theories of Nationalism

A.D. Smith defines nationalism as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining *autonomy*, *unity* and *identity* on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’”.⁴ Each of these three concepts that Smith underlines, is the product of the last two or three centuries. Hence, there is almost a consensus among the contemporary historians that nations and nationalisms are modern phenomena.⁵ Also, according to this modernist view of the nation, nationalism creates the nation and national identity, not the reverse.⁶ Herder’s theory of a unique or authentic collective spirit of a people and his doctrine that every nation has its peculiar “genius”, its own ways of thinking, acting and communicating that have to be rediscovered lie at the core of the ideology of nationalism.⁷ According to Herder, Fichte and certain other eighteenth century thinkers, notably Rousseau, the authentic character of a people was manifest in its language and folklore.⁸ In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the new

⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), p.74.

⁵ E. Kedourie noted the “recentness” of nationalism, saying that the latter is a product of European thought in the last 150 years. Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, (London: Hutchinson, 1960), p.73. Some of the prominent representatives of the “modernist” view see nationalism as a consequence of capitalism and industrialization. See particularly, E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983). Some others explain the rise of nationalism in terms of the decline of the dynasties and of religion, and the growth in printed literature. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983); John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993). However, the modernist view also received some criticism. A. Hastings took a stance against the “modernists” and aimed at separating the accepted bonding of nations and nationalism from the modernisation of society. He proposed to look further back into medieval society, and put the question of the rise of nationalism in terms of how certain ethnicities became nations. Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 11- 12.

⁶ See Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp.48- 49. Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), p.71.

⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, p.75.

⁸ Elie Kedourie mentions Fichte’s extreme views on language. For instance, the German philosopher asserted that foreign vocables and terms could do a great harm to political and social life. See Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, (London: Hutchinson, 1960), pp. 62- 91. For Rousseau’s thoughts on musical authenticity, see Richard Middleton, “Musical Belongings: Western Music and Its Low-Other” in

concern with history and social development, and the origins and descent of the peoples, the new trend of historicism contributed to the consciousness of the nations about their ethnic backgrounds.⁹ As the history of many national movements show, intellectuals who sought to rediscover the “collective self” and to ascertain the authentic identity of a nation often turned to the study of epics and folk songs of the people. Hence, intellectuals and artists have had a significant role in the promotion and cultivation of national ideology. J. Hutchinson placed historical scholars and artists in the forefront of cultural nationalism which he painstakingly separated from political nationalism and characterized as a movement of moral regeneration.¹⁰ This concern for the recreation of the nation is exactly what was underlined by A. D. Smith in one of his earliest works on ethnic revivals. Smith noted that the ethnic revival attempted at one and the same time to preserve the past, and to transform it into something new, to create a new type upon ancient foundations and to create a new man and society.¹¹

The Greek modern identity was shaped under the impact of the philosophical and anthropological discourses and revolutionary ideas that emerged in the eighteenth century in Europe. The Modern Greek state was established as an outcome of the Greek insurrection in 1821-1822 against the Ottoman rule. According to M. Hroch’s periodization of the revival of the “small nations”, the first phase of a national revival is marked by a passionate concern on the part of a group of

Western music and Its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music, ed. by Georgina Born and D. Hesmondhalgh, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 59-85.

⁹ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 86-89.

¹⁰ John Hutchinson, “Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration” in *Nationalism*, ed. by J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.122-131. On p. 123, Hutchinson uses the term ‘myth-making’ intellectuals for scholars “who combine a ‘romantic’ search for meaning with a scientific zeal to establish this on authoritative foundations”. Also see Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, p.94. A.D. Smith pointed out to the primary role of intellectuals, both in generating cultural nationalism and in providing the ideology, if not the early leadership, of political nationalism.

¹¹ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Revival*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p25.

individuals, usually intellectuals, for the study of the language, the culture, the history of the oppressed nationality. The first phase is followed by a period of patriotic agitation, which in the final phase takes the form of a mass national movement.¹² Hroch classified the Greek national movement together with the Serbian and Bulgarian cases, where the national movement acquired a mass character producing armed insurrections under the old regime, that is, before the establishment of a civil society or constitutional order.¹³ However, the Greek national movement should not be considered solely in its international framework, that is, as the outcome of the infiltration of the urban Greek orthodox populations of the Balkans with the ideas of nationalism and liberalism that emerged in Europe. One has to consider also the internal dynamics of the Empire related to the autonomy demands and separatist claims of the Muslim and Christian local authorities.¹⁴

As hinted at before, the constructivist theories of nationalism designed the nations as imagined, constructed or invented categories.¹⁵ Historians have cogently shown that the recovery of the history of the nation generally involves the invention of a pattern containing a migration story, a founding myth, a golden age etc.¹⁶ A well suited example for the employment of historical myths to create new traditions is the identification of Welsh bards in the eighteenth century with the ancient Druids who stood behind the resistance of the native peoples of Britain and Gaul, to the Roman

¹² Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of national revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹³ Miroslav Hroch, "From national movement to the fully formed nation: the nation-building process in Europe", *New Left Review* 198, 1993, pp.3-20.

¹⁴ Vangelis Kechriotis, "Ρέκβιεμ για την Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (Requiem for the Ottoman Empire)," in *Η Συγκρότηση του Ελληνικού Κράτους*, (Athens: Nefeli, 2008).

¹⁵ Especially Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

¹⁶ Anthony D. Smith, "Ethnic myths and ethnic revivals", *European Journal of Sociology*, 25 (1984), pp. 292-93.

invaders.¹⁷ The motif of “golden age” is very pertinent to the shaping of the Modern Greek identity. It is well known that after independence, the Bavarian state elites transformed the Greek capital in line with their ideals of the classical age. A. Kitroeff noted that the Greek Olympic Games came into the agenda of modern Greece motivated first by the revival of ancient traditions, not by any sense of sporting culture.¹⁸ In this connection, we can also argue that nationalist historiography is one of the most efficient ways of legitimizing the existence and autonomy of the nation.

A. Liakos influentially noted that despite the transition from “mythos” to “logos” (the principle of rationality or law operating in the universe that the classical philosophers described), the myth survived in history in various forms. Whether myth enters into history as ideology or history adopts the functions of the myth, Liakos recognized a function common to both: both history and myth create identities and draw borders between human groups.¹⁹ Sacred myths hold an important place in attributing a unique identity to the ethnic group. E. Kedourie asserted that the nationalist historiography operated a change in traditional conceptions, in the sense that it transformed religion into nationalist ideology. He noted that in Greek nationalist historiography this is remarkable in the way that Orthodoxy and Hellenism imply each other.²⁰ In this dissertation, I will show how the history of music served the strengthening of the connection between the two. A.

¹⁷ Prys Morgan, “From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period”, in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.66.

¹⁸ Alexander Kitroeff, *Wrestling with the Ancients. Modern Greek Identity and the Olympics*, (New York: Greekworks, 2004), pp.6-10.

¹⁹ Antonis Liakos, *Πώς το παρελθόν γίνεται ιστορία*; (How does the past become history?), 2nd edition, (Athens: Polis, 2007), pp.47-49.

²⁰ Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, pp.76-77.

D. Smith coined the term of “missionary myths of chosenness”²¹ for the less rigid forms of sacred myths of ethnic election (the prototype is ancient Israel), and considered the Byzantine Orthodox Greeks as an example. The validity of this observation will be understood in the following chapters of this study, as it will be mentioned that the *Rum* (Greek Orthodox) of Constantinople saw themselves as the first among the Christian nations, a conviction which imposed on them the duty or the mission of the preservation of the genuine traditions of the Church.

Having thus exposed the ideological and symbolic framework of nationalisms and tackled some aspects of Greek nationalism in particular, I would like to address the use of music in the representation of the nation, treating the issue in a wide geography. In his influential book on national music, P. V. Bohlman claimed that music “is a particularly malleable means for shaping a nation’s many images” and emphasized the potential availability of music to represent the nation.²² In a similar vein, A. D. Smith noted that particular artistic forms like historical opera, ethnic dances, choral drama, ballads, historical novels and local landscapes are characterized by a heightened expressive subjectivity which is well suited to the conceptual language and style of ethnic nationalism and to the rediscovery of the “inner self” that is one of the chief ends of ethnic historicism.²³ Let me continue with some concrete examples regarding the research on folklore in Europe. In Northern and East-Central European countries, the search for particular idioms in music which reflect the “authentic” character of the nation, developed in the vicinity of the processes in which romantic nationalism inspired the collection of folk epics and

²¹ Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History. Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p.67.

²² Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism. Cultural Identity and Modern History*, (California: World Music Series, 2004), p. 81.

²³ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, pp.92-93.

poetry which were then used in the creation of a written language. Folklorists and musicians have contributed prominently to the discovery of an authentic repertoire of narratives, symbols, musical styles and sounds that they claimed on behalf of the nation. In Finland, the publication of the first edition of the collection of epic folk poetry the *Kalevala* in 1835 by Lönnroth inspired the spirit of nationalism in many fields, i.e., music, painting, architecture.²⁴ Rainer Knapas noted the existence of common themes in the Finnish composer J. Sibelius' works and in Finnish poetry and visual arts: a national historicism and romanticism, Finnish *Kalevala* mythology and symbolism, descriptions of nature, classical subjects and a political commitment aimed at the domestic public.²⁵ In Northern Europe, musicians who emphasized the national character in music were also engaged with movements aspiring for linguistic emancipation. S. Kleiberg sees parallels between the Norwegian composer David Monrad Johansen's argument for the formation of a national musical language and the New Norwegian linguistic movement which claimed that the creation of a written Norwegian language could only be achieved by comparing Norwegian dialects, finding as many common points as possible, and by establishing a grammar from this basis.²⁶ Revealing a striking parallelism, in Greece, the national composer *par excellence* Manolis Kalomiris was in the forefront of the movement for demotic language.²⁷ R. S. Peckham noted that in Greece folklore studies were concerned with demonstrating the continuity and unity of Greek culture and with obliterating the

²⁴ Lisa de Gorog, *From Sibelius to Sallinen. Finnish Nationalism and the Music of Finland*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1989).

²⁵ Rainer Knapas, "Landscapes of Ideas" in *Nordic Dawn. Modernism's Awakening in Finland 1890-1920*, ed. by Stephan Koja, (Munich: Prestel, 2005), pp.34-50, p.46.

²⁶ Stale Kleiberg, "Following Grieg: David Monrad Johansen's Musical Style in the Early Twenties, and His Concept of a National Music", in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800- 1945* ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy, (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), p. 160.

²⁷ Kaiti Romanou, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους (The Modern Greek Art Music)*, (Athens: Kouloura, 2006), pp. 169- 182.

regional differences.²⁸ S. L. Bliss' work on musical nationalism in Greece regards folk song as an essential force in the construction of a Greek national identity and as the central defining element in the creation of a national music in Greece.²⁹ Music has indeed been one of the most powerful symbols of nationalism, e.g. anthems and rituals of patriotic hymn-singing.³⁰ Let us remember that in the late nineteenth century, music became an important component of state and public rituals. As another manifestation, in many national movements including the Greek one, choirs and collective singing had a significant place in the expression of patriotic objectives.³¹

Conceptualizing the Relationship between Music and Identity

Let me begin this section with a few remarks on how musicology and cultural history approach music as an object of study. In the late 1980s, the 'New Musicologists', as P. Van den Toorn called them, rejected the "hard-core" technical analysis of music and emphasizing the experience of the "extra-musical", demanded that "music be judged more completely as a "product" or practice of culture".³² Throughout the 1990s and later, various musicologists came to terms with and creatively applied to their own field a set of key concepts, i.e. discourse, representation, practice,

²⁸ Robert Shannan Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States. Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), p.70. See also Michael Herzfeld, *Ours once more: folklore, ideology and the making of modern Greece*, (New York: Pella, 1986). M. Herzfeld's work on the history of folkloric research in Greece has been a pioneering study in this field.

²⁹ Sheryl Little Bliss, *Folk song and the Construction of Greek National Music: Writings and Compositions of Georgios Lambelet, Manolis Kalomiris, and Yannis Constantinidis*, dissertation submitted to University of Maryland, College Park, 2001.

³⁰ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). A quote from Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, p.78, is appropriate: "By means of the ceremonies, customs and symbols every member of a community participates in the life, emotions and virtues of that community and, through them, re-dedicates him- or herself to its destiny".

³¹ For the Estonian choirs in the 1860s, see Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of national revival in Europe*, pp.76- 79.

³² Pieter C. Van den Toorn, *Music, Politics, and the Academy*, (California: University of California Press, 1995), see "Introduction", pp.1-9. For the methodological debate on musical and extra-musical in the interpretation of musical works, see Lydia Goehr, "Writing Music History" *History and Theory*, 31/2 (1992), 182-99.

appropriation etc. which were in use in cultural history, or the “New Cultural History” if we want to refer to the self-confident and impressive rise of the latter since the end of the 1980s.³³ However, music as an object of historical study was never the monopoly of the musicologists. Cultural historians interested in the meaning or the signifying process of music, for instance, like J. Fulcher who sought to understand the historical significance of a particular genre³⁴, looked into the intersections of the institutional, political and aesthetic spheres. The theorization of the relationship between political ideology and music is crucial for this thesis. In the recent literature one sees at least two different approaches, both of which I find useful. The first one focuses more on actors and agents of a musical discourse, and tends to take musicological works, though not so mechanically, as political acts, whereas the second one focuses on the reception of musical canons, and is interested in how musical works are read as texts in an intertwined manner with a larger world of ideas. I will explain with two examples. In another brilliant study, the previously mentioned historian J. Fulcher attempted to interpret the musicological writing in France at the turn of the century situating it within the encampments in the political sphere – which was reflected in the right-wing and left-wing music institutions - in the aftermath of the *Dreyfus Affair*.³⁵ In a recent study, S. Huebner criticized Fulcher’s interpretation of the French musician and educator Vincent D’Indy’s (director of *Schola Cantorum* in Paris) biography of Beethoven as a political act and offered an analysis of the different portrayals of Beethoven in French music scholarship in the early twentieth century, in the light of the vocabulary of ideas

³³ Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), p.49.

³⁴ Jane F. Fulcher, *The Nation’s Image. French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

³⁵ Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music. From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

which were available at that time in French society.³⁶ In the final analysis, even though the present study tends more in the direction of the first approach, I do not think that one should reject any of these different theoretical and methodological approaches or emphases which emerged within different disciplines, namely musicology and cultural history.

In this thesis, there is a remarkable focus on the debates around the theory of music, which emerges partially from the fact that this was a topic of constant discussion among Greek-orthodox musicians and within a larger Greek-orthodox learned community, not to mention that it was heatedly debated in the context of all near eastern “high” music traditions. In the introduction of his brilliant work on musical-theoretical writing and the artistic and intellectual life in turn-of-the-century Vienna, N. Cook corrected the “mistake” of the first generation “New” musicologists, who, “under the impact of Adorno, attempted to read social meaning straight off the music”, and he claimed that “social meaning is not inherent in music but constructed through the interpretation of music”.³⁷ Justifying his own work, Cook declared that music theory provided the foundation for any such interpretation which cross-mapped concepts between music and other domains. Cook’s study not only provides us with an influential reading of the music critic, composer, performer and theorist Heinrich Schenker’s music theory within the intellectual tradition of German philosophical idealism and as a “project” that refers to a broader program for artistic, social and political change, but also indirectly offers an answer to the methodological

³⁶ Steven Huebner, “D’Indy’s Beethoven” in *French Music, Culture, and National Identity 1870-1939* ed. by Barbara L. Kelly, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), pp. 95- 111. Huebner’s opinion on D’Indy’s Beethoven biography is highly interesting: “This biography rests on an ideological substratum of social preservation in place of individualism, on historical authority over abstract principles of justice, on enlightened social privilege as guarantor of cultural excellence, and on order over difficult-to-manage heterogeneity”.

³⁷ Nicholas Cook, *The Schenker Project. Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.15.

question of how to theorize the relationship between the “text” and the “context”. Cook’s interpretative agenda was based on, as mentioned above, tracing ideas and concepts across various fields e.g., music theory, philosophy, political thought and cultural critique. Apart from its many inspiring aspects, I want to take Cook’s work as a departure point for my own study regarding how to make sense of musical-theoretical writings.

Let me now proceed to another issue, the question of how music generates meanings and constructs our sense of identity. The innovative volume *Western Music and Its Others* (2000)³⁸ has contributed greatly to the problematic of the theorization of music, identity, and difference, by introducing post-colonial analysis into music studies. In the long and influential introduction to the book, anthropologist G. Born and sociologist D. Hesmondhalgh gave a crucial methodological advice on the analysis of music as culture and drew attention to the irreducible complexity of musical signification. They wrote:

Music exists and generates meaning in a number of different, simultaneous forms: as musical sound, and this as mediated by notations, by technological and visual forms, by the practices and sociality of performance, by social institutions and socioeconomic arrangements, by language in different guises (lyrics and dramatic narratives, theoretical and critical exegeses, and other discourses) and, relatedly, by conceptual and knowledge systems.³⁹

Paying attention to Born and Desmondhalgh’s comment on the multitextuality of music, my interpretative analysis will modulate between different modes and forms in which music generates a sense of ethnic identity, and cultural and social difference. As an early note on the sources, I should stress again that this study is not

³⁸ G. Born and D. Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western music and Its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2000.

³⁹ G. Born and D. Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western music and Its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music*, p.37.

based on the analysis of the musical material itself, that is, music has not been analyzed through musical scores or recordings. The main body of sources consists of liturgical books (collections of ecclesiastical chants), collections of popular and folk songs, scientific books, treatises and articles on musical theory, music periodicals, speeches, newspaper items, patriarchal circulars, the statutes of musical societies, and to a limited extent, literary writings, autobiographic documents, and some visual material. This varied source base enables different modes of analysis of music at the same time: music theory as an instrumental element in the knowledge systems that categorize and subjugate particular forms of music; the valorization of music by the contemporaries as “remnants” of a past which can be read as a reference to the imagination of the nation; the disciplining of ecclesiastical chanting as a discursive practice toward the institutionalization of an authority; naming, genre and canon making as practices of drawing social and ethnic boundaries; listening or playing music as practices toward strategies of differentiation; and last but not least, music as a socializing practice in voluntary associations as an expression of civic spirit. Apart from the richness of its layers that unfold for an interpretation of culture from multiple viewpoints, music seems to have a special advantage as an object of study in comparison with visual and literary arts. The discursive fertility of music and the plurality and fluidity of its meanings have been noted by some experts. For instance, previously mentioned G. Born and D. Hesmondhalgh noted that the connotations attached to musical representations and appropriations are aesthetically and discursively more fertile than those of the visual and literary arts, because they are potentially more labile and unfixed.⁴⁰ In a similar vein, M. Stokes observed that the nonverbal quality of music makes it open to “discursive invasion”, and therefore

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.46.

open to discursive debate. He, furthermore, noted that the meanings of music “can never be fixed conclusively in spoken language, and the “same” music can thus be appropriated by different groups for quite different reasons”.⁴¹

Simon Frith argued that music is a key to identity mainly because it offers intensely, a sense of both self and others. His understanding of the aesthetic process situated the aesthetic judgment in the center of the experience of collective identities. He wrote that social groups do not simply agree on values which are then expressed in their cultural activities but that they only get to know themselves *as groups*, *through* cultural activity, through aesthetic judgment.⁴² Music has been largely employed in the communication of an ethnic identity to the members of the community as well as to the outsiders. As we will see, the notion of authenticity, which is closely related with the notion of identity, will often be evoked by the Greek actors. M. Stokes sees “authenticity” as a discursive trope of great persuasive power which focuses on “a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike ‘this is what is really significant about this music’, ‘this is the music that makes us different from other people’”.⁴³ This reminds us of Fredrick Barth’s conception of ethnic groups in terms of construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries.⁴⁴ In the present study, we will see that the Greek orthodox actors tried to negotiate the boundaries of their ethnic religious music with the neighboring music traditions i.e., Arab, Persian, Turkish and Jewish music. I will show that the music-theoretical writings produced by the Greek-orthodox cantors in the nineteenth

⁴¹ Martin Stokes, “East, West, and Arabesk”, in *Western Music and Its Others*, p.216.

⁴² Simon Frith, “Music and Identity”, in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed.by Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay, (London: Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 110-111.

⁴³ Martin Stokes, “Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music” in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music. The Musical Construction of Place*, ed.by Martin Stokes, (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p. 7.

⁴⁴ Fredrick Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, (Bergen: Bergen University, 1969).

century can be seen as constructing a neatly separated ethnic music tradition and thus as erecting boundaries between the ethnic group and the others.

Issues like the representation and the rejection of a musical “other” have become a concern for music studies mainly as an outcome of the contact with post-colonial theory. The notion of *Orientalism* as a discourse which constructed the East through various representations and classifications as feminine, backward etc.⁴⁵ inspired various musicological studies which problematized the repudiation of certain musical styles and genres by the official discourses that rejected them as aspects of a backward past (“internal ‘orients’”).⁴⁶ For instance, the existing literature on *rebetika*⁴⁷ gives space to this aspect as it investigates the persecution of the genre and its musicians in the 1930s Greece. Likewise, the nineteenth century Greek musical discourse defined an idealized Greek music largely in opposition to certain musical styles and techniques. For instance, singing in high pitches, nasal singing and guttural ornamentations were condemned as Asian, effeminate and degenerated.

Two Main Concepts: Discourse and Field

At the methodological level, this study draws on Foucault’s concept of discourse, a notion that inspired many works since its inception. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault takes discourse as a practice which names, analyses, classifies

⁴⁵ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978).

⁴⁶ Martin Stokes, *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁴⁷ Gail Holst, *Road to Rembetika: Music of A Greek Subculture. Songs of Love, Sorrow and Hashish*, (Anglo-Hellenic Publishing, 1977); for a study which looks at *rebétika* from the perspective of the collective identity of Asia Minor refugees in Greece, see Nikolas G. Pappas, “Concepts of Greekness: The Recorded Music of Anatolian Greeks after 1922”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol.17 1999, pp. 353-373; Ioannis Zelepos, *Rebetiko. Die Karriere einer Subkultur*, (Köln: Romiosini, 2001); for a comparative study that examines the implications of the reception of *rembetika* as a minority (ethnic or social) music in Turkey and Greece respectively, see Daniel Koglin, “Marginality- A Key Concept to Understanding the Resurgence of Rebetiko in Turkey”, *Music & Politics* 2, no.1, Winter 2008.

and explains the objects of which it speaks.⁴⁸ He situates the organization of the discourse in the linguistic field: “whenever one can describe between a number of statements such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation*”.⁴⁹ As P. Burke notes, while talking about the collective discourses of a period, Foucault does not illuminate us about, for instance how many discourses there were in a given period.⁵⁰ In this regard, K. M. Baker’s application of the notion of discourse provides us with a methodologically more transparent account that ties the concept of discourse to its political, social, and institutional context. In his study on the ideological origins of the French Revolution, Baker showed that in France in the second part of the eighteenth century, three strands of discourse, namely, the judicial discourse emphasizing *justice*, political discourse emphasizing *will* and administrative discourse emphasizing *reason*, structured the language of opposition to monarchical authority.⁵¹ Drawing on Foucault’s “archive” Baker claims that an inventory of the intellectual stock of any society “would reveal a multiplicity of separate discourses constituting separate domains of meaning”. He continues, “Each of these discourses would have its own history; each would have its own “logic”; each would constitute a field of social action by categorizing the world of social actors in accordance with its own terms of reference”.⁵² This dynamic approach is extremely useful for our

⁴⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002).

⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 41.

⁵⁰ P. Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p.55.

⁵¹ Keith Michael Baker, “On the Problem of the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution,” in *Inventing the French Revolution: essays on French political culture in the eighteenth century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.12- 27, p.25.

⁵² K. M. Baker, “On the Problem of the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution”, p.15.

quest of situating the formation of a discourse on music in the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople, within its ideological circumstances and in the climate of other discourses which were in the “intellectual stock” (as Baker says) of this particular community.

Before I conclude my discussion on the concept of discourse, some remarks on the conceptualization of the relationship between discourse and identity are in order. In the introduction of the previously cited book *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Stuart Hall rethinks the concept of identity. Arguing for the relevancy of the question of *identification*, he rearticulates the relationship between identities, subjects, and discursive practices, and claims that identities are the result of a successful articulation or “chaining” of the subject into the flow of the discourse.⁵³ Here, S. Hall builds on the critique that post-colonial theory brought to the study of identities, namely the position that sees identities not as singular but multiple, constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions.⁵⁴ The view of identities as fragmented and forming across diverse discourses and practices is well suited to our analysis since this can be a venue for grasping the plurality of the national identities.

Another key concept for this thesis is the notion of “field” which was introduced by social theorist Pierre Bourdieu in his book *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*. Here, Bourdieu defines “field” as “a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of

⁵³ Stuart Hall, “Introduction: Who needs ‘Identity’?” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay, (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

⁵⁴ See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p.2. Here, H. Bhabha emphasizes the “emergence of the interstices” where “intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated”.

politics and the economy”.⁵⁵ However, while this definition refers to an autonomous domain that achieves independence at a particular moment in a given culture and produces its own cultural conventions, Bourdieu cautiously notes that a field of cultural production may have virtually achieved complete autonomy in relation to external forces and demands while still remaining amenable to specifically sociological analysis.⁵⁶ Bourdieu’s theory on the field of literary production which determines its own system of values and its own logic of production has been applied in the theorization of “intellectual fields” in which the emergence of certain academic disciplines, the construction of their traditions and their including or excluding mechanisms were studied.⁵⁷ In these works, the neglected role of agency in Bourdieu’s own theorization of the “field” was tried to be transcended through some modifications. We should also note that in the aforementioned book, Bourdieu himself designates the field of cultural production as “the site of struggles in which what is at stake is the power to impose the dominant definition of the writer, artist or intellectual”⁵⁸ or “a field of competition for cultural legitimacy”⁵⁹, hence yielding, in my opinion, to the use of the notion of “field” in conjunction with the Foucaultian concept of “discourse” as practice which is embedded in power relations. In my study, I will tentatively attribute the name “musical field” to a realm of production of

⁵⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*, ed.& intro. by Randal Johnson, (Polity Press, 1993), p.162.

⁵⁶ P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. & intro. by Randal Johnson, (Polity Press, 1993). He writes on p.140: “By ignoring the systems of social relations within which symbolic systems are produced and utilized, strictly internal interpretation most frequently condemns itself to the gratuitousness of an arbitrary formalism”.

⁵⁷ Effi Gazi, “National ideology, scientific disciplines and intellectual fields in Greece (1880- 1922),” *Südost-Forschungen* (58) 1999, pp.247- 265. E. Gazi cogently applied the concept of field to the intellectual production at the University of Athens which contributed to the formation of the three national disciplines; history, linguistic and folklore. She argued that in the academic community that she focused on, in a specific cultural and political framework, the concept of the field was characterised by a high degree of cohesion focused on collective ritual and the authority of tradition and power relations.

⁵⁸ P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*, p.42.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.117.

a specialized knowledge on music. At this point, the specification of the “field” as an autonomous realm needs some clarification. The “autonomy” of the “musical field”, or to be more precise, of the “musical field” within the nineteenth-century Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople should be seen more in terms of particular processes of achieving autonomy like the professionalization in practices related to music, the establishment of “musical taste” as a topic of discussion and of “good” musical taste as a symbolic asset, than in terms of being independent of the political, ideological and economic processes. Consequently, social class will be present in our methodological scheme. However, my understanding and use of the category will be far from the Marxist sense of it, but rather will be in cultural terms. The starting point for any analysis of “cultural capital” is Bourdieu’s work *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*,⁶⁰ the most influential book ever written on the social value of taste. Here, Bourdieu makes an analysis of the social value of taste in music, painting and sport, taking it to be dependent on one’s educational capital and his social class. *La Distinction* is a book about classification and hierarchization of taste (*goût*). To link this with another building block of Bourdieu’s social theory, the concept of “habitus”, let us note that Bourdieu sees habitus as both the generating principle of, and the system of classification of practices (hence, taste) which constitute the “represented social world” or the “space of lifestyles”.⁶¹ To connect with our topic, for instance the playing of a western musical instrument (typically the clavier) among the Ottoman upper classes was valued as an asset that increased one’s cultural capital.

⁶⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1979).

⁶¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction*, p.190: “l’habitus est en effet à la fois *principe générateur* de pratiques objectivement classables et *système de classement* (principium divisionis) de ces pratiques”.

Let me note as a final point that another concern of this thesis is to combine an analysis of discourse with a perspective that gives space to agency. What I call the “actors” of the musical field consist of cantors, music teachers, the Greek-orthodox patriarchs and other members of the educated society. They had access to the public sphere through different symbolic capitals, i.e., cantors and musicians with their specialized knowledge of music and liberal professionals through their professional prestige and their education.

The Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is composed of seven chapters. The flow of the text is chronological, yet each chapter deals with a specific theme related to the topic. The next chapter begins with an overview of the period that extends from the Reform Edict (1856) until roughly the First World War. It brings forth various views from the literature about the Ottoman reforms regarding the organization of the *millets* and discusses the conceptual and ideological framework of the principle of “Ottomanism”. It introduces the major developments during the Hamidian regime and tackles briefly the program of the Young Turks. This bird’s eye-view of the *Tanzimat* and the late Ottoman periods is followed by a discussion of the recent historiography regarding the treatment of the Ottoman non-Muslims. New perspectives on the notion of class and diverse methodologies concerning the study of the Ottoman upper and middle classes are brought into discussion as challenges to the teleological view that dominates the writings about the late Ottoman era. In this connection, recent studies which focus on the public sphere and the civic associations or the ones which historicize the social production of the public space in the multicultural Ottoman context are emphasized. In the third section, I discuss the

works of the Greek historians who sought to challenge the existing paradigm within the Greek national historiography by investigating the Christian orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire, situating them within their own geographical, economic, and administrative reality. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I try to provide a description of the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople in the period that followed the Crimean War. The economic and geopolitical significance of this turning point is also explained. In the survey, the emphasis is on the cultural activities (i.e. staging of theatre plays and founding and maintaining of voluntary associations) of the Greek orthodox educated elite.

Chapter three is composed of sections of a rather diverse character. Even though all of them relate to the theme of “class”, each of them deals with this concept at a different level. In the first section, the ecclesiastical music reform in the Greek Orthodox churches of Vienna is brought forth as a question of the social identity of the Greek upper classes that lived in a multiethnic urban setting in the Habsburg Monarchy. This digression, even if it may seem irrelevant to the context of Ottoman Greeks, is pertinent to the reform of the ecclesiastical music which occupied the Greek orthodox clergy and laymen extensively in the nineteenth century. Also, by connecting musical discourse with the formation of, on the one hand the ethnic and on the other, the social identity in a multiethnic context, this example prepares the ground for our discussion on Ottoman Greeks. The next section seeks to analyze the discourses on music among the Greeks of Constantinople from the prism of the class concept. This is not an easy task since one has to legitimize first that class, here, does not feature the Marxist definition. Hence, in my analysis the term “class” does not have a role as an economic category that pertains to the relations of production, rather it encompasses the discourses that are sourced from the conception of class

(what I call “middle class discourses”) and which criticize and try to control the consumption practices related to music. The subsequent section is rather original in its search to classify the Ottoman Greek “church musicians” according to the concept of class as a social category. Furthermore, in its attempt at mapping the career trajectories of the Greek Orthodox cantors in nineteenth century Constantinople, it can be considered as a small contribution to the writing of the history of music profession in the Ottoman Empire. The last section of this chapter is devoted to the first Greek music association in Constantinople which was founded in 1863, with the initiative of the educated classes of the Greek orthodox society and the cantors who were employed mainly in the churches of Pera and Galata districts.

Chapter four takes us to the conceptual and symbolic level of the musical discourse. It revolves around the classical and romantic or medievalist visions of the past, the interpretations of the history of music, the notions of golden age and the collective memory of the community. In the first three sections, I discuss certain issues regarding the Modern Greek historiography, the negotiation of the Byzantine epoch and the debates on the reform of church music in a large context, giving place to the developments in 1870s Athens and to various discourses coming from the Greek Diaspora. In the next section, I deal with the attitudes of the Greeks of Constantinople towards the past and demonstrate that they were much more attached to their immediate past than to the glorious but remote one. However, I also argue for the existence of a romantic vision that shaped their understanding of the post-Byzantine era. In the next section, I focus on the emergence, within the framework of this romantic vision, of a discourse which attributed the Patriarchate of Constantinople a prominent place as the source of the “genuine” chanting style of the Orthodox Church. The topic of the last section is an attempt of writing a dictionary

of Greek ecclesiastical music by cantor Kyriakos Filoxenis. Here, the outcome of the debate on the interpretations of the musical past is read as the outcome of the ideological positioning of the interest groups within the Greek Orthodox community.

The fifth chapter gives a focused and chronological analysis of the debates on the ecclesiastical music reform. The first section refers to the influence of the French composer Louis Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840-1910) on the Greek intellectuals and musicians in the 1870s, regarding the preservation and restoration of the Greek ecclesiastical and lay music. This is followed by the description of a dilemma, whether the music issue is about the reform of the choirs and the introduction of the westernized polyphonic chant, or rather priority should be given to demonstrating the continuity of the nation through the continuity and unity of the music tradition. Hence, at the center of the third section is the musical dispute between banker Dimitris Paspallis and cantor Panagiotis G. Kiltzanidis. The next section is on the members, activities and the discourse of *Ελληνικός Μουσικός Σύλλογος* (Greek Music Society) which was founded in 1880. This society encouraged historical research into the chanting tradition and sought to invigorate it through the use of symbols and myths. The program and the work of the Music Committee which was assembled by Patriarch Joachim III in 1881 is the topic of the fifth section of this chapter. In terms of thematic succession, it should be considered as the response of the religious leader to the previously mentioned reform debates. I argue that the members of the Committee sought to rectify ecclesiastical music by combining their experience of the living chanting practice with an innovation (the use of a musical instrument) that they disguised with the discourse of a “scientific” approach to music, in order to appease the demands of the westernizing Greek upper classes. In the final section, the intellectual Georgios I. Papadopoulos’ works will be analyzed

as examples of history of music which maintained the notion of uninterrupted continuity of Hellenism and showed a remarkable concern for the study of early Christianity and Greek orthodoxy.

The broader framework of chapter six diffuses the narrowly focused atmosphere of the preceding ones. Even though musical discourse has been situated in its political context throughout the whole study, its cultural meanings were more in the foreground in the previous chapters. The theme of music and the formation of national identity can be traced in all the sections of this chapter, each of which revolves around a different motif. In the first section, the restoration attempts concerning ecclesiastical music during the patriarchship of Konstantinos V and the activities of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople (1898-1922) are investigated. Then, we turn our attention to the Hellenic Kingdom to see how musical discourse responded to broader issues pertaining to the social and national questions in the 1900s. The following section deals with music education at the Greek Orthodox schools of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the century. I have not aimed at a chronological investigation of the music education at the Greek Orthodox schools. Rather, my objective was to understand what was meant by a proper music education for the Greek orthodox children. In this respect, I tried to demonstrate how music education served the legitimization of the state, inculcation of patriotic sentiments and formation of national identity. The style of the fourth section differs from the other parts of the dissertation. Notwithstanding that our general methodological principle in this study emphasizes actors and agency, this section is based saliently on a person-centered approach which tries to gain insight into the sentiments, ties and commitments of the individual to the nation/ ancestral homeland, the community and the hometown. Thus, at the center of our analysis will be the

Greek philologist and musician Georgios Pahtikos (1869-1916). The following section takes us back to the framework of inter-communal relations in the Ottoman Empire that was tackled in the second chapter. Besides regarding music as a space of interaction and conflict among musicians of different ethno-religious origins, as a second goal, this section also points out to a particular “anti-colonial” discourse that emerged in the late nineteenth century among the practitioners of the eastern music traditions. In the final section, I try to show how the symbols of national language were monopolized by the state, and provide examples of the monitoring of the musical activities, e.g., public singing of hymns, anthems, marches, theatrical plays or musical dramas, music concerts by the Ottoman ruling elite.

CHAPTER II

THE GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The General Historical and Political Context of the Period (1856- 1914)

One of the landmarks in the history of the Ottoman Empire is the declaration of the *Hatt-ı Şerif* (Noble Edict) in 1839 which initiated a process of reforms known as the *Tanzimat*, aiming at the modernization and the secularization of the Ottoman society. İ. Ortaylı, in one of the seminal works on that period, noted that the Sublime Porte bureaucrats who penned the Edict were inspired by the system of state and society in Europe, and with the Noble Edict which was far from being similar to the previous attempts of the classical reformists, they attempted at implementing a new administrative model informed by a liberal economic perception.⁶² Besides the guarantees for life, honor and property, the equality of non-Muslim and Muslim subjects was also established at least in principle. The novelties that the *Tanzimat* desired to introduce especially in the legal and the fiscal realms, i.e. the secular courts, abolition of tax-farming, met the opposition of elite groups that had vested interests. This discontent led eventually to revolts in some provinces.⁶³ Another major reason for the erupting unrest was the resentment of the Muslim population for losing their privileged position with respect to the non-Muslims.

The spirit of the *Tanzimat* was consolidated with a new reform decree in 1856, the *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Edict) which was largely dictated by the European powers

⁶² İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1983), pp. 64-71.

⁶³ Halil İnalcık, "The Application of the Tanzimat and Its Social Effects," *Archivum. Ottomanicum*, 5 (1973), pp.97-128.

as a result of the peace treaty in Paris after the Crimean war.⁶⁴ The Ottoman government hoped that foreign intervention in favor of the minorities, especially Russian influence on the Greek Orthodox would be curbed if equality promises could be kept and clerical influence in the *millets* could be diminished.

The novel principle of government over the Ottoman subjects introduced by the *Tanzimat* was their organization in *millets* whose religious leaders would be responsible for their homogenization and their harmonious integration within the broader society. Here, some remarks on *millet* as a historiographical issue are in order. The first issue is about the origins and the historical evolution of the term *millet*. In Turkish historiography, there has been a misconception that the millet-system was established already in the years after the Ottoman conquest.⁶⁵ By highlighting the change in the meaning and the connotations of the term *millet* throughout the centuries, several historians challenged the early use and the static conceptualization of the term since the fifteenth century.⁶⁶ Another issue around the concept of *millet* is the extent to which it separated the members of a confessional denomination from the larger society in everyday life. D. Goffman noted that the concept of *millet* was supposed to impose rigid divisions within the Ottoman society which was not always the case in real life.⁶⁷ A

⁶⁴ About the reform process beginning with the Reform Edict of 1856 until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1876; see Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

⁶⁵ For instance, see Kemal Karpat, "The roots of the incongruity of nation and state in the post-Ottoman Era," in B. Braude and B. Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a plural society*, (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1992), pp. 141-170.

⁶⁶ Benjamin Braude, 'Foundation myths of the millet system', in B. Braude & B. Lewis, *Christians and Jews*, pp. 69-88 and Daniel Goffman, "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Fall 1994, 11, pp. 138-158. See also Vangelis C. Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Izmir at the end of the Empire. A Non-Muslim Ottoman Community Between Autonomy and Patriotism*, (Ph.d diss., University of Leiden, 2005), pp. 135-140.

⁶⁷ Daniel Goffman, "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century".

more recent book criticized the emphasis in the literature on the communal autonomy and the centrality of the religious divide. Four influential studies collected in the volume *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*⁶⁸ went against the established perception of the *millets* as self contained entities and attempted to show that the grip of the community institutions on non-Muslim individuals was not as strong as one might tend to think. In the introduction, M. Greene suggested that rather than studying the history of the religious communities as “the history of the institutions and the laws that were directed at them”, more emphasis should be given to the discussion of how non-Muslims actually navigated daily life, what circumstances brought the religious communities together and how the interaction was managed.⁶⁹

In his seminal work on the Young Ottomans, Ş. Mardin has shown that after the 1860s, the *Tanzimat* began to be criticized by a group of bureaucrats and intellectuals who came to be called Young Ottomans.⁷⁰ According to this group, the pragmatic reformism of the *Tanzimat* statesmen had made the country economically and politically dependent on the western powers. While they believed in the necessity of obtaining scientific and industrial progress from Europe, they severely objected to the imitation of the “amorality” of the Europeans and to the annihilation of the domestic culture. For the Young Ottomans, the modernization of politics necessitated a constitutional regime and a parliament. In their arguments, they legitimated their demands for a representational government, emphasizing that it was compatible with Islamic values and ideals. The

⁶⁸ Molly Greene (ed.) *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 2005).

⁶⁹ Molly Greene, “Introduction,” in *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, pp.2-3.

⁷⁰ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of the Young Ottoman Thought. A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962). Also see Erik Jan Zürcher, “Introduction: Young Ottomans and Young Turks,” in *The Unionist Factor. The role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*, (Leiden: Brill, 1984), pp.5-8.

intellectual work of the Young Ottomans prepared the ground for the promulgation of the Constitution in 1876 at the opening session of an international peace conference in Constantinople. By proclaiming the Constitution and the first Ottoman Parliament, and also granting equal civic rights to the non-Muslims of the Empire, the Sublime Porte bureaucrats ward off the reform demands of the Great Powers who wanted special reforms in favor of particular ethnic and religious groups.⁷¹ The major architect of the Constitution was Midhat Paşa, but the experience that the non-Muslim bureaucrats, Armenians in particular, gained within their own *millets* through the introduction and the functioning of representative bodies after the 1856 reforms contributed greatly to the preparation of the Ottoman Constitution.⁷²

The *Tanzimat* statesmen promoted a program of Ottomanism (*Osmanlılık*) based on a new egalitarian citizenship and on civic patriotism. There has been a topic of discussion in the relevant literature on whether a real equality between the Muslims and non-Muslims was achieved or not. C. Findley's study on the representation and rewarding of the non-Muslims in the late Ottoman bureaucracy revealed that even though the legal recognition on a basis of egalitarian principle is of particular importance, patterns of marginality (due to the continuing importance of clientelism)

⁷¹ Şükrü Hanioglu interprets the proclamation of the Constitution as a shrewd act of certain Ottoman bureaucrats. He suggests that Ahmed Midhat Paşa suddenly shifted from promoting bureaucratic modernization to espousing representative constitutionalism because the equalization of ethnic and religious groups under a constitution would benefit the Muslims. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 30.

⁷² See A. Beylérlian, "Krikor Odian (1834-1887): Un Haut Fonctionnaire Ottoman Homme des Mission Secrètes", *Revue du Monde Arménien* I (1994), pp.45-86. Supporting and inspiring the architect of the Constitution Midhat Paşa, Krikor Odian was celebrated by the Young Turks as a prominent contributor to the constitutional movement.

and enclavement persisted and that non-Muslim bureaucrats were unequally rewarded.⁷³ Other studies discussed the “failure” of the *Tanzimat* in terms of unintended consequences and paradoxes. Regarding the question of modernization, while acknowledging the pioneering role of the non-Muslims in cultural westernization, commerce, finance and journalism, R. Davison saw *millets* (the ethno-religious groups) as conservative bodies resisting change, especially about issues like military conscription and the abolition of tax-farming.⁷⁴ According to P. Dumont, one of the paradoxes of the *Tanzimat* was that the ideal of union and fraternity held by the Ottoman reformers led to the perverse effect of the emergence of diverse nations mainly because by allowing the *millets* to run their internal affairs freely, the Ottoman government authorized them to turn to their own particularisms.⁷⁵ Again dealing with the question of the *millet* system, F. Georgeon noted that while the *Tanzimat* ruling elite hoped to create an “Ottoman nation” by secularizing the *millets* by reducing the power of the clergy and to weaken their identities; the new elites became the pioneers of nationalism.⁷⁶

As S. Anagnostopoulou noted, the principle of *Osmanlılık* or “Ottoman patriotism” as the *Tanzimat* and the Reform Edict of 1856 tried to establish had to do with the legitimation of the Ottoman rule and the homogenization of an “Ottoman

⁷³ Carter Findley, “The Acid Test of Ottomanism. The Acceptance of Non-Muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy”, in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* ed. by. Benjamin Braude& Bernard Lewis, (New York: Holmes &Meier, 1982).

⁷⁴ Roderic Davison, “Millets as Agents of Change in the 19th century Ottoman Empire,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by B. Braude and B. Lewis., 1982. Elsewhere, it was noted by Roderic Davison that “the mere fact that the reorganization was along millet lines helped to reemphasize the lack of homogeneity among Ottoman peoples...even though the power of the clergy was lessened and some degree of secularization introduced, the lines of religious distinction between Ottoman peoples were retraced, not obliterated.” Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, p.132.

⁷⁵ Paul Dumont, “La période des Tanzîmât (1839-1878),” in *Histoire de L’Empire Ottoman* ed. by. Robert Mantran, (Paris: Fayard, 1989), pp.459-522.

⁷⁶ F. Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II. Le sultan calife (1876-1909)*, (Paris: Fayard, 2003), p.321.

people” through a coherent ideology. In one of her recent works, she drew attention to the two-fold problem that the leading religious authorities of the *millets* faced. She wrote that, on the one hand, their authority over the *millet* was in danger because of becoming agents of lay education and of the secularization of the institutional framework of the *millet*. On the other, they had to legitimate their own power not only as religious but also as a political power, as *millet* was not only a traditional religious but also a modern political entity.⁷⁷ Another problem posed by the *millet* system was whether the community administration which was organized within this system further enhanced autonomy or promoted a common “Ottoman” identity and whether the members of the *millets* gained political experience in the new system of administration which might have led to the politicization of the *millets*.⁷⁸

Returning to the course of events in the mid 1870s, after the promulgation of the Constitution and the deposition of Abdülaziz (1861- 1876), prince Murad V who was a freemason⁷⁹ succeeded him on the throne but only for three months. His brother Abdülhamid II (1876- 1909) who replaced him, despite his initial support for the Constitution, closed down the Parliament in 1878 under the pressure of the Russian

⁷⁷ Sia Anagnostopoulou, “The ‘nation’ of the *Rum* sings of its Sultan: The many faces of Ottomanism”, in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

⁷⁸ See Yonca Köksal, “Imperial center and local groups: Tanzimat reforms in the provinces of Edirne and Ankara”, *New Perspectives on Turkey* 27, Fall 2002, pp. 107-138. For the period of 1908- 1912, see V. C. Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Izmir at the end of the Empire. A Non-Muslim Ottoman Community Between Autonomy and Patriotism*, (Ph.d diss., University of Leiden, 2005).

⁷⁹ A key figure in the attempts to bring Murad V to the throne again after his dethronement in 1876, was a Constantinopolitan Greek called Cléanthi Scalieri who had joined the French Masonic Lodge in 1865. Scalieri advocated the establishment of a new Byzantine state. After an attempt to reenthroned Murad which failed, Scalieri fled to Greece and died in 1891 without accomplishing his aim. Another Ottoman Greek Stephanos Skouloudis, head of another Masonic group, concurred with Scalieri’s agenda for a new Byzantine state but believed that it was equally important to oppose Slavic imperialism. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, pp. 34-35.

invasion. The reign of Abdülhamid II has been interpreted in many different ways in the relevant historiography.⁸⁰ P. Dumont is of the opinion that the optimism of *Tanzimat* was replaced by a period of doubts and crisis.⁸¹ In general, many would agree that it was a despotic rule which tried to suppress the political opposition through spying or censoring of the press. There are two seminal works that led to a revision of the period. In *Abdulhamid II. Le sultan calife (1876-1909)*, F. Georgeon claimed that the Empire was never so diverse in terms of ethnic, confessional and linguistic plurality, as during the reign of Abdülhamid. The loss of territories in 1878 augmented the existing plurality with the emigrations from the Balkans, Caucasus and Crete. Besides, modern urbanization that had started with the *Tanzimat* and was maintained under Abdülhamid, the development of communications, the emergence of public spaces, new leisure activities and mixed schools made possible the interpenetration of different communities.⁸² In his seminal work, S. Deringil asserted that similar to the other monarchies of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman ruling elite sought to create a national basis in order to legitimize its own existence. He furthermore, noted that during the Hamidian regime, Islamic institutions, sharia and the caliphate, were endowed with a new content as part of a search for a new imperial/national ideology.⁸³ As K. Karpas noted – though for an earlier period- faith as an individual religious commitment

⁸⁰ S. Shaw & E. Shaw's study is one of the first works which saw this period as a continuation of the *Tanzimat*'s modernization and westernization projects. See Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, (1808- 1975)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

⁸¹ Paul Dumont, "Le dernier Sursaut (1878- 1908)," in *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman* ed. by. Robert Mantran, (Paris: Fayard, 1989), p.526.

⁸² François Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II. Le sultan calife (1876-1909)*, (Paris: Fayard, 2003), pp.320-24.

⁸³ Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998).

increasingly coincided with faith as a form of political identification and a means of integration into a new form of political organization.⁸⁴ Historians generally note that during the Hamidian regime, the propaganda related to the caliphate was used as a means for ideological mobilization. According to Dumont, Abdülhamid knew that he could not mobilize the Muslims of the world around the caliphate but he wanted to mobilize the domestic Muslim populations around the institution of the caliphate. He also rightly observes that the caliphal policy was also enhanced as a remedy to the nationalisms of the Kurds, Albanians and Arabs.⁸⁵ The period was also important for the ideological reorientations within the *Rum milleti* and the search for legitimacy of the orthodox Patriarch which will be discussed in this study. Regarding the relations of the Greek-orthodox communities and the Ottoman government during this period, we can briefly mention that the issue of the privileges of the community, which guaranteed the autonomy of the *millet* in the realm of education, family affairs and religion, escalated to several crises between the government and the Patriarchate in the 1880s and 1890s.⁸⁶

The period from the 1890s to 1914 is extremely important for late Ottoman, but also for modern Turkish history, because the official ideology of the early modern Turkish state was shaped during this period. Many among those who opposed

⁸⁴ Kemal Karpaz, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, From Millets to Nations*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1973), p.24.

⁸⁵ Paul Dumont, "Le dernier Sursaut", p.534.

⁸⁶ For the issue of privileges, as it is called in the modern Greek historiography *pronomiako zitiima*, see Haris Exertzoglou, "Το προνομιακό ζήτημα (The Privileges Question)," *Ta Historika*, 16, 1992, pp.65-84; Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία, 19^{ος} αι.-1919, οι ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες, Από το Μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος* (Asia Minor, The Greek-Orthodox Communities. From Rum Millet to the Hellenic Nation), (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1998), pp.461-81; Vangelis Kechriotis, "The Modernization of the Empire and the Community 'Privileges': Greek-orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies" in *The State and the Subaltern. Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran* ed.by Touraj Atabaki, (London: L.B. Tauris, 2007), pp.53-70.

Abdülhamid and became known as the Young Turks were organized in the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), a clandestine organization whose nucleus was formed in 1889. The fact that “union” was emphasized in the name of the organization gives a hint about the real concern of the revolutionary group, which was to save the Empire.⁸⁷ The CUP was not a monolithic political organization; it was a composite group including many different ideological orientations and an organization which passed through many transformations between 1889 and 1908.⁸⁸ Ş. Mardin pointed out to the continuity from the liberal movement of the Young Ottomans to the Young Turks. However, he noted that the program of the latter had a much less theoretical-speculative content in comparison with that of the previous generation.⁸⁹ Some observations about the approach of the Young Turks - at least in the initial phase of the movement - toward “representative government” are also worth mentioning. According to Ş. Hanioglu, except for being a “modern” symbol and a mechanism for preventing the Great Powers’ intervention, representative government meant little to the Young Turks whose ideology “was originally “scientific,” materialist, social Darwinist, elitist and vehemently antireligious”.⁹⁰ The “Ottomanism” of the Tanzimat statesmen was reformulated by the Young Turks as *İttihad-ı Anasır* (Union of the Peoples).⁹¹ Even though their reform program included all the Ottomans and initially the restoration of the Constitution

⁸⁷ Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1995).

⁸⁸ On various approaches toward the Young Turk Revolution in Ottoman and modern Greek historiography, see Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Smyrna*, pp.16-35.

⁸⁹ Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi fikirleri 1895- 1908*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 1983).

⁹⁰ Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, pp.31-32.

⁹¹ Erik Jan Zürcher noted that following the ideals of the statesmen of the *Tanzimat* who already had in mind a form of forced Ottomanization of the minorities, the Young Turks also opted for the “maximal” solution and tried to realize this, first through Panislamism after the debacle of the idea of *ittihad-ı anasır* and increasingly with (Pan)turkism after 1913. E. J. Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor*, p.23.

triggered a great joy and widespread support among all the segments of the society, the unitary principle of Ottomanism did not succeed.⁹² Concerning the Greeks of the Empire, during the period of 1908- 1910, the reactions to state-oriented modernization came both from the elite groups whose power was curtailed and also from all segments of the Greek-orthodox communities.⁹³

Ottoman Historiography: Non-Muslims, Inter-communal Relations and Challenges to Teleological History Writing

The modernization paradigm which prevailed in the Ottoman/Turkish history writing of the 1960s and 70s saw the Ottoman reforms as heavy-handed impositions of the state which looked toward the western societies as a model but could not achieve a full modernization because it lacked their articulated state mechanisms and a hegemonic ideology. It was erroneously assumed that the processes which were similar to the ones in Europe would have similar consequences. For instance, as far as the educational policies were concerned, irrespective of the new organization of the *millets*, the growing emphasis in all the non-Muslim communities on secular education was seen by historians as a development that would inevitably result in the cultivation of nationalist

⁹² On the failure of the Ottomanist project among the Greek-orthodox, Vangelis Kechriotis wrote the following: "...Ottomanist principles as implemented by the CUP leadership were shared only by certain segments among the non-Muslims. The majority among the elite groups of the Greek-orthodox, for instance, had a totally different perception of what the political orientation of the Empire should be. Therefore, as a result of this misconception, it was assumed that the implementation of a modernization agenda would provide the Greek-orthodox, especially in the cities, with a unique opportunity to translate their social and economic influence into political authority." Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Smyrna*, p. 15.

⁹³ Vangelis Kechriotis, "The Modernization of the Empire and the Community 'Privileges': Greek-orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies", p.54. For the legislative process beginning around 1910 concerning the limitation of the privileges/power of the patriarch, see Sia Anagnostopoulou, (*Asia Minor*), p. 462.

feelings among these communities, like it had happened in Europe.⁹⁴ For instance, A. Kazamias wrote that any concept of Pan-Ottomanism was unrealistic because the Ottoman Greeks tried to instill Greek nationalism and Hellenic culture through their educational institutions.⁹⁵ Sometimes, with a highly essentialist and teleological approach, the Christians of the Empire were seen as having a monolithic attitude of opposing the Ottoman reforms from the outset and committing themselves to an outright agenda of separation.⁹⁶ Numerous studies emphasized the failure of the program of *Osmanlılık*, the idea of equality among all the subjects of the Empire regardless of ethnic/ religious affiliations. Since the 1990s though, concomitant with a general challenge to studies based on the modernization paradigm, we can talk about a paradigmatic shift from the essentialist and teleological frameworks to new ways of looking at the inter-communal relations within the Ottoman Empire.

One of the most significant historiographical developments which offered new ways of looking at the inter-communal relations within the Ottoman Empire and which also fed into the discussion about the Ottoman commercial bourgeoisie has been the refutation of the “collaborationist” interpretation of the relations between western interests and local non-Muslim groups. To cite two historians providing arguments related to the economy, R. Kasaba showed that the interests of the foreign capitalists and the local intermediaries in nineteenth century western Anatolia were not converging but

⁹⁴ Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, p.132.

⁹⁵ Andreas M. Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966), p. 95.

⁹⁶ In one of his articles, R. Davison wrote: “The doctrine of equality faced formidable opposition from Christians of the empire who were leaders in the churches and the nationalist movements”. See Roderic Davison, “Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century,” *The American Historical Review* vol.59 no.4 (July 1954), pp. 844- 864.

actually were competing.⁹⁷ Likewise E. Frangakis-Syrett's work made it explicit that the implementation of the 1838 Anglo-Turkish convention which liberalized the trading conditions to the benefit of European merchants by doing away with monopolies and tax-farming met the strong resistance of the minority merchants in western Anatolia⁹⁸. Next, I should mention E. Eldem's essay in a volume on three Ottoman port-cities, which interpreted the concept of "port-city" as a locus of contacts in the sense of encounters between cultures and ethnicities, and conflicts between political goals or economic interests. Here, Eldem drew attention to the divides within the Ottoman ethnic/religious groups themselves and noted that the persecution of the Armenian Catholic community by both the Ottoman bureaucracy and the Armenian Gregorian Church should be seen as a counter example to the "collaborationist" paradigm.⁹⁹ Thus, he challenged the monolithic view of the non-Muslim communities as devoid of inner social, cultural, and ideological (and as we saw in some cases, sectarian) divides. Furthermore, one has to bear in mind the increasing penetration of global and western practices. In the last twenty years, the everyday life of the Ottoman individuals have been studied in the mode of *histoire des mentalités* using interesting research material with the aim of revealing past attitudes toward modernity, westernization and in general, toward life. For instance, a study on the personal account book of an Ottoman official revealed that the lifestyle of an Ottoman functionary at the beginning of the century had

⁹⁷ Reşat Kasaba, "Was there a comprador bourgeoisie in mid-nineteenth century western Anatolia?", *Review* XI, 2, Spring 1988, pp. 215-28.

⁹⁸ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Implementation of the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Convention on Izmir's Trade: European and Minority Merchants", *New Perspectives on Turkey* 7, (Spring 1992), pp.91-112.

⁹⁹ Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to peripheralized Capital," in E. Eldem, D. Goffman and B. Masters (eds) *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir and Istanbul*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.148.

many similarities with the habits and the consumption patterns of a European bourgeois while remaining attached to certain traits of Ottoman culture.¹⁰⁰ In another study, drawing on a sample of signatures of the clients of the Ottoman Bank, E. Eldem showed that 49 % of the Greek-orthodox clients used the Latin signature (instead of a Turkish or Greek signature) exclusively. According to Eldem, the high rate of the usage of the Latin alphabet or even Gallicized names in the signatures instead of traditional ethnic writing was indicative of the impact of modernity and western culture on the cultural choices and behavior of Greek Orthodox individuals.¹⁰¹ I would like to add to this phenomenon what we might call “colonial cosmopolitanism”, a very relevant and striking example from the corpus of music sources that are at my disposal. A popular song collection published in 1859 (2nd edition: 1888) by a Greek-orthodox cantor included a song whose lyrics was a mixture of Greek, French and Turkish words.¹⁰² Building on these observations and reminding the reader of the theoretical debate (that I mentioned in the

¹⁰⁰ Paul Dumont & François Georgeon, « Un Bourgeois d'Istanbul au Début du XXe Siècle, » *Turcica* XVII 1985, pp. 127-182. Said Bey's Ottoman taste for entertainment, a preference for *şalgı* (oriental music in a tavern) rather than a western music concert did not prevent him from buying a piano for his daughter. The piano was prestigious furniture for a bourgeois family which indicated an adherence to occidental values.

¹⁰¹ Edhem Eldem, “Υπογραφές ελλήνων πελατών της Αυτοκρατορικής Οθωμανικής Τράπεζας: ένας μίτος για τις πολιτιστικές επιλογές και συμπεριφορές;” in *Ελλάδα και Τουρκία: Πορείες Εκσυγχρονισμού. Οι Αμφίσημες Σχέσεις τους με την Ευρώπη 1850-1950*, (Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey, encounters with Europe 1850-1950) ed. by Ç. Keyder and A. Frangoudaki, (Athens: Alexandria, 2008), pp. 101- 43. Also see Edhem Eldem, “‘Istanbul 1903- 1918: A Quantitative Analysis of A Bourgeoisie’”, *Boğaziçi Journal. Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, v. 11, 1-2 (1997) *Istanbul Past and Present Special Issue*, pp. 53-98.

¹⁰² *Καλλίφωνος Σειρήν ήτοι συλλογή διαφόρων ασμάτων, Τουρκικών, Ευρωπαϊκών και Ελληνικών Μελοποιηθέντων υπό Χ. Παναγιώτου Γεωργιάδου του Προυσαέως, εν Κωνσταντινούπολει, τύποις Σ. Ιγνατιάδου, 1859.* (Hatzı Panagiotis Georgiadis of Proussa, Kallifonos Seirin, (Constantinople: S. Ignatiadou, 1859), p.207. Below is given one stanza of the above mentioned song in the original and in English translation (French and Turkish words in brackets are added by me):

Κλαίω τουζούρ [toujours] μεφαστήζ [mefaatsiz?]	I'm crying all the time, you unfaithful
Ζέσπερ [j'espère] πως θα χτυκιάσω,	I hope I will get tuberculosis
Διότι είν τρεδιφισίλ [très difficile],	Because it is very difficult,
Τζάνημ [canım] να σε ξεχάσω.	Darling, to forget you.

Introduction) on the fracturedness and the complexity of identities, I would like to stress that the “unity” which national identities proclaim and therefore the existence of a unified and singular Greek-(orthodox) identity should be questioned.¹⁰³ One of the objectives of this dissertation is to show how different identifications and different world views were articulated in the musical discourse of the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople.

After having focused on the interpretative scheme which stressed diversity within the ethnic-religious groups of the Empire against a wrongly attributed compact identity, I want to mention two different paradigms which have potential importance in shaping our understanding of the inter-communal relations in the Ottoman Empire and in revising the teleological history writing in this field. In her work about the processes of the formation of the bourgeoisie in the Ottoman Empire, F. M. Göçek had concluded that the western style education had unintended consequences of transforming three Ottoman social groups –merchants, officials and intellectuals into an emergent

¹⁰³ To illustrate this point, I will mention some interesting references in three letters sent by the employee of the Imperial Museum Theodore Macridis to the vice-director of the Museum Halil Edhem [Eldem] in 1902 and 1907. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Edhem Eldem who gave these letters to me. In a letter sent from Boğazköy on 10/23 June 1907, Th. Macridis comments in parentheses on a red vase with black ornaments in the form of a cross which was found during the excavations: “Mon ami Mystakidis dirait que c’est un blasphème d’avoir une croix avant le Christ!” V. A. Mystakidis was the commissary of antiquities and librarian of the Imperial Museum, and at the same time teacher of history and geography in the Great School of the Nation (*Megali tou Genous Sholi*) in Phanar. Similar remarks e.g. «[...]mon ami Mystakidis demandera j’en suis certain mon excommunication s’il apprend que j’ai travaillé même le jour de Pâques» (from the letter sent from Boğazköy on 27 May/9 June 1907), or “Je fais en ce moment concurrence à Mystakidis Eff. avec les prêtres. Il est entouré constamment par des vénérables despotes et *papas*[...]» (from the letter sent from Baalbek 1/14 August 1902) can perhaps be seen as indices of different positions and world views among the members of the Greek-orthodox community of which also the individuals of the time were aware, and that these individuals consciously and repeatedly articulated and projected their own positions in everyday life.

bourgeoisie segmented along religious and ethnic lines.¹⁰⁴ According to this interpretation, the fragmentation of the upper classes and its ideological consequences were the reasons for the eventual demise of the Ottoman Empire. Contrary to this, E. Eldem argued for the conceptualization of *an* Ottoman bourgeoisie unified by a commitment to western ideas and a concept of civilization.¹⁰⁵ According to Eldem, the determinants of the definition of such a bourgeoisie were, for instance, being educated in a western system, having a solid profession, frequenting the westernized urban sector of the city, and a common “economic culture”. He, furthermore, wrote that voluntary associations functioned as a medium of integration of the bourgeoisie which provided its members with an autonomous locus of debate and decision-making leading to the formation of a civil society and also diminishing the effect of the dividing lines between religious/ethnic communities.¹⁰⁶ Stressing the need for studies on forms of sociability among the members of the different ethno-religious groups in the Ottoman society, Eldem noted that the existing research has largely concentrated on the voluntary associations with a political character which emphasized the “national” character of a community, as a result of which the prevailing conflictual and fragmented vision of Ottoman society was confirmed. He encouraged the studying of, for instance, the pre-1908 discourse of the Masonic lodges which emphasized the need for a plural(ist) society in the empire.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire. Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹⁰⁵ Edhem Eldem, “[A Quest for] The Bourgeoisie of Istanbul: Identities, Roles and Conflicts,” [forthcoming].

¹⁰⁶ E. Eldem, “[A Quest for] the Bourgeoisie of Istanbul: Identities, Roles and Conflicts”, p.19.

¹⁰⁷ E. Eldem, “[A Quest for] the Bourgeoisie of Istanbul: Identities, Roles and Conflicts”, p.20.

Let me also briefly mention how the elite layers of the Ottoman cities were dealt with in the relevant literature which revolves around the notions of sociability and inter-communal coexistence.¹⁰⁸ The terms “urban elite”, “middle class” and “bourgeoisie” refer to an educated elite with civic consciousness who took initiatives in urban administration, public education and civil organization in the nineteenth-century Ottoman cities like Constantinople, Smyrna¹⁰⁹, Salonica¹¹⁰ and Alexandria.¹¹¹ In recent modern Greek literature, historians who seek to investigate the Greek-orthodox community within the Ottoman power system generally tend to talk about a *Greek bourgeoisie*. For instance, S. Anagnostopoulou referred to a *μεγάλη αστική ρωμείκη τάξη* (‘Greek Orthodox haut bourgeoisie’) of Constantinople in contradistinction to the burgeoning *μέση “Ελληνική” αστική τάξη* (‘Hellenic’ middle class) – whose members were mostly Hellenic citizens - of the coastal cities.¹¹² Preferring to use the term *middle class*, H. Exertzoglou argued that given the vagueness in the definition of this class

¹⁰⁸ See *Vivre Dans l’Empire Ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIe- XXe siècles)*, ed. by François Georgeon and Paul Dumont, (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1997). In the introduction F. Georgeon writes that the concept “sociability” lies in the space between the family and the State but it is not limited to structures and organized forms, we should also search for it in the informal and spontaneous domain of social relations.

¹⁰⁹ Marie-Carmen Smyrnellis, «Colonies Européennes et Communautés Ethnico-confessionnelles à Smyrne, coexistence et réseaux de sociabilité (fin du XVIII- milieu du XIX siècle)» in *Vivre Dans l’Empire Ottoman, Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires*, pp.173-194.

¹¹⁰ For an interesting study that deals with civic consciousness, public debate (with a focus on journals) and municipal concerns at the end of the nineteenth century Salonica, see Alexandra Yerolympos, «Conscience Citadine et Intérêt Municipal à Salonique à la Fin du XIXe Siècle» in *Vivre dans l’Empire Ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)*, pp. 123-44. Particularly for associational activity in Salonica, see Meropi Anastassiadou, “Le “Beau Monde” Salonicien Vers 1900 Identité et Modes de Vie,” in *Salonique, 1830- 1912: Une ville ottomane à l’âge des Réformes*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 359-381; also Meropi Anastassiadou, “Sports d’élite et élites sportives à Salonique au tournant du siècle” in *Vivre dans l’Empire Ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)*, pp.145-160.

¹¹¹ Robert Ilbert, *Alexandrie 1860- 1960. Un modèle éphémère de convivialité: communautés et identité cosmopolite*, (Autrement, 1992). Robert Ilbert, “Alexandrie, cosmopolite?” in *Villes ottomanes à la Fin de l’Empire*, ed. by P. Dumont, F. Georgeon, R. Ilbert, (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992), pp.171- 185.

¹¹² Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor, The Greek-Orthodox Communities. From Rum Millet to the Hellenic Nation*, pp. 301-308.

which came from the process of its formation and reproduction under intense social mobility, the term *middle class* had the advantage of flexibility, as it did not refer narrowly to entrepreneurs but also to wider layers with other professional orientations, social status, and income.¹¹³ Furthermore, regarding the rise of the middle classes, Exertzoglou emphasized factors like the new distributions of power, identities and discourses, instead of seeing it simply as the outcome of economic factors. Also, the rise of Greek professionals, i.e., doctors, lawyers who are generally included in the definition of the “bourgeoisie” or referred to as the “educated bourgeoisie”¹¹⁴ began to be studied in the scholarship. The professional education and various activities of the Greek Orthodox professionals in the public sphere have been studied as constituents of their public identity that are projected to and perceived in their own community and in the broader Ottoman society.¹¹⁵ However, the terms “Greek bourgeoisie” or “Greek middle classes” have to be taken with caution. The cited authors use them for the purpose of preciseness and due to their focus on the Greek-orthodox populations. Otherwise, such designations bear the danger of isolating the experience of the wealthy and/or educated Greek-orthodox from that of a broader strata of the Ottoman society sharing similar lifestyles.

In recent years, approaches regarding the conceptualization of a composite or a fragmented Ottoman bourgeoisie, namely the ethnic aspect of the category of class (in

¹¹³ Haris Exertzoglou, *National Identity in Constantinople in the 19th Century*, p. 47.

¹¹⁴ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875- 1914*, (Abacus, 1997), p.172: “Except for senior salaried state servants, members of this class would be expected to possess capital or an investment income and/or act as independent profit-making entrepreneurs employing labour or as members of a ‘free’ profession which was a form of private enterprise”.

¹¹⁵ Vangelis Kechriotis, “Between professional duty and national fulfillment: the Smyrniot medical doctor Apostolos Psaltos (1862-1923)” in *Elites urbaines et savoir scientifique dans la société Ottomane (XIX-XX siècles)* ed. by M. Anastassiadou (Paris: IFEA & Maisonneuve et Laroche, 2003), pp. 331-348.

the economic and cultural sense) went into a dialogue with the particular historiographical debate which was about the existence of the middle class(es) outside of the North-Western European context, particularly in the nineteenth century Ottoman and non-Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean port-cities.¹¹⁶ The latter debate has challenged two theoretical-historiographical fields. First, it has challenged the Eurocentric modernization theory and second, it has aspired to correct the established teleological history writing that has been dealing with the non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire. It should also be noted that the debate on the Ottoman Mediterranean port-cities owes its argumentative power partly to the recent studies which focus on the broad processes that constructed modernity and which aspire to a history of connections with a global perspective.¹¹⁷ A case in point, C. A. Bayly's study confronted the modernization theories by emphasizing *modernity* (more precisely, plural modernities) instead of modernization, and at the same time challenged the postmodernist works by drawing attention to the importance of the weight of change towards uniformity and to similar forms of governmentality across the world in the modern period.¹¹⁸ Coming back to the debate on the "middle class" in the Ottoman port-cities, let me start with the concept itself. "Middle class" is a concept whose meaning is difficult to describe. Besides the fact that its meaning has changed over time since the eighteenth century, the concept has different meanings and different connotations, in particular national (e.g. English,

¹¹⁶ See Reşat Kasaba, Çağlar Keyder, Faruk Tabak, "Port-Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, 1800-1914", *Review*, V. XVI, 4, (Fall 1993), pp. 387-410.

¹¹⁷ Georg G. Iggers, "Modern Historiography from an Intercultural Global Perspective", in *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* ed. by Gunilla-Friederike Budde, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 83- 94.

¹¹⁸ C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780- 1914. Global Connections and Comparisons*, (Malden: Blackwell, 2004).

French, and German etc.) or regional contexts within Europe.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the deconstruction of the “myth” around the French Revolution and Industrial Revolution since the 1970s called into question the relationship among political, economic and social change and challenged the status of the middle class as the motor of modern history.¹²⁰ Recent historiographical approaches brought new perspectives concerning the conceptualization of class. C. E. Harrison noted two new directions regarding the accommodation of class in the interpretations of the historians; one focusing on class as a linguistic construction that functions as a political tool and the other which sees class as cultural practice and a device for social navigation. Despite their differences, both approaches share a common perspective that abandons the conception of class as a taxonomic device, as a set of boundaries.¹²¹ Similarly noting the impact of post-structuralism, Simon Gunn has noted that in the new phase of historical writing, the “middle class” is not so much defined by occupation or income as by a collective self-fashioning conducted within an emergent public sphere.¹²²

In his seminal work, Keith Watenpaugh argued that in the eve of the First World War, “a discrete middle class emerged in the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean that

¹¹⁹ See Pamela Pilbeam, *The middle classes in Europe 1789- 1914: France, Germany, Italy and Russia*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990). Particularly, for the differences between the English middle class and German *Bürgertum*, and the different layers of meaning of the concept *Bürgertum*, see Jürgen Kocka, “The Middle Classes in Europe,” *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 67 no.4 Dec. (1995), pp.783- 806; Eric Hobsbawm, “La middle class anglaise”, in *Les Bourgeoisies Européennes au XIX siècle*, (Berlin, 1996), p.102.

¹²⁰ Carol E. Harrison, “The Bourgeois after the Bourgeois Revolution. Recent Approaches to the Middle Class in European Cities,” *Journal of Urban History* vol.31 no.3 March (2005), pp. 382- 392.

¹²¹ C. E. Harrison, “The Bourgeois after the Bourgeois Revolution. Recent Approaches to the Middle Class in European Cities”, p.387.

¹²² Simon Gunn, “Globalising middle classes: Questions and Perspectives,” paper presented at Bourgeois Seas Symposium, Florence 19- 20 September 2008. Also see, Sanjay Joshi, *Fractured Modernity: The Making of a Middle Class in Colonial India*, (New Delhi, 2001). For the term “public sphere”, see Peter Hohendahl, “Jürgen Habermas: “The Public Sphere” (1964),” *New German Critique*, No.3 (Autumn 1974), pp.45- 48.

was defined not just by the wealth, professions, possessions, or levels of education of its members but also by the way they asserted their modernity”.¹²³ Hence, against the classical approach which saw the middle class as a social formation which emerged within a particular process of change in social and economic structures, parliamentary institutions and legal privileges in western Europe; historians who study the non-Muslim merchants and the wealthy segments of the Ottoman port-cities began to use the concept of class, giving an emphasis to notions, i.e. social space and practices, and to talk about the characteristics and the culture of a middle class that emerged in the nineteenth century Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, shaped by associational activity, certain forms and spaces of sociability, and the circulation of newspapers.¹²⁴ Concomitant with the debate on the Ottoman port-cities and commercial bourgeoisies, the notion of “cosmopolitanism” rose to significance in the study of the everyday life of the Ottoman cities. This contributed to the emergence of a framework which discussed the common interests, common lifestyles and dialogue, but also the conflicts that took place between the members of the diverse ethnic and religious groups living in the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁵

¹²³ Keith Watenpaugh, *Being modern in the Middle East. Revolution, nationalism, colonialism, and the Arab middle class*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p.8. Sharing C. Bayly’s above-mentioned approach to modernity, Watenpaugh argued that poststructuralism’s critique of modernity which emphasized its fragmentation was of limited value in the study of the historical experience of modernity. Instead, he said that historians should probe the very lack of fragmentation in people’s perception, the unity and coherence of modernity in the imagination and consciousness of those seeking to be modern. And it has been duly criticized for that. Keith Watenpaugh, *Being modern in the Middle East. Revolution, nationalism, colonialism, and the Arab middle class*, p.14.

¹²⁴ Athanasios Gekas, “Compradors to Cosmopolitans? The Historiographical Fortunes of Merchants in East Mediterranean Ports,” *EUI Working Papers MWP 2008/29*, 2008.

¹²⁵ Malte Fuhrmann, “Cosmopolitan imperialists and the ottoman port cities: conflicting logics in the urban social fabric,” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* vol. 67: *Du cosmopolitisme en Méditerranée*, (December 2003); Hervé Georgelin, *La fin du Smyrne. Du cosmopolitisme aux nationalismes*, (Paris: CNRS, 2005).

However, it is still vibrantly discussed whether the notion of “cosmopolitanism” can be used as an analytical tool in the interpretations of historians or not.¹²⁶

The ethnic and religious diversity of the Ottoman cities has also been looked at from the angle of the use of urban space. Festive events, commemorations and parades became objects of study for historians who searched for the meaning of autonomy, loyalty and patriotism for non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. These studies brought a different insight into the accepted paradigm of the failure of the project of “Ottomanism”. For instance, rather than seeing the public manifestations of allegiance to foreign sovereigns in the urban space as a failure of the project of Ottomanism, the focus shifted to discovering forms of hybrid consciousness and multiple loyalties. The theoretical and methodological background of these studies was ritual theories, the idea of the symbolic construction of a community, and the conceptualization of the emergence of a national consciousness as an experienced and negotiated discursive process. Thus, Ottoman urban space began to be studied not only as a state-controlled and defined territory but also as a site where various urban groups produced meanings pertaining to the collectivity that they saw themselves as a part of. S. Sandi-Zayek’s study on the spatial and dramaturgical strategies of the Corpus Christi procession in 1842 in *Tanzimat* Smyrna showed that in the religiously heterogeneous city, urban space became a site where local groups advanced their religious differences and expressed

¹²⁶ See the previously mentioned study, Athanasios Gekas, “Compradors to Cosmopolitans? The Historiographical Fortunes of Merchants in East Mediterranean Ports,” *EUI Working Papers MWP* 2008/29, 2008. Also, for the formation of a bourgeoisie in a non-Ottoman port-city Corfu, see Athanasios Sakis Gekas, *The Commercial Bourgeoisie of the Ionian Islands under British rule 1815- 1864. Class formation in a semi-colonial society*, (Ph.d diss., University of Essex, 2004).

growing political allegiances to outside nation-states.¹²⁷ The aim of this study was not, however, to draw a rosy picture of the peaceful coexistence of the Christians and Muslims, on the contrary one may think that it provided evidence for why the *Tanzimat* statesmen and especially the Young Ottomans might have insisted so much on the elimination of foreign intervention and even anticipated the separatist tendencies which resulted in the dissolution of the empire in the later decades.¹²⁸

Finally, some recent studies mainly interested in state ideology came up with new interpretations of the relationship between the central authority and the periphery. Applying the post-colonial debate to the Ottoman case, certain historians started to look at the Ottoman Empire as the agent of an orientalist discourse and asked whether the Ottoman modernizing reforms were implemented under certain power relations based also on a cultural agenda. The production of a discourse of backwardness and the racial thinking of the authorities made the eastern provinces more relevant to a genuine colonialism. Usama Makdisi claimed that the Ottomans represented their own Arab periphery as an integral part of their engagement with, explicit resistance to and implicit acceptance of Western representations of the indolent Ottoman East.¹²⁹ Postulating that the Ottoman Empire could be looked at not as a “colonized” but a “colonizing power”, or rather a Muslim power which “colonized” its Muslim populations, Selim Deringil

¹²⁷ Sibel Sandi-Zayek, “Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth-Century Izmir,” in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, ed. N. Alsayyad, (Westport: Praeger, 2001), pp. 42-66.

¹²⁸ A similar point has been made in Vangelis Kechriotis, “Allons enfants de la... ville’: National Celebrations, Political Mobilisation and Urban Space in Izmir at the Turn of the 20th Century” in *Ottoman Izmir: Studies in honour of Alexander H. de Groot* ed. by Maurits H. van den Boogert, (Netherlands: Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2007), pp.123-137.

¹²⁹ Usama Makdisi, “Ottoman Orientalism,” *The American Historical Review* 107, (June 2002), pp. 768-796.

argued that the Ottoman reforms should be analyzed as inadvertent internalization of European representations, hence meaning that the logic behind the reforms was partly informed by European orientalism.¹³⁰ Carrying the post-colonial prism on the one hand to a Muslim (colonizer) - non-Muslim (colonized) confrontation and on the other to the context of local administration, in his study on the Greek community of Smyrna in the early twentieth century, V. Kechriotis showed that the Muslim press of Smyrna employed a colonizing discourse on civilization, competing with the Greek community for the leadership of the modernizing project. Hence, Kechriotis came up with the suggestion that “even if the ‘post-colonial criticism’ cannot be uncritically applied in bringing the Ottoman phenomenon into a comparative perspective with the other empires, the main elements which constitute its agenda, namely history, culture and discourse can fertilize the study of power relations, not only within the same religious context, but across diverse ethnic or religious lines.”¹³¹

Modern Greek Historiography: From ‘Hellenism in Asia Minor’ to the Studying of the *Rum Millet*

In the nineteenth century, the liberation struggles of the Christian peoples in the Balkans resulted in the formation of nation-states in which new rulers had to embark upon daring projects of nation-building “from above”. As S. Faroghi and F. Adanır

¹³⁰ Selim Deringil, “They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery: The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45:2 (2003), pp.311-342. For an interesting analysis on the colonialist attitude of the Austro-Hungarian rule in occupied Bosnia and Hercegovina (1878- 1918), see Bojan Aleksov, “Habsburg’s “Colonial Experiment” in Bosnia and Hercegovina revisited,” in *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* 133, *Schnittstellen Gesellschaft, Nation, Konflikt und Erinnerung in Südosteuropa, Festschrift für Holm Sundhaussen zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed.by Ulf Brunnbauer, A. Helmedach, S. Troebst, (München, 2007), pp.201-217.

¹³¹ V. C. Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Izmir at the end of the Empire. A Non-Muslim Ottoman Community Between Autonomy and Patriotism*, (Ph.d diss., University of Leiden, 2005).

noted, creating historical traditions and especially the interpretation of the Ottoman period served to legitimize the new regimes and were important both for their internal and external justification.¹³² It is well known that in the nineteenth and early twentieth century Greece, historical interpretations were employed in support of irredentist projects. The post-1922 history writing, as it turned its interest to the Greek-orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire, adopted a rather nostalgic approach. A special topic of interest for those studies was the abundance of the Greek voluntary societies in Constantinople and Asia Minor throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The phenomenon was seen as describing the struggle of the unredeemed Greeks of Asia Minor fighting against despotism and ignorance, and at the same time competing with the nationalisms of other groups. In the abundant literature on Smyrna in the 1960s, the devotion of the nineteenth century Smyrniot Greeks to education, as it was manifested in founding cultural associations, has been underlined as an indication of their inclination to progress and superiority among other ethnic groups and connected to the formation of a collective identity.¹³³ K. Mamoni, a well-known specialist of the Greek associations in Asia Minor, wrote: “It [Asia Minor Hellenism] did not forget even in its material prosperity that it faced severe problems of continuity and survival as a *genos* (race).”¹³⁴ In the 1990s, as a result of the turn in the theoretical orientations of Greek historians, the communities of Asia Minor began to be studied on the one hand with a focus on the

¹³² Suraiya Faroqhi and Fikret Adanır, “Introduction” in *The Ottomans and the Balkans. A Discussion of Historiography* ed. by Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p.42.

¹³³ See Hristos Solomonidis, *Μνήμη Σμύρνης* (Commemoration of Smyrna), *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* (Asia Minor Chronicles), 11, 1964, cited in Vangelis Kechriotis, « Smyrne Hellène: Communautés dans le panthéon de l'histoire », in Marie-Carmen Smyrnellis (dir.), *Smyrne 1830-1930, De la fortune à l'oubli*, (Paris: Autrement, 2006), pp. 63-77.

¹³⁴ K. Mamoni, “Σωματειακή Οργάνωση του Ελληνισμού στη Μικρά Ασία (Associative Organization of Hellenism in Asia Minor),” *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 26, Athens, 1983, pp.63- 114.

questions of identity, belonging, etc. and on the other, through analyzing cultural representations and discursive formations. This was a reflection of a novel paradigmatic framework in modern Greek historiography which broke away from the old paradigm of “national awakening”.

As historian A. Liakos notes, in the 1990s, the works of K. Th. Dimaras (Dimaras is considered as the father of the “history of ideas” in Greece) and the historiographical “school of Enlightenment” were read by young historians and anthropologists and were synthesized with the recent theories of Anderson, Gellner and Hobsbawm that propounded a theory of nationalism based on the “construction” of the nation.¹³⁵ At the same time, the paradigmatic turn of the 1990s defined a new way of studying the orthodox populations of Asia Minor, or rather made certain new analytical frameworks more feasible.¹³⁶ Gerasimos Augustinos saw the Greeks of Asia Minor at the complex intersection of three overlapping cultural worlds; community, confessional community and linguistically delineated urban Hellenism. In his seminal work, he sought to understand how the Greeks of Asia Minor tried to cope with economic and

¹³⁵ Antonis Liakos, “Η νεοελληνική ιστοριογραφία το τελευταίο τέταρτο του εικοστού αιώνα (The modern Greek historiography, the last quarter of the 20th century)”, *Σύγχρονα Θέματα* 24: 76-77 (January-July 2001), pp.72- 91, p.87. Also, see Alexander Kitroeff, “Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography,” *European History Quarterly* 19 (1989), pp.269- 304; Gerasimos Augustinos, “Culture and Authenticity in a Small State: Historiography and National Development in Greece,” *East European Quarterly* 23 (1989), pp.17- 31; Fanny Marina Papoulia, “Die “neue Geschichtsschreibung” in Griechenland,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas* 2 (2000).

¹³⁶ A. Liakos, “(The modern Greek historiography, the last quarter of the 20th century)”, p.88: “On the other hand, the orthodox populations which were living in the Ottoman Empire, for instance in Pontos, Cappadocia, Crete, Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace have great differences among themselves which makes their studying difficult as a compact object of study as the traditional national historiography was anticipating. Varying social and cultural origins and political stances make the studying of all these populations, not a confirmation of ‘Hellenism’, but rather yield the development of the mode in which national identity and the meaning of nation were created and the relations between the national state and the networks of a market beyond its borders were formed, which it influenced and contained”.

political change amidst their human environment through their long-established social institutions.¹³⁷

Representing another approach inspired by the “linguistic turn,” Haris Exertzoglou elaborated a ground breaking way of analyzing national ideology. In his seminal monograph on the “Greek Literary Society of Constantinople,” he stressed that “nationalism and nationalist ideology rest on a concrete view/representation of reality which gains a meaning only through its linguistic vocalization”.¹³⁸ His remarks about the relationship between the Greek societies (voluntary clubs) and education are revealing about his approach. Rejecting a mechanical identification of the literate elite with the aspiration to mass education, he emphasized the role of the everyday reality and claimed that the demand for education emerged from the need to fight against ignorance generally, and from the need for rallying and protecting the Greek-orthodox populations from the threats that they faced.¹³⁹ He continued, “The linguistic vocalization of those needs was complemented by the requisite system of concepts, words and symbols which accompanied and shaped (Greek) national identity”. In his work, he showed how the nationalist discourse was constructed through the ordering of concepts, meanings and symbols within the concrete activities of the GLS, e.g. competitions, public lectures, educational sessions. Voluntary organizations, e.g. clubs, cultural, educational and charitable associations of the Ottoman Greeks has been a fruitful research area.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor. Confession, community, and ethnicity in the 19th century*, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1992), p.2.

¹³⁸ H. Exertzoglou, *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο Αι*, (Athens: Nefeli, 1996), p. 13.

¹³⁹ H. Exertzoglou, *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο Αι*, pp.12-13.

¹⁴⁰ See Georgios A. Giannakopoulos, *Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1861-1922). Η Ελληνική παιδεία και επιστήμη ως εθνική πολιτική στην Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (The Greek Literary Society of Constantinople (1861- 1922). Greek education and science as national politics in the*

The historians of the last generation began to study the Greek-orthodox populations of Asia Minor integrated in their own geographical, political and ethno-religious spaces. This was accompanied by a growing interest in the identity and the institutions of the Greek-orthodox communities which incorporated them into the Ottoman system. In the new studies, the social and ideological differentiations within the *Rum millet* were taken into account and the *millet* institutions (above all the Ecumenical Patriarchate) were seen in a dialogue with the Ottoman authorities on the one hand and the Hellenic government on the other. In her influential work, S. Anagnostopoulou analyzed the Hellenization process of the orthodox communities by problematizing the power relations and the issue of leadership of the *millet*. She situated the determination of the meanings given to the terms *Rum* and *millet* in the period from the *Tanzimat* till 1919 within the question of the legitimacy of the Ottoman state and the orthodox Patriarch. As one of her conclusions, she stated that while until the restoration of the Constitution (1908), the terms *Rum* and *millet* were recognized institutionally and through them the Ottomanness both of the Greek-orthodox and the Ottoman state was legitimized, after 1908 the abolition of the *millets* opened the way to the nationalization of the collectivities which were being defined by the *millets*.¹⁴¹

Ottoman Empire, (PhD diss., University of Athens, 1998). Hristina Koulouri, *Αθλητισμός και όψεις της αστικής κοινωνικότητας γυμναστικά και αθλητικά σωματεία. 1870-1922*, (Athens: Center of Modern Greek Research, 1997). Efi Kanner, *Φτώχεια και Φιλανθρωπία στην ορθόδοξη κοινότητα της Κωνσταντινουπόλης (1753-1912)* (*Poverty and Philanthropy in the orthodox community of Constantinople (1753-1912)*), (Athens: Katarti, 2004). As a close follower of the theoretical and methodological frameworks used by H. Exertzoglu in the case of an Asia Minor Association 'East' in Greece, see Maria Sideri, *Associations as bearers of Greek nationalist ideology at the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century. The case of the Asia Minor Association 'East' and the formation of Greek national ideology in the communities of Asia Minor*, (PhD diss., University of Aegean, 2003).

¹⁴¹ Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor*, p.30. Anagnostopoulou draws attention to the fact that while in the 1839 Edict the term *millet* is used exclusively, in 1856 the traditional term *cemaat* returns coexisting with the term *millet*. According to her, this fluctuation of the Ottoman authorities in defining the non-muslim

Historians who studied especially the Ottoman Greeks who lived in Constantinople, hence who were close to the decision-making structures of the *millet* and of the Ottoman administration, came up with a doctrine which they claimed was influential at least for a certain period in the political visions of the Ottoman Greeks but also, though with variations, of the Helladic Greeks. This particular political-ideological doctrine was described as “Helleno-Ottomanism,” - which roughly designates a Greek-Turkish coexistence – and shaped the prospects of the Greek-orthodox elite in Constantinople especially in the period of the *Tanzimat*. In one of his influential works, Pashalis Kitromilides noted the emergence of a “neo-Phanariot” ideology in the last three decades of the nineteenth century among certain ranks of the Greek lay and ecclesiastical leadership in the Ottoman Empire, which nurtured the dream of conquering the empire from within and transforming it into the “Ottoman Empire of the Greek *nation*”.¹⁴² Elli Skopetea looked at the dogma of “Helleno-Ottomanism” both as the prospect of reforms which presupposed the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, enhanced by the Greeks of Constantinople (the “*omogeneis*”), but also as a political dogma adopted by the Greek government regarding its relations with the Ottoman Empire. Regarding the former, she wrote:

collectivities indicates that first the term *millet* no longer refers simply to a religious collectivity and second, its usage undermines the success of a unified Ottoman *millet*. Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor*, p.29.

¹⁴² Pashalis Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός. Οι πολιτικές και κοινωνικές ιδέες*, (Athens, 1999), p. 493. Also in K. Andrianopoulou’s study, the ideology of Helleno-ottomanism was more or less identified with the neo-Phanariots who saw in the concept the preservation and enhancement of their place mostly as Ottoman bureaucrats while stressing their hellenic identity. see Konstantina Andrianopoulou, *Alexander Mavroyeni Bey: From the 19th century Reform era to the Young Turk Revolution through the life and ideology of a Neophanariot Ottoman Bureaucrat*, (master’s thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004), p. 70.

The answer of the *omogeneis* to the helladic Great Idea was the dogma of hellenottomanism, which was nothing but the transfer of the dogma of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire into the national idiom: The reason was that hellenottomanism was a scheme which allowed for the development- and consequently, the acceptance –of the prospect of reforms, and the acceptance of this prospect presupposed *self-evidently* the acceptance of the dogma of integrity.¹⁴³

The interesting aspect of Skopetea's approach is that she presents Helleno-Ottomanism as an ideological-geopolitical principle which overlaps with the interests of both the Ottoman Greeks (at least some segments of it) and the Hellenic Kingdom, at least for sometime, yet as a scheme or an ideological coverage of Ottoman legitimacy whose content changed from one place to another. While the pragmatic situation in Constantinople allowed more or less for nothing more than the integration of the Greeks into the Ottoman state mechanism; in Greece, the necessity of peaceful relations with the neighboring country was sometimes being legitimated by an expectation of the hellenization of the Ottoman Empire¹⁴⁴, or even the erosion of the Empire from within. For her, it is a scheme which emerged around the end of the Crimean war¹⁴⁵ in Greece - and gained strength with the disillusionment in the aftermath of the Cretan uprising in 1866 – sustained until the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, or at most until 1881, when the annexation of Epirus and Thessaly took place. Skopetea draws the itinerary of the

¹⁴³ Elli Skopetea, *To «Πρότυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα* (*The Model Kingdom and the Great Idea. Aspects of the National Question in Greece*), (Athens: Themelio, 1988), p.311.

¹⁴⁴ E. Skopetea, *To «Πρότυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα*, pp. 313-14: “Yet, even the most transparent Greek viewpoint, which emphasized the necessity of a peaceful prospect of the “prototype Kingdom”, presupposed the conciliation of the civilizing destiny of the Greek nation with the Tanzimat, and in general, the conciliation of the national problematism with the established order of things – a conciliation which was often veiled under the known expectations regarding the final domination of the Greek element in the Orient”.

¹⁴⁵ E. Skopetea, *To «Πρότυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα*, p.313: “it was a natural outcome of the fatigue caused by the Crimean war and its consequences, and the rise of English influence around the years of Expulsion”.

dogma of Helleno-Ottomanism: Europe- Constantinople-Athens.¹⁴⁶ So, according to Skopetea “Helleno-Ottomanism” is a scheme that we have to see in relation to the handling of the Eastern Question by the European governments, which also struck a chord with the realistic expectations of the Greeks of Constantinople (their optimism was not ungrounded; during the 1860s and 1870s, the Greeks of Constantinople had a prospering upper-class and a flourishing cultural life which, in the eyes of the contemporaries, could not be compared to Athens which we will see in the next section), and then was adopted by the Greek government (or imposed by the Great Powers). For the Greeks of Constantinople, the pre-revolutionary Phanariotic possibility of the predominance of Greeks in the Balkans confronted the reality of the Bulgarian national movement and erupted as Greek antislavism.¹⁴⁷ We mentioned the freemason Greeks of Constantinople who were mobilized to bring Murad V to the throne in the 1870s. One of them, Stephanos Skouloudis saw the rise of Slavism as a threat to the condominium of Greeks and Turks in a new Byzantine state. Let me note that the Bulgarian issue did not only concern the integrity of the Empire, it was also a catalyst for rethinking whether it was a problem that concerned the *Rum milleti* or the Greek nation, hence for the problematization of both.

In her seminal work, putting the emphasis on the rivalry (not the dichotomy) of two centers of the *Rum milleti*, namely Constantinople/Athens, Sia Anagnostopoulou designated the concept of “Helleno-Ottomanism” as a kind of Ottoman patriotism, as the ideology of the *μεγάλη Ρωμέικη αστική τάξη* (*haut Rum bourgeoisie*) which responded to

¹⁴⁶ E. Skopetea, *Το «Πρότυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα*, p.317.

¹⁴⁷ E. Skopetea, *Το «Πρότυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα*, p.314.

the international political situation, and the cultural and ideological exigencies of the time.¹⁴⁸ According to Anagnostopoulou, the Helleno-Ottomanist Greek elite envisioned a sort of cultural, moral and economic improvement of the *millet* through its hellenization, by spreading Greek education to the furthest corners of the Empire. In a recent study, she noted that Helleno-Ottomanism has been studied as a “fixed and structured ideology” in comparison to other ideologies which developed within the context of the *Rum milleti*, or in comparison and contrast with the ‘Great Idea’.¹⁴⁹ Then, she went on to propose looking at Helleno-Ottomanism as “a transitional political discourse,” as an expression of the transition of the *Rum milleti* in the Ottoman nineteenth century. She further questioned the view presenting Helleno-Ottomanism as the ideology of a single specific class of *Rum* and put as a hypothesis that perhaps it was a much more complicated and composite phenomenon in which many different ideological tendencies found expression. In this article, Anagnostopoulou designated two crucial steps in order to understand the complexities of Helleno-Ottomanism; first to place it within the broader framework of Ottomanism (*Osmanlılık*) and to see it as a Greek version of Ottomanism, second, to avoid seeing it as a supranational, ecumenical ideology opposed to Greek nationalism.

¹⁴⁸ Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor*, pp.303- 304: “First of all, we can consider that the ideology of Helleno-Ottomanism is perhaps the last attempt of Constantinople to articulate, as the center of the millet, its own discourse... Eventually, Helleno-Ottomanism which was conveyed mainly by the big Rum bourgeoisie is translated at the political level, as the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, while at the cultural level with the “Greek identity” of the millet. The double dimension of Helleno-Ottomanism, namely political and cultural, leads us to the conclusion that it was a dogma which on the one hand, responded to the Ottoman reality and the international situation that was immediately confronted by the Rums of Constantinople, on the other hand, to the demands that *the existence of Athens* created and imposed”. (Translated by me).

¹⁴⁹ Sia Anagnostopoulou, “The ‘nation’ of the *Rum* sings of its Sultan: The many faces of Ottomanism”, in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

What is more, Anagnostopoulou claimed that there were in fact two types of Helleno-Ottomanist doctrine; the religious Helleno-Ottomanism which more or less overlapped with the general ideological position of the church clergy and secular Helleno-Ottomanism which could be identified with the position of the Neo-Phanariots. In the coming section, I will try to show the social and cultural dynamics within the *Tanzimat* Ottoman society which made such expectations of coexistence and inter-communal integration possible.

Other studies in modern Greek historiography which have focused on the Greek-orthodox communities of the Ottoman Empire especially deal with the transformation that the Ecumenical Patriarchate underwent in the aftermath of the 1856 Reform Edict. After the fall of Constantinople, the Ottoman rulers had maintained the autonomous structure of the eastern orthodox church and conferred some privileges to the Patriarch of Constantinople who was canonically considered *primus inter pares* among the other patriarchs. Before the eighteenth century, his jurisdiction did not even extend to all the orthodox populations of the Empire. In his study on the historical evolution of the terminology used by the Ottoman rulers for the groups under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Paraskevas Konortas stressed that only in the eighteenth century did the patriarch of Constantinople, backed by the very powerful Phanariot elite, succeed in having the orthodox community of the empire be defined by the Ottomans as '*Rum milleti*', and began to exercise fully his authority over the whole Orthodox populations

of the empire.¹⁵⁰ The *Tanzimat* which redefined the concept of *millet* prescribed that the privileges were given to the *millet* and no longer to the patriarch.¹⁵¹ R. Davison mentioned that the reform movement within the Greek *millet* was not so self-generating like in the Armenian one, which was continuously pressured by the Porte.¹⁵² Indeed, D. Stamatopoulos' work on the reform and the laicization process that the Patriarchate of Constantinople went through in the nineteenth century, showed that in the period between 1858- 1862 the five metropolitans who were members of the Synod, the so-called *gerontes* (elders), who had been holding the administration of the *millet* in their hands, opposed the abolition of the system of *gerontismos* and the implementation of the reforms which foresaw an increasing lay influence within the *millet* administration.¹⁵³ In 1862, the series of laws known as General Regulations (*Genikoi Kanonismoi*) prepared by a provisional committee set the new principles concerning the administration of the *Rum milleti* and undermined the authority of the Holy Synod, recognizing the patriarch as the head of the nation. So, paradoxically, as mentioned before, the Ottoman reformers retained the organization of the collectivities based on religious communities while

¹⁵⁰ Paraskevas Konortas, "From Tā'ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox community" in D. Gontikas & Ch. Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, (Princeton, 1999), pp. 169-179.

¹⁵¹ Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor*, *ibid.*, pp. 16-25.

¹⁵² Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp.127- 128.

¹⁵³ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, *Μεταρρύθμιση και Εκκοσμίκευση. Προς μια ανασύνθεση της ιστορίας του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου τον 19^ο αιώνα (Reform and Secularization: Towards a Reconstruction of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate)*, (Athens, Alexandria, 2003). Stamatopoulos studied the secularization process of the Patriarchate of Constantinople through an analysis of the interest groups and the power networks within the Patriarchate which, as he showed brilliantly, were organized on the basis of various factors i.e. foreign influence (pro-Russian or pro-British encampments), economic interests, and social networks based on familial ties and place of origin. For instance, he suggested that the support of banker Georgios Zarifis for Joachim II (1860- 1863) to be elected as patriarch lay mainly in his economic interests regarding the estates of the Patriarchate in Moldavia and Wallachia. Elsewhere, as a factor in the formation of particular interest groups, he mentioned the pro-Russian attitude of neo-Phanariot Stavrakis Aristarchis which, for Stamatopoulos, played a role in his bringing to the patriarchal throne Grigorios VI (1867- 1871) who was known for his good relations with Russia.

aiming at the secularization of the structure of the society. The systematic introduction of lay participation into the *millet* administration was guaranteed by a body called the Mixed National Council which was convened for the patriarchal elections.¹⁵⁴

Considering the impact of the research agenda dominant in the “Balkan studies” in the Anglo-Saxon world since the 1970s, which was interested in studying the relationships between national movements and religion¹⁵⁵, it was unavoidable not to discuss the relationship between orthodoxy and nationalism in the Hellenic Kingdom. The historiographical tendency to analyze the *Rum milleti* as part of the Ottoman framework should not lead us to ignore the “entangled” histories of two national centers, Athens and Constantinople. Therefore, a brief survey of the Church of independent Greece is in place for an understanding of the reciprocal relationship between the Patriarchate and the Greek state. Charles Frazee’s work, pioneering in the field, dealt with the process in which the Greek Church, independent from all foreign authority (therefore from the Patriarchate in Constantinople) in external matters, was established and was made into an organ of the Greek State that was being organized according to the prescriptions of the German-Bavarian statesmen.¹⁵⁶ During the three decades that followed independence, there were two opposing movements within the church clergy; Theoklitos Pharmakidis was at the head of the faction which was advocating an independent Greek church, the other group headed by Konstantinos Oikonomos rejected

¹⁵⁴ Compared to the Armenian *millet*, Roderic Davison noted that clerical control remained much stronger in the new Greek organization and that the latter did not have a permanent general assembly like in the case of the Armenian community. See Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, p.128.

¹⁵⁵ Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality. Andreiu Șaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977).

¹⁵⁶ Charles Frazee, *The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece 1821- 1852*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

the autocephality, thinking that it would create a schism with the long Byzantine and Ottoman tradition.¹⁵⁷ If we look at the international context, the Russian policy considered the separation of the Greek Church from Constantinople as a blow to Orthodox unity as well as a check on its own aspirations in the new Kingdom of Greece.¹⁵⁸ However, the British preferred a Greek church which was not under the influence of Russia. After almost two decades of severed relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in 1849 Patriarch Anthimos IV took the initiative by offering to officiate at the funeral of the Greek ambassador to the Porte. In June 1850 negotiations started, a document was drawn up (Synodal Tomos) which recognized the church in Greece as autocephalous church in the Orthodox community.¹⁵⁹

We have to consider the Patriarchate (as an institution identified with the Ottoman state) and the Greek Church (identified with the Greek state) as two institutions that were competing in defining Greekness. In her study about the relation between the Greek nation and orthodoxy, S. Anagnostopoulou distinguished between two periods; 1821- 1850 and 1850- 1922. In the first period, being the religion of the majority, orthodoxy acquired a revolutionary function and a homogenizing character for the nation but did not define Greekness. In the second period, the etatist character of the autocephalous Greek church was nationalized (in the context of the irredentism of the Greek state) and even the ecumenism of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was

¹⁵⁷ See Paraskevas Matalas, *Ἔθνος και Ορθοδοξία (Nation and Orthodoxy)*, (Crete: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2002).

¹⁵⁸ Charles Frazee, *The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece*, p.144.

¹⁵⁹ Charles Frazee, "Church and State in Greece," in *Greece in Transition Essays in the History of Modern Greece 1821-1974* ed.by John Koumoulides, (London, 1977). pp. 128- 52, see p. 136.

hellenised.¹⁶⁰ Regarding the aforementioned two factions, she saw Pharmakidis' arguments as inscribed in the context of the Enlightenment for which liberty and political existence were necessary conditions for the existence of the constituents of national identity. However, Oikonomos opposed to the idea of an autocephalous Greek Church because it would cause the destruction of the orthodox nation of the Greeks.

So, similar to the formation of other national churches in the Balkans, the Greek case, too, threatened the ecumenism of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and at the same time the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Yet, by confirming the canonicity of the autocephalous Greek Church, the ecumenical Patriarchate asserted itself as the supreme power and in a way affirmed its own ecumenicity.¹⁶¹ Hence, after this historical moment, as S. Anagnostopoulou states, autocephality was no longer the product of the will of the Greek nation. The ecumenical Patriarchate, she argues, found itself in a position obliged "to develop relations of cooperation with another secular power [the Greek State], this time non Ottoman; to redefine and delimit its ecumenism and to redefine the content of the term *millet-i Rum* in collaboration with the Greek authority".¹⁶² The ecumenical authority of the Patriarchate on the orthodox was not given anymore by God nor sanctioned by the Ottoman power, but it had to be accepted

¹⁶⁰ Sia Anagnostopoulou, « Église Oecuménique, Église Nationale. Le problème des Rapports entre Religion et Nation dans les Balkans, XIXème début XXème siècles. L'exemple Grec » in *The Passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation-states*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004), pp.57-73. About orthodoxy's being incorporated in the official state propaganda and becoming instrumental in defining Greek identity during the reign of King George I, see Vasileos Makrides, "Secularization and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Reign of King George I," in *Greek Society in the Making 1863-1913* ed. by Philip Carabott, (London: Kings College, 1997).

¹⁶¹ This point was mentioned by D. Stamatopoulos, "Ecumenical Ideology in the Rum Millet (19th-20th c.)", in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

¹⁶² S. Anagnostopoulou, « Église Oecuménique, Église Nationale... », p.69.

and legitimized by the orthodox population themselves.¹⁶³ It is one of the suggestions of the present study that history, tradition and ecclesiastical music were employed as mechanisms of legitimization of the authority of the Patriarchate on the orthodox populations that it wanted to keep under its control.

Defining reciprocity between the Patriarchate and the Greek state - hence challenging the previous paradigm in the works of P. Kitromilides and Evangelos Kofos which put Constantinople and Athens in opposition- S. Anagnostopoulou asserts that the Patriarchate became the center of the reproduction, in the bosom of the *millet*, of the values of the Greek state, and legitimized, retrospectively the Greekness of the *millet*. The Greek state, admitting the Greekness of the patriarchal institutions, legitimized the ecumenicity and the authority of the Patriarchate over the *millet* which was becoming more and more hellenized.¹⁶⁴ So, the following question arises: does the notion of “ecumenicity”¹⁶⁵ cease to refer to an imperial state schema, which the Patriarchate of Constantinople served both within the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empire after 1850 or maybe after the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870?

¹⁶³ S. Anagnostopoulou, « Église Oecuménique, Église Nationale... », p.70.

¹⁶⁴ S. Anagnostopoulou, « Église Oecuménique, Église Nationale... », p.71. As S. Anagnostopoulou notes, (and as E. Kofos had also written) during his first patriarchal term (1878-1884), Joachim III came into a severe conflict with the Prime Minister of Greece Harilaos Trikoupi. Anagnostopoulou formulates the dispute in the following way: the Greek state wanted to incorporate the Rums in its Greek national system, while the Patriarchate wanted to incorporate them into its ecumenical system. However, she claims that especially after the declaration of the Bulgarian Exarchate, the characteristics of the *millet* were constructed not as orthodox but Greek-orthodox.

¹⁶⁵ D. Stamatopoulos enumerates three phases of development in Greek historiography regarding the issue of ecumenicity. The first phase is until the mid-twentieth century and is inspired by the nineteenth century Greek nationalist historiography that emphasized the hellenization of Byzantium, the second phase roughly covers the period from 1960 to 80 which deals with ethnonyms like “Grecque” or “Romios” as manifestations of cultural choices and political projects, the third phase which is roughly until the 1990s (he recalls the works of Veremis, Kitromilides and Kofos) stresses an antinomy between orthodoxy and nationalism. Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “Ecumenical Ideology in the Rum Millet (19th-20th c.)”, in *Economy and Society on both Shores of the Aegean*, (forthcoming). Hereafter, I will exclusively refer to the studies done in the 1990s which challenged the dichotomous picture drawn in the third phase.

According to S. Anagnostopoulou, “ecumenicity” continues to refer to the Ottoman imperial scheme, especially during the second patriarchal term of Joachim III (1901- 1912). She sees “ecumenicity” as a corresponding ideology to pan-Islamism which was fostered by the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid (1876 -1909) and draws a parallel between the Ottomanization of the *umma*, which can be formulated as nationalization of the sacred community, and the hellenization of the orthodox *genos*. So, she inspiringly suggests that the employment of terms like “panhellenic nation” by the champions of the Patriarchate did not indicate the transcription of Greek nationalism into the patriarchal, ecumenical context but the transcription of an Ottoman imperial ideology into the orthodox and then into the Greek context.¹⁶⁶ Building on E. Hobsbawm’s concept “invention of tradition,” S. Anagnostopoulou claims that “the activation in the nineteenth century of classic traditional terms – *Umma*, *Oikoumene* – and their nationalization first of all answers to the need of a multi-national traditional authority to define and ensure the cohesion and homogeneity of a body, but on national-religious terms”.¹⁶⁷ This is a novel approach that revolutionizes the way the ideological interactions between the Patriarchate and the Greek State have been studied in modern Greek historiography.

Another Greek historian, D. Stamatopoulos, sees “ecumenicity” under a different light, and he sees it not only as the call for unity of the orthodox populations living in the territories of the Ottoman Empire, but also under the influence of pan Slavism, that is,

¹⁶⁶ Sia Anagnostopoulou, “The Terms Millet, Genos, Ethnos, Oikoumenikotita, Alytrotismos in Greek Historiography” in *The Passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation-states*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004), p. 43.

¹⁶⁷ Sia Anagnostopoulou, “The Terms Millet, Genos, Ethnos, Oikoumenikotita...”, p.44.

the unity of the Slavic orthodox populations in Russia and elsewhere. Furthermore, he understands it as a strategy for the marginalization of the extreme nationalists (Bulgarian, Romanian but also Greek). He claims that after the Crimean war, the actual basis for the convergence of the interests of the pan-orthodox scheme and the scheme of integrity of the Ottoman Empire ceased to exist¹⁶⁸. This means that the project of pan-orthodox unity advanced by the Patriarchate of Constantinople (or at least its pro-Russian version of it) might even be antithetical to the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, so Stamatopoulos claims that there were at least two different “ecumenicity” projects. Furthermore, in his influential book *Reform and Secularization*, he notes that after the Crimean war, the Patriarchate of Constantinople found itself continuously in the position of finding a balance between the three poles of power: the Sublime Porte from which it obtained its legitimacy, Russia, and the Greek state from its foundation onwards. He continues, the ecumenist orientations of the Patriarchate were dependent on the first two and the relationship between them; while its nationalist reading of the “*Rum*” cultural element owed much to the Greek state especially after the

¹⁶⁸ D. Stamatopoulos, “Ecumenical Ideology in the Rum Millet (19th-20th c.)” in *Economy and Society on both Shores of the Aegean*, (forthcoming). It may somehow seem paradoxical but Stamatopoulos had written in another work that the end of the Crimean war and the defeat of Russia signaled the beginning of a series of political transformations including the attempts of England and France to diminish the influence of the eminent members of the Russian party (mainly N. Aristarhis) in the Patriarchate, hence resulting in the emergence of a new political scene in the Greek-Orthodox community and the reshuffling of political alliances. See Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “Orthodoxy versus Nationalism: the Condemnation of the Ethnophyletism in the historical context of interest groups’ conflicts and hegemonic strategies in the Greek-Orthodox Community of Istanbul, 1856-1876,” unpublished paper. The increasing British influence should mean a pro-reformist attitude which would support the integrity of the Empire. Christine Phillou also notes the Crimean war as a turning point, saying that the new geopolitical changes and the shifting alliances after the Crimean war increased the political significance of religion and the Patriarchate of Constantinople emerged as the new protector of the domestic reforms and the only possible vehicle for making a political community out of Ottoman Christians. See Christine Phillou, “Between Loyalty and Treachery: Staying Ottoman and Christian in the “National” Age,” (Ph.d diss., Princeton University, 2002).

romantic reorganization of the 1850s. He shows that the ecumenist “project” had two options; supporting the progressive integration of the *millet* into the modernizing process promoted by the reforms or conforming with the Russian demands about maintaining the interests of the clericals and hence reproducing the influence of the Patriarchate at the pan-orthodox level.¹⁶⁹ In his work, Stamatopoulos showed that the two types of ecumenist projects were underlying all the conflicts within the ecclesiastical and lay elite groups, especially during the implementation process of the “General Regulations” in the period between 1858 and 1866.

In this part of the study, I introduced the new research in recent history writing in Greece on the administration of the Greek-orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire and the parameters of politics within the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople. I also noted the new approaches to the relations of the Patriarchate of Constantinople with the Hellenic state and the Sublime Porte. Reminding that the formation of national identities is not a smooth process given the social, ideological and cultural divides within the ethnic/religious communities; we need a more sophisticated analysis which takes into account a multiplicity of factors, i.e. divergence or convergence between the religious and lay authority on the members of the Greek-orthodox community, the geopolitical situation (the crisis in the Balkans), state ideology and its representation of non-Muslims, economic interests of the Greek upper classes, class/cultural identity, and the geographical/cultural diversity within the Greek-orthodox population of the Empire.

¹⁶⁹ D. Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularization*, p.363.

An Economic, Cultural and Political Survey of the Greeks of Constantinople in the Post-Crimean War Period

The reason for accepting the Crimean War as a starting point – except for the Reform Edict that was announced in its aftermath which has great importance for the new model of administration of the *millets* - has to do with the geopolitical and economic developments that it induced, affecting both the Ottoman Empire in general, but also the Greek-orthodox community or the *Rum milleti* in particular. The economic opportunities that appeared together with the War were decisive in the formation of an entrepreneurial/ banker class which consisted mostly of Ottoman non-Muslims. Following the Crimean War, during which the Ottoman state borrowed from European money markets, certain families of the Greek Ottoman business elite shifted from trade to banking, a sector which remained profitable until the establishment of the Ottoman debt administration in 1881.¹⁷⁰ This new field of economic activity concentrated in a particular district of the Ottoman capital, Galata. Already in the late 1840s, the Greek banker families had begun to move their residences to Pera, a neighbourhood in the vicinity of Galata. Mentioning his grandfather Georgios Zarifis' move from Phanar to Pera (Stavrodromio) in 1848, G. A. Zarifis speaks about the phenomenon as a general trend that the Greek merchant and banker families followed in those years.¹⁷¹ Also another factor has to be mentioned. The inhabitants of Constantinople, as E. Eldem

¹⁷⁰ Haris Exertzoglou, "The Development of a Greek Ottoman Bourgeoisie: Investment Patterns in the Ottoman Empire, 1850-1914" in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century* ed. by Dimitri Gondicas & Charles Issawi, (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1999), pp.89-115.

¹⁷¹ Georgios L. Zarifis, *Οι αναμνήσεις μου. Ένας κόσμος που έφυγε Κωνσταντινούπολη 1800-1920*(*My memoirs. A world that vanished, Constantinople 1800-1920*), (Athens: Trohalia, 2002), p.115.

noted, chose their residences not only according to socioeconomic criteria but more and more depending on the additional consideration of the cultural “value” of districts.¹⁷² In the first half of the nineteenth century, Galata and Pera emerged as districts where a cosmopolitan identity was built around European networks and values.

Let me mention the other social and economic impacts of the Crimean War on the Ottoman society and look at post-Crimean Constantinople from the perspective of urban developments. The Crimean war stands as a landmark in the westernization history of the Ottoman Empire from many aspects. While as frequently mentioned, the Ottoman Empire gained a status on a par with the European states after the Crimean war, the latter was also significant as the initiator of a process in which the Ottoman capital began to acquire a European appearance with its western-modeled urban projects and public transportation.¹⁷³ Among others, the urban regulation projects were aiming at the enlargement of the roads, reordering of the cemeteries, enlightening of the streets and the opening of parks. A commission for the ordering of the urban space (*İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu*) was established in 1855- 56. Christoph Neumann noted the predominance of the non-Muslim elite and especially of the prominent members of the finance sector in the new municipality institution.¹⁷⁴ The members of the municipality of the Sixth

¹⁷² Edhem Eldem “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” in *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir and Istanbul* ed. by E. Eldem, D. Goffman and B. Masters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 135-207.

¹⁷³ See Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); İlhan Tekeli, “Nineteenth century transformation of Istanbul metropolitan area,” *Villes Ottomanes a la Fin de l’Empire* ed.by Dumont & Georgeon, (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992), pp.33- 47; Christoph Neumann, “Marjinal Modernitenin Çatışma Mekânı Olarak Altıncı Daire-i Belediye”, in *Altıncı Daire – İlk Belediye Beyoğlu’nda İdare, Toplum ve Kentlilik, 1857-1913*, (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2004).

¹⁷⁴ Christoph Neumann, “Marjinal Modernitenin Çatışma Mekânı Olarak...”, pp. 9- 11. In 1857, among the seven members of the *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* were, a Muslim graduate of the Medical School Mehmed Salih Efendi, a Gregorian Armenian moneylender Mıgırdıç Cezayirliyan, a Catholic Armenian

district (*Altıncı Daire-i Belediye*) (1857) which included Pera and Galata were appointed by the Sublime Porte from among the wealthy property owners of the district. It is not surprising to see some members of the prospering Greek–orthodox elite in the municipality councils. To give some examples, in 1863 the Greek merchant Dimitris Yenidünyas was appointed as the general secretary of the Municipality Council and banker Aristidis Baltazzis who provided credit to the Municipality became a member of the council.¹⁷⁵ Another significant aspect of the municipality of Pera and Galata was that the discussions were conducted in French as it was the common language of the multiethnic and multilingual Pera elite. Adopting Robert Ilbert’s term we may perhaps talk about the existence of a notion of “community of interests”¹⁷⁶ which was the guiding spirit of those composite municipal councils. Regarding the position of the municipality of the Sixth District between the state and civil society, Christoph Neumann claims that the municipality experience showed that even though the central state gradually assumed power, certain sectors of the society tried to realize their own modernity projects. The upper-class elite of Pera shared the expectations of creating a modern environment with the state administrators.¹⁷⁷

At the beginning of the 1860s, concomitant with the implementation of modernizing projects and public works in the urban space and the development of a new civic consciousness, the leading members of the Greek-orthodox elite began to found clubs (theatre, music, sport), and cultural, educational and charitable associations, at the

employee of the Ottoman Bank Hovannes Çamiç, two members of prominent banker families, the French subject Antoine Alléon and an Ottoman Jewish banker (Italian subject) Avram Kamondo.

¹⁷⁵ Christoph Neumann, “Marjinal Modernitenin Çatışma Mekânı Olarak...”, pp.18-19.

¹⁷⁶ Robert Ilbert, “Alexandrie, cosmopolite?” in *Villes ottomanes à la Fin de l’Empire*, ed. by P. Dumont, F. Georgeon, R. Ilbert, (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992), pp.171- 185.

¹⁷⁷ Christoph Neumann, “Marjinal Modernitenin Çatışma Mekânı Olarak...”, p.27.

beginning in districts like Pera and Phanar, and later in Diplokinio (Beşiktaş) and Chalkidona (Kadıköy). The Medical Society (1861), the Greek Literary Society (1861), the Greek Club ‘Vizantion’ (1862), Club ‘Mnimosini’ in Phanar (1862) had among their members doctors, bankers, merchants, lawyers and teachers. The Greek Club ‘Vizantion’ particularly draws our attention with its members who were from the cream of the Greek-orthodox society; i.e. Georgios Zarifis, Aristidis Baltazzis, Dimitris Yenidünyas, Stephanos Skouloudis, Andreas Siggros, N. K. Rodokanakis etc.¹⁷⁸ Associations connected private interests and public good. Donating to the philanthropical and cultural associations became part of the ‘national duty’ of the members of the Greek-orthodox bourgeoisie. Not so much one’s amount of wealth, but donating was the real factor which determined one’s social status.¹⁷⁹ The monumental tombs of the members of the Greek-orthodox business elite, especially the impressive graves of Georgios Zarifis and his son Leonidas Zarifis in the Greek-orthodox cemetery in *Şişli* witness the self-perception of the Greek-orthodox bourgeoisie of Constantinople, first and foremost, as the benefactors of their community.

In establishing clubs and cultural associations the Greek-orthodox elites drew their inspiration from similar associations and societies of the European inhabitants of

¹⁷⁸ *Κανονισμός της εν Κωνσταντινούπολη Ελληνικής Λέσχης Βυζάντιον (Statute of the Greek Club Vyzantion in Constantinople)*, (Constantinople: Lazaridou, 1862).

¹⁷⁹ Haris Exertzoglu noted that the public identity of the social groups of the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople emanated mainly from cultural, not social provisions. H. Exertzoglu, *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο αι.*, (Athens: Nefeli, 1996), p.167. See also H. Exertzoglu, “Μετά Μεγάλης Παρατάξεως. Συμβολικές πρακτικές και κοινοτική συγκρότηση στις αστικές ορθόδοξες κοινότητες της ύστερης οθωμανικής περιόδου (With pomp and circumstance: Symbolic practices and social formation in urban orthodox communities of the late Ottoman period)”, *Ta Historica* 31 (1999), p.364. In this article, Exertzoglu drew attention to several symbolic practices like the examination of the students of the Greek-orthodox schools in front of the “public”, and the practice of donation by name to the community institutions (hospitals, schools etc.). He argued that these practices contributed to the formation of collective identity and attachment to the national community.

the empire. It was a manifestation that these elites shared common values with the European upper classes. The Greek Medical and Literary Societies, for instance, became the locus of scientific and literary discussions. According to the medical doctor Alexandros Zoiros, these societies addressed the needs of the human, of developing an intellectual mind, meeting, talking and discussing.¹⁸⁰

The clubs put forth as their goals entertainment and social gathering among their members and were closed to the wider public. In these clubs, theater plays were staged and dance evenings were organized. It should be noted that entertainment was subject to many regulations which described the working hours of the club, the sort of games and the dances which were allowed. To give an example, the statute of the New Greek Club in Smyrna included fifteen articles concerning dances.¹⁸¹ Dance was taken to be a “space” in which a certain moral behaviour should be adopted. Concerning dances which would be organized during the Carnival (*Apokrea*), Club Vizantion prohibited “in any circumstance visards, sordid and obscene clothing”.¹⁸²

Club Mnimosini announced that its aim was not only entertainment but also “a larger goal of molding of and the moral education of the youth”.¹⁸³ During its long term, Club Mnimosini organized many public lectures about history, philology, ethics and health for the intellectual formation of the society. Regarding the social profile of the first Greek clubs and associations in the 1860s, we saw that the dominance of the

¹⁸⁰ In Konstantinos Tromboukis, *Η Ελληνική Ιατρική Στην Κωνσταντινούπολη 1856- 1923*(*The Greek Medicine in Constantinople*), (Athens: Σύνδεσμος των εν Αθήναις Μεγαλοσχολιτών, 2000), p.60.

¹⁸¹ *Κανονισμός της Νέας Γραικικής Λέσχης* (*Statute of the New Greek Club*), (Smyrna: Nikol. A. Damianou, 1866), articles 47-62.

¹⁸² *Κανονισμός της εν Κωνσταντινούπολη Ελληνικής Λέσχης Βυζάντιον*, (Constantinople: E. I. Lazaridou, 1862), article 38.

¹⁸³ «Η Λέσχη Μνημοσύνη(Club Mnimosini)», *Anatolikos Astir* 31 December 1862.

entrepreneurs was outright. Yet, this does not mean that the associations represented only the Greek-orthodox with a high social status. Membership was not dependent upon belonging to a certain social group, but on one's relation to a certain field of knowledge that interested the associations or on one's own interest in philology and other sciences and his activities regarding the advancement of education in society.¹⁸⁴

Let me turn from clubs and associations to another institution, the theater, which was also a venue of education and entertainment. Before the prevalence of amateur and professionalized concerts, the wider public came into contact with European music through two institutions: the military band and the theater. The history of the military band starts with the reforms of Mahmud II in 1826 and has already been studied by many historians. Hence, I will focus on the theater. In the late 1850s, the Armenian Catholics had a vibrant theater activity. N. Tahmizian informs us that the neighborhood theatres of Pera and Ortaköy were founded in 1856 to be followed by Hasköy theater in 1859. He also notes that the historical drama *Arşak II* which later inspired the Armenian composer Dikran Tchouhadjian's opera was already staged as a theater play in Ortaköy in 1857- 8.¹⁸⁵ The first Greek theater group in Constantinople was formed in 1858 by artists from the Ionian Islands,¹⁸⁶ the group of Dionysios Tavoularis who started

¹⁸⁴ Haris Exertzoglou, *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο αι.*, (Athens: Nefeli, 1996), p.166. I think Exertzoglou's remark about the terms of being a member of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople are valid for other voluntary associations as well.

¹⁸⁵ Nikoghos K. Tahmizian, *The Life and Work of Dikran Tchouhadjian*, (California: Drazark Press, 2001), p.25.

¹⁸⁶ At this date the Ionian Islands were still under the sovereignty of Britain, they would be annexed to the Hellenic Kingdom in 1864. Until the twentieth century, the musical life in Greece was dominated by composers, musicians and artists from the Ionian Islands. For a lengthy history of music and theater in the Ionian Islands, see Spyros Motsenigos, *Νεοελληνική Μουσική. Συμβολή εις την Ιστορίαν της (Modern Greek Music. Contribution to its history)*, (Athens, 1958), pp.44-263. In this book, we see the following information about D. Tavoularis. On p.196, Motsenigos notes that the great artist of Zakynthos Dionysios Tavoularis appeared on stage for sixteen years in the Theater "Apollon" in Zakynthos which was

performing at the coffeehouses of the Bosphorus. In 1861, the *Ellinodramatiki Etairia* (Greek-drama Company) began its performances at Theater Naum under the directorship of Vasilis Andronopoulos. Already in 1862, the Greek group became so successful that the earnings of the Italian melodrama group which was also performing, shrunk.¹⁸⁷ I do not have solid information about the music which was performed during the intermissions of the theatrical plays. Yet, it seems that music continued to be a part of theater stagings and the audience began to demand a better performance. The writer of a critique in *Konstantinoupoli* was requesting from the Greek-drama Company to improve its music performances and to play music during the whole intermission.¹⁸⁸ According to a news item in *Anatolikos Astir* in 1863, the Charity Brotherhood of Phanar staged theater plays in the Club Mnimosini for the benefit of the poor, “with the initiative of the worthy members of the prominent families of Phanar society”.¹⁸⁹ The clubs and associations like Club Mnimosini, Club Omonia in Beşiktaş and the Greek Literary Society opened their doors to the Greek theater groups and the intellectuals who delivered lectures about the theater,¹⁹⁰ while newspapers like *Anatolikos Astir*, *Konstantinoupoli*, *Neologos* and others tried to support the formation of theatrical

demolished in 1860 due to political reasons. From what Motsenigos narrates, we see that the Greek theater had acquired a political significance in the Ionian Islands and supported the unification of the latter with Greece. I should also note that in those years, opera had become the conveyor of revolutionary symbols in the eve of Italian unification.

¹⁸⁷ Hrisothemis Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou, *To Ελληνικό Θέατρο στην Κωνσταντινούπολη το 19^ο αιώνα* (*The Greek Theater in Constantinople in the 19th Century*), τ.Β’ Παραστάσεις, (Athens: Νέος Κύκλος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών, 1996), pp.3- 9.

¹⁸⁸ *Konstantinoupoli*, 16 December 1869.

¹⁸⁹ *Anatolikos Astir*, 5 March 1863.

¹⁹⁰ For instance, doctor Iraklis Vasiadis delivered a public lecture in the Greek Literary Society entitled, “About the tragedy of ancient Greeks and the Bacchus of Euripides (περί της τραγωδίας των αρχαίων Ελλήνων και περί των Βάκχων του Ευριπίδου)”. See *Anatolikos Astir*, 7 December 1864. Also another doctor K. A. Zoiros held a lecture in GLS entitled “About the Greek Theater (Περί Ελληνικού Θεάτρου)”. See *Armonia*, 25 April 1864.

production in the Greek language through their pages. The encouraging approach of the media and the associations gave results. In 1869, a committee consisting of S. Skouloudis, Alex. Rallis, P. Kamaras, P. Stefanovik and S. Mavrokordatos was formed in order to support the Greek Drama company which was directed by K. Soutzas.¹⁹¹

Returning to the voluntary associations in the Ottoman public sphere, I want to stress their significance as spaces of inter-communal contact and integration. During the *Tanzimat* period, men of letters played an important role in the advancement of the reforms and education through their writings, i.e. novels, journalism, philosophical essays. For instance, the Ottoman Literary Society aimed at “...spreading the light through unsalaried and qualified teaching to all without discrimination...”.¹⁹² Liberal professionals e.g. doctors, engineers, lawyers had contact with the West, hence contributed to the propagation of the reforms. As Ottoman intellectuals were impressed by contemporary science and promoted it as a means for progress, discussions on science and materialism began to fill the columns of the popular journals of the 1860s.¹⁹³ In 1860, Münif Paşa the chief redactor of *Ceride-i Havadis* founded the Ottoman “Scientific Society” (*Cemiyet-i ilmiyye*) and began to publish *Mecmua-ı Fünun* which became one of the first venues for the introduction of positivist thought to Ottoman society. The members of the new Muslim intelligentsia were visiting the Greek Medical and Literary societies and sometimes delivering public lectures on scientific topics i.e.

¹⁹¹ *Konstantinoupoli*, 31 October 1869.

¹⁹² *Anatolikos Astir*, 15 February 1865. The Ottoman Literary Society announced that it offered basic courses on history, French, English and the Greek languages.

¹⁹³ On contemporary science and its impact on Ottoman thinking, see Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, pp. 10-13.

medicine, chemistry and geology.¹⁹⁴ According to J. Strauss, a remarkably large number of Ottoman writers and scholars of the *Tanzimat* period are reputed to have known some Greek, in addition to other foreign languages. For instance, Ahmet Vefik Pasha (1823-1891) was perfectly familiar with Greek and he had an intimate knowledge of the Greek milieu of the Ottoman capital.¹⁹⁵ Another example would be the French educated director of the Ottoman Archaeological Museum Osman Hamdi Bey¹⁹⁶ who used to participate in the sessions of the archaeological commission of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople. All these examples indicate that there was certainly some intellectual exchange, personal or professional connections between the Muslim and the Greek intellectual elite. Nevertheless, we also have to agree with Strauss' statement that the Greek Literary Society had hardly any active Muslim members and very few members of it were active outside the Greek community.¹⁹⁷

K. Tromboukis writes that the Greek Medical Society of Constantinople was founded in 1861 by a group of Greek doctors - who were previously members of the Imperial Medical Society (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-yi Şahane*) in which the scientific

¹⁹⁴ For instance, on 13 February 1871 *Konstantinoupoli* announced the lecture of doctor Abdullah Bey in the Greek Literary Society. Abdullah Bey would deliver a public lecture on "the transformations of mineral stones in general and the mineralization of split aluminum into limestone in the Bosphorus".

¹⁹⁵ Johann Strauss, "The Greek Connection in 19th-century Ottoman Intellectual History" in *Greece and the Balkans*, ed. by D. Tziouvas, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 47-67.

¹⁹⁶ For Osman Hamdi Bey, see Edhem Eldem, "Quelques lettres de Osman Hamdi Bey a son pere lors de son séjours en Irak (1869-1870)", *Anatolia Moderna* I/1 (1991), pp. 115-136, see especially pp. 130-31. Also see Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* Album," in *Muqarnas* 20 (2003), pp.187-207. In his previously cited article, Johann Strauss claimed that some Ottoman intellectuals even had a "Greek" family back ground of some description. Referring to M. Cezar's work, he noted that Osman Hamdi Bey's father İbrahim Edhem Pasha was a child who survived the massacres of Chios in 1822. He converted to Islam and he was sent by Hüsrev Pasha with three other boys to France to study. See Johann Strauss, "The Greek Connection in 19th-century Ottoman Intellectual History", p.56; Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 2nd ed., 2 vols, 1 (Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı, 1995), 198ff.

¹⁹⁷ Johann Strauss, "The Greek Connection in 19th century Ottoman Intellectual History", p.63. As an exception, he gives John Aristoklis, who was a teacher of Ethnography at the School of Administration (*Mekteb-i mülkiyye*).

discussions were held in French- with the aim of conducting discussions in Greek.¹⁹⁸ In the 1860s, among the Greek-orthodox literate elite, language was being emphasized as the most remarkable feature of cultural identity. Without necessarily subverting the ideal of Ottomanism and loyalty to the sultan and the government,¹⁹⁹ the ancient Greek heritage was being promoted as part of the cultural identity of the Greek element. For instance, the Greek voluntary clubs and societies with their ancient Greek names such as *Mnimosini*, *Athina*, *Orfeus* and their symbolic references to ancient Greece, indicated the enhancement of a particular cultural identity by the Greek-orthodox elite. However, this was not considered an upsurge of Greek nationalism by the representatives of the state and the Ottoman ruling elite who encouraged the development of indigenous cultures. If we look from the perspective of the self- representations of the empire; like in the case of other empires, the experts and bureaucrats who tailored an image of the Ottoman Empire for the World Expositions were careful to show the imperial might through displaying the diversity of its subjects.²⁰⁰

Here, it is worth noting the perceptions of the Ottoman ruling elite regarding the Greco-roman heritage of the Ottoman Empire. The ruling elite of the *Tanzimat* advanced the multi-ethnic character of the Ottoman cultural tradition. A. Ersoy's study, based on

¹⁹⁸ Konstantinos Tromboukis, *Η Ελληνική Ιατρική Στην Κωνσταντινούπολη 1856- 1923*(The Greek Medicine in Constantinople), (Athens: Σύνδεσμος των εν Αθήναις Μεγαλοσχολιτών, 2000).

¹⁹⁹ On the contrary, the Ottoman sultan was celebrated as an enlightened monarch who allowed and even encouraged the intellectual progress of his subjects. As a similar instance, in the prologue of the first volume of the Greek Literary Society's periodical, the government of Sultan Abdulaziz was praised due to its "illuminating" activities concerning the general registration of all the books and manuscripts which were found in the Ottoman libraries of the capital. Tatiana Stavrou, *Ο εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*, (Athens: Filopoulos, 1967), p. 25.

²⁰⁰ See Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* Album," *Muqarnas* 20 (2003), pp.187-207. For the display of the British possessions in the 1851 World Exposition held in London, see Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

the *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* (*The Method of Ottoman Architecture*), a scholarly work on the history and theory of Ottoman architecture, showed that the ruling elite promoted the highly syncretic nature of early Ottoman architecture (of the founding years of their dynasty) which drew on the Arabic, Persian and Byzantine ancient cultural traditions, an attitude which also conformed with the *Tanzimat*'s cultural and political inclusivism.²⁰¹ Furthermore, the *Tanzimat* regime provided official backing for projects like the display and the restoration of the Byzantine remains in the capital. A guidebook on Constantinople occasioned by the Vienna Exposition 1873, *Der Bosphor und Constantinopel*, emphasized the city's Byzantine heritage, hence portraying the Ottoman State as a modern state that valued and preserved its non-Islamic cultural inheritance. Ersoy rightly observes that the Ottoman reformers wished to subscribe to a universal history of civilization as it was defined by the West.²⁰² Besides, especially in this period, the Ottoman intelligentsia increasingly adopted the view that the achievements of ancient Greek civilization lay at the foundations of contemporary European culture. J. Strauss wrote, "during the *Tanzimat* era, the Ottoman Turks awoke to the fact that Greek culture and philosophy also enjoyed the highest prestige in the West: unlike other languages used by non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire, Greek was taught

²⁰¹ Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007), pp. 117- 141. However, Zeynep Çelik emphasized the point that *Usul-i Mimari* (publ. in 1873) was an attempt to gain recognition by the West and saw it as the first steps of a national style. She wrote that the aim of *Usul-i Mimari* was to open a space for the Ottoman architecture within the wide spectrum of the western architectural styles and to encourage the employment of the "neo-Turkish" style in modern buildings within the framework of certain rules. Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p.120.

²⁰² Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* Album," *Muqarnas* 20, (2003), pp. 187-207.

in Western, ‘civilized’ countries”.²⁰³ Perhaps, with these thoughts in 1870, the ancient Greek language was introduced into the curriculum of the *Encümen-i Daniş* (Ottoman Academy), justified in the following way: “the mechanical instruction of the European languages was not sufficient”.²⁰⁴

W. G. Wagner noted that beginning from the 1860s the members of the Russian professional elite began to discuss the nature of marriage (and the reform of divorce law) as a consequence of their exposition on the one hand, to specialized Western European literature which emphasized the rights, health, or development of the individual, and on the other, to literary and philosophical romanticism which focused on the individual’s emotions, feelings and personality.²⁰⁵ In Constantinople, probably due to similar impetuses shared by an Ottoman professional and educated elite unified around the notions of self-improvement and individual choice, in the 1860s similar issues were circulating in the literary media, i.e. novels, theatre plays, newspaper articles, among all ethno-religious groups.²⁰⁶ Emotional connection and affinity between husband and wife was a very common theme in the novels of the time whose authors were Armenian, Greek and Turkish. Let us note that new western genres i.e the theatre and novel were being enjoyed by the educated elites of all the ethno-religious groups more or less at the same time. The first novel in the Turkish language was published with Armenian

²⁰³ Johann Strauss, “The Greek Connection in 19th century Ottoman Intellectual History,” p.48.

²⁰⁴ *Konstantinoupoli*, 19 February 1870.

²⁰⁵ William G. Wagner, “Ideology, identity, and the emergence of a middle class,” in *Between Tsar and People. Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. by Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow, James L. West, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp.149- 163.

²⁰⁶ The Ottoman intellectual İbrahim Şinasi published in 1861 a theater play entitled *Şair Evlenmesi* (The Marriage of a Poet), a critique of arranged marriage, in the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl*.

characters by an Armenian bureaucrat in 1851²⁰⁷, followed by a Greek- orthodox journalist in 1871- 72 who published his Turkish-language novel with Greek characters²⁰⁸ and then by a Turkish journalist writing in Arabic script in 1874.²⁰⁹ The well-known fact that the *Tanzimat* novel was above all written for didactic purposes strengthens the observation that education was seen by all the *millets* as the main venue of material and spiritual progress.

To reiterate the issue of marriage, in his speech during the first annual celebration of the Greek Medical and the Greek Literary Society, medical doctor Iroklis Vasiadis²¹⁰ narrated the story of the Trojan wars, quoting dialogues from Homer's epics, focusing on the loyalty and attachment of the Trojan prince Hector and his wife Andromahi to each other and presenting them as the perfect couple for the audience.²¹¹ By giving examples from ancient Greek culture, Vasiadis boosted the national pride of

²⁰⁷ Vartan Paşa, *Akabi hikayesi. İlk Türkçe roman (1851)* ed. by. Andreas Tietze, (Istanbul: Eren, 1991).

²⁰⁸ Evangelinos Misailidis, *Seyreyle Dünyayı (Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr-u Cefakeş)* [1872] publ. by Robert Anhegger & Vedat Günyol, (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1986).

²⁰⁹ Ahmed Midhat, *Hasan Mellah yahud sırr içinde esrar*, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000).

²¹⁰ Iroklis Vasiadis was born in 1821 in Delvinakio of Epirus. He moved with his family to Cyzicus (*Kapıdağ*) in Asia Minor where he received his primary education. Then he went to the Great School of the Nation in Constantinople. After he graduated, upon the bid of the board of the Great School, he first went to Athens then to Europe in 1848 to continue his studies. Vasiadis first studied medicine for some years in Paris, and then he went to Berlin in 1857. There he received his degree in medicine; his doctoral theses about gymnastics in the ancient Greeks *De Veterum Graecorum Gymnastice* brought him the degree of the doctor of medicine. In Berlin, he followed the courses of the renowned philologist August Böckh. After finishing his studies there, he first went back to Athens, upon the offer of a professorship in Greek Philology at the University of Athens, but then decided to return to Constantinople in 1859. He started teaching philosophy in the Great School of the Nation upon the request of Patriarch Joachim. He became the pioneering force behind the promotion of the Greek letters in Constantinople and the foundation of the Greek Literary Society in 1861. See, anonymous, "Κωνσταντίνος Ηρόκλης Βασιιάδης" *Kleio*, vol. 3 no.19(67), Leipzig, 1/13 October 1887. Iroklis Vasiadis gave numerous lectures in GLS on philology. The central concern of his research was the origins of the Greek language. He employed a methodology that was being widely used in Germany, comparative philology that dealt with ancient alphabets, systems of languages and epics. See *EFSK*, 1863 t. 1 etos 1, pp. 67- 78. Iroklis Vasiadis' two lectures "About the Origins of Languages," and "Indopelasgian essays" and (doctor) A. Paspatis' lecture "Indian essays".

²¹¹ K. Iroklis Vasiadis, *Λόγος εκφωνηθείς κατ'ἐντολήν του Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (Speech held upon the demand of the Literary Society)*, (Constantinople: Lazaridou, 1862).

the Greek-orthodox and projected the normative and exemplary model of ancient Greece as a universal guide for a common social issue.

I had previously mentioned the doctrine of “Helleno-Ottomanism” which has been suggested mainly by certain Greek historians who tried to understand and contextualize the seemingly contradictory processes of the formation of a Greek national consciousness and a manifest Ottoman patriotism among the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire. Until now, I tried to give a picture of the literary and scientific movements in Ottoman society, particularly among the Greeks of Constantinople, and later I weaved my narrative into one which showed that the promotion of Hellenism of the Greek-orthodox elite complied with an enlightening discourse, shared by a wider Ottoman intelligentsia, that valorized the values of ancient Greek culture as the foundation of European civilization. Thus, the promotion of a Hellenic identity through various means in the medium of the Greek associations was not perceived as something that threatened the unity of the Ottoman nation. In the following pages, I will try to shed more light onto the political prospects of the Greeks of Constantinople, bringing in once more the geo-political framework, namely the so-called doctrine of “Helleno-ottomanism” which dominated the visions of the Ottoman Greeks. Regarding the sentiments of the Constantinople Greeks toward the Hellenic Kingdom, the following excerpt from the memoirs of Georgios A. Zarifis, the grandson of the wealthy banker Georgios Zarifis, is revealing. The writer speaks about his grandmother Eleni Zarifis who stayed in Athens in 1849- 50.

Exactly across the hotel there was a warehouse in which six cannons were lined up. Every Sunday people were coming to see and marvel at them.

- The hot-blooded were saying, we will take the City with these.

Nothing could make my grandmother more angry. Moderate and prudent as she was, she had difficulty in understanding on what these feeble-minded Athenians relied, in order to realize their venturous dreams. She knew well what Turkey and Ottoman Empire were, and that it was impossible to defeat the strongest army of the East with six cannons. Her enervation was turning into melancholy when she thought how so many feeble-minded would administer tomorrow the fate of the Genos....Speaking in this manner she was not only expressing a personal view. Many people of her time, who either visited themselves the then Greece or were depending on the narrations of the travelers, had the deep-seated conviction that the Free Kingdom was nothing but a source of frustration.²¹²

The promotion of theater (in the Greek language) among the Greeks of Constantinople was previously mentioned. The following news in *Konstantinoupoli* shows more than the pride of Constantinople Greeks about their “national” theater:

This influx and the general willingness of Constantinople Greeks about promoting the Greek theater, honors the Hellenism abroad. The city of Athens, in which every stone reminds of the immortal men who overwhelmed the sensitive Athenians with their works, does not have a Greek theater... should not we be proud of?²¹³

In the sentences above, it should not go unnoticed that the Greek-orthodox bourgeoisie of Constantinople felt a sense of superiority with respect to the Greeks of the Hellenic Kingdom due to their cultural progress which accompanied their powerful economic situation. Under these circumstances, one cannot argue that in those years the Greeks of Constantinople considered Athens as the “national center” of Hellenism.

The flourishing of Greek societies with cultural and educational aims in Constantinople was considered as a positive development also regarding the geopolitics of the “Eastern Question”, and was celebrated by the British ambassador Sir Eric Bulwer. This brings us to a brief summary of the relations between the constitutionalist

²¹² Georgios A. Zarifis, *Οι αναμνήσεις μου. Ένας κόσμος που έφυγε Κωνσταντινούπολη 1800-1920*, (Athens: Trohalia, 2002), pp.116-117.

²¹³ *Konstantinoupoli*, 18 November 1869.

movement in the Hellenic Kingdom and the anti-Ottoman British policy concerning the Eastern Question, and to the political choices of a leading figure of the “Greek cultural movement” in Constantinople. At the beginning of the 1860s, Iroklis Vasiadis, the founding father of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople in 1861,²¹⁴ used to oppose the pan Slavist turn of Russia, and openly sympathize with the antiroyalist and constitutionalist movements in Greece.²¹⁵ The following event can give us a clue about his political choices and ideals. He was elected by the ethnocentrist circles of the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople to the council which would vote for the group that would visit Queen Amalia who had survived an assassination attempt. On the occasion of Miltiadis Kanaris’ election as the leader of the group which would visit the Queen, Vasiadis gave a speech. There, he addressed his audience as the “children of the same mother, of the Great Fatherland, of our much suffered Greece” and championed the goals of unity and freedom, showing the example of Italy whose unification was realized thanks to the liberal constitutional institutions.²¹⁶ Furthermore, in 1862, in the

²¹⁴ K. Th. Dimaras, *Ελληνικός Ρομαντισμός (Greek Romanticism)*, Νεοελληνικά Μελετήματα 7 (Athens: Ermis, 1982), pp. 399-401. K. Dimaras attributes a primary role in the foundation of GLS to I. Vasiadis. He also writes that Vasiadis was planning to gather the representatives of all the societies (the ones in Greece and Ottoman Empire) in ‘synods’ as he called them, every three years, in order to achieve their synchronous functioning, upon the example of the supranational attempts of Slavs, Germans and Italians. Also see K. Th. Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρριγόπουλος, Η εποχή του, η Ζωή του, το έργο του (Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. His era, his life, his work)*, (Athens, 1986), p. 239, p. 352.

²¹⁵ Paraskevas Matalas noted a parallelism between the movement against *gerontismos* in Constantinople and the constitutionalist movement in Greece. Paraskevas Matalas, *Έθνος και Ορθοδοξία. Οι περιπέτειες μιας σχέσης. Από το «ελλαδικό» στο βουλγαρικό σχίσμα (Nation and Orthodoxy)*, (Crete: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2002).

²¹⁶ Epaminondas, Kyriakidis, *Ιστορία του Σύγχρονου Ελληνισμού (The History of Contemporary Hellenism)* τ.2, (Athens, 1892), pp.94- 95.

wake of the change of polity in Greece, he delivered a sensational speech in which he suggested Alfred as the new king of Greece.²¹⁷

Britain supported the opposition against King Otto which peaked around 1861-1862. Parallel to this, in Constantinople the British ambassador Bulwer pursued a policy of encouraging movements with “national” character, in order to weaken the position of King Otto.²¹⁸ On the other hand, the British policy in the Balkans was to prevent the expansion of the pan-Slavic influence of Russia which could be cured by the advance of Greek education in the region that made an emphasis on Hellenic identity. This may explain why the British ambassador was encouraging a cultural and educational movement among the Greeks of Constantinople. On 7 May 1863, *Anatolikos Astir* reported the annual celebrations of the Greek Literary and Medical Societies. Sir Eric Bulwer was offered honorary membership by Iroklis Vasiadis, the head of the Greek Literary Society. The British ambassador thanked Vasiadis and said in his speech that “it is not possible not to admire the nation, which produced Homer, Aeschylus, Demosthenes and the inventor of Medicine Hippocrates, and the means of today’s civilization in the universe”. Bulwer added that the Greeks deserved philological societies more than other nations, because they protected the heritage of their ancestors. He also expressed his pleasure to see that the Ottoman government and the Reform Edict allowed the foundation of such societies and facilitated the development of each

²¹⁷ At that time Vasiadis used to teach at the Great School of the Nation. The day after his speech, the British newspaper *Levant Herald* issued thousands of copies of Vasiadis’ talk which created a great sensation. His political rallying must have been severely disapproved by certain Greek circles (and probably by the Ottoman authorities) so that he had to leave his teaching position in the Great School and was replaced by the theology teacher Alexandros Laskaris, the chief secretary of the Holy Synod. The decision caused incidents in the school, students protested but finally Laskaris was appointed. See D. Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularism*, p.215.

²¹⁸ D. Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularism*, p. 214.

nation.²¹⁹ Hence, he reminded the Greeks that the opportunities of intellectual improvement of the *millet* had become possible only as a result of the recently implemented laws and implicitly advised them to support the Ottoman reforms. I think, it would not be wrong to say that Bulwer employed the doctrine of “Helleno-Ottomanism” in the service of the interests of his country.

²¹⁹ “Φιλολογικός και Ιατρικός Ελληνικός Σύλλογος(Literary and Medical Greek Society)” *Anatolikos Astir*, 7 May 1863.

CHAPTER III

CLASS, ETHNIC-RELIGIOUS IDENTITY, AND MUSIC

Reform of Liturgical Music in the Greek Orthodox Churches of Europe

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Greek-orthodox churches in various cities of Europe moved away from the traditional monophonic music of the eastern orthodox church and adopted a liturgical music which was modernized according to the rules of European polyphony.²²⁰ More specifically, the general practice was to harmonize the existing ecclesiastical chants, re-composing them for four voices accompanied by the piano. The main architects of this reform movement are known to be, the Greek cantor Ioannis Haviaras who was at the same time a teacher of ancient Greek philology in the Greek school of Vienna, and his colleague the palace chapel meister B. Randhartinger.²²¹ However, according to P. Formozis, even before Haviaras, Anthimos Nikolaidis the deacon of the church of Hagios Georgios belonging to the Ottoman subject Greeks of Vienna started working on a similar project of “reforming” ecclesiastical music.²²²

²²⁰ Following the examples of the Greek-orthodox churches of Vienna and Trieste, the Europeanization of the church music spread to the other Greek-orthodox churches in Europe, for instance to those in Paris, Marseille, London and Manchester. It is interesting to note that around the same time the Jewish communities of Europe also introduced the organ and polyphonic music into their liturgy. For instance, the Jewish community of Prague began to use the organ in their religious service in the 1830s.

²²¹ Ioannis Haviaras and B. Randhartinger, *Επικήδειος Ακολουθία (Mortuary Mass)*, (Vienna: Antoniou Benkou, 1848). The mass is composed for soprano, tenor, baritone and bass voices, accompanied by the piano.

²²² Petros E. Formozis, “Οι Χωροδιακές εκδόσεις της εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής σε Ευρωπαϊκή μουσική γραφή των Ιωάννου Χ. Ν. Χαβιαρά – Β. Randhartinger και Ανθίμου Νικολαΐδου – Gottfried Preyer στις δύο ελληνικές εκκλησίες της Βιέννης (Choral versions of ecclesiastical music in European notation of Ioannis H.N. Haviaras- B. Randhartinger and Anthimos Nikolaidis - Gottfried Preyer in two Greek churches of Vienna),” *Stahis* 8/9 (1967), pp. 34- 81. Anthimos Nikolaidis was born in Ganohora of Thrace, learnt ecclesiastical music in the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the church musician Konstantinos who would later become the chief cantor. His first publication, the liturgical hymns notated

Vasiliki Seirinidou's work which deals with the Greek Orthodox community of Vienna in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries argues for a new identity on the part of the Greeks of Vienna, a social identity which connected the economic elite of the Greek community of Vienna with the urban strata of the city and was expressed through the contribution of the former to the cultural system of the latter (by visiting literary circles, salons, cafes, parks etc.)²²³ According to a supporter of the music reform, the Greek medical doctor A. Pallatidis, the reform of the "old monophonic and monotone music to tetraphonic and more melodic music" took place in Vienna in the year 1844. The author championed the act in the name of progress, saying that first, the "local" Greeks (Austrian subjects) "abolished all the embodiments which stood on the way of accomplishing this task and opened the way to progress and reform", then the "foreign" Greek community (Ottoman subjects) followed. He appreciated the efforts of both communities in competing with each other concerning the reform of the church music, and furthermore prophesized that "time will judge this achievement and sooner or later this 'national task' will spread from the Greeks of Vienna to all the Greek nation and everywhere in the world where the Greek religion and the dogma of the eastern church prevails".²²⁴

by Nikolaidis with the accompaniment of three voices and clavier made by the Czech music teacher August Swoboda, is dated in 1844.

²²³ Vasiliki Seirinidou, "Κοσμοπολιτισμός, Μοναρχία και πολυεθνική πραγματικότητα. Η Βιέννη των Ελλήνων και του Ρήγα(Cosmopolitism, Monarchy and multiethnic reality. Vienna of the Greeks and of Rigas)", *Mnimon* 21 (1999), pp.189- 200.

²²⁴ Anastasios Pallatidis, *Υπόμνημα ιστορικών περί αρχής και προόδου και της σημερινής ακμής του εν Βιέννη Ελληνικού συνοικισμού, αυτοσχεδιασθέν αφορμή της νεώστι γενομένης μεταρρυθμίσεως της εκκλησιαστικής ημών μουσικής εις το τετράφωνον* (*Historical memorandum about the beginning and development of the present acme of the Greek settlement of Vienna, improvised for the new reform of our ecclesiastical music into tetraphony*), [Vienna: Antoniou Benkou, 1845] (Athens: Noti Karavia), pp.50-52. Most of Pallatidis' text is devoted to the economic success of the Greeks who settled down in Vienna, the most outstanding being Georgios Sinas, and to the philanthropic and benevolent acts of these

In the prologue to the scores of the *Hymns of Divine and Holy Liturgy*²²⁵ composed by Haviaras and Randhartinger, legitimizing the music “reform” as a necessity in the age of progress, the publisher noted that the orthodox communities of Europe had been searching for ways of reforming the church music which would be “consistent with their upbringing” and at the same time would not diverge from the traditional and the ancient character of the old music of the church. He dated the attempts for reforms back to the music teacher Agapios Palermios of Chios who had tried similar reforms in Vienna and said that some years before tetraphony had already been introduced into the Church of Hagios Nikolaos of Trieste, though with not much success. Another interesting point is that the author claimed that the urge for reform brought first the arrangement of Russian music, the music of the orthodox Slav communities living in the Austrian Empire and the ecclesiastical music of the Ionian islands, and that the educated Greek-orthodox communities of Europe imitated those attempts.

We also learn from this prologue that at its general meeting, the community of Greeks and Vlachs voted for the reform unanimously and A. N. Nikarousis, Georgios Martirt, and Kons. Kourtis were elected to the community board for the implementation

merchants towards the Greeks living in the Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire, notwithstanding the role of the enlightened Greeks of Vienna in the 1821 revolution. Hence, Pallatidis projects the Greek merchants of Vienna as benefactors of the nation and the music reform that they achieved as a task beneficial to the nation. He was probably intending to support and legitimize the music reform against the members of the community who resisted the introduction of tetraphony into the church music.

²²⁵ I. Haviaras and B. Randhartinger, *Ύμνοι της Θείας και Ιεράς Λειτουργίας Ιωάννου του Χρυσοστόμου και Βασιλείου του Μεγάλου Ακολουθίας* (*Hymns for the divine and holy service of Ioannis of Hrisostomos and Prayer for Vasilios the Great*), (Vienna: Antoniou Benkou, 1848). The publication is dedicated to and probably sponsored by the famous merchant family Sinas. The copy of this published score that I came across in the Library of the Theological School of Halki, was given as a present by Haviaras to Fr. Pavlasek as written in the inside of the cover together with the date and place, Trieste 1852.

of the reform. According to the author, they requested Ioannis Haviaras, the chief cantor of the Hagia Triada church, to deliver the necessary hymns of the church to the music teacher B. Randhartinger, to write the hymns in European notation and to set them into tetraphony. Upon the proposal of Haviaras, the community reckoned that the tetraphonic music should be restricted to certain occasions like Easter, Pentecost, funeral masses etc. The publisher emphasizes that the highest ecclesiastical authority of the Austrian orthodox Christians, the Metropolitan of Karlovich established and blessed this music. Due to its introduction also to the Church of Manchester and later to the Church of Trieste, the second publication of the score became necessary. The subscribers' list show the support of the prominent Greek upper-class families i.e. Rallis, Skaramagkas, Skilitzis, Rodokanakis, Mavrokordatos, Maraslis, Zarifis who pursued their economic activities in a network which extended from London to Odessa. Nevertheless, upon the complaints of a few members of the community of the Hagios Georgios church in 1846, Patriarch Anthimos sent the community a patriarchal and synodical letter reprimanding the music of Nikolaidis as "foreign" and "improper for the ecclesiastical dignity."²²⁶ In April 1847, with the decision of the majority of the community, a "vindication letter" was written to the Patriarch. The authors of the letter stressed the impossibility of attracting people to the church with the existing church music, especially in a big city where "artful" and "harmonic" music governed everywhere from churches to theatres and cafés.²²⁷ Unfortunately, Formozis and other secondary sources do not give very

²²⁶ P. E. Formozis, "Οι Χωροδιακές εκδόσεις της εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής...", p.55.

²²⁷ *ibid.*, pp.50-51.

clear information about how the polyphonic music continued to be chanted in the eastern orthodox churches in Europe despite the reprisals of the Patriarchate.

To conclude with the reform movement concerning the music in the Greek-orthodox churches of Europe, I should note the initiative of the wealthy and the educated strata of the Greek communities of the prominent cities of Europe who imposed their own will to harmonize their religious music with the one prevailing in the public sphere in which they wished to participate.²²⁸ The purpose of this brief informative section on the reform of liturgical music in the Greek-orthodox churches of Europe in the mid-nineteenth century was to provide a background for a better understanding of the arguments and discourses around an expected music reform in Greece and in the Greek-orthodox communities of the Ottoman Empire.

Music and Middle-Class Discourses in the 1860s Greek Orthodox Community of Constantinople

In this section, I will try to show how church music became an arena of specific discourses in the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople, which I call “middle-class” discourses that criticized on the one hand the westernizing upper classes and on the other, the tastelessness and “vulgarity” of the lower classes. As a second objective, I will show that in the second half of the nineteenth century, church music came to be

²²⁸ For a comparable case of the Jewish cantors’ participation in the Viennese public sphere, see Philip V. Bohlman, “Composing the Cantorate: Westernizing Europe’s Other Within” in *Western music and Its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music*, ed. by G. Born and D. Hesmondhalgh, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). In this brilliant essay, P. Bohlman looks at how musical representations are inserted into wider sociocultural processes, in particular the changing contours of the collective cultural identity of the Jewish community of Vienna. He investigates the participation of the Jewish community in the public sphere of the nineteenth century central European society.

considered by the middle classes (liberal professionals, or the educated society) as a determinant of ethnic prestige and was invested in as such.

The Greek revolutionary discourse mainly drew on the historical schema which emphasized that Hellenism suffered a cultural decline under Ottoman rule.

Consequently, one of the most significant motifs in the nineteenth-century Greek discourses on music was the motif of corruption (*diafthora*) or decline (*parakmi*) of (ecclesiastical) music. Church cantors who were publishing hymn collections, probably having in mind the young cantors among their readers, were reminding their readers of the decrees of the ecumenical councils on liturgical music or emphasizing that for centuries, the church had been forcing out the foreign idioms and *melos* (melodic formulae) that were contrary to the spiritual purposes of liturgy.²²⁹ In the second half of the nineteenth century, the idea of decline in ecclesiastical music - not only in liturgical books, but also in any writing which dealt with ecclesiastical music - became a frequent *topos*. It became part of the discourse of the Greek Orthodox church musicians in a wide geography. The letter sent by the Patriarchate to the first cantor of the church of Ioannina (Yanya) Georgios, on 6 May 1874, provides the following information. According to the letter, the cantor applied to the Patriarchate in March (two months before) for the approval of the publication of the two books that he wrote on ecclesiastical music, which he regarded as contributions to the rectification and the therapy of the decline of ecclesiastical music.²³⁰

²²⁹ Stephanos Lambadarios, *Μουσική Κυψέλη (Music Hive)*, ed. by D. Ioannis Protopsaltis, (Constantinople: publ. house I. Pallamari, 1882), see the prologue for the first edition in 1857.

²³⁰ Patriarchal Correspondence: Codex A' 45, no. 1655, 6 May 1874.

This particular discourse of decline was no doubt also related with the increasing criticism of the contemporary church musicians regarding the new notation system that was in use since 1814.²³¹ The new system which was invented by Archimandrite Hrisanthos was mainly criticized due to its oversimplification of the process of the chanting education which, according to some church musicians, resulted in the “decline” of ecclesiastical music. Possibly, in the first two or three decades that followed the introduction of the new system, most of the church musicians were able to transcribe the ecclesiastical chants from the old into the new notation. However, in the 1860s, the daily reality felt among the church musicians was that the knowledge of the old notation was gradually being lost. We also have to note that the verbal descriptions of the ecclesiastical music performances in the nineteenth century generally give the impression that the music was really not pleasing to the ear. However, here the issue is not whether the music itself was good or bad, but the discourse on music. The issue of “decline” in (ecclesiastical) music has to be investigated also within the framework of the interpretations of the musical past. The conviction that church music was not as “pure” or “magnificent” as “before”, was common and underlay any comment on music. However, even though the processes of the construction of social and national identities were interdependent, the criticisms of the musical practices of the upper and the lower classes (which included a notion of decline that was less related with historical representations than with immediate social and ideological divisions) had more to do with a contemporary and more general religious/moralist discourse than the idea that the

²³¹ Hrisanthos of Madytos, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής* (*Great Theory of Music*), ed. by Panagiotis G. Pelopidis, (Trieste: Michele Weis, 1832).

glory of an older music was eclipsed by the consequences of being under Turkish domination.

In the 1860s, concomitant with the increasing lay participation in the affairs of the *millet*, the secularization of public life and the entrance of western habits, there seem to appear a moralist discourse that referred to the weakening of the religious sentiments of the Greek-orthodox community. In the prologue of *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον* (New Psalms of Resurrection Mass) published in 1866, cantor Panagiotis Kiltzanidis connected fluently and passionately what he saw as the loosening of religious feelings in the congregation with his comment on the present situation of the ecclesiastical chant:

Do the joyful chants of *Anastasimatarion* chanted in the churches every Sunday move us or rejoice us like our fathers who wrote and composed them? It is sad that a stone-like insensitivity toward the merry and joyful chants took hold of us and the service has become heavy like a burden that we carry out of obligation, and many are grumbling. The reason for this evil is, we lost the meaning and the soul of the divine hymns, and without understanding the salvational power of the truths in them, we can not feel the emotion and the delight that comes from understanding. Second, due to ignorance we lost the musical aesthetic and inserted verses and *theses* arbitrarily and corrupted the purity of the ecclesiastical melody, and because of this, our music is defamed and many try to replace it with the so-called European, thinking that when our hymns are sung in the European fashion, they will be pleasant. This is not so, because the evil derives, first, from ignoring the religious truths that the divine hymns express and therefore from the dwindling of the religious feeling and second, from the inexperience of the pure Ecclesiastical style.²³²

Cantor Kiltzanidis weaved a religious discourse which lamented both the lack of understanding of the essence of orthodoxy and the weakening of the religious feelings in the community, together with his own anti-western stance about a musical reform that seemed to be in the air. He advised the comprehension and appreciation of the meaning

²³² Panagiotis G. Kiltzanidis Proussaefs, *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον* (New Psalms of Resurrection Mass), (Constantinople: S. Ignatiadis, 1866), pp.γ'-δ'.

of the chants, instead of embellishing them with European music. The criticism about the Europeanization of musical taste gives the impression that the targets of his sarcastic remarks about the weakening of religious sentiments were the upper classes. The wealthy elite of Pera were familiar with the western consumption patterns, as well as western music. They participated in a social life with other Ottoman elites and the European functionaries, i.e. consuls, representatives of European firms. Western music played a major role in the balls, theatre spectacles and concerts that were being organized for entertainment or charity reasons. The clavier was very crucial in the dissemination of European music both in Constantinople and in other cities which were open to western culture. According to Alexis Politis, in Greece, after the 1830s it was common among the members of the bourgeoisie to have clavier, in their houses. I assume that in the 1850s and 1860s; it must also have been very widespread among the wealthy classes of Constantinople to own claviers.

In his work on the new consumption practices adopted by the Christian Orthodox middle-class groups living in major urban centers of the Ottoman Empire such as Constantinople and Smyrna, H. Exertzoglou noted that normative discourses of religious origins gave references to conspicuous consumption which was thought to threaten the Christian Orthodox traditional morality. As an example, he mentioned the denouncement by Patriarch Grigorios VI, in 1869, of the use of classrooms and schoolyards for balls and theatrical plays.²³³ The moralist discourse reprimanded the

²³³ Haris Exertzoglou, "The cultural uses of consumption: Negotiating class, gender, and nation in the Ottoman urban centers during the 19th century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003), pp.77- 101, see p.82. About the Patriarch's denouncement, Exertzoglou refers to *Anatolikos Astir* 15 February 1869.

imitation of western habits, and the western type of entertainment which was embodied in the European dances.²³⁴

The conspicuous consumption of the upper classes was criticized not only by religious/moralist but also by secular discourses as well. In 1863, D. Hristidis presented a report in the Greek Literary Society on the present situation of the Greek schools in Constantinople, which was entitled “The Teachers of Constantinople”. The author reprimanded the Greek families of the imperial capital for spending much more money on the clavier and the vocal music instruction of their children – he wrote “giving importance to simple ostentation and ornamentation” - than on education in the Greek language which, according to him, formed the basis of the national education.²³⁵ Likewise, the themes of some of the public lectures which were delivered in the Greek voluntary associations reflect a reservation about new practices introduced by European culture. For instance, the lectures of medical doctor H. Zografos about sumptuousness, mimicking the Europeans, and the misuse of novels.²³⁶

Returning back to cantor Kiltzanidis’ position, we see another interesting example of an explicit discourse criticizing the upper classes in a text written by Ioannis Raptarhis in 1860 on the situation of the churches of Constantinople. The theme of a contemporary “decline” in music appears also in this text which in fact talks about a

²³⁴ In his novel *Temaşa-i Dünya* (1872) Evangelinos Misailidis allusively hinted at a western fashion, “even then, the young men who did not know waltz or quadrille were not considered civilized and well-bred”. See Evangelinos Misailidis, *Seyreyle Dünyayı (Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr-u Cefakeş)*, publ. by Robert Anhegger & Vedat Günyol, (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1986), p.52.

²³⁵ *Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*, 1863 τόμος Α’ έτος Α’, pp. 146-149. D. Hristidis would also publish a book on the situation of the schools of Constantinople in 1865, probably with the encouragement of the National Mixed Council which, on 15 October 1863, took a decision of promoting a homogeneous and unified teaching in the educational institutions of the city. See *Τα Σχολεία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως υπό Δ. Χριστίδου Σεργαίου, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, 1865.

²³⁶ «Ελληνικοί Σύλλογοι (Greek Associations)», *Anatolikos Astir*, 8 May 1862.

more general “decline” in church service. The major point of criticism of the author against the notables in the parish church committees was that “while they embellished the churches with various rich offerings, in fact they lost the real consciousness of the religious spirit and the services in the churches lost their originality and ardor, becoming limited to formal ceremony”:

Day by day, while their [the churches] external civilization (*politismos*) is increasing, the originality (*prototypia*), so to say, of the religion, is decreasing unfortunately; all are limited today to formality (*ta typika*), misunderstanding many truths and healthy principles.²³⁷

We do not know much about the religious practices of the individuals living in Ottoman society, which is an understudied field also in the European context. Concerning the Greek-orthodox community of Pera, we know that a new church was constructed in the parish of Stavrodromio (Beyoğlu) in 1848. We do not have any statistical data at our disposal about, for instance, how often the Greek-orthodox inhabitants of Pera went to church. If the frequency of going to church, the number of days of fasting or caring for the symbols of religion i.e. icons might be indicators, the following evidence about Eleni Zarifis (through the eyes of her grandson), even though not generalizable, may still give an idea:

She was a good Christian but without exceptional zeal in her religious displays. She used to go to church only on Sundays and on big feasts, never to the vespers, prayers or to the Friday prayer to Virgin Mary, before Easter. She was not fasting

²³⁷ Ioannis M. Raptarhis, *Πικρά η αλήθεια: ή Η κατ' αντίθεσιν της οσημέραι εν τοις ιεροίς ναοίς αυξανόμενης εξωτερικής πολυτελείας και μεγαλοπρεπείας, ελάττωσις του θείου εσωτερικού διακόσμου* (*The truth is bitter: the contrast of the increased external luxury and the magnificence of the holy churches to the decline of their internal divine décor*), (Constantinople: ο Vizas, 1860), p.11. Ioannis M. Raptarhis was a graduate of the School of Commerce in Halki and lived in Phanar. In 1867, he was one of the candidates in the election of the committee of the brotherhood which was founded in order to deal with the financial problems of the Great School of the Nation. Manouil Gedeon refers to him as the publisher of the journal “*Eptalofos*” until 1865. See M. Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα Χρονογράφου* (*Notes of the Chronicler*), (Athens, 1932), p. 35, p.52.

more than 4 or 5 days a year. Also I never saw her tending to her icons herself, unlike the other housewives of the time. Her faith was probably internal, however her relation to the church and to the symbols of the cult were purely formal.²³⁸

Both in Kiltzanidis' and Raptarhis' remarks (also in the coming excerpt) the religious experience is defined highly in terms of emotionality and hence the liturgical music is expected to fulfill its religious aim through the arousal of emotions.

Having provided various examples of the criticism of the musical (or other) practices of the Greek upper classes, now let me turn to the critical attitude toward the lower classes of society. The excerpts from Raptarhis' report that comment on the music of the church service are full of contempt for the lower ranks of society:

The cantor, an illiterate man, coarse by occupation either a fisherman or a grocer, who does not have the slightest knowledge or an idea about the ecclesiastical music which is supposed to elevate the soul from the ground to the sky, to incite in it that holy and divine grandeur and fill it with ineffable emotion, often descends to an unsavory and unappealing melody, with the most unmusical and tuneless of voices.²³⁹

The lack of order which is seen in close relation with lack of education is one of the severely criticized themes in I. Raptarhis' report on the churches of Constantinople:

Many times, we see that cantors disagree among each other about the *ihos* (mode) or the choice of the *tropario* (chant) of the day and fall into dispute, which results to a pause in the holy church at that moment".²⁴⁰

The contempt is even more explicit in another passage about the *kanonarhis* (choristers, the young boys who sing in the church choir):

²³⁸ Georgios L. Zarifis, *Οι αναμνήσεις μου. Ένας κόσμος που έφυγε Κωνσταντινούπολη 1800-1920*, p.82.

²³⁹ I. Raptarhis, *The truth is bitter*, p. 18.

²⁴⁰ I. Raptarhis, *The truth is bitter*, p.19.

[...]If we add to these anomalous voices, the tuneless service of the so-called choristers, children mostly drawn from the most *eftelesteras* (inferior) ranks of the folk, paralleling that turbulence with their discordant howls [...]²⁴¹

This fits well with the contemporary criticism of the educated elite about the types or the spaces of entertainment that were associated with the lower classes. H. Exertzoglu notes that dignity and literacy largely figured in the discourses of the Greek voluntary associations which were the opposite of the entertainment places of the lower classes. As an example of the harsh criticism of the educated society about the spaces of popular entertainment, he cites an excerpt from an essay written by the medical doctor Dimitris Paspatis which depicted the taverns as heterogeneous and open places that lacked discipline and moral behaviour.²⁴² However, neither the complaints about the chorister boys nor their lack of proper musical education was seen only as something related to the degradation of the art of music but was perceived in relation to a social problem, that was not unique to the Greeks of Constantinople. Even though it may seem a remote example, I would like to point out to the consciousness about the same “problem” concerning the church choirs of nineteenth century England. In her influential work regarding the choristers (boys) who came to Westminster Abbey in the 1830s, Cyril Ehrlich noted that boys of 7 or 8 years old were earning some money, receiving an imperfect education and when their voices broke at the age of 14 to 16, they were cast

²⁴¹ I. Raptarhis, *The truth is bitter*, p.18.

²⁴² H. Exertzoglou, “Η Συγκρότηση του Δημοσίου Χώρου στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο Αιώνα (The Formation of the Public Space in Constantinople in the 19th century),” in *Ο Εξω Ελληνισμός: Κωνσταντινούπολη και Σμύρνη*, (Sholi Moraiti, 2000), pp. 15- 36, see pp. 27-28. The mentioned essay is, D. Paspatis, *Υπόμνημα περί του Γραικικού Νοσοκομείου των Επτά Πύργων (Memorandum about the Greek Hospital of Yedi Kule)*, (Constantinople, 1862), pp.275-76.

out and left to shift for themselves.²⁴³ Furthermore, she referred to a contemporary, Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, professor of music at Oxford, who argued that the position of a cathedral boy (chorister) was very much degraded. According to Ouseley, “they were selected from the lowest reaches of the society, they were badly schooled, badly cared for in morals and religion, snubbed, despised, slighted and eventually sent forth into the world with no adequate provision for their maintenance”.²⁴⁴ Here, we almost recognize the discourse that I have just noted for the case of the Greek-orthodox middle classes of Constantinople which connected the lower classes, on the one hand, with lack of discipline and moral behaviour and on the other, with a tasteless amateurism, which leads us to situate this particular discourse within the framework of more general European middle-class discourses. I would like to draw a further comparison concerning the developments in the music profession. In 1870s England, the reform movement which strived to raise the choral standards took measures against the widespread system of amateurism by introducing certificates and diplomas as requirements for becoming a church musician.²⁴⁵ I. Raptarhis’ cry for professionalism and institutional training in chanting would find a response in the following decades where the cantors of Constantinople would be tested and educated with the initiative of,

²⁴³ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, (New York: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 94.

²⁴⁴ C. Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, p. 95.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 116. About the reform of cathedral music in England, also see Peter Horton, “Samuel Sebastian Wesley at Leeds: A Victorian Church Musician Reflects on His Craft,” *Victorian Studies* 30, no.1 (Autumn 1986), pp. 99- 111. Specifically about the choir boys, P. Horton wrote on pp. 103-104: “In those cathedrals where the choir was composed of both minor canons and lay clerks, the former had frequently ceased to take an active part, and merely intoned the responses and collects. Less was expected of them and then unmusical persons were appointed. With the reform in the air, it was judged to be intolerable”.

if not fully professional organizations, music associations in which church musicians would always be the majority.

In this section, I argued that in the 1860s Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople, there was a religious/moralist discourse advanced especially by the middle classes which criticized, on the one hand, the upper classes for their luxurious consumption and their imitation of the Europeans and on the other, the lower classes for their ignorance and tastelessness. I also tried to show that criticism of both the musical practices of the upper classes and the existing church music was used as an argument in this discourse. However, the texts and the statements that we analyzed can not be interpreted outside the context of the formation of national identity. A network of discourses connected issues related with music, social identity and the *genos*/nation. I. Raptarhis' text '*The truth is bitter...*' speaks directly to certain burning issues which were being discussed within the Greek-orthodox community since some years. For instance, through a subtle rhetorical strategy, he links the disharmonious voices of the cantors chanting in the church choirs to a linguistic disharmony in the (Bulgarian) orthodox churches, referring to the mixed chanting by one choir in the Slavonic language and by the other in Greek.²⁴⁶ Elsewhere, he connects his wish for the remedying of the corruption in the contemporary practice of the orthodox ecclesiastical chanting (and the general decline of the church service) with a plea for the solution of

²⁴⁶ I. Raptarhis, *The truth is bitter*, pp.19-20: "[...]καθ' ἣν δέον να βασιλεύη η ουράνιος μελωδία των Χερουβεϊμ της δόξης των ψαλλόντων μια φωνή και μια γλώσση [Reference to footnote (2)]Οποίαν τωόντι αληθή ιδέαν Βαβυλωνίας δίδει εις τα λοιπά χριστιανικά έθνη και η εις πολλά μέρη είτε έξ ανάγκης, βία της ήδη αναφανείσης Βουλγαρικής Προπαγάνδας, είτε έκ συνηθείας χρήσης της Ελληνικής και Σλαβωνικής γλώσσης αναμίξ εις εκάτερον τών χορών, και οποίον αηδέστατον αποτελεί κράμα, κρινέτω πάς τις εύ φρονών και της εκκλησιαστικής τάξεως όντως ζηλωτής".

the Bulgarian issue.²⁴⁷ Hence, he articulates a discourse that puts forth the ecclesiastical music and its improvement as a factor which might be used in the service of preventing separatist tendencies within the orthodox populations. Furthermore, concerning why he wrote *The truth is bitter*, Raptarhis says that it was the result of his desire to see the Church in a respectable position, and that his national dignity could not allow him to endure the insults of the foreigners toward the [music of the] nation. At first sight, the word “foreigners” brings to mind the Europeans (the dwellers of the European countries and the European citizens living in the Empire), but it could also be referring to the members of other ethnic groups of the Empire. Hence, one might argue that in the second half of the nineteenth-century Ottoman society, music, especially ecclesiastical music became a determinant of the power and prestige of an ethnic/religious group.

The Social Origins, Musical Backgrounds and the Career Trajectories of the Greek Orthodox Church Cantors of Constantinople

In the previous sections, I introduced several strands of discourse on music and tried to elucidate their relationships with the power politics of the Patriarchate and the moralist-aesthetic discourses of the middle-classes. In this part, I will attempt at mapping the musical field, focusing this time more on individuals and on biographical material, and at providing a non-exhaustive but useful account of the social origins, musical backgrounds and the career trajectories of the Greek-orthodox cantors of

²⁴⁷ I. Raptarhis, *The truth is bitter*, p.52: “[...] να στρέψωμεν τον λόγον ημών και αυθις προς την ανώτατην Εκκλησιαστικήν Ιεραρχίαν, επικαλούμενοι, εν ονόματι πάντος ότι υπάρχει επί της γης ιερώτερον, την σύντονον αυτής προσοχήν και την δραστηρίον μέριμναν υπέρ της επανορθώσεως τώσον των προεκτεθέντων, όσον και άλλων πολλών ατοπήματων και ελλειψέων περι τας δημόσιας ημών λατρείας, και ιδίως υπέρ της ευστάθιας των Αγίων του Θεού Εκκλησιών, σαλευόμενης ως μην όφελε κατ’αυτάς ένεκα του υπέρ ποτέ ακανθώδους αναφάνεντος και ακροσφαλούς Βουλγαρικού Ζητήματος, [...] κινδυνεύει να διασχίση την Εκκλησιαστική ισορροπίαν και ενότητα[...]”.

Constantinople in the second half of the nineteenth century. A more thorough analysis is not possible at the moment because of the lack of biographical material. In the previous section, we saw that the social origins of cantors were related with questions of order during the religious service and with musical aesthetics. In this regard, one of my objectives will be to shed light on the social origins and the education of the cantors. Second, I will try to give some insight about the inter-communal relations among the Ottoman musicians. Third, I will give the career trajectories of certain cantors whom we could trace, as examples to be able to develop a pattern of mobility of the cantors, which will also contribute to our knowledge about the migration origins of the inhabitants and the socioeconomic outlook of the districts of Constantinople where the Greek-orthodox were in greater numbers.

First, let us take up the issue of the musical education of the cantors which brings us to the issue of inter-communal relations. Many Greek-orthodox church musicians learned and practiced the Ottoman court music, which was open to all talented musicians from different ethnic and social backgrounds.²⁴⁸ The theory and practice of lay music was one of the unique cultural denominators that united musicians from different ethno-religious communities. It should not be surprising to see many Greek and also Armenian church musicians who could play the *tanbur* (the long-necked lute) and who also knew the Ottoman rhythms. Especially the generation of cantors who passed away in the 1870s were contemporaries with the prominent Ottoman Muslim musicians whose works are considered today as representatives of the so-called “classical” Ottoman/Turkish music, a denomination which reveals a “Golden Age” as described by

²⁴⁸ Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz*, (Istanbul: YKY, 1998), p. 47.

modern Turkish historiography. For instance, Parthenios Mikrostomos (1804-1870), the cantor of the Church of Hagios Constantinos of Psomatheia (Samatya) learned the lay music from the famous composer İsmail Dede and composed many songs with Turkish lyrics.²⁴⁹ A later example, Evstratios Papadopoulos (1847-1909) the cantor of the Church of Eisodion in Pera learned the Ottoman art music from Şevki Dede, one of the famous Mevlevi musicians of Constantinople.²⁵⁰ A brief survey of the published popular song collections in the nineteenth century reveals a certain exchange, transfer and collaboration between Turkish, Greek, Jewish and Armenian musicians; the multicultural content of these books, for instance Turkish songs written in the Greek alphabet and notated in the “Byzantine” notation are astounding.²⁵¹ The first published song collection was *Eyterpi* (1830) which was written in the Greek alphabet, to be followed by others also in Greek script *Pandora* (1843, 1846), *Armonia* (1848), and the first published song collection in Arabic script was *Mecmua-i Şarkı* (1852).²⁵² In 1859, the previously mentioned Hatzi Panagiotis of Proussa (Panagiotis Kiltzanidis)²⁵³, the

²⁴⁹ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Σύμβολαι Εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Παρ’ ἡμῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς* (*Contributions to the History of Our Ecclesiastical Music*), (Athens, 1890), p. 350.

²⁵⁰ Mentioned in K. A. Psahos, “Ευστράτιος Γ. Παπαδόπουλος,” *Formiks*, period 2- year 5 no. 3-4, 15- 31 May 1909, p.2.

²⁵¹ These music books are considered to belong to the *Karamanlidika* literature whose main feature is that the Turkish language is written with the Greek alphabet with the addition of some diacriticals. For further information see Cem Behar, “Türk Musikisinin Tarihinin Kaynaklarından Karamanlıca Yayınlar”, *Müteferrika*, (Spring 1994), pp.39-52. Song books of similar character existed also in the Armenian *millet*, that is, music written in the Armenian music notation and the Persian/Turkish lyrics written in the characters of the Armenian alphabet. An example to the contents of these books could be the *beste* (song) in the *dügâh* mode beginning with the lyric “*Ey cânâ*” composed by the Armenian cantor Hampartzum, notated in the Byzantine notation by the Greek cantor Georgios Violakis. See Ioannis Zografos (of Geyve), *Μουσικὸν Ἀπάνθισμα* (*Music Anthology*), vol.1, (Constantinople: Ἰ. Anatoli, 1872), p.87.

²⁵² See Burak Çetintaş, “Matbû Güfte Mecmuaları Üzerine bir Deneme,” *Musikişinas* 9 (2007), pp. 41- 55; also *Osmanlı Musiki Literatürü Tarihi*, ed.by. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2003), pp. 167-168.

²⁵³ Panagiotis Kiltzanidis, originating from Proussa was a prominent church cantor in Constantinople in the 1840-1880s and was also well known for his erudition in music theory and the knowledge of the old notation. He worked actively both in the Music Society (1863) and later music societies, published works

second cantor of the Church of Cibali, also one of the founders of the Music Society of Constantinople (1863) which will be mentioned later, published a collection of ‘Turkish, Greek and European songs’ entitled *Kallifonos Seirin*.²⁵⁴ Again a member of the MSC, cantor Ioannis Zografos from Geyve²⁵⁵ published an anthology of secular songs in 1856, *Mousikon Apanthisma*, which was reprinted in 1872.²⁵⁶

Regarding the knowledge of old ecclesiastical notation (before the 1814 reform), we can roughly differentiate between two generations of cantors. Stephanos Mihail (d. 1864)²⁵⁷ the *lambadarios* of the Great Church, Onoufrios Vyzantios (d. 1872) and Sotirios Vlahopoulos²⁵⁸ (d. in the late 1860s) belonged to the group of the older cantors who had learnt ecclesiastical chanting from the prominent music reformer Hourmouzios

on the theory of ecclesiastical music, as well as a book for the instruction of lay music. He taught at the Patriarchal Music School in 1868. He instructed many students who became prominent cantors at the beginning of the twentieth century. Kiltzanidis died in the early 1890s. In the following chapters, I will frequently refer to his books, *Διατριβαί περί της Ελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (Constantinople, 1879) and *Μεθοδική Διδασκαλία Θεωρητική τε και Πρακτική προς Εκμάθησιν και Διάδοσιν του Γνησίου Εξωτερικού Μέλους*, [Constantinople, 1881], (Thessaloniki: Vas. Rigopoulou, 1978).

²⁵⁴ *Καλλίφωνος Σερίν ήτοι Συλλογή διαφόρων ασμάτων, Τουρκικών, Ευρωπαϊκών και Ελληνικών Μελοποιηθέντων υπό Χ. Παναγιώτου Γεωργιάδου του Προυσαέως*, (Constantinople: S. Ignatiadou, 1859).

²⁵⁵ Ioannis Zografos started his chanting career in Constantinople in the church of the parish of Hagia Kyriaki of Kontoskali (Kumkapı). The population of the parish of Hagia Kyriaki was mostly Turkish-speaking orthodox who had migrated in the nineteenth century from inner parts of Asia Minor, typically from Cappadocia. So, Zografos’ family, coming from Geyve, a town in possibly a Turkish-speaking region of Asia Minor, might have settled in Kumkapı. Zografos knew the theory and the practice of the Ottoman music.

²⁵⁶ Ioannis Zografos, *Μουσικόν Απάνθισμα* (Music Anthology), first edition, 1856.

²⁵⁷ Stephanos (Lambadarios) Mihail (?-1864), the head of the left choir in the Great Church had been a student of one of the reformists, Hourmuzios the Archivist. He composed ecclesiastical music following the tradition of First Cantor Konstantinos (1777- 1862). In 1840, he published *Mousa* in which he explained the systems of (*şube*) maqams of arabopersian music. In 1850, he published *Pantekti* together with Lambadarios Ioannis which included the works of the older composers. Then, in 1857 he published *Kipseli* which was a collection of various ecclesiastical hymns. In 1863, he published an Anthology including his own ecclesiastical works and that of many of the previous cantors. He also translated all the works of his mentor Konstantinos into the new notation. His book on theory which remained incomplete due to his unexpected death in 1864, was completed by Panagiotis G. Kiltzanidis. [This must be *Kripis* which was published by Ioannis Protopsaltis in 1875]. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.346.

²⁵⁸ S. Vlahopoulos learned secular music from Georgaki the son of Pantzoglou, a singer at the court of Mahmud II. In 1848, he published a collection of Greek and Turkish lay songs, *Armonia*. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.350-51.

the Archivist and knew the old notation as well as the new one. Among the younger cantors, previously mentioned P. Kiltzanidis and Georgios Violakis²⁵⁹ also knew the old notation. However, in a later treatise G. Violakis mentioned how it was difficult to find a teacher in his childhood who would teach the old notation, saying that many old psalters did not want to teach it because it was very difficult.²⁶⁰ The music teacher Vasilios Fotiadis²⁶¹ had also learned music from prominent cantors and taught ecclesiastical music in the Central Theological School of Balat and also chanted in the church of Hagios Dimitrios of Xiloporta (Edirnekapı). Besides, he had studied Greek philology with Nikolaos Logadis and also used to teach Greek in the Hagiotafitiko Girls' School attached to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (Hagios Tafos).

Now, let me give some insight into the social and regional origins, and the career trajectories of the Greek-orthodox cantors who were employed in the churches of Constantinople. There is a certain professional hierarchy regarding the cantors of a church; from the highest rank to the lowest, the first-cantor, the second cantor or the lambadarios, first domestikos, second domestikos, first canonarch. We probably have to differentiate between an “elite” group of cantors (professionally upper-rank cantors, either first-cantor or lambadarios of the churches, who also had more social prestige), and cantors and choristers (young boys) recruited among the parish inhabitants who also

²⁵⁹ Georgios Violakis was born in 1810-20 in Sifnos. He studied ecclesiastical music with Theodoros Fokaefs and was also renowned for his knowledge about both the Ottoman secular music and European music. He was one of the founders of the Music Society of Constantinople which will be mentioned later. Even though the reason is not clear in the sources, in 1865 he rejected the offer of Patriarch Sofronios II to become the chief cantor in the Patriarchate but accepted to teach at the Theological School of Halki. He became the first-cantor of the Patriarchate in the 1890s and stayed in that office until his death in 1907.

²⁶⁰ Georgios Violakis, “Μελέτη Συγκριτική της νυν εν χρήσει μουσικής γραφής προς την του Πέτρου του Πελοποννησίου και προς την αρχαιότεραν γραφήν,” *EMSI*, 30 March 1899.

²⁶¹ Vasilios Fotiadis was born in Ipsomathia (Samatya) in 1825. He learnt church music from Onoufrios Vyzantios and Stephanos Lambadarios. See G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp.461-62.

had other occupations. Cantors of the first group received music education through traditional ways from a master or at the Patriarchal music school (after 1866) and earned their living by chanting at the church choir and/or teaching ecclesiastical music at a theological or a Greek-Orthodox high-school. The emergence of a group of cantors, who earned their living solely by chanting, must be related to a process of professionalization of ecclesiastical chanting which took place probably not earlier than the middle of the nineteenth-century.²⁶² Let us remember from the previous section that I. Raptarhis advised the Greek-orthodox parish committees to employ in their churches eligible cantors with preferably a professional music education. This might be seen as an encouragement for the professionalization of the chanting practice. There is an accepted correlation between professionalization and the formation of middle-class identity. Even though we have very scant biographical information about the Greek cantors of Constantinople, and especially about their family backgrounds, several examples show that cantors with professional education generally came from artisan or merchant families.²⁶³ Hence, we might assume that the cantors, who could professionalize, already belonged to middle-class families. This is an interesting point also regarding the social prestige of the cantors. If the son of a merchant did not follow his father's career, it may

²⁶² Cem Behar writes that the emergence of the concept of independent professionalism in the instruction and the performance of traditional Turkish music dates to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, concomitant with the increase in public spaces i.e. gardens, coffeehouses in which music was played. See Cem Behar, *Zaman, Mekan, Müzik*, (Istanbul: Afa Yayıncılık, 1992), p.37.

²⁶³ Musicologist G. Papadopoulos does not give information about whether cantor P. Kiltzanidis' (b. in 1820s) father or grandfather was a merchant in Proussa or not (he says that his origins are from Proussa) but he says that his sons were among the well-known merchants in Constantinople. So, extrapolating from this information perhaps we can guess that P. Kiltzanidis came from a merchant family in Proussa. Georgios I. Papadopoulos, *Contribution to the History of Ecclesiastical Music*, p.443. Another example is a younger cantor Nilefs Kamarados (1847-1922) who was the son of a merchant family from Chios, as we learn from the biography written by his son. N. Kamarados' brother Thrasivulos Kamarados was a famous merchant in Constantinople who made trade with Russia. Georgios D. Kamarados- Byzantios, (*Biography of Music teacher Nileus Kamarados*), (Athens, 1976).

mean that being a church cantor, at least, did not bring lower social prestige. But how would a hard-core class analysis classify the church cantors? Perhaps the term *Bildungskleinbürgertum* (“petit bourgeois intellectuals”) coined by the Czech historian Jiri Koralka might be useful. Koralka used the term in order to refer to the petit bourgeois type of livelihoods - especially in Central and East European countries e.g. late nineteenth century Bohemia and Poland - like that of the public school teacher, clerks of all categories including the ones employed in the churches who performed certain functions of the middle class.²⁶⁴

Coming to the second group, if the stereotypes of “grocer”²⁶⁵ and “fisherman” that appeared in Ioannis Raptarhis’ text can be taken as a clue about the social origins of the second group of cantors, risking a bit of generalization, we can say that most of the cantors in the second group came from the lower classes. Even if it is from a later period, we can perhaps present a letter from the beginning of the twentieth century as evidence to our suggestion. This letter was sent in 1903 by Konstantinos Komnianidis, the father of two boys who were choristers in the church choir of the parish of Stavrodromio (Beyoğlu), to the board of trustees of the parish community. The father was complaining about the first-cantor of the church who first decreased the salary of

²⁶⁴ See Jiri Koralka, “Tschechische Bildungsbürger und Bildungskleinbürger um 1900 (am Beispiel der Südböhmischen Stadt Tabor),” in *Durch Arbeit, Besitz, Wissen und Gerechtigkeit*, ed. by Hannes Stekl, Peter Urbanitsch, Ernst Bruckmüller, Hans Heiss, (Wien: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 210-21. For more on the concept “Bildungskleinbürger”, also see J. Kocka/U. Frevert (Hg.), *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 1, München (dtv) 1988, p. 88; Jürgen Kocka (Hg.), *Arbeiter und Bürger im 19. Jahrhundert*, (München: Oldenburg, 1986), pp. 65-74. I owe many thanks to Prof. Dr. Jürgen Kocka for these references.

²⁶⁵ The “grocer” stereotype which was used by I. Raptarhis for ‘non-professional’ cantors, could in fact be a general occupational stereotype for the lower class Greek-orthodox in the 19th century which reflected a reality in terms of occupational patterns. C. Kırılı’s study on the profile of the labor force in early nineteenth century Constantinople which focused especially on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus regions showed that out of 142 grocery shops in the two regions, 108 were run by Greeks. Cengiz Kırılı, “A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul,” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 60 (Fall 2001), pp. 125- 140.

and then dismissed his son Nikolaos from the choir. Father Komnianidis appealed to the board of trustees about the reemployment of his son, and noted that the salary that his son was earning brought some relief to the financial situation of the family adding that he himself was a cook.²⁶⁶

I used the subscribers' lists of four books which were published in 1859, 1866, 1873 and 1881²⁶⁷ in order to locate and map the trajectories of the cantors of Constantinople in the period 1860-1880, and to demonstrate where they started their career and where they ended up. If we group the Greek-orthodox cantors of the city according to their places of origin, we can come up with two general categories; cantors who originated from Asia Minor and from the Aegean islands. Studies on the migration patterns in the nineteenth century – which are in fact the continuation of much older patterns – indicate that the migrants, especially from the Cappadocia region of Asia Minor settled down in particular districts in Constantinople, namely Samatya (*Psomatheia*), Langa (*Vlanga*), Kumkapı (*Kontoskali*) and Cibali (*Tsibali* or *Tsumbaliou*).²⁶⁸ Assuming that the place of residence (parish- neighbourhood) and the place of occupation (parish church) overlapped, we can see that the career trajectory patterns of some cantors who originated from Asia Minor affirm this migration pattern.

²⁶⁶ *Archive of the University of Athens, Greek-Orthodox Community of Stavrodromio*, letter signed on 14 December 1903.

²⁶⁷ Kyriakos Filoxenis, *Θεωρητικόν Στοιχειώδες της Μουσικής (Basic Theory of Music)*, [Constantinople: S. Ignatiadis, 1859], (Thessaloniki: P. Pournara, 1992); P. G. Kiltzanidis, *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον (New Psalms of Resurrection Mass)*, (Constantinople: S. Ignatiadis, 1866); Ioannis Zografos (of Geyve), *Μουσικόν Απάνθισμα (Music Anthology)*, vol.2, (Constantinople: Ἰ. Anatoli, 1873) and P. G. Kiltzanidis, *Μεθοδική Διδασκαλία Θεωρητική τε και Πρακτική προς Εκμάθησιν και Διάδοσιν του Γνησίου Εξωτερικού Μέλους (Systematic Teaching of Theory and Practice for the Learning and Dissemination of the Genuine External Melody)*, [Constantinople, 1881], (Thessaloniki: Vas. Rigopoulou, 1978).

²⁶⁸ See Irini Renieri, "Household Formation in 19th Century Central Anatolia: The Case Study of a Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian Community" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 34 no.3 (August 2002), pp. 495-517.

Regarding promotion, a cantor with Asia Minor origins (more specifically Cappadocia) was likely to start chanting in the churches of the parishes of Samatya, Langa, Kumkapı or Cibali. Then, depending on his talent, in a couple of years, he could be employed in a church in Balat, Phanar or Hasköy. In the next rank of districts one could locate Beşiktaş and Tatavla. The fourth and the highest destination where the cantors were paid better and gained more prestige were the churches of Galata and Pera, the richest district of the City with a cosmopolitan and western appearance. The career trajectories of Ioasaf Rossos (from Caesaria),²⁶⁹ Ioannis Zografos (from Geyve, a town close to Izmit)²⁷⁰ and Evstratios Papadopoulos²⁷¹ more or less fit this scheme. Cantors who recently came from or originated from the Aegean islands, e.g. Georgios Violakis (from Sifnos) or Nilefs Kamarados (his family was from Chios), probably reflecting a correlation between place of origin and place of residence in Constantinople, started to chant in the churches of the Bosphorus e.g. Arnavutköy (*Mega Revma*) or of Galata, namely the

²⁶⁹ He was born in Caesaria of Cappadocia, educated at the Evangeliki School of Smyrna where he also received an ecclesiastical music education from the first cantor (*protopsaltis*) Nikolaos of Smyrna. He spent some years as a monk in the Hagios Panteleimon and Iviron monasteries of Mount Athos, deepening his music knowledge and skills. After staying in Athens (we do not know how long) he came to Constantinople and was employed in various churches of the city as a cantor. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.450. According to the data in the subscribers' lists of the books that I have mentioned, in 1859 Ioasaf Rossos was the first cantor of the Church Hagios Nikolaos in Cibali, in 1866 the first-cantor of the church of Kimiseos tis Theotokou in Beşiktaş, later cantor in the Church of Hagios Nikolaos in Galata, and then in 1881 Hagios Konstantinos in Pera.

²⁷⁰ Ioannis Zografos was the first-cantor in the church of Hagia Kyriaki in Kumkapı in 1859, we see him in 1866 as the first-cantor of the Church of Hagios Nikolaos in Galata.

²⁷¹ Evstratios G. Papadopoulos was born in Kumkapı (Constantinople) in 1847. He learned ecclesiastical music from the prominent cantor Georgios Raidestinis. At the age of 16, upon the demand of Patriarch Sofronios, he became the Second Domestikos of the Patriarchate. He was the first-cantor of the church of Hasköy (1864-1869), then for four years, in the Church of Yeniköy. In 1872, he was appointed as the first-cantor of the church of Hagios Dimitrios in Tatavla where he chanted for five years, and finally succeeding the deceased Dimitris Vyzantios, he became the first-cantor of the Church of Eisodion of Pera where he chanted for 32 years until his death in 1909. See K. A. Psahos, "Ευστράτιος Γ. Παπαδόπουλος," *Formiks*, period 2 year 5 no. 3-4, 15-31 May 1909, p.2.

churches of Panagia Kafatiani and Hagios Ioannis from Chios which was built by the merchants of Chios.

The trajectories that I gave as examples are striking for the amount of mobility that the church cantors experienced. Generally, promotion to a more prestigious church was first and foremost reserved to the first-cantor of a church. However, in 1866 the second cantor of the Church of Eisodion in Pera, Stavrakis Grigoriadis²⁷² was appointed as the first-cantor of the Patriarchate. We do not have any clues to explain how Grigoriadis, but not the first-cantor of Eisodion Dimitrios Vyzantios or the Lambadarios of the Patriarchate Georgios Radestinos, was appointed to this high rank. Perhaps, it was out of respect due to the fact that he was older than the other two, or because he was a good musician.²⁷³ Sometimes, the reverse could also happen for various reasons. For instance, Parthenios Mikrostomos, while he was a cantor in the church of the Saviour in Galata was later appointed to the Church of Psomathia (Samatya).

The correspondence between the first-cantor of the church of Eisodion in Pera and the board of trustees of the community of Stavrodromio indicates that the first-cantor of a church – and generally the oldest cantor in that church - had a great say in the appointment of the lower rank cantors to their own churches. For instance, in 1893, Evstratios G. Papadopoulos, the first cantor of the church of Eisodion in Pera, wrote to

²⁷² Stavrakis Grigoriadis (1806-1871) was from Ainou, he was very adept at lay music and played the lira and the *tanbur* (long-necked lute). He was among the founders of the Music Society. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the history*, p. 350.

²⁷³ G. I. Papadopoulos writes the following about him: “not possessing the style of the patriarchate, he was governed by the Lambadarios and the domestics whose styles he mimicked”. Papadopoulos must be implying that he had a lay-style which was not appropriate for the church. On the other hand, this might mean that he had a chanting style which appealed to the aesthetic tastes of the contemporary audience, may be even was especially appealing to that of Patriarch Sofronios. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the history*, p. 350.

Konstantinos Fotiadis, the head of the board of trustees of the community of Stavrodromio that one of the domestikos in the choirs was ill, and demanded that Vasileos Onoufriadis is appointed, who was apparently one of the two candidates.²⁷⁴ The fact that alms were collected from the congregation during the religious service impelled the church councils to see good cantors as a means of satisfying the congregation and hence increasing the income of their churches. This was also used as an argument by the cantors while they bargained with the church council members for their salaries. Of course, again the first-cantor was the mouthpiece of the lower cantors. In 1896, the aforementioned cantor Evstratios G. Papadopoulos objected to a new decision taken by the central board of trustees about decreasing the salaries of the cantors by five percent, saying that before the implementation of the present Statute, the salaries of the cantors were almost four times their present salaries, noting that this change led to profit for the Church Fund.²⁷⁵ Regarding the career trajectories and the bargaining power of the cantors, there were two opposing factors. While experience and long service were assets for bargaining for a higher salary or expecting a promotion - first cantor E. Papadopoulos and lambadarios Pashalidis referred to their “years-long service,” as they demanded an increase in their salaries²⁷⁶ - old age which brought the deterioration of the voice might even mean being unemployed.

²⁷⁴ *Archive of the University of Athens, Greek-Orthodox Community of Stavrodromio*, letter no.7, date: 26 December 1893.

²⁷⁵ *Archive of the University of Athens, Greek-Orthodox Community of Stavrodromio*, letter no.185, date: 22 December 1896.

²⁷⁶ *Archive of the University of Athens, Greek-Orthodox Community of Stavrodromio*, letter no.214, date: 16 April 1900. The letter was signed by the first-cantor Evstratios Papadopoulos and the lambadarios Gr. P. Pashalidis.

To conclude, in this section, focusing on the cantors as individuals, I traced their social origins and career trajectories, and also I treated them as a professional group and tried to illuminate some aspects of their social and economic relations amongst each other and with their employers, the members of the church councils. The second step of mapping the musical field is to elucidate the dynamics in the foundation of the Music Society of Constantinople.

The Alliance between the *Greek Literary Society* and the Cantors: The Music Society of Constantinople (1863)

The Music Society of Constantinople (MSC) was founded in April 1863 in Pera and started to function in the Parish School of Panagia. It was the first music society that the Greeks of Constantinople established. As far as the musical movements in other *millets* are concerned, the Armenian composer Gabriel Eranean had founded the first Armenian musical association in 1862 in Constantinople. It was called *K'nar Haykakan* (Armenian lyra); Eranean gave conferences and public concerts, and published a periodical, homonymous to the association, with the collaboration of his young student Dikran Tchouhadjian and the Italian composer F. G. Foschini.²⁷⁷

In this section, first I will try to draw the intellectual/political portraits of the founders of the MSC which will help us later to understand the context in which the Society was founded. Then, I will try to interpret the aims of the MSC as they were declared in its statute (1863). The founders of MSC comprised a mixed group in terms of their social backgrounds and professions: Apart from the fact that many of the

²⁷⁷ Komitas Vardapet, "La Musique Religieuse Arménienne au XIXe Siècle Première Période 1839-1874", translated by Leon Ketcheyan (originally publ. in *Ararat* May 1897), in *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 20 (1986- 1987), pp. 499- 500.

founders were church cantors, musicians and music teachers of Constantinople, there were also certain members of the middle-classes of the Greek community occupied with liberal professions, and several members belonging to the upper-classes, the financial and bureaucratic elite.²⁷⁸ Unfortunately, except for its statute published in 1863 and a few newspaper articles about the MSC, we do not have much material at our disposal. This means that its periodical²⁷⁹ which began to be published in 1865, or the information which could have been vital to our research, i.e. the minutes of its meeting sessions, the list of the books in its library, the speeches of its chairmen etc. did not survive or are unknown because they remain uncatalogued in some archive. However, the list of the founders of the MSC, and the primary and secondary sources we could collect about these people allow us to make some speculations about the foundation moment of the Society. One of the questions that I will try to answer is, how did this group of intellectuals, cantors and some prominent members of the Greek elite come together to form a music society? We can safely say that the idea of establishing a music society was formed within the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople about which I gave some information in the previous sections. The founders of the MSC, except the cantors, were members of the GLS; i.e. the president of GLS medical doctor Iroklis Vasiadis, the vice-president of GLS director of the school of Stavrodromio (Beyoğlu) Gavriil Sofoklis; the general secretary of GLS, the Great Logothete Stavrakis Aristarhis, and also its members medical doctor Ioannis Galatis, banker Dimitrios Paspallis, teacher

²⁷⁸ See Merih Erol, “Musical Association of Constantinople”, in *Encyclopedia of the Hellenic World: Constantinople*, <http://constantinople.ehw.gr>.

²⁷⁹ In order to inform the readers about the minutes of its meetings, to spread the knowledge about the studies about music presented by the members of the Society and disseminate foreign essays and their unpublished translations and notations of national and foreign songs, the society members decided to publish a periodical every two months. From *Anatolikos Astir*, 2 May and 7 June 1865.

Andreas Spatharis, Xenofon Triantafillidis and Vasilios Piladis. Except one or two names that I could not identify, fifteen of the total of twenty-nine founders were cantors in various churches of the city.

The chairman of the MSC banker Dimitrios Paspallis,²⁸⁰ the business partner of the famous banker Hristakis Zografos, was a prominent Greek in the parish of Stavrodromio (Beyoğlu). I have mentioned that donating money to schools and other community institutions was an act that increased one's social prestige and legitimated his wealth. D. Paspallis, whose name we see among the sponsors of the Greek schools of Pera and of the Greek cultural associations was no exception. He had good relations with the Foreign Minister Âli Paşa and supported the Ottoman reforms. In the following decades, he would be among the supporters of Patriarch Joachim III. Extrapolating from his financial interests, it is possible that he supported the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and hence the doctrine of "Helleno-Ottomanism". We see D. Paspallis within a certain group of people with ideological affinity that looks back to the Byzantine and post-Byzantine cultures nostalgically and strives to protect the institutions of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This romantic appreciation of the post-Byzantine past will be discussed in the next chapter. To clarify, I want to draw attention to a book whose publication (1866) was sponsored by D. Paspallis.²⁸¹ The author of the book was

²⁸⁰ Dimitrios Paspallis was a banker from Constantinople who was erudite in ecclesiastical and European music. According to an article in *Anatolikos Astir*, 7 October 1865, as the vice-director of the Society of the Ottoman State (*Etairia tou Othomanikou Kratous*) he was honoured by the Sultan with a decoration, a fourth-rank *Mecidiye*.

²⁸¹ Th. M. Aristoklis, *Κωνσταντίνου Α' του από Σιναΐου Αοιδίμου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως του Βυζαντίου Βιογραφία και συγγραφαί αι Ελάσσονες Εκκλησιαστικά και Φιλολογικά, και τίνες Επιστολαί του Αυτού*, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει εκ του Τυπογραφείου της Προόδου, 1866.

cantor Theodoros Aristoklis²⁸² from Halki who was also among the founders of the MSC. The book was about Patriarch Konstantinos (1770 -1858) and contained the biography of the Patriarch, his unpublished and published writings on ecclesiastical issues and Byzantine archaeology, as well as some letters written to him by various personalities of his time, and ended with a hymn to the Patriarch composed by cantor Onoufrios Vyzantios (also a founder of the MSC) to a poem by Th. Aristoklis.²⁸³ We do not know to what extent the patriarchal term of Konstantinos I was looked on retrospectively as a “Golden Age” among the Greeks of Constantinople in the later decades. However, D. Stamatopoulos notes that the patriarchal term of Konstantinos I (1830- 1834) was marked by a movement of the lay element and the introduction of laymen into the church administration, and a reconsolidation of the power of the Greek-speaking/Rum aristocracy (the neo-Phanariots) in the post-revolutionary period.²⁸⁴ Moreover, Konstantinos I was also known to be a learned patriarch who had a great affection for music. In the book, ecclesiastical music was a remarkable theme which

²⁸² Theodoros Aristoklis: Intellectual, musician and musicologist from Halki. He learned ecclesiastical music from Hourmouzios the Archivist. He wrote a biography of Konstantinos I. He died in Tatavla in 1880 where he had also taught the Greek letters. He also taught at the 5th Patriarchal music school. He wrote a prologue to the work *Μουσική Βιβλιοθήκη* (Music Library) which was published under the auspices of Patriarch Grigorios VI (1867- 1871). G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.359. As a result of cross-checking in the subscribers’ lists of two books 1859 and 1866, I found out that in 1859 he was chanting in the Church of Tatavla and in 1866 he was the second cantor in the church of Hagios Konstantinos in Stavrodromio.

²⁸³ Th. M. Aristoklis was probably the secretary of Konstantinos I. Also in the prologue, he thanked Stavrakis Aristarhis who gave him the manuscript and also the prominent poet Elias Tantalidis.

²⁸⁴ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, (*Reform and Secularization*), pp.40- 41. Stamatopoulos interprets the term of patriarch Konstantinos I as the “patriarchy of usurpation” characterized by a division of powers among the personalities like Vogoridis, Psiharis and Aristarhis who governed patriarchal life.

especially revolved around how Patriarch Konstantinos appreciated and exalted the chanting of Konstantinos Vyzantios the eminent first-cantor of the Great Church.²⁸⁵

A particular passage in the book regarding the autonomy of the Patriarchate and the Ottoman political framework may be relevant to the political prospects of the author and the sponsor of the book. The passage is about the issue of the monasteries in Moldovlachia (Moldavia and Vallachia)²⁸⁶ which was debated heatedly at the Patriarchate at the time Th. Aristoklis wrote the book. Aristoklis referred to a dialogue between the then Ottoman foreign minister and Patriarch Konstantinos in the 1850s. Allegedly, the Ottoman minister advised the Patriarch to redefine and rename the monasteries which were being referred to as *graikika* (Greek) monasteries, as *ethnika* (national) monasteries, saying that with their revenues, the schools and hospitals in the Ottoman Empire could be financed and if the Romanian government attempted to confiscate them, even a war could be justified.²⁸⁷ Even though such a dialogue seems rather fictional, Aristoklis' endeavour was probably to project the Ottoman government as an ally of the Patriarchate on the issue of the Moldovlachian monasteries and to suggest to put them under the Ottoman legal-administrative framework by defining them as *milli* institutions. Actually, this issue pertains to the degree of autonomy of the orthodox *millet* within the Ottoman framework. It is also very similar to the discussions, which would erupt in several years, regarding whether to define the Bulgarian issue as

²⁸⁵ Th. M. Aristoklis, *Κωνσταντίνου Α' του από Σιναΐου Αοιδίμου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, pp.64- 65.

²⁸⁶ This issue is about the Romanian Prince Alexander Kouza's attempts to confiscate the Greek-orthodox monasteries in Moldovlachia. Considering that the project of the Romanian unification was supported especially by France and that Kouza was elected by both the provinces of Moldova and Vallachia, this created great concern in Constantinople about the economic resources of the Patriarchate.

²⁸⁷ Th. M. Aristoklis, *Κωνσταντίνου Α' του από Σιναΐου Αοιδίμου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, pp. 27-29.

an ethnic or a purely religious issue. In the late 1860s, during the sessions at the Patriarchate, there would be a severe conflict between several Greek intellectuals - advocating ethnocentric political visions - who insisted that the Bulgarian issue had only a religious significance, and a group headed by the neo-Phanariot Karatheodoris who wanted to make the Ottoman government a partner in the resolution of the matter.²⁸⁸

Another prominent founder of the MSC was Stavrakis Aristarhis, a descendant of the prominent neo-Phanariot family, who received the title of the *Megas Logothete*²⁸⁹ after his father's death in 1866. As to his political stance, following his father he was pro-Russian and supported Grigorios VI who envisioned on the one hand a patriarchal centralization and on the other, had a mild attitude toward Bulgarian ecclesiastical independence. In 1867, Grigorios VI would come to the patriarchal throne with the support of Stavrakis Aristarhis.

The director of the Greek school of Stavrodromio Gavriil Sofoklis²⁹⁰ and Andreas Spatharis²⁹¹ a physics-mathematics teacher were also among the founders of the MSC. German educated Spatharis would become in the later decades one of the agents of a scientific discourse on music, especially in the 1880s, due to his experiments on the physical qualities of sound and his calculations of the interval ratios. Medical doctor and philologist Iroklis Vasiadis, the chairman of the Greek Literary Society, had undoubtedly a crucial role in the foundation of the MSC. In the Greek Literary Society,

²⁸⁸ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, (*Reform and Secularization*), pp. 310-316.

²⁸⁹ The lay office with the highest rank in the Patriarchate. The holder of this office ensured the communication between the sultan and the patriarch. Due to the new order of things in the organization of the *millet*, the office of *Megas Logothete* which was held by Nikolaos Aristarhis, father of Stavrakis A., was abrogated. But N. Aristarhis kept the title and passed it on to the next generation.

²⁹⁰ He was a theologian, published an article about the history of iconography in *Pandora*, Athens, 15 August 1853.

²⁹¹ Andreas Spatharis studied in Berlin and he taught in the Great School.

he was known for his research and lectures on the origins of the Greek alphabet. In the existing studies on the Greeks of Constantinople in the nineteenth century, he is generally presented as an ardent classicist, champion of the classical ancient Greek art and regarding his political orientations, tending toward Greek nationalism.²⁹² I have mentioned his role in the anti-Ottoman constitutionalist movements. Concerning his views on music and language, he defended the existence of a seamless continuity from the cultural idioms of the ancient Greeks, which according to him, distinguished the modern Greeks as a nation.²⁹³

Coming back to the cantors, the dominance of the church musicians in the MSC led some musicologists to refer to it as the “Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople”.²⁹⁴ But I will try to show that the Music Society was founded with an interest for exploring all the aspects of a music that began to be considered as an ethnic heritage, rather than a specific and exclusive interest in ecclesiastical music. The cantors who participated in the foundation of the MSC were employed mostly in the churches of

²⁹² For instance, this point has been mentioned in Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, «Τα όρια της «μέσης οδού» Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και Γλωσσικό Ζήτημα στις αρχές του 20^{ου} αιώνα (The limits of “middle way”. Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Language Question at the beginning of the 20th century)», *Ευρωπαϊκή Εταιρία Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών*. Stamatopoulos has also noted that Vasiadis was a ardent supporter of the purified language (kathareousa).

²⁹³ During a public lecture in the Greek Literary Society on the poetry of the Asians, bringing the issue to the Asian origins of the ecclesiastical chanting, he said the following: “Because these rhythms were reintroduced to our country by the Ottomans and were inserted by them into our ecclesiastical music, one should pay great attention not to see them as foreign and belonging to another people, which are nothing but Greek in Asian form”. *EFSK* tomos D’ (1865 December - 1870 May) 1871. See on p.190 the original of the quotation. «επειδή οι ρυθμοί ούτοι δια των Οθωμανών επανήλθον εις τας ημετέρας χώρας και τίνες εξ αυτών παρεισέφρυσαν εις την ημετέραν εκκλησιαστικήν μουσικήν, μεγάλης δέεται προσοχής, ίνα μη ταύτα καταγωσθώσιν ως επείσακτα και αλλόφυλα, ενώ ουδέν άλλο είσιν η ελληνικά υπό ασιατικήν μορφήν». Iroklis Vasiadis held himself a lecture on a similar topic, comparing Iliad and Odyssey of Homer with *Şahname* of Firdevsi. See *Konstantinoupoli*, 13 February 1871.

²⁹⁴ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the history*, p.394.

Pera, Galata and Tatavla. So, obviously musicians who were employed in the churches that were in the vicinity of the Greek Literary Society were invited to collaborate.²⁹⁵

Perhaps we can shed more light on the MSC by focusing on its goals. In the previous sections, we mentioned that in the 1860s and 70s in Constantinople there was a favourable atmosphere for the popularization and dissemination of scientific knowledge, and the development of local cultures. The scientific, literary and cultural flourishing of the Greek community was manifested by the establishment of various associations. As a second point, regarding ecclesiastical music, in the preceding section we have seen that it began to be perceived as a matter of national prestige. Hence, as it is also revealed by the statute of the MSC, the scientific study and the aesthetic improvement of music were the two main aims lying at the foundation of the music association. The quest for scientificity is a striking aspect in the statute of the MSC, revealed by the abundance of terms such as “testification (εξακρίβωση)”, “clarification (διασάφηση)”, “true and precise writing/transcription (πιστή και ακριβής γραφή/μετάγραφη)”. In a short time, the MSC and its work developed into an enterprise that engaged a wider literate Greek-orthodox public which began to express its expectations. In 1864, an excerpt from a letter written by Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) was published in the newspaper *Armonia* for the benefit of the “esteemed Music Society”. The unaddressed and undated letter was assumed to be sent to Hrisanthos, the “beloved” first-cantor of Korais around 1815- 6. In his letter, the prominent Greek scholar who contributed to the preparation of the Greek revolution claimed that ecclesiastical music shared the same logic (λόγον)

²⁹⁵ It is striking that the first-cantor of the Great Church Ioannis Protosaltis, its lambadarios Georgios Radestinos and its first domestikos Nikolaos, the son of the prominent cantor Konstantinos Vyzantios were not among the founders of the MSC.

with the old (*παλαιά*) music, like the present language shared with the language of Platon and Demosthenes. Noting that the music (like the language) “was mixed in Byzantium with Asian melodies and in other places (in Chios and Crete) with Italian tones”, he encouraged his addressee to do research on music, especially on the “old” (ancient) Greek music.²⁹⁶ Hence, the MSC was assigned, by at least some segments of the Greek public, the mission of studying the “national” music in order to purge it from the “foreign” influences it had received.

As I said before, in the statute of the MSC the aim of improving national (*ethniki*) music was stressed. The content of this *ethniki* music included not only ecclesiastical music but also lay music.²⁹⁷ The research in “national” music was designed as an archaeological excavation into the past layers of music history, which was expressed manifestly as assessing the genealogy of music notation:

Clarification of the different music notations used by the ancient Greeks (Aristoxenos, Alypius, etc.) and by the Christian composers (St. John of Damascus, Ioannis Koukouzelis, Petros of Morea, Three Teachers, Grigorios, Hourmouzios and Hrisanthos) and comparing their methods with the notation of the foreigners(ξένων)[western notation].²⁹⁸

I have already mentioned the criticism of the contemporary musicians against the notation and the theoretical system introduced by Hrisanthos of Madytos in 1814. Even though it was accepted as the official method sanctioned by the Patriarchate, its

²⁹⁶ *Armonia*, 8 April 1864. Furthermore, in his letter Korais gave a list of recommended readings about the history of music, most of which were written with antiquarian interests in line with the state of music scholarship in Europe at that time. This list included among others *Eléments de Musique* by Alembert, *Dictionnaire de Musique* by J. J. Rousseau and *Histoire generale, critique et philologique de la Musique* by Blainville and *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* by I. N. Forkel.

²⁹⁷ *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικού Συλλόγου* (*Statute of the Music Society of Constantinople*), (Constantinople: Koromilas and P. Paspallis, 1863), p.5, Article 2: “The aim of the Music Society of Constantinople is the research, development and dissemination of [our] national (*ethniki*) music, religious and lay, regarding its practice and theory...”.

²⁹⁸ *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικού Συλλόγου*, p.11.

consequences were seen as theoretical impoverishment, as well as decay in the “traditional” practice of church music. The cantors of the MSC were engaged in a serious search for another method or corrective measures against the shortcomings of the music reform; they set their goal as “finding a more suitable method of studying [our] music, either only through the vocal tradition or with the help of a musical instrument”.²⁹⁹ Let me note that the existence of the theme of supplementing music education with an instrument indicates that the idea behind the *psalterion* (a special organ) which was constructed with the encouragement of Patriarch Joachim III in 1881, had already existed twenty years before.

The members of the MSC showed an interest also in other musical cultures. The religious chants of other Christians seem to be a topic of curiosity, but the stress was only on the eastern Christians. Hence, in the working program of the MSC, we read: “The reliable and precise rendering, in both notations [probably meaning both the byzantine and the western notations], of religious chants of the other Christian nations (*ethnos*), certainly the eastern ones, Armenians, Syrians, Copts, Abyssinians, Iberians”.³⁰⁰ However, we also see an interest in folk music in the statute of the Society. Regarding the regional focus, we immediately notice the priority of Thrace and Macedonia in the following project of the MSC, which is not surprising if we think about the national movements there which threatened the unity of the orthodox *millet*: “The reliable and precise notation, in both systems, the purely demotic melodies of the other nations (*ethnos*), certainly the neighbouring ones, Albanians, Slavs,

²⁹⁹ *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικού Συλλόγου*, p.12, Article 7.

³⁰⁰ *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικού Συλλόγου*, p.13, Article 13.

Moldovlachians, Turks, etc”.³⁰¹ It should be noted that in the 1860s, certain members of the Greek-orthodox educated elite such as Iroklis Vasiadis, Alexandros Karatheodoris and A. Paspatis showed a remarkable scholarly interest in philological material and used this kind of material in their arguments on the origins of the modern nations. For instance, the speech of I. Vasiadis at the inauguration of the Thracian Educational Society in Constantinople in 1872 is an outstanding example of a sketch of Greek history based on arguments drawn from ethnogenesis theories, comparative philology and archaeology to prove the assimilatory power and survival of Greek culture in Thrace throughout three thousand years.³⁰² The interest of the MSC in the folk songs of the contemporary inhabitants of these regions must be interpreted within this framework. For instance, in Greece, the songs of the Vlachs became a topic of interest for the Greek apologists who advanced them as a proof for the almost complete assimilation of this race with that of the Hellenes.³⁰³

As I noted earlier, the notion of authenticity is closely interlinked with the notions of ethnicity and identity. Carving out a unique Greek musical tradition required that Greek music be defined with its own terms, and as an entirely different musical tradition than the neighbouring ones. This required in turn, a knowledge of the music of the Others. We see that one of the aims of the MSC was declared to be, “the definition of the characteristics of Arab, Persian and Jewish music”.

³⁰¹ *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικού Συλλόγου*, p.13, Article 16.

³⁰² See Merih Erol, “Claiming Orpheus, the Bard of Antiquity: The Greeks of Constantinople and Panslavism in the 1870s”, paper presented at the *Warsaw East European Conference*, 15-18 July 2008. The target of Vasiadis’ passionate speech was a recently published folksong collection *Veda Slovena* by a Bosnian Serb Stephan Verkovitch, who argued that the Pomaks were the most ancient people of Thrace, arguing that their hymns to the mythic poet and musician Orpheus were witnesses.

³⁰³ Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: folklore, ideology and the making of modern Greece*, (New York: Pella, 1986), p.74.

The definition of contemporary ecclesiastical music as part of a comprehensive tradition was necessary for the legitimization of the ecumenicity of the Patriarchate. One of the working projects of the MSC was the following: “the accurate and precise notation of the so called Cretan style of [our] ecclesiastical chants as they are chanted in the churches of the Ionian Islands, Crete and elsewhere, and the precise notation of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical style of the Slavs and their comparison with the melodies chanted in our Byzantine or Mt Athos tradition”.³⁰⁴ Not surprisingly, this particular quest drew the attention of the orthodox patriarch. Soon, Patriarch Sofronios II (1863-1866) assigned the investigation of the Ionian ecclesiastical music to the musician Panagiotis Gritsanis who was born and studied in Zakynthos.³⁰⁵ In his treatise which was published in 1867, Gritsanis claimed that after the fall of Constantinople, the chanting tradition survived in the churches of Morea and Crete.³⁰⁶

Before I conclude my analysis of the Music Society of Constantinople, let me point out that the society had more than eighty members in 1867.³⁰⁷ The MSC, which lasted probably for around four or five years, dissolved due to personal or other conflicts among its members. Regarding its leadership, I think, it seems to have gradually submitted to the influence of the Patriarchate if we take into consideration that it moved from Pera to Phanar, to the vicinity of the Patriarchate in 1867 when it completely went under its protection. As further evidence to the increasing appropriation of the Music Society by the Patriarchate, the following should be mentioned. In February 1864,

³⁰⁴ *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικού Συλλόγου*, pp.12- 13, Article 12.

³⁰⁵ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the history*, p. 470.

³⁰⁶ Panagiotis Gritsanis, *Περί της των Ιονίων Νήσων Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (About the Ecclesiastical Music of the Ionian Islands)*, (Naples, 1867).

³⁰⁷ According to Ioannis Zografos, the society had more than eighty members in 1867.

Patriarch Sofronios sent an encouraging letter to the MSC, appreciating its efforts. The Society acknowledged the letter and promised to alter some articles of its statute.

Without exception, all the church cantors would be exempted from the annual membership fee - monthly contribution was 10 piaster – as a return for their scientific contribution; hence the lack of revenues was hoped to be compensated by the voluntary contributions of the art-loving community members.³⁰⁸

In this section, my purpose was to situate the foundation of the Music Society of Constantinople in its historical and political context. The Greek educated elite's understanding of music as a scientific activity which had to be supported and the increasing significance of music as an index of national prestige and also as an authentic heritage that had to be cleaned from foreign influences were the main motivations behind the establishment of this voluntary association. Based on some of the articles in the statute of the Society, I also argued that the demonstration of the unity of the musical tradition of the Orthodox Church was aimed at in view of the nationalist threats to the unity of the orthodox *millet*.

³⁰⁸ “Επιστολή του Μουσικού Συλλόγου (Letter of the Music Association)”, *Armonia*, 8 April 1864. The letter of the music society dated 25 March 1864 is signed by the chairman D. Paspallis and the general secretary Gavriil Sofoklis.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY, CONTINUITY, AND MUSIC: THE INTERPRETATION OF THE MUSICAL PAST

Modern Greek National Historiography and the Appropriation of the Byzantine Epoch

A brief survey of the existing literature on the formation of the Greek national historiography in the nineteenth century shows how significantly it took shape in the vicinity of contemporary European history writing and the political circumstances in the Balkans and the East. It is well known by now that after the middle of the nineteenth century the revivalist historical scheme that had designated the foundation of the Greek state as a resurrection began to be replaced by another scheme that emphasized the continuity of the nation. Reflecting on how shared memories of the “Golden Age” contribute significantly to the formation of nations, A. Smith wrote that “the task of the nationalist is essentially one of political archaeology: to rediscover and reconstruct the life of each period of the community’s history, to establish the linkages and layerings between each period and hence to demonstrate the continuity of the nation”.³⁰⁹ This, of course, mainly required an interpretation and appropriation of the past after classical Greece, among other periods, the period of the eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire. The missing chronological parts between ancient Greece and the independent Greek state that was founded in 1821 were gradually appropriated by a scholarship highly influenced by the works of French

³⁰⁹ Anthony Smith, “The ‘Golden Age’ and National Renewal,” in *Myths and Nationhood*, ed. by Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin, (New York: Routledge, 1997).

and German historians and through a process which took shape following the changing philosophical and epistemological orientations in the West.³¹⁰

According to A. Liakos, the constitutive myth of rebirth was too weak to sustain a national ideology since it involved a big time gap and ignored the religious experience.³¹¹ Already in the 1850s, the Greek scholar Spyridon Zambelios who lived in Zakynthos began to write on the Byzantine epoch in the favourable atmosphere of the Ionian Islands, away from the anti-Byzantinism of Athens. He saw the Byzantine era as the formative period of the lay and religious traditions of the Modern Greek nation, and coined the expression “Helleno-Christian civilization” in an attempt to establish it as a period which lay at the foundations of Modern Greek nationality³¹².

In the intellectual scene of the 1840s, the identity of modern Greece was being discussed in conjunction with the question of which road it should follow regarding both its social and political development, as well as its future contribution to the universal arts and letters. The Byzantine rule was seen as nothing but an impediment to an earlier unification of Greece with the West because of its alienness to western civilization. In 1842, a lawyer and historian Markos Renieris, recalling the first moment of contact between Europe and Greece, the Crusaders, lamented not so much the destruction of the Byzantine Empire but the temporariness of the contact

³¹⁰ Effi Gazi, *‘Scientific’ National History. The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850-1920)*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000). E. Gazi points out at the impact of the works of the French historians Guizot and Michelet. Also Antonis Liakos, “Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space”, in *Hellenisms. Culture, Identity and ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity* ed. by Katerina Zacharia, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 201- 236, see p.208. According to Liakos, the appropriation of Macedonian and Hellenistic periods owes to the emerging conception of Hellenism as a predecessor of Christianity in western scholarship and to the imperial ideal, especially in the works of the German historian Johann Gustav Droysen.

³¹¹ A. Liakos, “Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space”, p.207.

³¹² Spyridon. Zambelios, *Άσματα Δημοτικά της Ελλάδος (Demotic Songs of Greece)*, (Corfu: Ermis, 1852).

with Western institutions and customs: “Oh, how different the fate of Greece would have been, if these chivalrous virtues had been permanently grafted onto Hellenic civilization! If those days had seen the marriage between West and Greece!”³¹³ Shortly after, the prominent Greek intellectual S. A. Koumanoudis wrote a long introduction to his translations of the two treatises written by the Hellenist German art historian and archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann, in which he (Koumanoudis) advised the Greeks to quit the spirit of Asian exclusivity and stagnancy which had prepared the way for a unilateral religious culture. As an example, he noted that modern Greeks had to adopt an Italian word for human painting because the ancient meaning of the word “icon”, which referred also to lay painting, lost this meaning due to the fact that lay painting was banned under the Turkish rule.³¹⁴ He encouraged the following of a rational and secular path which would bring progress and secure the contribution of modern Greeks to the universal arts and sciences.

About a decade later, Constantine Paparigopoulos, the national historian of Greece *par excellence*, began to study medieval Hellenism and to incorporate it gradually into the existing historical scheme. The five-volume masterpiece of Constantine Paparigopoulos, *History of the Greek Nation*, which was published between 1860- 1874, promoted Byzantium as the central and the greatest part of the three-phased (ancient, medieval, modern) Greek history. Regarding the “Hellenization” of the Byzantine Empire in the work of Paparigopoulos, D. Kontos

³¹³ “M. Renieris: What is Greece? West or East?” translated by Mary Kitroeff, in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945) Texts and Commentaries vol. II* ed. by Balazs Trencsényi and Michal Kopecek, (CEU Press, 2007), p.311. The original article “Τι είναι η Ελλάς; Δύσις ή Ανατολή” by Renieri was published in *Ερανιστής* in 1842.

³¹⁴ S. A. Koumanoudis, *Που σπεύδει η Τέχνη των Ελλήνων την Σήμερον* (*Where to the Art of the Greeks of Today*), (Belgrade: Publ. Press of the Government, 1845), pp. 21-22. In the footnote referring to the loss of the ancient meaning of the “icon”, Koumanoudis wrote that he hoped to write in another occasion on the analogous examples from music.

notes the historian's claim about the dominance of an ethnic Greek identity in the eastern part of the Roman Empire which was based on the survival of Greek culture, hence picturing the emerging Orthodoxy as basically a Greek institution.³¹⁵

In the secondary literature, one can find interesting analyses on the similarities and differences of the viewpoints of the previously mentioned scholars Spyridon Zambelios and Constantine Paparigopoulos. The pioneer of intellectual history in Greece, K. Th. Dimaras sketched the intellectual portraits of S. Zambelios and C. Paparigopoulos, both of whom he considered as the first representatives of romantic historiography in Greece. Dimaras concluded that the work of Paparigopoulos had a continuous impact unlike the writings of Zambelios, due to its consistent and rational theory, necessary for promoting "romantic politics", an element which lacked in the sophisticated scholarship of Zambelios.³¹⁶ Looking at the differences in their standpoints, E. Skopetea asserted that while Zambelios recognized the uniting role of medieval Hellenism in his attempt to trace the sources of Modern Greek nationality, Paparigopoulos saw it as the "Greek monarchy in Constantinople".³¹⁷ In a more recent study, bringing them closer, G. Koumbourlis noted that both historians were actively involved in politics and stressed the point that both of them referred to the international public opinion and tried to show that the Greek nation had governed the East before and it could do so again.³¹⁸ Indeed,

³¹⁵ Demosthenes Kontos, *Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and the Emergence of the Idea of a Greek Nation*, (Ph.d diss., University of Cincinnati, 1986), p.154.

³¹⁶ Konstantinos Th. Dimaras, *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός (Greek Romanticism)*, pp.453- 471.

³¹⁷ Elli Skopetea, *Το «Πρώτυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)*, (Athens: Politipo, 1988), pp.179- 180.

³¹⁸ Giannis Koumbourlis, "Όταν οι ιστορικοί μιλούν για τον εαυτό τους: ο ρόλος του εθνικού ιστορικού στους πρωτοπόρους της ελληνικής εθνικής σχολής (When the historians talk about themselves: the role of the national historian in the vanguards of the Greek national school)" in *Ιστοριογραφία της Νεότερης Ελλάδας*, (Athens, 2000).

the integration of the Macedonian³¹⁹ and the Byzantine Empires to the Greek nationalist historical scheme was especially crucial at a time when the Eastern Question became more central. According to E. Skopetea, the growing Bulgarian nationalism required an “offensive” historiography in which the scheme of the Byzantine Empire was necessary to emphasize the assimilatory power of Hellenism, as well as to draw its territorial boundaries.³²⁰

The integration of Byzantium overlapped with or became possible due to the weakening of the liberal humanist tradition of the Enlightenment in the politically and socially fragmented society of post-revolutionary Greece. P. Kitromilides argues that on the one hand the philosophical critique against liberalism which emphasized the idea of unity and on the other the new religious upsurge combined their powers against the heritage of the Enlightenment. As a conclusion, the receding liberal nationalism of the Enlightenment tradition left its place to an irredentist nationalism whose political values did not share much with the humanism of the Enlightenment.³²¹ However, Kitromilides also adds that the traces of the heritage of the Enlightenment did not totally vanish but survived in the Greek education system and political thought as a critique of Byzantium which was seen as a period of darkness until the domination of the historical theory put forth by Paparigopoulos in the 1870s. Furthermore, he also points out that this liberal tradition which was opposed to the Great Idea, lived in the reformatory and pro-western policies of the two Greek statesmen Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1791- 1865) and Epameinontas

³¹⁹ See Alexis Politis, *Ρωμαντικά Χρονιά. Ιδεολογίες και Νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα τον 1830-1880* (*Romantic Years*), (Athens: EMNE, 1993), pp.39- 47. A. Politis gives an analysis of the integration of the Macedonians to Greek national history. He writes that already in 1853, Constantinos Paparigopoulos proclaimed that “even though the Macedonians are not mentioned in the ancient years of Greek history, they were nevertheless Greeks”.

³²⁰ Elli Skopetea, *Το «Πρώτο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)*, p.184.

³²¹ Pashalis Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p.487.

Deligeorgis (1829- 1879) in the 1860s.³²² Not far from Kitromilides' opinion, E. Skopetea notes a polarization in the 1850s-1870s in Greek political and intellectual life between the two visions regarding the role of the Greek state. The proponents of the first considered the Greek state as the conveyor of western civilization; they referred to both Greek antiquity and the modern parliamentary system as cultural ideals and also demanded the secularization of Greek society. The second group internalized the Great Idea, as a cultural reference focused on Byzantium and took Greek Orthodoxy as the constituent of its ethnic and religious identity.³²³ The debates about the reform of ecclesiastical music in Greece in the 1870s can be seen more or less as a reflection of this polarization.

The Debates on the Music Reform in Athens and the Responses of the Greek Diaspora

The question of a music reform, which always boiled down to the issue of the introduction of European polyphonic music into the Greek-orthodox church, often evoked counter-arguments built on the origins and the continuity of Greek culture. C. Tsoukalas notes that the notion of continuity does not have an obvious meaning in the Modern Greek self-image, and that in the political and intellectual scene of Greece the meanings of cultural continuity and discontinuity were perceived as open discursive problems. Thus, modern Greeks always had to make contradictory choices of identity discourses depending on changing contexts. Interestingly, he observes a paradoxically inverted perception of the elemental course of time and writes that “the

³²²Pashalis Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p.495. Epameinontas Deligeorgis' solution to the Eastern Question was to improve the condition of the Greeks living in Ottoman-controlled Macedonia, Epirus, Thrace and Asia Minor by liberalising the Ottoman Empire. He declared the end of King Otto's reign in 1862.

³²³Elli Skopetea, *Το «Πρότυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα*(*The Model Kingdom and the Great Idea. Aspects of the National Question in Greece*), (Athens: Themelio, 1988).

remote past [ancient Greece] was seen as more compatible with the oncoming future than the actual present”.³²⁴ I share the underlying idea in Tsoukalas’ statements which refer to the ambivalence and complexity in the meanings of continuity that derive from the particularity of the relations between ancient Greece, contemporary Europe and modern Greece. In the following pages, music will emerge as a convenient and favored discursive field where one could make paradoxical identity choices.

It has been noted by historians with surprise that the restoration of Byzantium in Modern Greek historiography did not automatically mean a similar attitude regarding the Byzantine traditions. For instance, although the rehabilitation of a Greek Byzantium was seen as an important link in Greek continuity, intellectuals did not stop resenting Byzantine music and demanding its accompaniment with harmony.³²⁵ We should not forget that music was part of the modernization projects of the state elites and intellectuals, through which they wanted to subscribe to a western identity.

In the 1840s-60s, a discourse emerged under the impact of the Catholic and the Protestant missions in Greece. This discourse which criticized the institutions of the Orthodox Church also began to express a negative opinion about the existing ecclesiastical music. In 1866, Emmanuel Roidis, who was educated at the Lyceum of Evangelidis on the island of Syros, known for its Protestant education, caused the extreme reprimand of the Church with his novel *I Papissa Ioanna* (Pope Joanna). In the latter, Roidis attacked the administration and the rite of the Eastern Orthodox

³²⁴ Constantine Tsoukalas, “The Irony of Symbolic Reciprocities – The Greek Meaning of ‘Europe’ as a Historical Inversion of the European Meaning of ‘Greece’,” in *The Meaning of Europe. Variety and Contention within and among Nations*, ed. by. Mikael af Malmberg and Bo Strath, (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp. 27-51, see p.38.

³²⁵ Elli Skopetea, *To «Πρώτο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)*, p.182.

Church, presenting it as immersed in superstition. Furthermore, in several passages of the book, Roidis showed his dislike for the music and the iconography of the Eastern Orthodox Church while praising the liturgy of the Catholic Church:

If the Madonna of Raphael would appear in our churches or if suddenly the holy melodies of Rossini or Mozart would echo, I think the eyes and the ears of the real orthodox would turn to these; the ones who prefer the gloomy and nasal Byzantine singing deserve to be called schismatics.³²⁶

The existence of such a negative attitude towards the traditional monophonic ecclesiastical music is important to understand the background of the music debates in Athens in this period. Now, let me give a descriptive sketch of the major landmarks in the introduction of the polyphonic ecclesiastical music in Greece. The first ecclesiastical music school in independent Greece was founded in 1826 on the island of Aegina by the first governor Ioannis Kapodistrias. Georgios Lesvios began teaching in this school his own notation system, which would be condemned by the Patriarchate of Constantinople with two circulars in 1846 and 1848. In the 1830s, the teacher of the school Athanasios Avramiadis who succeeded G. Lesvios followed western musical models and established “tetraphonic” chanting in the choir of the church of the Orphanage of Aegina.³²⁷ However, the debates around the introduction of the polyphonic or “tetraphonic” music into the Church of Greece gained vehemence in the years 1868- 1870. In 1869, during the Easter service, the choir of the Cathedral of Athens attempted to chant several hymns in “tetraphonic” music. In 1870, the music teacher of Rizareios School, G. Mantzavinos wrote a series of

³²⁶ Emmanuil Roidis, *Η Πάπισσα Ιωάννα*, [1866] prepared by Alkis Aggelou, (Athens: Estias, 1993), p. 195. Also see pp.142- 43 and p.159. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Hristos Hatziosif for bringing this book to my attention.

³²⁷ See Achilleus G. Haldaikis, *Η Ψαλτική Τέχνη στην Αίγινα (The Psalting Art in Aegina)*, (Athens, 1995), pp.11- 14. Also on the tetraphonic music in the Orphanage of Aegina, see Giannis Filopoulos, *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική (Introduction to the Greek Polyphonic Ecclesiastical Music)*, (Athens: Nefeli, 1990), pp. 78- 82.

anonymous articles in the newspaper *Aion* supporting the introduction of polyphony to the church choirs of Athens.³²⁸ Then, the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece assembled a council composed of three prominent intellectuals, two professors of the National University, Rombotis and Koumanoudis, and the medical doctor S. Oikonomos, to investigate the music issue.³²⁹ In 1870, Queen Olga demanded the implementation of the Russian style polyphonic chanting in the palace chapel. Upon this, musician Alexandros Katakouzinos was invited from Odessa in order to implement the polyphonic chanting of the Russian church, in the palace chapel.³³⁰ Soon afterwards, in 1873, the Greek-orthodox church of Alexandria, which had already replaced the double-headed flag with that of Greece in 1863³³¹, followed the use of polyphonic liturgical music. In 1875, the Holy Synod of Greece issued a decree which allowed the chanting of tetraphonic music in the cathedral of Athens in the national and royal feasts, until the necessary improvement of the traditional church music was achieved.³³²

At the peak of the debates, the only possible models of reform were the previously mentioned Ioannis Haviaras' harmonized ecclesiastical chants which were

³²⁸ Giannis Filopoulos, *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική*, p.96.

³²⁹ Panagiotis Gritsanis, *Το Περί της Μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα* (About the issue of the music of the Greek Church), (Naples, 1870), p.21.

³³⁰ See Giannis Filopoulos, *Ρωσικές επιδράσεις στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική*, (Athens: Nefeli, 1993). Filopoulos' study challenged the accepted view that the Italian aesthetic that governed the Greek polyphonic ecclesiastical music, especially in the works of the representatives of the Athenian School, came from the Ionian Islands, saying that it came from Russia. However, in Giannis Filopoulos, *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική*, pp.97- 98, regarding the tetraphonic music that was established in the church of Evangelismos of Patras by Panagiotis Agathoklis in 1870, he wrote that it must be considered an offshoot of the ecclesiastical music on the Ionian Islands, due to factors like geographical proximity, exchange of ideas and life styles, and the final unification of the islands with Greece in 1864.

³³¹ Alexander Kitroeff, looking into the process of what he calls "the hellenization of the Alexandrian Greeks" wrote that the Greek consul Rizos and the westernized elites of Alexandria changed the name of the community from "Greco-Egyptian orthodox community" to "Hellenic community" of Alexandria. See Alexander Kitroeff, "The transformation of homeland-diaspora relations: the Greek case in the 19th-20th centuries", in J. M. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora, from antiquity to modern times*, vol.2, (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1991).

³³² Giannis Filopoulos, *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική*, p.104.

in use in the Church of Vienna and in other Greek churches in Europe, and the polyphonic style of the Russian church represented in Athens by A. Katakuzinos. Here, I want to make a few remarks on Russia's influence on the formation of the Greek (and also on other churches in the Balkans e.g. Serbian and Romanian) autocephalous churches. As mentioned before, the creation of the Greek autocephalous Church in 1833 was encouraged by Britain and France especially to curb the Russian influence in the newly established state. D. Stamatopoulos noted that even Theoklitos Pharmakidis – interestingly, he was not the “representative” of the pro-Russian party - the “representative” of the pro-Western political wing in church politics in post-revolutionary Greece, often referred to the Russian reality to legitimate his ideas about the subjugation of the Church to the State.³³³ In fact, the Petrine model of the reformation and modernization of the Church seems to have had a significant influence not only on Pharmakidis' endeavor of constructing an autocephalous Greek Church (the legal and institutional aspect) but also on the debates about the music of the church service in Greece which set Russia as a powerful model which had implemented the polyphonic music in an orthodox church.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the music question became a general phenomenon and the responses from the Greek diaspora³³⁴ differed in their solutions and were remarkable for their substantial arguments. Here, we will take up

³³³ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “Ecumenical ideology in the Orthodox Millet (19th - 20th c),” in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

³³⁴ I use the term ‘diaspora’ with caution because as Antonis Liakos notes, it is itself a construction of national historiography. Liakos also says that the discourse of the diaspora emphasizes a non-territorial conception of nationhood and hence the cultural aspects of national identity, and that therefore it is particularly sensitive in matters related to nationalist issues, cultural legacies and identity politics. See A. Liakos, “Historical Time and National Space in Modern Greece” in *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe. Past and Present* ed. by H. Tadayuki & F. Hiroshi, (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center Hokkaido University, 2007), pp.205- 227.

three significant opinions and sets of arguments. The classical argument against polyphonic music referred to the church canons. Another similar motif was to attribute to polyphonic music a character of entertainment and a pagan element incompatible with the aims of orthodox worship, also sometimes to denunciate it as an imitation of the Western Church. In 1858, the priest of the Greek-orthodox church of Marseille, Nathanail Ioannis of Euboea resisted the “reform” with a discourse that drew on the church canons and the decisions of the ecumenical synods that had assigned a spiritual and dignified character to church music and had forbidden any innovations.³³⁵ However, he continued his argument in a peculiarly unexpected manner, featuring the issue of the institutional status of the church of Marseille. He argued that as the latter subsumed to the Church of Greece, it should take the Church of Greece, which did not adopt polyphony as an example. Then, referring to the contemporary polyphonic liturgical music of the Russian church - which would remain as a haunting example in the debates of the following decades – he rejected it as a model, because as he reasoned, the Russian church had an ethnicity, a language and a government of its own.³³⁶

In 1868, musician Panagiotis Gritsanis³³⁷ (who would establish polyphonic music in the Church of Alexandreia in 1873) contributed to the debates with the

³³⁵ *Λόγος Περί Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής Συντέθεις* υπό Ναθαναήλ Ιωάννου Ευβόεως εφημερίου της εν Μασσαλία Ελληνικής Ορθόδοξου Εκκλησίας, εν Ερμούπολει Σύρου, 1858. The priest of the Greek orthodox church of Marseille, Nathanail Ioannis of Euboea published his speech in Syros. He wrote that he was forbidden to hold this speech, by the members of the church parish board in Marseille.

³³⁶ *Λόγος Περί Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής Συντέθεις* υπό Ναθαναήλ Ιωάννου Ευβόεως εφημερίου της εν Μασσαλία Ελληνικής Ορθόδοξου Εκκλησίας, εν Ερμούπολει Σύρου, 1858.

³³⁷ P. Gritsanis was born in Zakynthos in 1835. He studied ecclesiastical and European music. In 1863, the Patriarch of Constantinople Sofronios assigned him the investigation of the music in the churches of the Ionian islands, which was in the working program of the Music Society of Constantinople. Between 1865 and 1873 he studied European music in Naples, where he published various articles and studies on music. In 1873, he was invited by the Greek community of Alexandreia to establish the tetraphonic music system in the Church of Evangelismos. Tetraphonic music was maintained for six years, it was abandoned due to financial reasons. Gritsanis applied a mixed model;

publication of his treatise on the ecclesiastical music of the Ionian Islands.³³⁸ He suggested that the practical harmony of this music could be used as musical material in the harmonization of the contemporary monophonic ecclesiastical music.³³⁹ P. Gritsanis was one of the zealous supporters of music reform. Two years later, in another treatise which he submitted to the Holy Synod of the Greek Church, he wrote assertively that the music of the Russian Church was more magnificent and scientific than the ecclesiastical music in the Patriarchate of Constantinople which, according to him, could not progress because of the slavery of the Greeks under the Turkish yoke. So, he stressed that in the Greek Church, the monophonic music was maintained not because it was the only appropriate music for Christian liturgy, but because the previously mentioned circumstances prevented the progress of the art and science of music.³⁴⁰ He advised the Holy Synod to assign the investigation of the possibility – considering theological, historical and musical aspects- of the use of harmonic music in the Church, to a council which would be composed of professors of theology and musicians who knew both ecclesiastical and European music.³⁴¹ He demanded the establishment of a “scientific psalmody” and the education of qualified musicians who knew both ecclesiastical and European music. However, despite the efforts of the supporters of traditional ecclesiastical music, a department for

he took whatever he saw suitable from the system of Chaviara and supplemented it with his own corrections and compositions. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contribution to the history*, pp. 470- 471.

³³⁸ The ecclesiastical music of the Ionian Islands was different from the so-called Byzantine music, for which polyphonic singing was an inherent quality.

³³⁹ Panagiotis Gritsanis, *Περί της των Ιονίων Νήσων Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής*, (Naples, 1867). Also cited in Panagiotis Gritsanis, *Το Περί της Μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα*, (Naples, 1870), p. 20.

³⁴⁰ Panagiotis Gritsanis, *Το Περί της Μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα*, p.23- 25. However, not surprisingly, he evaluated Chrysanthos' reform positively and saw it as a step coming closer to the principles of European music. On p.26, he wrote: “Let me also remind that if today the Constantinopolitan music of the Greek Church is more artful than the Mount Athos tradition which maintained the obscure ancient music system of *ananes*, *neanes*, *nana*, *agia* [polysyllabic old music system], this was achieved because the three inventors of the New Method also knew European music, as well as the ecclesiastical.”

³⁴¹ P. Gritsanis, *Το Περί της Μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα*, p.28.

education in ecclesiastical music in the Music Conservatoire of Athens (*Odeio*) could not be founded until 1904.³⁴²

Even though the ancient Greek heritage was employed in order to legitimate a European identity for the modern Greeks and to fuel a will to participate in European modernity, sometimes the supporters of European polyphonic music did not see this ancient heritage as a source for inspiration in the modernization of music. For instance, Panagiotis Gritsanis believed strongly that the Greek nation had to have harmonic ecclesiastical music which would fit its present status of being “recognized again as a member of the European family”.³⁴³ However, he did not advise the study of the music of ancient nations, “in order not to slip into a legendary and questionable idea into which the ones who investigate (*αρχαιολογούντες*) the dead music fall”.³⁴⁴ This attitude somehow resembles the unwillingness of those who endorsed Byzantium but avoided its cultural heritage.

Another response to the music question came from Trieste. In 1870- 71, the prominent German philologist Wilhelm Christ requested from musician Archimandrite Evstratios Thereianos who lived in Trieste, the harmonization of certain ecclesiastical hymns for the publication of his book, *Anthologia Graeca*.³⁴⁵

³⁴² G. I. Papadopoulos wrote that in 1880, the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Athens sent a memorandum to the Greek parliament asking for the establishment of ecclesiastical music education at the University of Athens, which was not accepted. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the history*, p. 396.

³⁴³ P. Gritsanis, *To Περί της Μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα*, p.17.

³⁴⁴ P. Gritsanis, *To Περί της Μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα*, p.7.

³⁴⁵ The professor of Greek and Latin Philology at the University of Munich, Wilhelm Christ published *Anthologia Graeca carminum christianorum*, adnoverunt W. Christ et M. Paranikas, Lipsiae, 1871, the anthology of chants sung in the Greek-orthodox Church in collaboration with a Greek intellectual from Constantinople, Mattheos Paranikas. *Anthologia Graeca* included various hymns, for instance that of the ‘canon of the great Saturday’, in western notation.

Mattheos Paranikas (1832- ?) was a student of Wilhelm Christ. He dedicated his book *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich 1870, to his teacher. He did research on the history of religious service and hymnography. We know about two public lectures that he delivered in the Greek Literary Society, in 1866 “Σχεδιάσμα περί της εν τω ελληνικῷ ἔθνει καταστάσεως των γραμμάτων από Αλώσεως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1453 μ.Χ.) μέχρι των αρχών της ενεστώσης (ΙΘ') εκατονταετηρίδος (Essay on the state of the Letters in the Greek nation from the Capture of Constantinople (1453) till

Finally, Christ had to publish the hymns as they were, monophonic, because Thereianos explained to him that his wish was impossible to fulfill.³⁴⁶ Several years later, E. Thereianos published a treatise in which he tried to show that the European harmony could not be applied to the Greek ecclesiastical hymns due to historical and technical reasons. Throughout the essay of Thereianos, two main aims are observable. His first aim was to show that “tetraphony” or European polyphony was incompatible with the Greek ecclesiastical chants, and second, he wanted to prove that the musical system of contemporary Greek ecclesiastical music was superior to that of contemporary European music. In his argumentation about historical reasons, he gave an outstanding example of constructing the Greek national past through the stages of music history.³⁴⁷

Musicologist Kaiti Romanou notes that the history of Modern Greek music has been written in the periphery of the West:

The Modern Greek music culture draws our attention as being in the periphery or at the margins of the western culture; the problems and the findings which are formulated during the investigation of this role, unavoidably reveal the viewpoint of the western musician regarding this particular culture. This viewpoint designates the concepts of acme and decline – based on an aesthetic which was crystallized from the knowledge of the western music and its history – and identifies the historicity of this or that sector and sort of music.³⁴⁸

the beginning of the present nineteenth century)” which was also published separately in 1867. Also another one in 1873-74, with the title “Περὶ χριστιανικῆς ποιήσεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων (The Christian poetry of the Greeks)”. He was elected to the music council of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople in 1876. He also dealt with the rhythm of the ecclesiastical chants.

³⁴⁶ Evstratios Thereianos, *Περὶ τῆς Μουσικῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ιδίως τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς* (About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical), (Trieste: Austro-Hungarian Lloyd, 1875), p.10. E. Thereianos (?-1881): Archimandrite, from Zakynthos, musician and musicologist adept at ecclesiastical and European music. See G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the history*, p.360. Our scant bibliographical knowledge does not allow us to say anything about his relationship with Dyonisios Thereianos (Zakynthos 1834- Trieste 1897) who was a classicist and wrote on topics such as stoic philosophy and A. Korais.

³⁴⁷ For the part on Greek history, see Evstratios Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, pp. 32-33.

³⁴⁸ Kaiti Romanou, *Εθνικῆς Μουσικῆς Περιήγησης 1901- 1912* (Wandering in the National Music 1901-1912), (Athens: Kouloura, 1996), pp.6- 7.

Thereianos' outline of the history of Greek music proves this observation about the impact of the European canon on modern Greek (music) history writing.³⁴⁹ He divided the history of Greek music into two periods; the classical period till the Peloponnesian wars (fifth century BC) and the second period which started with the Peloponnesian wars and spread through the Alexandrian and Roman epochs.³⁵⁰ The first period was characterized by the creation and the flourishing of the musical system, while the second period was identified by a decline yet also by a theoretical processing of the art of the previous period. Moreover, the second era was also marked by the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the representatives of the musical scene were Aristoxene (fourth century BC) and Ptolemy (second century AD). It is well known that the incorporation of the Macedonians and the empire of Alexander the Great into the Greek national narrative were through their association with the expansion of Hellenic education to the East. This argument served for turning the claims about the alien elements in Greek music upside down; the Arabic and Persian musical elements and idioms were not foreign but they were Greek in essence, they had their roots in the imperial expansion of Greek culture after the fourth century BC. Furthermore, it also imposed a nineteenth century perspective to the events in the history of the fourth century Roman Empire. For instance, E. Thereianos saw the states of the Arsakids and the Sasanids (who were seen by Roman emperors as the Persian barbarians who made rapid conquests throughout their eastern provinces), as having emerged from the remnants of the Macedonian

³⁴⁹ See Antonis Liakos, "The Canon of European History and the Conceptual Framework of National Historiographies," in *World, Global and European Histories as Challenges to National Representations of the Past* ed. by Matthias Middall and Lluís Roura y Aulinas, Series: Writing the Nation, vol. 4. (Palgrave- MacMillan).

³⁵⁰ Evstratios Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, pp. 23- 24.

dynasties acting as a bridge between ancient Greek music and Arab music which was based on the former.³⁵¹

He extended his analysis till the fourteenth century to the Byzantine scholar Manuel Bryennius, saying that the interpretation and the development of the musical system of the first period spread through seventeen centuries. The conception of the first period was very much in line with the established scheme of the national historian Constantinos Papanikolaou, the so-called *First Hellenism*. Thereianos believed strongly in the necessity of studying medieval Hellenism. Even reiterating Spyridon Zambelios, he expressed his interest in “the investigation of especially the different links of the historical chain”.³⁵² Furthermore, he attributed a prestigious mission to medieval Hellenism, situating it as an important cultural bearer in the history of Europe:

The ancient Greek system of seven harmonies which forms the basis of the medieval music of the Germans, French and the Italians is corrupted due to many massive changes resulting from intermissions. But this system of seven harmonies was maintained relatively purer in the East. ...Byzantine music played a role of preserving the ancient forms and influenced the music systems of Western Europe.³⁵³

³⁵¹ Evstratios Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, p.33: «Τα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρειπίων τῶν μακεδονικῶν δυναστείων ἰδρυθέντα κράτη τῶν Ἀρσακιδῶν καὶ Σασανιδῶν ἀπετέλεσαν τὴν γέφυραν, ἐφ’ ἧς ἡ ἀρχαία ἐλληνικὴ μουσικὴ μετεβιβάσθη εἰς τοὺς Ἀραβας, ὧν τὸ μουσικὸν σύστημα κατ’ ἐξοχὴν οἱ τόνοι καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀναμφέριστον παρέχουσιν ἀπόδειξιν ὅτι θεμέλιον τῆς ἀραβικῆς μουσικῆς ἦτο ἡ ἀρχαία ἐλληνικὴ, ἔστω καὶ παρηλλαγμένη κατὰ τὴν φορὰν τῶν καιρῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἤθη τῶν ἐγχωρίων».

³⁵² E. Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, p.38: «να ἐξετασθῶσι κατ’ ἰδίαν οἱ διάφοροι κρίκοι τῆς ἱστορικῆς αλύσεως». In fact, this is how he translated into Greek the expression, “die verbindenden Glieder blosgelegt werden” from Wilhelm Christ’s work (1870), which talks only about the “exposition of the connecting elements”, there is no mention of the “links of the historical chain” which is an expression coined by Zambelios.

³⁵³ E. Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, p. 35. Elsewhere, (on p.34) paraphrasing from Gerbert, he notes that as a consequence of the iconoclastic movement, many clerics and laymen went from Constantinople to Italy and that certain Latin authors confess that they took from the Greeks of Byzantium, not only the theories of ecclesiastical tones, but also the technical music terms which remained in use until the sixteenth century. Let us remember that in the Enlightenment tradition, the fall of Constantinople to the Turks and the fleeing of Byzantine scholars to Italy was interpreted as an event that contributed to Italian humanism.

The previously mentioned German scholar Wilhelm Christ called for a scientific and erudite writing on medieval Greek music. He encouraged the Greek musicians to lay the foundation of a new discipline, a new research field, the history of Byzantine music. He envisioned the study of the Greek chant which would also be informed by a research on the musical system that was introduced into the Latin church by St. Ambrosius, which for him, was the key for an understanding of medieval music.³⁵⁴ His quest for the research on medieval Greek music must have been well received by the Greek musicians for two reasons; first, in the 1860s and 1870s there was already a national narrative that began to promote medieval Hellenism, second, the research on medieval Greek music could legitimize the contemporary ecclesiastical music, revealing its own sources, and hence could play a role in the settlement of the question of music reform without appealing to European polyphony.

Regarding the development of polyphony in Europe or rather as he preferred to call it polyphonic heterotony³⁵⁵, Thereianos argued that the result was impoverishment in terms of melodic wealth. In the European music of the last three

³⁵⁴ Wilhelm Christ, "Über die Harmonik des Manuel Bryennius und das System der byzantinischen Musik", *Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur der Byzantiner*, (Munich, 1870), p. 36 : "Auch dürfte der Herausgeber es nicht unterlassen in den Bibliotheken nachzuforschen, worauf die in den theoretischen Büchern zerstreuten Angaben über das System des Ambrosius zurückgehen, da darin der Schlüssel zur Erkenntnis der mittelalterlichen Musik zu liegen scheint".

³⁵⁵ E. Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, pp.18-20. Thereianos is very careful in using musical terminology. He differentiates between polyphony and polyphonic heterotony. He is aware of the existing statements in the contemporary scholarship which note that harmony and polyphony existed in ancient Greece. But he is also afraid that these statements could be used by the supporters of polyphony in ecclesiastical music to legitimize their demands. Therefore, he argues that even though ancient Greeks had a notion of harmony, that meant for them the following of tones in a certain order, they did not have the same notion of harmony as the Europeans. He says that in Euclides, the science of harmonics is only about a melodic relationship, not about the homophony of plenty of tones. According to him, the only polyphony we can imagine in ancient Greece is the accompaniment of the melody by many instruments. Referring to Westphal, he says that polyphonic melody is a product of Christian art, about which the ancient Greeks did not know. So, he argues, if we want to refer to harmony or polyphony as a concept used by the Europeans we should use the term "polyphonic heterotony" which is different from the simple, together-resonating of many homotonic voices.

centuries, the development of harmony - the euphonic clang of more than one tone - became possible through the exclusive use of the diatonic scale and the elimination of tones smaller than the major tone and the semitones.³⁵⁶ So, like many non-western musicians Thereianos used this in order to claim the superiority of Greek music with respect to the contemporary European music, and to refute the attempts of “tetraphonic” singing in church by emphasizing the expressive ability of the wide modal spectrum of Greek-orthodox ecclesiastical music.

The tension between the two representations of contemporary European music, one as the inheritor of ancient Greek music – St. Ambrosios and the previously mentioned narrative about medieval European music borrowing from Byzantine music - and the other as an impoverished, almost a shadow version of ancient Greek music, had to be maintained. The genealogical link between the two was often expressed with terms like “daughter”, hence European music had a relationship with ancient Greek music but it was not identical.³⁵⁷ Notwithstanding an aesthetic impoverishment, Thereianos also noted the decline of the moral value of music, comparing the ancients and contemporary Europeans. He argued that while in ancient Greece music had had a function of educating and morally uplifting the individual (*ηθοπλαστική*) and served the purification of the misfortunes (*κάθαρση παθημάτων*) of the human being, in his day music had become orgiastic and oriented towards entertainment.³⁵⁸ Regarding the appropriation of ancient Greece in the modern Greek national narrative of the nineteenth century, Liakos draws our attention to the fact that the revival of Antiquity in Modern Greece was not aimed

³⁵⁶ In Byzantine music, there are three tones; the major tone, the semitone and the minor tone, while in European music, there are two tones; the tone and the semitone.

³⁵⁷ Anonymous, «Περὶ τῆς Παρ’ ἡμῖν Εκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς», *Εθνικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* vol.3, (Paris: M. Vretos, 1863).

³⁵⁸ E. Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, p.13.

exclusively at the legitimization of genealogy, because Classical Antiquity was also projected as the ideal model for the organization of a modern society, and he notes that Ancient Greece had an exemplary function which constituted part of a transcultural tradition.³⁵⁹ In other words, the ancient Greek heritage was recognized as belonging both to Greeks and the world. Thereianos was careful about emphasizing the exemplary function of ancient Greece, but as an example from which the modern Europeans deviated.

Besides the moralistic value of music, according to him, the Europeans also failed to follow a major principle of the ancient Greek poetic and musical art. He noted that in ancient Greece, the lyrics and the melody formed an inseparable entity, so much so that generally the lyric writer was the same person who composed the music³⁶⁰ while it was not so in contemporary European music. This assessment had a double function: first, it suggested that the contemporary European music was flawed because the poetic meter and the musical rhythm were not organically linked to each other.³⁶¹ Second, thus he discredited the work of the Austrian musician Randhartinger, the collaborator of Ioannis Haviaras, who “failed in the rhythm” since he attempted to harmonize ecclesiastical hymns without having any knowledge of the meaning and the pronunciation of the Greek words, and of the prosody (long-short syllables employed in the ancient Greek) of the Greek language.³⁶² If we look at this claim carefully, we can recognize that it shares a basic presupposition with the mistrust of the nineteenth century Greek scholars toward the European scholars who

³⁵⁹ Antonis Liakos, “Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece”, p. 206.

³⁶⁰ E. Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, p.13.

³⁶¹ E. Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, p.15. He gave examples from the opera genre saying that when the French melodramas are translated into German or the German melodramas are translated into Italian, the language, the style and the rhythm become very unpleasant.

³⁶² E. Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, p.9.

study Hellenism. According to this attitude, one of the main reasons why the Greeks should not leave the study of Greek history to the Europeans was that the latter lacked the knowledge of the Greek language. In fact, I should mention that already in the music texts of the early nineteenth century we recognize the traces of the idea that language is the most characteristic feature of a nation.³⁶³

As for his standpoint about the music reform, Thereianos believed that for a true rectification of ecclesiastical music, its relationship with ancient Greek music was to be researched. He tried to show that polyphony existed neither in ancient Greek music nor in the church music tradition. He conveyed his view about music reform clearly as the following:

Whatever happened to the nation, and to the divine Greek language, also happened to the Greek music. If it is destined to be elevated, it should be elevated calmly and gradually, in a long period, with lots of efforts and struggles, and as a result of studying, but *what is most important, with its own power*.³⁶⁴

In this section, we saw a variety of pro- and con arguments which came from Greeks living outside the borders of Greece, regarding the Europeanization of the Greek-orthodox church music. The continuity and the relationship between ancient Greek music, Byzantine music, contemporary European music and contemporary Greek-orthodox church music were interpreted through various historical and aesthetic discourses. In the circulars issued by the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, the denunciations against polyphonic music were

³⁶³ Hrisanthos writes in his previously cited *Great Theory of Music* (Trieste, 1832), in the chapter about the chromatic specie, “chroma paints the tones of a diatonic specie providing it with a different ethos,” which is clarified further in the footnote:

“If you play a melody of diatonic specie with an instrument in chromatic specie, you will see that it is so much changed to the same degree that the pronounced word changes, when a Greek verse by Homer is pronounced from the mouth of an Arab who does not know the Greek language”. See Hrisanthos of Madytos, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής* (*Great Theory of Music*), ed. by Panagiotis G. Pelopidis, (Trieste: Michele Weis, 1832), pp.104- 105.

³⁶⁴ E. Thereianos, *About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical*, p.56.

mostly based on the regulations of the church canons and the ecumenical councils. However, in the period under study, secular arguments like the ones we saw in E. Thereianos' treatise, based on nationalist perceptions of history, language and music were gaining more and more legitimacy and power.

The Claims about the “Impurity” of Music and the Response of the *Ecclesiastical Music Society of Athens*

The widely used argument of the supporters of polyphonic ecclesiastical music was that contemporary ecclesiastical music was corrupted and mixed, which was due to historical reasons either from its emergence or later during the slavery of the nation. The idea of purifying the music from “alien”, “foreign” or more precisely oriental influences existed since the Enlightenment, and was always a recurring theme on the agenda of the music reformers. Whether a wholesale Europeanizing reform or a milder one was concerned, there was a consensus on the cleansing of the so-called foreign elements. In 1870, an article author in *Pandora* used for music the metaphor of a garden whose wild grass had to be removed.³⁶⁵

The supporters of traditional ecclesiastical music adopted the mission of building links between the different layers of the history of the nation vehemently, mainly because the only way of refuting the arguments which insisted that Byzantine ecclesiastical music was mixed with “foreign” musical traditions, e.g. Jewish, Turkish etc. was to prove that it was the heir of ancient Greek music. The prevalent

³⁶⁵ Timotheos o Miletos, «Η Περί της Μουσικής των Νεωτέρων Ελλήνων (About the music of the modern Greeks)», *Pandora*, 1 December 1870 vol. 21, no. 497, pp. 382- 383. The author used the “garden” metaphor to advise a middle way reform in music. The memory of the old garden of the forefathers (ancient Greek music) was weak but still it could be revived. The garden of the neighbour (western music) was full with colorful flowers. The Greek had to choose between working in the garden of the neighbour, learning from him about gardening and forgetting the garden of the ancestors, or to cling to the thin flowers of the ancestors. The author advised reconciling both, with the help of the experienced gardeners in the other garden to resurrect the heritage of the ancients.

discourse within the nationalist historiography, which bridged orthodoxy and nationalism, arguing that the language (also the music) were saved by the Church in the years of Turkish rule, was evoked together with anti-Fallmerayer reactions.³⁶⁶

The chairman of the *Ecclesiastical Music Society of Athens* (founded in 1873), professor of Greek and Latin philology, Panagiotis Koupitoris emphasized the necessity of research on Byzantine ecclesiastical music which, he said, was the descendant of ancient Greek music. For him, the EMSA should strive to bring into light the “historical unity of the Greek music from the ancient Homeric times till the present”.³⁶⁷ In the course of the nineteenth century, Greek intellectuals became emancipated from the historical perspective that saw ancient Greece as part of the history of the West and began to produce their own interpretations of the past.³⁶⁸ In other words, Greek scholars started to work with their own focus which was the relationship between ancient Greece and Byzantium. Hence, Panagiotis Koupitoris insisted that the investigation into ancient Greek music was to be made exclusively by Greek scholars and around the main aim of comparing it with Byzantine music, not with the European.

³⁶⁶ The Austrian traveler, journalist, politician and historian Jacob Philip Fallmerayer (1790- 1861) had claimed that the modern Greeks were not the successors of the ancient Greeks, but mixed with Slavs, largely due to the Slavic invasions in the sixth century. Panagiotis Koupitoris, *Λόγος πανηγυρικός περί καθ’ ημάς εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής* (*Panegyric speech about our ecclesiastical music*), (Athens: Filokalia, 1876), p.24- 25: “The Church, as it saved the language of the nation, we have to admit that, the orthodox church, the saviour ark of the holy traditions of the nation, saved also its music almost unchanged and integral... Like the ones who thought that the spoken Greek language was foreign (*επείσακτον*), who called the Greek nation barbarian not having a drop of pure Greek blood in his veins, the supporters of Fallmerayer were defeated in this unjust struggle, they will also be defeated regarding the purity of our Greek music...”. Also Adamantios Ioannidis, *Η Ελληνική μουσική υπό φιλολογικήν, θρησκευτικήν, συγκρητικήν και οικονομικήν έποψιν* (*The Greek music from a comparative philological, religious and economic perspective*), (Athens, 1873), pp.32- 33: “We believe that the introduction of western music into our churches, calling our national music Turkish and imposing on us this alien music, should be discussed publicly. Or denying our pure descent, should we accept the claims of Fallmerayer and his supporters that our language and music, together with our mores and traditions were adulterated...”. One of the members of the EMSA, Adamantios Ioannidis was teaching music at the Teachers’ School in Athens.

³⁶⁷ P. Koupitoris, *Panegyric speech about our ecclesiastical music*, pp.7-8.

³⁶⁸ See Antonis Liakos, “Historical Time and National Space in Modern Greece”, pp.205- 227.

Folk song collections were the embodiments of an intellectual/elitist effort serving a double purpose: to show both the historical continuity and the spatial unity of the nation. In the first folk song collections, the impulse to refute the claims of Fallmerayer was especially strong. The demotic anthology of Mihail S. Lelekos started with a satirical poem dedicated to Fallmerayer.³⁶⁹ As a result, in Greece, folklore studies had a significant role in creating a national consciousness, as M. Herzfeld aptly puts it: “In order to justify the creation of state in the terms of ideological philhellenism, it was necessary to show that *ethnos* (nation) and *laos* (people) were one and the same thing”.³⁷⁰ The publication of the collection of ‘national songs’ prepared by Antonios Sigalas was supported by the EMSA with an expectation to clarify the Greek music issue, “through comparing the pure Greek songs which survived in the mountains and the uplands of Greece, e.g. Parnassos, Olympos, Pindos, in isolated mountainous areas and islands, where the imitation of foreign manners (*ξενισμός*) had minimal influence and where the foreign races (*ξένοι φυλαί*) never entered”.³⁷¹

The EMSA was supported by intellectuals and university professors who, roughly speaking, shared the prospects of the Great Idea, the ideology which focused on Byzantium, as opposed to the supporters of an domestic transformation guided by western modernity. It also had contact with the Greek musicians and the intellectuals living in Constantinople. S. Baud-Bovy argued that Elias Tantalidis, a prominent

³⁶⁹ M. S. Lelekos, *Δημοτική Ανθολογία (Demotic Anthology)*, (Athens, 1868).

³⁷⁰ Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: folklore, ideology and the making of modern Greece*, (New York: Pella, 1986).

³⁷¹ Antonios N. Sigalas, *Συλλογή Εθνικών Ασμάτων (Collection of National Songs)*, published with the contributions of the Greek Parliament and other art-lovers, (Athens: H. N. Philadelfeos, 1880).

Greek intellectual from Constantinople had encouraged the foundation of a music society in Athens.³⁷²

The EMSA took a stance against the increasing influence of Western culture on contemporary society. In the second annual celebration of the EMSA, its honorary member, an ardent supporter of the Ottomanean regime and the former history professor at the National University Dimitrios Vernardakis delivered a speech. Declaring the solidarity of the EMSA with the church (he said, orthodox Greek Church) the last stronghold of ecclesiastical music, Vernardakis drew attention to the threat that came from the West to Hellenism. He said that after the independence of the Greek nation and the recovery from the barbarian invasions coming from Asia, now the peaceful invasion of European culture was flooding Greece and Hellenism. He warned against the worrying diffusion of European music into every aspect of life: “The ecclesiastical music is unknown because almost nobody hears it. At the schools, theatres, squares, gatherings, dances, weddings, symposiums, and even at the funerals one hears nothing but European music”.³⁷³ One of the dominant themes in his talk was the melodic superiority and refinement of Greek music (ecclesiastical and lay) with respect to contemporary European music which, according to him, did not have any similarity with the music of the ancient Greeks.

Now, let us turn our attention to the western scholarship on the liturgical music of the Eastern Church, in order to contextualize further the claims of “impurity” regarding the religious chant. In the late 1860s, the French Catholic

³⁷² Musicologist Samuel Baud-Bovy wrote that the EMSA was founded as a response to a wish expressed by Elias Tantalidis, a prominent poet and the Great Orator of the Patriarchate, in his article that was published in an Athenian journal in 1870. See Samuel Baud-Bovy, “Bourgault-Ducoudray et la musique grecque ecclésiastique et profane”, *Revue de Musicologie*, t.68, no:1/2, (1982), pp. 153-163. He mentioned particularly the following article: Elias Tantalidis, (‘On our Greek ecclesiastical and worldly music’), *Evangelikos Kyrix*, period II, year II, (Athens, 1870), pp.24- 42.

³⁷³ Dimitrios Vernardakis, *Λόγος Αυτοσχέδιος περί της Καθ’ ἡμᾶς Εκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς* (Impromptu speech about our ecclesiastical music), (Trieste, 1876), pp. 5- 8.

theologian Cardinal Pitra made a discovery which started a new era in the study of Byzantine hymnography. After examining more than 200 manuscripts, he stated that Byzantine hymns were composed in meters, no longer based on quantity, as was the case in classical poetry, but on the principle of stress accent.³⁷⁴ Hence, Pitra noted for the first time that the study of Greek hymnography should not be restricted to the studying of hymns with classical prosody but should include the ones with syllabic verse. According to him, when Greek hymnography took shape, the hymns of the religious service were found to be the most certain way to strengthen the faith of the people at a time when there was an abundance of religious controversies and heresies. Hence, saying that the hymns had to be strictly dogmatic, Pitra wrote, the Greek Church abandoned the vague and elastic meters of the ancients and chose nothing but what is rigorous and precise, in which one can neither add to nor subtract from.³⁷⁵ This was an important step to see the cultural achievements of the early church, in contrast to a previous pagan culture. Another important point in Pitra's work was the continuity from the Judaic tradition to the Christian church which he showed by hinting at similarities in hymnography i.e. the presence of acrostics, alphabetic stanzas, refrains and parallelisms.³⁷⁶ A. Aligizakis summarizes the disagreement on the issue among the European and the Greek scholars which emerged in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, there are the European musicologists who say that the Orthodox Church music was based on the music of the Jewish synagogue, cultivated in Byzantium and transformed with Turkish and

³⁷⁴ Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, second edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 4.

³⁷⁵ *Hymnographie de l'église Grecque*, Dissertation accompagnie des Offices du xvi Janvier, des xxiv et xxv Juin, en l'honneur de S. Pierre et des Apotres. Publiée par le Cardinal J. B. Pitra, du titre de S. Callixte, (Rome: Imprimerie de la Civiltà Cattolica, 1867).

³⁷⁶ *Hymnographie de l'église Grecque*, pp.328- 330. Pitra further noted that "the first hymns mentioned in the Gospels and Epistles were mixed with the Psalms of the expiring synagogue".

Arabopersian elements. The other view which has been defended by Greek musicologists claims an organic musical unity of the hymnology which primarily used the musical elements of the ancient Greek music, then flourished during the Byzantine Empire and formed the contemporary music tradition without essential changes.³⁷⁷

In June 1874, journalist Isidoros Skilitzis argued in his article in the Athenian newspaper *Efimeris* that Byzantine music was “no more than a barbarian medley of Jewish, Arabian and Turkish loans” and recommended the introduction of polyphonic music, especially the Italian style which, according to him, was the only true descendent of the ancient Greek music.³⁷⁸ The kinship with Jewish music had come onto the agenda also due to the previously mentioned recent works of western scholarship on early Christian hymnography which drew attention to a possible continuity with the Syrian and Jewish traditions. The expected answer to similar claims came from the chairman of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Athens, Panagiotis Koupitoris.³⁷⁹ In his treatise on rhythm in hymnography, he affirmed the continuity from the classical meters to the versification of the Byzantine melody-writers. Furthermore, he rejected the suggestion of the European scholar H.

³⁷⁷ See Antonis Aligizakis, *Θέματα εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής (Themes of ecclesiastical music)*, (Salonica, 1978). I quoted from Giannis Filopoulos, *Introduction to the Greek Polyphonic Ecclesiastical Music*, p.52.

³⁷⁸ Theodoros Hatzipantazis, *Της Ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί (To the Lovers of the Asian Muse)*, (Athens, 1986), pp.38- 39. Also Giannis Filopoulos, *Introduction to the Greek Polyphonic Ecclesiastical Music*, pp.104- 105 and G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp.453- 454. The Smyrniot cantor Misail Misailidis wrote an article in *Omiros* to refute Skilitzis' claims, which was published in the Athenian newspaper *Efimeris*. This polemic once more indicated that the music question with all its meanings and its implications related to Greek identity could not remain within the borders of the Hellenic Kingdom.

³⁷⁹ Panagiotis Koupitoris, *Panegyric speech about our ecclesiastical music*, pp.18- 19. He wrote that it was not true that when Greeks became christians, they left all of their idolatric traditions and adopted Jewish traditions, and their church music accepted the Jewish music. To support his argument, he said that Jewish music used instruments during the divine service, whereas the christian orthodox church never used instruments. The interesting point in this argument is that in order to refute the Jewish influence, Koupitoris brought forth the retaining of the paganist tradition.

Stevenson about the benefits of studying the Syrian and Armenian hymnographies for the poetic system of Greek hymnography, saying that Greek meters and music was much richer than their music, hence it was not possible that it took anything from them.³⁸⁰

Regarding the “accusations” about similarities with the Turkish or Arab music, in his talk in 1874, Panagiotis Koupitoris circumvented the claims by bringing the issue to the origins of ancient Greek culture. He stated that on the contrary, the similarities with the Asian melodies proved the purity of ecclesiastical music and its relationship with ancient Greek music, due to the fact that the origin of the Greek nation was Asia, and he emphasized the Phoenician roots of the Greek alphabet and the similarities between the Greek language and Sanskrit. The predominance of Alexander the Great and consequently the prevalence of Hellenic culture in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt were also evoked in the treatise of E. Thereianos. Without denying the musical consequences of four centuries of coexistence with the Turks, he evoked the standard argument that the Orthodox Church preserved the traditions of the nation, namely the language and the music.³⁸¹

However, the presence of the heated debates about the issue of “Turkish influence” seems to have had an impact on the interpretation of the history of ecclesiastical music in Athens. During his talk, P. Koupitoris did not refer to the chanting tradition of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the notion of continuity that he propagated did not necessarily attribute any role to the Patriarchate.³⁸² The

³⁸⁰ Panagiotis D. Koupitoris, *Περί του Ρυθμού εν τη Υμνογραφία της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας* (About Rhythm in the Hymnography of the Greek Church), (Athens, 1878), p.17.

³⁸¹ Panagiotis Koupitoris, *Panegyrical speech about our ecclesiastical music*, pp. 23- 24.

³⁸² There is a very interesting text written by Nikolaos Anastasios, teacher of commerce in Athens, the director of the office of Hellenic Navy and musician. Anastasios learned ecclesiastical music from Georgios Lesvios whose notation system was rejected by the Patriarchate. He worked actively in the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Athens (1873). In his text “Το οικουμενικόν πατριαρχεῖον καὶ ἡ

landmarks that Koupitoris singled out in the history of ecclesiastical music, were not situated in the eighteenth- nineteenth centuries when the ecclesiastical music in Constantinople reached its aesthetic culmination, rather they were situated in the period in which Hellenism in Asia intersected with the first centuries of Christianity.³⁸³

Interestingly enough, at that time there were discussions amongst Athenian musicians even about the name of the contemporary ecclesiastical music. The name was in fact related with an underlying concern about identifying the origins and the history of ecclesiastical music. I will give examples from two studies in which the authors recommended the use of the name Greek (*Elliniki*) instead of Constantinopolitan (*Konstantinoupolitiki*) ecclesiastical music. In his previously cited treatise, musician Panagiotis Gritsanis, referring to the mistake of considering the beginning of the style of ecclesiastical music after the fall of Constantinople, pointed to the ancient Byzantine epoch of the early church music which drew on Greek sources. Therefore, he claimed that ecclesiastical music should be called Greek (*Elliniki*).³⁸⁴ Timotheos from Miletos went even further to claim that contemporary music should be called ‘modern Greek music’, neither “ecclesiastical”, nor “Constantinopolitan”. The author found the epithet “ecclesiastical” not proper because the particular musical rules were used not only for ecclesiastical music, but

ελληνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική (The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek ecclesiastical music),” [1881], (Athens: Vlastos Varvafrigos, 1884), p. 20, he wrote that the Greek music could not be represented exclusively by the cantors and music teachers of Constantinople. For the biography of N. Anastasios, see G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp.467-470.

³⁸³ Panagiotis Koupitoris, *Panegyrical speech about our ecclesiastical music*, p.36: “The essential part of the then general education, the Greek music which civilized the nations of Asia, saved the richness of various melodies in its decline, until the era of Damascene and Kosmas the Melodist and other hymn composers of the church”.

³⁸⁴ Panagiotis Gritsanis, *To Περί της Μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα (About the issue of the music of the Greek Church)*, pp.14- 15. P. Gritsanis criticised cantor Kyriakos Filoxenis who had written in his book (*Basic Theory of Music*, Constantinople, 1859) that the style of the Great Church started after the fall of Constantinople.

also for lay music. The rejection of the epithet ‘Constantinopolitan’ was more implicit, as he remarked, “the so called fine or liberal arts require a free nation”.³⁸⁵

The struggle between Constantinople and Athens over the definition of “national music” would continue into the first decade of the twentieth century. In this part, we focused on the musical discourses and debates on the music reform in Athens. This may have been detrimental to the coherency of our text, but I think the music discourses in the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople cannot be understood when isolated from the ways in which cultural legacies were appropriated in Greece.

Attitudes towards the Past: Memory, the Romantic Motif, and Musical Discourse in Constantinople

As mentioned in the second chapter, on the one hand, certain geopolitical factors after the Crimean war and on the other, expectations regarding the Ottoman reforms produced a vision (what the Greek historians named *Helleno-Ottomanism*) among the Greek-orthodox elite of Constantinople, of a peaceful coexistence with the Turks and sharing power with them. To reiterate another concept which remained as a significant factor in the power strategy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople until well into the twentieth century, “ecumenicity”, one has to note that it was not only a strategy to counter the nationalist movements among the orthodox populations of the Balkans, but also a strategy that provided a discourse that marginalized the radical ethno-centric elements within the Greek-orthodox community.³⁸⁶ Hence, if

³⁸⁵ Timotheos o Miletou, “Η Περί της Μουσικής των Νεωτέρων Ελλήνων (About the music of the modern Greeks)”, p.384.

³⁸⁶ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “The Ecumenical Ideology in the Orthodox Millet (19th – 20th c),” in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming], p.9 in the unpublished paper.

we consider this particular implication of ecumenical ideology, the doctrine of “Helleno-Ottomanism” overlaps with the concept of ecumenicity.³⁸⁷ The term “romantic motif” that I used in the title of this section is borrowed from the recent study of Dimitris Stamatopoulos. In this interesting article, Stamatopoulos argues that general manifestations of “romantic nationalism” which are closely connected with the legitimization of irredentist visions did not find many adherents among the Neo-Phanariots and the Greek Orthodox intellectuals of Constantinople. What he calls “romantic motif” is “a call to a unity” which is usually lost and remembered with nostalgia. He writes: “Nonetheless, it seems that Romantic motifs, while banished from the field of secular politics, substantially influenced the way in which those intellectuals supporting the role of the Patriarchate in the new era understood the past and future of the *genos*, which is the Orthodox *millet*”.³⁸⁸ It is crucial to note that this is not a call for a pre-modern experience. Rather, as the Greek historian notes, “it should be interpreted as a renegotiation of the place of the Orthodox clergy within the secular landscape during the age of nationalism”.³⁸⁹ In the following pages, I will try to demonstrate the implications of this romantic attitude at the level of interpreting the post-Byzantine (Ottoman) past.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, I will try to elucidate the connections between the ecumenist imperial scheme, romantic idealizations of the past and attempts at restoring the collective memory on the one

³⁸⁷ Perhaps, this corresponds to what S. Anagnostopoulou refers to as “a religious, ecumenical Ottomanism with the Patriarchate as its agent”. See S. Anagnostopoulou, “The ‘nation’ of the *Rum* Sings of its Sultan: The many faces of Ottomanism”, in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming], p. 5 in the unpublished paper.

³⁸⁸ D. Stamatopoulos, “The Ecumenical Ideology in the Orthodox Millet (19th – 20th c)”, p.11.

³⁸⁹ D. Stamatopoulos, “The Ecumenical Ideology in the Orthodox Millet (19th – 20th c)”, p.12.

³⁹⁰ According to Stamatopoulos, the romantic ideal corresponds to “an effort to idealise the past, chiefly by conceiving of the transition from the Byzantine to the Ottoman Empire as smooth and uneventful”. Furthermore, he argues that the ecumenical ideology of the nineteenth century, “nostalgically contemplates the reality of the *milletbaşı* of earlier centuries, when it did not engage in such constructs”. D. Stamatopoulos, “The Ecumenical Ideology in the Orthodox Millet (19th – 20th c)”, p.11.

hand, and on the other, particular musical narratives which informed the musical discourse of the time.

Before starting our analysis, I would like to introduce two contemporary texts that I will refer to in this section. The first one is, *Τα Μετά την Άλωση* (*After the Capture*) edited and published (1870) by Archimandrite Germanos Afthonidis from the manuscript of the history written by the eighteenth century Phanariot scholar Athanasios Komninos Ipsilantis.³⁹¹ The second one is Skarlatos Byzantios' three volume work *Konstantinoupolis*³⁹² which is an excellent venue for us to gain an insight into the motivations of the Greek Orthodox men of letters concerning their writing on the history, everyday culture and folklore of their immediate surroundings.

Germanos Afthonidis³⁹³ came from a family which had served the Patriarchate since the beginning of the nineteenth-century. His father's uncle Georgios Afthonidis came from *Urla* in the district of Smyrna and became secretary in the Patriarchate in 1807. He actively took part in the pre-revolutionary movement and mediated between the *Filiki Etairia* and the Patriarch. Germanos Afthonidis' father studied in Smyrna with the progressive teachers Konstantinos ex Oikonomon and Konstantinos Koumas, and later he took many posts in the Patriarchate.

(Archimandrite) Germanos Afthonidis (1830- 1895) had a multi-faceted education, and according to T. Gritsopoulos "he was considered the last Byzantine intellectual,

³⁹¹ Athanasios Komninos Ipsilantis, *Εκκλησιαστικόν και πολιτικόν των εις Δώδεκα Βιβλίων Η' Θ' και Γ' ητοι Τα Μετά την Άλωση (1453- 1789)* (*Ecclesiastics and politics from the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Volumes of After the Fall (1453- 1789)*), published by Germanos Afthonidis, (Constantinople: I. A. Vretou, 1870). G. Afthonidis selected three volumes of Ipsilantis' twelve volume work, which started with the Roman leader Julius Caesar, and published the parts that narrated the ecclesiastical and political events after the fall of Constantinople.

³⁹² Skarlatos Vizantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις* (Constantinople) vol.1, (Athens: Andreas Koromilas, 1851).

³⁹³ Unless otherwise stated, the biographical information about Germanos Afthonidis is taken from Tasos Ath. Gritsopoulos, "Afthonidai," *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics)*, vol.3, Athens, 1963, pp. 510- 511.

a characteristic representative of the Phanariot spirit”. After his graduation from *Megali tou Genous Sholi* in Phanar, he became secretary of the monasteries of the Patriarchate in Romania. When the Russians invaded Romania in 1853, as a volunteer he joined the Russian army. At the age of thirty, he went to Cairo and became a monk in the Monastery of Sinai. There, he found the manuscript of Athanasios Komninos Īpsilantis on history. He translated it into Greek (it was in Moldavian) and published it in 1870. In 1862, he was appointed as abbot at a Sinaite monastery in Wallachia. He struggled vigorously for the ecclesiastical estates of the Patriarchate of Constantinople which Prince Kouza of Romania wanted to usurp. Among his important essays are, “The heresies in Russia and specifically the Raskolniks or the believers of the old faith”³⁹⁴ and his article on Greek ecclesiastical music, “Essay about Greek ecclesiastical music compared with European music from the perspective of art” which was published in the journal *Chronos* (Constantinople) in 1872. Between 1869 and 1874, Afthonidis served in the Church of the Greek community of London, thus he wrote his essay on church music while he was there. Afthonidis’ ideas about music “reform” will be examined in detail in the following chapters. One can possibly argue that during his stay in London, he was exposed to polyphonic church music. On the one hand, his stay there helped him to clarify his position against a radically westernized Greek church music and to defend the church tradition more zealously, and on the other, it had an undoubtable impact on the solutions he offered for the ecclesiastical music “reform” in the following years.

³⁹⁴ Raskolniks (or schismatics) is a general name for dissenters from the Russian established church. They adhere to the old manuscript formularies of the Greek Church, and reject the printed formularies of the patriarch Nikon, who in the seventeenth century revised the ancient forms, and (as they say) corrupted them, and then had them printed by authority, for the use of the Russian establishment.

In their historiographical preoccupations, both G. Afthonidis and S. Vyzantios expressed their distrust toward European scholarship. Afthonidis wrote that a critical and systematic history of the period after the Fall of Constantinople could be written exclusively by Greeks.³⁹⁵ Likewise, as S. Pesmazoglou noted in his recent study, Skarlatos Vyzantios found the European accounts about Constantinople with their quaint attitudes of no interest to the local Greeks who were interested in the history of their own neighborhoods or in their forefathers' memories.³⁹⁶ In his influential work on the Greek Literary Society, H. Exertzoglou made a remarkable statement regarding the meaning that was attributed to Byzantium in the formation of the Greek national identity in Constantinople: "Byzantium was lived as a direct past, while the more ancient stages, like the ancient Greek civilization was perceived somehow differently". He furthermore noted that the reception of ancient Greece and its civilization was not a strictly Greek concern. Through its study, Europeans could also understand their contemporary culture.³⁹⁷ Since the Renaissance, remoteness and sheer inaccessibility had enhanced the mystique of the very ancient past. Thus, the notion of continuity which the Greeks of Constantinople turned to, implied a living past bound up with the present, not one exotically different or obsolete.³⁹⁸ In this connection, G. Afthonidis' prologue to *After the Capture* displayed a very interesting and practical legitimization of studying history. He wrote: "History of the past is an

³⁹⁵ From the prologue written by Afthonidis: "Only the Greek can achieve the difficult task of writing the history after the Fall, because he knows more than anyone, the nature, the character and the mutual relationships of various heterogeneous elements which compose the collectivity of the peoples under the Ottoman dynasty, and is the only one who can use the abundant philological material that we have". Athanasios Komninos Ipsilantis, *After the Fall*, p. στ'.

³⁹⁶ Stephanos Pesmazoglou, "Skarlatos Vyzantios' *Konstantinoupolis*: Difference and Fusion," in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming], p.1 in the unpublished paper.

³⁹⁷ Haris Exertzoglou, *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο Αι* (*National identity in Constantinople in the 19th century*), pp.147- 148.

³⁹⁸ For the values attributed to the past, how and why the past is appreciated and the notions of antiquity and continuity, see David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 52- 61.

excellent evaluator of the present...” He furthermore underlined the difference between the sad past and the contemporary just government. The following excerpt reveals why he thinks that studying and understanding the recent past is important:

We, who study and clarify with so much reading the mythical and the heroic years of antiquity, cannot stay indifferent to our immediate past... From every viewpoint, the post-Capture history is the thread that connects our present social existence with our great past. Besides, our ancestral glory and prominence not only do not exclude the history of the slavery of the nation, but incite our curiosity and interest to know the history of the nation that conquered us and the others with whom we have been living already since four centuries.³⁹⁹

The preoccupation with the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine past and related to this, the attempt to restore the legitimacy of the Patriarchate also had to do with the exigencies of the situation in the Balkans in the 1860s and 70s. Not surprisingly, the major issue of the day which was the independence of the Bulgarian Church emerged in the text of the Greek-orthodox Archimandrite. The disintegrating impact of the idea of a separate ethnic identity which was fragmenting the Christian community since decades prioritized a discourse which emphasized the common past and common destiny of the eastern Christian peoples. In political language, this meant admitting the failure of the assimilatory mission of Hellenism and turning to discourses that emphasized the spiritual unity and the common history of the orthodox *millet*. Afthonidis’s ecumenism was congruent with the Helleno-Ottomanist dogma, the prospect of the Ottoman Greeks of sharing power with the Turks.

However, this ecumenical ideology did not exclude the idea of a kind of “ethnic election” and that the Greeks had a mission among the other Christian peoples who lived under Ottoman rule. Afthonidis explained this privileged status due to “the splendor of their past” and “the rate of civilization that they maintained

³⁹⁹ A. K. Īpsilantis, *After the Fall*, p. 8’.

also after the fall of the Byzantine Empire”. He wrote: “The Greeks had the most important place among the Christian *phyles* (peoples) in the modern history under the Ottoman dynasty”. He asked whether this eldest son of the orphaned family (the metaphor is striking) fulfilled its duties before the other co-subject and brother peoples. The answer reveals the crisis of the orthodox *genos* with all the disillusionment it could contain only three months after the proclamation of the Bulgarian Exarchate by a *Firman* issued by the Ottoman government:

This issue, which deserves a lot of investigation, has a special importance in the extremity of these days, in which alas, turmoil arose in the church, trampling over its foundations through new and arbitrary introduction of alien concepts and ideas contrary to the letter and spirit of Christianity. It is characterized by the opposition between the church and the *Genos* which is the result of the reaction against the self-proclaimed conquering spirit of Hellenism and its attempts, conducted with the pretext of religious unity, to meld every heterogeneous element. Hence, the great task of the Church is misjudged, which never discriminated on the basis of *phyle*, but tightened the mutual love of the orthodox peoples to one another in union with Christ, leaving untouched the national individuality of each. So, the civilizing mission of Hellenism lost its legitimacy. But history, as unbiased judge, destroys these sophist constructions, and that is why the Greeks have a vital interest in the modern history of the East.⁴⁰⁰

The practical need to investigate the development of the institutions of the *genos* (Church, educational institutions, the establishment of the power of aristocracy integrated into the Ottoman system etc.) after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, coexisted, as previously mentioned, with a new “romantic” interest in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods. At the level of historical representations, this romantic interest sometimes prompted a curiosity for post-Byzantine history at the expense of other periods and a nostalgic look on the part of the new Greek Orthodox elites in Constantinople toward especially the Phanariot aristocracy who claimed to be the

⁴⁰⁰ A. K. Īpsilantis, *After the Fall*, pp. ε’-στ’.

descendants of the medieval Byzantine aristocracy.⁴⁰¹ Their cultural life and their intellectual and artistic productions seem to have attracted Skarlatos Vyzantios who wrote in 1869 that he knew about an old *mecmua* which contained more than two hundred Phanariot poems.⁴⁰² In 1871, lawyer Thalís Antoniadis gave a lecture in the Club Omonia with the title of “Phanariots and the historical reasons of their success”.⁴⁰³ The social prestige and the economic power of the Phanariots reflected by their magnificent palaces in Phanar and Bosphorus, also their support for the Patriarchate of Constantinople associated them nostalgically with Byzantine splendor and gave them a special place in the collective memory of the community. An outstanding example of this admiration is the eulogy of G. Afthonidis for the mansions of the Phanariots mixed with a lamentation at their perishing. In the prologue of *After the Capture*, mentioning his visit to the house in Phanar of the Archbishop of Sinai Konstantinos who kept Ípsilantis’ manuscript which was given to him by his daughter, he wrote the following:

This building is one of the venerable relics of the Phanariot epoch, being one among many princely mansions and palaces that survived from Tsoupaliu [Cibali] to Balata [Balat], whose description would be a dutiful task to be undertaken by the learned members of the *genos* (omogenis), before time erases the last traces of glory of the *Genos*.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ See Cyril Mango, “The Phanariots and the Byzantine Tradition” in *Byzantium and Its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, (London: Variorum, 1984), [first publ. in *The Struggle for Greek Independence* ed. R. Clogg, London, 1973]. Cyril Mango sheds light onto this issue saying that the noble Byzantine families disappeared in Constantinople towards the end of the sixteenth century and that in the course of the seventeenth century, there arose a new elite of provincial origin, and it is among its ranks that the Phanariots eventually emerged. Regarding the relationship of the Phanariots with the Byzantine tradition, Mango concludes that “Phanariots, not by virtue of their descent, but by virtue of their position, in the Ottoman Empire, the sources of their wealth, and their close identification with the church, represented a Byzantine tradition that was basically anti-national”.

⁴⁰² Skarlatos Vyzantios, (*Í Konstantinoupolis. A topographical, archaeological and historical description of this famous megalopolis and of its outskirts in Bosphorus from ancient times to the present, with various illustrations, topographical and chronological charts for the clarification of Byzantine history*), (Athens, 1869), p.599.

⁴⁰³ *Konstantinoupoli*, 10 February 1871.

⁴⁰⁴ A. K. Ípsilantis, *After the Fall*, p.10’.

It might be interesting to note that in the 1860s and 1870s certain literate inhabitants of the Phanar district (which started to gain a symbolic significance) promoted the quarter through their writings and tried to revive a social and cultural life in the societies and associations founded there. Ioannis Raptarhis, the author of the report on the churches of Constantinople and the prominent journalist and publisher Evangelinos Misailidis were at the forefront of the promoters of the Phanar district. Misailidis wrote an article in the newspaper *Konstantinoupoli* in June 1870, describing the contemporary situation of the quarter, honoring it for hosting the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, acclaiming its cultural clubs, good pharmacies and doctors.⁴⁰⁵ The literary and scientific endeavors worked together towards making the neighborhood a vivid and inspiring image in the representations of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine past. The credit for the preservation of the memory of the nation belongs to the influential intellectual Manouil I. Gedeon. Among many other works, Gedeon wrote the history of national institutions such as the Great School of the Nation and the Patriarchal Music Schools.⁴⁰⁶ It is no surprise that together with journalist Evangelinos Misailidis, he was among the founders of the *Society for Medieval Studies*⁴⁰⁷ which was established in 1874 in Constantinople.

I would like to turn back to Germanos Afthonidis' prologue to *After the Capture* in order to draw attention to his consistent emphasis on the need for studying the history of the "Ottoman dynasty". I find this significant from the point

⁴⁰⁵ Evangelinos Misailidis, "Η ενεστώσα κατάσταση του περιπυστού και ιστορικού Φαναρίου (The present state of historical Phanar)" *Konstantinoupoli*, 18 June 1870. Also, the adventurous main character of Misailidis' interesting novel *Temaşa-i Dünya*, lawyer Aleko Favini was born in Phanar. Evangelinos Misailidis, *Seyreyle Dünyayı (Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr-u Cefakes)*, publ. by Robert Anhegger & Vedat Günyol, (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, [1872]1986).

⁴⁰⁶ Manouil I. Gedeon, *Η πνευματική κίνησις του Γένους κατά τον 18^ο και 19^ο αιώνα (The cultural movement of the genos in the 18th and 19th centuries)*, prep. by Alkis Angelos and Philippos İlios (Athens: Ermis, 1976).

⁴⁰⁷ *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Συλλόγου των Μεσαιωνικών Σπουδών*, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1874. Among other founders of the Society were the Metropolitan of Adrianople Kyrillos and doctor Theodoros Georgiadis.

of view of both history writing in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire and the perceptions of the “Ottoman dynasty” by the non-Muslim subjects.⁴⁰⁸ Afthonidis’ reference to the history of the Ottoman “dynasty”, the non-ethnic governing power, rather than to the Ottoman “Empire”, may indicate his wish to underline the difference between the non-ethnic character of the ruling elite and the ethnic, linguistic and racial character of the peoples that it ruled.⁴⁰⁹ It should also be noted that regarding late Ottoman historiography, the focus on the Ottoman dynasty was not something unique to Afthonidis; there were also other examples of composing the history of the Ottoman Empire in the form of the history of the dynasty. Ch. K. Neumann’s study elucidated the connections between historiography and political discourse in the second half of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. Based on the *Ta’rih-i Devlet-i Alîye ve Saltanat-ı Seniye-i Osmaniye* written by Hayrullah Efendi (1817- 1866), vice president of *Encümen-i daniş* (Academy of Sciences), Neumann noted that the legitimization of the dynasty equaled the legitimization of the state, and that Hayrullah’s book promoted the Ottoman dynasty as the basis of the political identity of its readers.⁴¹⁰ For the Ottoman elite, the legitimization of the state sometimes meant a challenge to the European powers. The following stanza of the hymn published in the song collection *Μουσικόν Απάνθισμα* (*Music Anthology*),

⁴⁰⁸ A. K. İpsilantis, *After the Fall*, p.γ’: “The history of the East after the 15th century has an undeniable importance. The Ottoman dynasty, via its establishment on the European continent, its colossal expansion, its amazing grandeur and power that it created in two centuries and via its course in the concert of states, filled worthy pages in the book of the human deeds, and should not only be considered unilaterally for itself but also for the part it took in the big events that changed the facet of the ancient world”.

⁴⁰⁹ While drawing attention to the non-ethnic character of the elites, Kemal Karpat noted that only in the eighteenth century did the Ottoman government elites begin to identify themselves with the Muslim masses. See Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, From Millets to Nations*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1973), p.9.

⁴¹⁰ Christoph K. Neumann, “Bad Times and Better Self: Definitions of Identity and Strategies for Development in Late Ottoman Historiography (1850-1900),” in *The Ottomans and The Balkans* ed. by F. Adanır and S. Faroqhi, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p.68.

written by the Greek-orthodox poet Elias Tantalidis for sultan Abdülaziz, is a good example with its reference to the dynasty and legitimation of its rule against the European governments:

Saw the foreign peoples and governments saw
The star of hopes of the aged Orient,
Saw the mighties the mighty, the kings the king,
The Christians saw the leading sword of Osman.⁴¹¹

Expectations of justice, progress and order from the *Tanzimat* reforms featured dominantly in the encomiums written for the Ottoman sultans. If supporting the reforms can be taken as a measure of Ottoman patriotism, the following stanza from a hymn to Sultan Abdülaziz written and composed by the previously mentioned cantor Ioannis Zografos is worthy of note:

You are a mine of munificence and kindness, you exalted sovereign,
Our time attained order under your protection and favor,
There was a special regulation in this princely circumcision feast
Long live the illuminated Sultan Abdül Aziz.⁴¹²

Continuing with the references to the Ottoman dynasty or to the person of the ruling Sultan, I want to draw attention to some anecdotes on music and musicians from popular oral traditions and narratives. These anecdotes are meaningful and significant because they give a clue not only about the interpretation of the Ottoman past but also about how the “foreign conqueror” was imagined by the Greek-orthodox and how the latter conceptualized their relation with the former. Some of

⁴¹¹ The third quatrain of the song composed in the modes *Mahur* and *Hicaz*, for the return of Abdülaziz from his excursion to Europe in 1867. Translated from the Greek by me. In the original: *Είδον αλλόθροοι λαοί, και κυβερνήσεις είδον, /το άστρον των της γηραιάς Ανατολής ελπίδων, /και κραταιοί τον κραταιόν σκηπτούχοι τον σκηπτούχον, / Χριστιανοί τόν του Οσμάν ηγάσαντο ξιφούχον*. Lyrics belong to Elias Tantalidis, composition to cantor Ioannis Zografos. Ioannis G. Zografos, *Μουσικόν Απάνθισμα (Music Anthology)*, vol.2, (Constantinople: Ί Anatoli, 1873), p.6.

⁴¹² Hymn composed in the mode *Evç*, for the circumcision ceremony of the Princes, to be sung by the students of the Greek Orthodox schools. Translated from the Turkish by me. In the original: *Maden-i cud-u keremsin ey şeyh-i alimakam, / Saye-i lutfunda buldu dehrimiz pek intizam, / Viridi bu sur-u hümayununda bir başka nizam, / Bin yaşa ey padişah-ı behr-u ber Abdül Aziz*. See, Ioannis G. Zografos, *Μουσικόν Απάνθισμα (Music Anthology)*, vol.1, (Constantinople: Ί Anatoli, 1872), p. 243.

these musical anecdotes conveyed a mixed image of despotism and mercy on the part of the ruler, who was generally depicted as having a fondness and even a frailty toward music. The following two examples are from the previously mentioned *After the Fall*, borrowed from the oral traditions of the Ottoman capital by Phanariot A. K. Ipsilantis. The first one narrates that, during the capture of Baghdad, while thirty thousand captives were killed by the Ottoman sultan Murad IV, the musicians were forgiven thanks to their mastership in music. The second anecdote is about a *Rum* musician who was rewarded by the Ottoman sultan who heard him singing, while he happened to pass in his boat in front of the musician's house.⁴¹³ Even though especially the first narrative gives a negative image of the Ottoman rule, emphasizing its arbitrariness, yet it also bears a nostalgic gaze toward the past regarding the privileged position of the musician in the eyes of the sultan and society.

The third anecdote is about a famous *Rum* musician and needs special attention due to the fact that it appears not only in the written sources of the nineteenth century but also in today's Turkish and Greek musicology. It is the story of "Hırsız Petro" (Petros the Thief). In Turkish musicology, the hero of the story is Petraki, the famous musician of the court of Selim III whose reign has been celebrated especially for the enormous flourishing of musical life. In Greek musicology, it is the prominent Lambadarios of the Patriarchate of Constantinople,

⁴¹³A. K. Ipsilantis, *After the Fall*, pp. 140- 141. The twentieth century Turkish scholars refer to the same anecdotes citing from the seventeenth century Moldovian prince Dimitri Cantemir's *History of the Ottoman Empire*, which were probably part of the oral tradition of the Ottoman capital in the seventeenth century. In today's Greek musicology, these narratives have also been cited (referring to Afthonidis' publication of Ipsilantis' work). See Giannis Plemmenos, *Το μουσικό πορτρέτο του νεοελληνικού διαφωτισμού (The musical portrait of Modern Greek Enlightenment)*, (Athens: Psifida, 2003), p.17 and p.28.

Petros of Morea (or Petros Peloponnesios)⁴¹⁴ whose work, the “*exegese*” (explanation or interpretation) of the old melodies is considered as the precursor of the nineteenth century music reform. According to Hrisanthos’ *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν*, in the Ottoman court, whenever the other musicians played a new melody which was invented by them, Petros secretly wrote it down in notation, then sung the melody accompanying it with the long-necked lute. Hence, he came to be called Petros the Thief.⁴¹⁵ It is not hard to imagine that this story, which also has other versions⁴¹⁶, must have been given various meanings since the eighteenth century. Among the contemporary musicians, it could be a story that promoted the use of notation by appraising the use of the written methods in the transmission of music.⁴¹⁷ Beyond its significance related to the preservation of the music repertoire, regarding its popularity in the nineteenth century Greek accounts, the story of Petros might have served to boost the ethnic pride of the Greek-orthodox *millet* by advancing the superiority of a Greek-orthodox musician in the Ottoman court of Selim III’s era over other musicians from different ethno-religious backgrounds.

Now let me turn from these nostalgic musical anecdotes which I tried to situate within the framework of romantic interpretations of the past, to the interpretation of the work of a musician of the past and the discourse on the unity of

⁴¹⁴ For the life and work of Petros of Morea, see Gregorios Stathis, “Πέτρος Λαμπαδάριος ο από Λακεδαίμονος (Petros the Lambadarios from Lakedaimon)” *Λακωνικά Σπουδαί* (Laconic Studies) 7 (1983), pp. 108- 125.

⁴¹⁵ Hrisanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, p. XL, and p. L.

⁴¹⁶ Bülent Aksoy cites a lengthier version of this story (which has interesting details indicating the respect and the esteem that the Mevlevi dervishes felt for Petros) from a book edited by the First-cantor Petros who was a student of Petros, *Ειρμολόγιον των καταβασίων Πέτρου του Πελοποννησίου* (*Eirmologion of the Katavasion of Petros Peloponnesios*), (Constantinople: Patriarchal Press, 1825). See Bülent Aksoy, *Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Musiki* (*Ottoman Music through the Eyes of the European Travellers*), (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2003), pp. 191-192.

⁴¹⁷ It is well known that some time at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were several attempts at inventing new notation systems among the Ottoman musicians, e.g. the Armenian musician Artin the tanbur player was already using a notation system that he invented, Hampartzum and the Mevlevi musician Osman Dede the nay-player were working on new notation systems.

musical tradition and the belief regarding its smooth passage from the Byzantine to Ottoman times. In 1875, an interesting discussion which followed the lecture of Ioannis Tzetzis in the Greek Literary Society showed the zeal of the cantors of Constantinople about defending the historical unity of the chanting tradition. There was a consensus among the Greek church musicians in the nineteenth century, as there is also today, that especially during the eighteenth century, new idioms and melodies entered from lay music into the melodic structure of ecclesiastical music, and that the latter became more ornamented and more melismatic. On 16 February 1875, Ioannis Tzetzis a German educated Greek musician (a student of Wilhelm Christ) delivered a public lecture in the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, summing up the arguments of his first book, *Über die Altgriechische Musik in der Griechischen Kirche* (Munich, 1874).⁴¹⁸ In his lecture, he claimed that contemporary ecclesiastical music had totally lost its fundamentals which had been based on the theory of harmony of the ancient church melodies and on the ancient music notation. Furthermore, he attacked the reformers (the Three Teachers), accusing them on the one hand of importing an erroneous theory from the west and on the other, of introducing chromatic songs with pathetic and erotic ethos bearing an Asian and foreign character. According to him, the only solution would be to go back to the oldest church chants and study them scientifically in order to systematize the laws that governed them. The audience in the Greek Literary Society, who listened to I. Tzetzis's talk, tried to refute his claims and brought forth their opinion which mostly revolved around the issue of the continuity and purity of ecclesiastical music. The

⁴¹⁸ *EFSK* t. 9 (1874-1875), pp. 226-229, minutes of the session YKΓ' on 16 February 1875. Kaiti Romanou noted that in his second book, influenced by the western critics, Tzetzis refuted what he wrote in his first publication in German. See Kaiti Romanou, "Η Μουσική 1871- 1909. Από την Παράδοση στο Αστικό Πρότυπο (Music 1871- 1909. From Tradition to the Urban Exemplar)" in *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού 1770- 2000*, vol. 5, (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003), p.221.

fall of Constantinople and the reform of the Three Teachers at the beginning of the nineteenth century were the two milestones in the history of ecclesiastical music that caused serious questionings about the issue of continuity. Certain church musicians in the audience argued against Tzetzis' claim that after the fall of Constantinople, music fell into perdition. During the discussions, the cantors of Constantinople ardently defended the work of Petros of Morea. Ioasaf Rossos "defended" Petros' ecclesiastical compositions saying that "he taught Ottomans many songs of our music, and even if he took various idioms from them, he only used these in the court music, not in his ecclesiastical compositions". He added that except two or three clatters (*κρόττημα*), which were idiomatic (a matter of style) and not related to melody, his chants conformed to the melody of the ancients (old masters), not to that of the Ottomans.⁴¹⁹ Hence, the usage of "small" melodic sentences or idioms which sounded a bit worldly and popular in the ecclesiastical compositions were tolerated in the case of prominent *Rum* musicians whose compositional work in the ecclesiastical and lay music were highly esteemed (like Petros of Morea). Archimandrite Constantine Valliadis said in his support that Turkish and Venetian elements entered only into the *papadika* chants congruent with the musical taste of the time, adding that the heirmologic and stoihiraric chants kept the harmony [meaning the harmony whose basic principles were inherited from the music of ancient Greeks].⁴²⁰

In the rest of this section, I would like to highlight some motifs of historical interpretation in the song collections of the nineteenth century. The Ancient Greek heritage contributed in a significant way to the discourse that we see in the prologues

⁴¹⁹ *EFSK* t. 9 (1874- 1875), pp. 226- 229.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

of the books which contained popular examples of the Ottoman art song. The Greek Orthodox musician-publishers of these song anthologies often referred to the legendary figures of Greek mythology and to various anecdotes showing the importance of music in the life of the ancient Greeks.⁴²¹ This heritage constituted an essential part of the cultural identity of the members of the Greek Orthodox community who were, in terms of their identity, Ottoman *Rums*. These song books, where the ethnic element fused with the manifestations of a supra-ethnic culture, were open to expressions or narratives that aimed at bolstering ethnic prestige. In the prologue to his song collection, Ioannis Zografos wrote: “The Greek nation (*ellinikon ethnos*), it is possible to say, served and serves as teacher of music, and the witnesses are not only the Europeans, but also the Asians who took the main elements of their music from Greeks[...]”.⁴²² Risking a schematic correlation, one may argue that lay song collections, e.g. *Mousikon Apanthisma*, or the previous similar ones, e.g. *Evterpi*, *Pandora* etc. overlapped with the cultural needs of the groups who on the one hand enhanced their cultural identity through the promotion of Greek education and on the other, remained interested in maintaining the Ottomanist ideal. So, it is not surprising to see that the members of the groups whom we can identify with such an ideological position e.g. Neo-Phanariots and the high ranking church clergy were in the subscribers’ list of Zografos’ book.⁴²³

⁴²¹ For instance, the previously mentioned song collection *Music Anthology* (1872) of Ioannis Zografos began with a “classic” introduction, which might even be partly copied from previous song collections. Zografos referred to the omnipresence of music in nature, cited a phrase about music from the Old Testament, and drawing upon the testimonies of ancient Greek writers he narrated anecdotes about music and the musicians in ancient Greece. See I. Zografos, *Music Anthology*, pp. γ’-ε’.

⁴²² I. Zografos, *Music Anthology*, p. στ’.

⁴²³ From Neo-phanariot families Stavrakis Aristarhis, Konstantinos S. Karatheodoris can be mentioned, Savvas Ioannidis, Dimitrios Paspallis (banker) and high ranked church clergy who had a particular interest in and familiarity with music, for instance, Archimandrites Germanos Afthonidis and Konstantinos Valiadis.

The romantic ideal of historical continuity often appeared in the form of a “marriage” between Hellenism and Christianity and tried to restore a glorious memory:

The Greek nation, being quite pious, excelled in the musical passion during the worshipping of god, and after this famous and polytheic period, was appointed by divine providence to pioneer among the foreign nations to the unparalleled glorious status of the universal Christian culture, created a special music system for the worshipping of true God, a system constituted by composers selected among the most dignified and competent was established by our Church, transmitted to us as the venerable relic of the Greek and Christian antiquity, noted by music characters, system rendered from the beginning till us by the centuries-long teachings of famous and venerable men, masters and composers among whom the pious kings, queens, patriarchs and historically prominent men and women are to be found.⁴²⁴

For his readers who were not familiar enough with the rhythmic patterns (*usuls*) of lay music, I. Zografos published the translation of “*Der Tarifi Usulat*” (The description of the *usuls*) from the collection of song lyrics (*güfte mecmuası*) of Haşım Bey.⁴²⁵ In *Music Anthology*, the exchange of musical knowledge between the famous lay musicians and Greek Orthodox musicians is remembered as part of an idealized past. This might also be interpreted as an effort to underline the status of the Greek-orthodox musicians in an imperial learned music tradition which was monumental and highly-esteemed in Zografos’ opinion.⁴²⁶ Interestingly enough, this

⁴²⁴ I. Zografos, *Music Anthology*, p.στ’.

⁴²⁵ *Mecmua-ı Musiki* (or *Haşım Bey Mecmuası*) was published in 1853 as *Mecmua-ı Musiki*, Haşım Bey, (Istanbul: Kayolzade Yahya Hariri Litoğrafya Matbaası, 1269 [1853]). Soon after its publication, it became very popular among the musicians of the time and all its copies were sold out. In 1864, it was reprinted, this time including the lyrics of the newer songs and also a long introduction about the descriptions of musical modes and rhythms. See Burak Çetintaş, “Matbû Güfte Mecmuaları Üzerine bir Deneme,” *Musikişinas* no.9, Istanbul, 2007, pp. 41-55. However, the exchange was also in the reverse direction. Haşım Bey had probably read the theory book of the Greek Orthodox cantor Theodoros Fokaefs who invented a new way of “beating” the 9-unit *usul*, *çifte sofyan*. See I. Zografos, *Music Anthology*, p.κγ’. Excerpt from Haşım Bey’s “*Der Tarifi Usulat*”(The description of the *usuls*) which was published by Zografos in his song collection (Turkish in Greek letters): “Merhum Muallim Theodore P. P. Focaefs, mahsusa bu dört buçuk darbdan ibaret usuli ihdas itmiştir”.

⁴²⁶ I. Zografos, *Music Anthology*, p.147. He refers to the famous eighteenth century musician Zaharia’s important work in external music, adding that “it seems that, then, people from other

inter-communal dialogue turns to an empathy regarding the preservation of the tradition. In the prologue, Zografos writes that the prominent palace musicians who knew the ecclesiastical music of the Greeks advised him that the Greeks should keep their religious music pure from any alien elements and innovations. He adds: “it is forbidden also to the Ottomans by their religion to allow the secular rhythms into their religious music”.⁴²⁷ Obviously for Zografos, Greek ecclesiastical music was, like the other musical traditions of the empire, an eastern music threatened by the increasing predominance of western music in the public sphere and by the secularization of public life.

Ideology and Style: the “Patriarchal *Ifos* (Style)”

The Patriarchate of Constantinople, due to its self-proclaimed role as the protector of “tradition” and its monopolization of the dissemination means of a specific discourse of “patriarchal *ifos*(style)” which provided a value system for the Greek-orthodox ecclesiastical music, is the most significant actor in the musical field that we are dealing with. In this section, I will try to delineate the “tradition” in the name of which the Patriarchate spoke and acted, and have a close look at the issues and concepts that were on its agenda. I will also argue that the Patriarchate was one of the remarkable agents of the “romantic” ideal described in the previous section, as it emphasized the notions of historical continuity, tradition and authority, and supported oral transmission against innovation. In 1870, in a letter sent by the Patriarchate to the Metropolitan of Amasya Sofronios, the former notified the Metropolitan that a Greek Orthodox family in Sinop had a manuscript book in

nations, too, were learning music from our masters”. Also on p.129 at the beginning of Ismail Dede’s song, he notes that “this ‘unique’ musician always used to exchange views about music with [our] musicians”.

⁴²⁷ I. Zografos, *Music Anthology*, p. 1a’

membrane, dated to the eleventh century, which contained the ancient music lessons of the Byzantine period written in the music characters of that time. In the letter, the Metropolitan was asked to persuade the family to deliver the book to the Patriarchate for its investigation by expert musicians, with the idea that the ancient music notation used in the book might be useful for the restoration of the *ifos* (style) of ecclesiastical music.⁴²⁸ Furthermore, the Patriarchate tried to keep away the effects of the “harmful” music books which circulated outside of the capital, by collaborating with metropolitans and asking them to ban the use of these books. In 1886, the Patriarchate demanded from the Metropolitan of Salonica Grigorios the renunciation of the book *Εγκόλπιον Ιεροψάλτου* (Cantor’s Handbook) published by Dimitris Voulgarakis, saying that the Holy Synod banned the book due to its corruption of the ancient traditional *ifos* (style) and alteration of the ancient original forms of the ecclesiastical chants.⁴²⁹ I think both examples witness to the centrality of the notions of ancientness and authenticity in the conceptualization of the *ifos* (style).

Before elaborating more on the notion of “patriarchal *ifos*”, I would like to provide a comparative historical framework which takes into account the music movements in the Armenian and Muslim *millets*, and also widen our chronological scope toward the first decades of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the indigenous musical traditions of the Ottoman Empire went through significant changes. Of course, they all had passed through several stages of developments in the previous centuries, but this change which was almost

⁴²⁸ Patriarchal letter (Codex A’ 41 no. 1497) 1 April 1870, *Archive of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople*: “[...]Εγνώσθη δεόν την εκκλησίαν μετά θετικότητος ότι η εν Σινώπη οικογένεια οικονόμου τίνος Χατζή Σάββα κέκτηται τίνα βιβλόν χρεόγραφον εις μεμβράνης ασυνήθους όγκου, μήκους και πλάτους ήτις χρονολογημένη από του ΙΑ΄ αιώνος περίπου περιλαμβάνει αρχαία μαθήματα της Βυζαντινής εποχής δια των τότε εν χρήση μουσικών χαρακτήρων, άτινα ερμηνευόμενα σμικράν? βελτίωσιν δύνανται ίνα περιποιούσιν προς το ύφος της καθ’ ημάς εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής[...].”

⁴²⁹ Patriarchal Correspondence, Codex A’ 56, no. 2673, 15 July 1886.

synchronous in all musical traditions, marks a turning point in the reform efforts of all eastern music. Almost in the same years, the Gregorian Armenian cantor (in Armenian *tirac'u*) Baba Hampartzum⁴³⁰ and Greek orthodox Metropolitan Hrisanthos from Madytos invented systems of notation to facilitate the instruction and practice of liturgical music and to save the religious chants from falling into oblivion.

The reform of Greek liturgical music is generally attributed to the “Three Teachers”. In 1814, a new theoretical system and a new music notation were introduced by the so called “Three Teachers”, Hrisanthos from Madytos⁴³¹, Grigorios the First Cantor (*Protopsaltis*)⁴³² and Hourmouzios the Archivist (*Hartofilakas*)⁴³³.

⁴³⁰ Hampardzum Limondjian or as he was called later Baba Hampardzum (1768- 1839) was born in Constantinople as the son of a family which had migrated from Harput (Elazığ). His father gave him as apprentice to a tailor, then he became a scribe to the famous Armenian architect Grigor Balyan. Apart from Armenian religious music, he also learned the oriental melodies and rhythms from Turkish dervishes, and mastered Byzantine music and notation. He began to teach religious music at an Armenian school in Galata. In 1839 some months before he died, he defined the values of the notes he invented and after his death his students completed his work. In the bibliography, his “invention” of a new system of notation is dated to 1813- 1815. Today, he is not considered as the sole initiator of modern Armenian musical notation. The contribution of Minas Bzskian is also mentioned. Komitas Vardapet, “La Musique Religieuse Arménienne au XIXe Siècle Première Période 1839- 1874”, translated by Leon Ketcheyan (originally publ. in *Ararat* May 1897), in *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, 20, 1986- 1987, pp.497- 506. Also see N. Tahmizian, « Les Anciens Manuscrits Musicaux Arméniens et les Questions Relatives à Leur Déchiffrement », *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* (7) 1970; A. Kerovpyan, “Armenia,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, London, 2000.

⁴³¹ Hrisanthos of Madytos was the Metropolitan of Proussa. He knew the Greek, Latin and French languages and European and Ottoman art music. He could play the flute and the nay (ney). He was sent to exile to Madytos due to his innovative attempt of using mono-syllable tones in expressing the church modes. But then he was appointed as the instructor of music theory in the third Patriarchal Music School in 1815. He died in Proussa in 1843. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp.332-334.

⁴³² Grigorios (Levitis) the First Cantor of the Great Church was born in Constantinople. According to G. I. Papadopoulos, Grigorios learned the language and the music of the Armenians on his own and used to attend the Armenian Church, therefore his father, to detach him from the Armenians, gave him to the priest of the Sinai Church in Balat where he learned the letters and became a cantor. Grigorios learned lay music from the famous musician İsmail Dede and he could also play the tanbur. He was appointed to the third Patriarchal Music School by the Great Church as the teacher of the practice of ecclesiastical chanting. He died in 1822. See G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp. 329-331.

⁴³³ Hourmouzios the Archivist of the Great Church was born in Halki. His teachers in ecclesiastical music were Iakovos the First cantor and Georgios from Crete. He worked as first cantor in the churches of Tatavla, Galata, and Balat. He taught at the third Patriarchal Music School 1815-1821. For 18 years, he endeavoured to interpret (ερμηνεύση) the ecclesiastical works of the church musicians

Hrisanthos, to whom all the theoretical systematization is attributed - his basic innovation was to replace the polysyllable terms which denoted the neumes with monosyllable notes *pa, vu, ga, di* etc. like the re, mi, fa, sol of the European system - wrote a theory book which was published in Trieste in 1832⁴³⁴. It should be noted that while the previous attempts at reform, e.g. the musical notation by Ieronymos from Cyprus in the sixteenth century⁴³⁵ and Agapios Palliermos who had convinced the patriarch to use pentagram in his music lessons in the Patriarchal Music School in 1787 had finally failed, the reform which was undertaken by the Three Teachers succeeded. K. Romanou writes that even though the new method adopted new principles from western music e.g. *solfège* with one-syllable, it maintained many elements of the old notation such as the quantitative signs based on intervals, use of *martiries* (signs) of modes etc.⁴³⁶ Yet, pointing out to the novelty of Hrisanthos' work, she claims that *Great Theory of Music* was the first book written by a Greek since the fourteenth century which gave information about ancient Greek music. Besides, in this book as well as in the *Introduction*⁴³⁷ written by Hrisanthos, Turkish musical terms were replaced by Greek terms, and the scientific thought of the ancient

of the previous centuries. He died in Halki in 1840. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp.331- 32.

⁴³⁴ Hrisanthos from Madytos, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής (Great Theory of Music)*, (Trieste: Michele Weis, 1832), reprinted by (Athens: Kouloura, 2003). The work's manuscript was taken over in 1820 by Hrisanthos' student Panagiotis G. Pelopidis who edited and published it. In fact, the first printed version appeared in Paris in 1821.

⁴³⁵ Ieronymos who studied music for nine years in Italy, including his instruction from Gioseffo Zarlino in Venice for three years, offered a new system based on the major and minor tones of the western music system. Kaiti Romanou, "Η Μεταρρύθμιση του 1814 (The reform of 1814)", *Musicology* 1 (1985), pp.7- 22.

⁴³⁶ Kaiti Romanou, "Η Μεταρρύθμιση του 1814", *Musicology* 1 (1985). Another element which was adapted from western music was the "tempo" which was measured on the basis of the minutes of the hour. Also as an example for the maintenance of the link with an ethnic element like the alphabet, Hrisanthos adapted the "ut-re-mi-fa-sol..." system to the first letters of the Greek alphabet; "pA, Bou, Ga, Di, kE, Zo, nH".

⁴³⁷ Hrisanthos of Madytos, *Εισαγωγή εις το θεωρητικόν και πρακτικόν της εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής* (Introduction into the theory and the practice of ecclesiastical music), (Paris: Rigniou, 1821).

Greek theoreticians was incorporated into the ecclesiastical music.⁴³⁸ The first edition of Hrisanthos' work reveals many borrowings from western sources. Excavating the relationships or the affinity of Hrisanthos with the enlightenment circles of the Greek diaspora in France, Romanou argues that the reason for the discontent of the Church about the reform at the beginning, as a result of which Hrisanthos was exiled, was his contribution to the national movement.⁴³⁹ She also claims that the music reformers were motivated by an ideal of democracy as one of the tenets of the French Revolution which ideally provided everyone with an access to the sciences and knowledge.⁴⁴⁰ Indeed, Hrisanthos' system made the learning of the ecclesiastical chanting easier and available in a much shorter period of time than before and hence opened it up to a broader number of people. Perhaps, Hrisanthos' work was criticised due to the professional worries of the cantors who were anxious about the democratization of the knowledge of chanting.

When we look at the repercussions of Hrisanthos' work later in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, we can speak about two conflicting but also coexisting attitudes: one which marks it as an embodiment of the "national awakening" and praises it as such, the other that sees it as detrimental to the musical tradition due to its westernizing aspects. Hrisanthos' theory was officially accepted by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, disseminated through the Patriarchal Music School and for decades many liturgical books were rewritten according to the new music

⁴³⁸ Kaiti Romanou, "Η Μεταρρύθμιση του 1814," *Musicology* 1 (1985), pp.7- 22.

⁴³⁹ Ibid, p.16. According to F. J. Fétis' *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, (Paris, 1875), the *Introduction* of Hrisanthos was published in 1821 in Paris by his student Anastasios Thamiris who was helped by Konstantinos A. Nikolopoulos, teacher of Greek literature and amateur musician who published religious and patriotic Greek songs and texts with patriotic content after 1821. K. Romanou also noted the encouragement of Patriarch Kyrillos VI and Metropolitan of Iraklea Meletios - who belonged to the progressive clerical circles - for Hrisanthos's work. See K. Romanou, "Οι Δυτικοί Φίλοι, Τα Δυτικά Φώτα και Η Ελληνική Μουσική (The western friends, the western light and the Greek Music)," in *Εντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους (The Modern Greek Art Music)*, (Athens: Koultoura, 2006), p.44.

⁴⁴⁰ K. Romanou, "Η Μεταρρύθμιση του 1814", p.15.

writing. In the tradition of Greek orthodox chanting, the new reform was/is legitimized because it simplified the learning process which was ten to fifteen years before and hence facilitated the dissemination of the knowledge and the practice of ecclesiastical music⁴⁴¹.

Let me return to my main objective of analysing the specific musical discourse propagated by the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the content of the “tradition” it claimed to preserve. The key notion of continuity often figures in the pro- or con- arguments about the issue of reform in Greek liturgical music and is closely related with the concept of tradition. In the period under study, we have to differentiate between the two different meanings of continuity in the musical tradition. The first meaning is framed within the larger problematic of the cultural continuity of Hellenism through three thousand years. The second meaning, even though it tackles the issue of the continuity of Hellenism and its relationship with orthodoxy, is more on the continuity of the handed-over ecclesiastical style (tradition) which is the focus of the discourse produced by the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The particular ecclesiastical style or what was formulated as the “patriarchal *ifos(style)*” does not only refer to the performance of the ecclesiastical chants by cantors, that is the execution of the written melody, but it should also be understood as a character engraved in the composed melody. Even the concept of “patriarchal *ifos*” refers to a particular character, a way of doing that embraces a whole set of ecclesiastical activities. Antonis Aligizakis writes:

⁴⁴¹ Hrisanthos, himself had written in his *Great Theory of Music* that following the advice of Platon, three years should be enough for a music education which would allow time for other useful studies. p.LVI.

The Patriarchal *ifos* of the Great Church of Constantinople saturates an entire array of ecclesiastical activity with one powerful cultural core. This core shapes a variety of expressions and formulations of Christian teaching and art, such as architecture, liturgical theology, holy readings, word [both drawn and musical], the staged adornment of the ecclesiastical *typikon* (ritual), vestment, miniatures, ecclesiastical choirs, liturgical vessels, litanies, kinesiology, lamp-lighting, the offering of incense, and many others”.⁴⁴²

So we may say that during the second half of the nineteenth century, the self-assertion of the Patriarchate of Constantinople as the core of ecumenical orthodoxy and its reaffirming of its place as the “first throne” within the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church was conceptualized in the term “Patriarchal *ifos*”, which still refers to the ecumenicity of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Sometimes, the nationalist tendencies within the orthodox community, as in the case of the Bulgarians, were “punished” by the Patriarchate with their exclusion from the set of practices designed by the concept of “Patriarchal *ifos*”. For instance, after the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople demanded that the Bulgarian clergy wear different clothes.⁴⁴³

Whatever the lay approach to liturgical music, the representatives of the Church music were careful not to present the concept of “Patriarchal *ifos*” as an aesthetic category but as a means to bring about a transcendental religious experience.⁴⁴⁴ Especially, as we saw in the previous section when the European

⁴⁴² Antonis Aligizakis, “The Patriarchal Style Hyphos of the Great Church of Constantinople,” in *The Protosaltis of the Holy Great Church of Christ, Iakovos Nafpliotis* [CD-text], (Istanbul: Kalan Müzik, 2008), p.73.

⁴⁴³ This was mentioned in Haris Exertzoglou, “Shifting Boundaries: language, community and the “non-Greek speaking Greeks,” *Historein*, vol.1, 1999, p.86.

⁴⁴⁴ A. Aligizakis, “The Patriarchal Style Hyphos of the Great Church of Constantinople”, p.72: “The concepts, therefore, of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the *ifos* (*hyphos* in the original text) of the Holy and Great Church of Christ or Patriarchal *ifos* are not natural or aesthetic categories, that is they do not describe physical or geographical dimensions, nor artistic or literary styles or rhythms. Rather, they are ontological categories which refer to ecumenical, historical and existential realities, such as the relationship between created and uncreated, the Eucharistic transfiguration of the inhabited world into the person of Christ and the world’s reference to eternity and the triune communion”. Here it is

melody entered the secular practices of the Christian orthodox community as in Vienna, and monophonic church music began to be compared with European polyphonic music; ecclesiastical authorities and the musicians who supported their views emphasized that music should not be more dominant than the “word”, and that the first aim of liturgical music was to transmit the meaning of the word.

According to Aligizakis, the term “*ifos* (style)” appeared in the titles of the ecclesiastical chant collections sometime in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries during which the ecclesiastical chanting style in Constantinople developed its own exclusive traits.⁴⁴⁵ Likewise, the nineteenth century Greek-orthodox musicians (at least the ones in Constantinople) advanced the view that the distinct style of the Great Church began to develop in the eighteenth century. In his *Theoritikon*, which was published in 1859, cantor Kyriakos Filoxenis wrote that the introduction of the “style” of the Great Church could be attributed to Ioannis of Trebizond, who was the first cantor of the Great Church between 1736 and 1770.⁴⁴⁶ Perhaps, the credit for a strong assertion of the “patriarchal *ifos*” should be given to the first Patriarchal edition of *The Ecclesiastical Typikon according to the Hyphos of the Great Church of Christ* (publ. in 1838 and 2nd ed. in 1842) edited by the first cantor of the Great Church Konstantinos Vyzantios.⁴⁴⁷ The scholar of Byzantine liturgical music, K.

also obvious that the ‘Patriarchal *ifos*’ and the ecumenicity of the Patriarchate are two notions that refer to and fuel each other.

⁴⁴⁵ A. Aligizakis, “The Patriarchal Style Hyphos of the Great Church of Constantinople”, p.75.

⁴⁴⁶ Kyriakos Filoxenis, *Basic Theory of Music*, p.200.

⁴⁴⁷ Konstantinos Vyzantios (1777- 1862) was born in Constantinople. He learned the ecclesiastical chant from Georgios the Cretan who had many other students who later became important cantors. Konstantinos entered the Great Church as second domestikos and ascended up the ranks of chanters, he chanted as the first cantor in the Great Church between 1821 till 1855. Th. Aristoklis, *Κωνσταντίνου Α΄ του από Σιναίου Αοιδίμου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως του Βιζαντίου Βιογραφία και σύγγραφοι αι Ελάσσονες Εκκλησιαστικάι και Φιλολογικάι, και τίνες Επιστολαί του Αυτού*, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει εκ του Τυπογραφείου της Προόδου, 1866. Also see Konstantinos Terzopoulos, *Ο Πρωτοψάλτης της Μεγάλης του Χριστού Εκκλησίας, Κωνσταντίνος Βυζάντιος και η Συμβολή του στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη (The First-cantor of the Great Church of Christ, Konstantinos Byzantios and his Contribution to the Art of Chanting)*, Athens, 2004. K. Terzopoulos writes the

Terzopoulos also notes that Konstantinos contributed greatly to the uniformization of the liturgical practice by the Great Church, as his *Typikon Ekklesiastikon* became the main source for the order of the service and was translated into Slavo-Bulgarian in 1853 and Romanian in 1851.⁴⁴⁸

I mentioned that in the first decades of the nineteenth century, probably inspired by the set of ideas that were introduced by the Enlightenment, certain reformatory attempts emerged toward the simplification and democratization of the chanting instruction. I mentioned that two tendencies shaped the works of the reformers; the discovery and reconsolidation of the relationship with ancient Greek music and the introduction of the musical concepts which were transferred from European music. The Patriarchate did not reject the theories which hinted at the similarities with the ancient modes. On the contrary, in the theory books that the Church published ancient modes were always referred to. However, the Patriarchate was against the attitude which made the proving of the descent from the ancients as the first aim of any preoccupation with ecclesiastical music. In the 1840s, the new method which had been devised by Hrisanthos had to be strengthened against the new attempts of innovation. It would not be wrong to say that Hrisanthos' theoretical work was transmitted to the next generations by the prominent cantor Theodore of Focaea's (Focaefs) work. Focaefs defended the new method against the later

following about the First-cantor of the Great Church Konstantinos (Vyzantios): "Being the last protopsaltes of the patriarchal church to chant and compose in the pre-New Method notation and in direct line of the previous chanters, is an excellent reflection of the oral and written tradition of the 18th century culminating in the psaltic activity of a primary patriarchal chanter whose presence would stretch through the first half of the 19th century, effecting developments that would occur in the second half of that century, affecting even the modern Hellenic psaltic tradition". Konstantinos Terzopoulos, "Observations on the exegetic notation through the prism of the ms exegesis of the protopsaltes of the Great Church, Konstantinos Vyzantios: An Example", in *The 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus*, (Hungary, 2004), p.5.

⁴⁴⁸ Konstantinos Terzopoulos, "Observations on the exegetic notation through the prism of the ms exegesis of the protopsaltes of the Great Church, Konstantinos Vyzantios: An Example", pp.7- 8.

inventions e.g. the notation system invented by Georgios of Lesbos.⁴⁴⁹ Related to our quest about the issue of continuity, Theodore Focaefs' criticism of the contemporary music treatises is interesting regarding what he thinks about the ancient Greek music and its heritage. In the prologue of his *Kripis* (The Basis of Theory and Practice of the Ecclesiastical Music), he wrote "whoever wanted to show his erudition, published a grammar of music with odd modes, notations and signs, bragging that he came closer to the ancient Greek Music, whereas even its ruins did not survive".⁴⁵⁰

Focaefs' *Kripis* was published in 1842 and was considered a requisite book for ecclesiastical music because for a long period it was the only theory book which was in circulation due to the scarcity of the copies of Hrisanthos' *Great Theory of Music*.⁴⁵¹ *Kripis* consisted of two parts; a theoretical part based on the principles of Hrisanthos' theory (but not its exact replication) and a history of music which was totally copied from the second part of Hrisanthos' *Great Theory of Music*. The theory part was written in a question-answer format (*erotapokrisi*) recalling the catechetical teaching-aids in Byzantium, and was therefore different from the format of Hrisanthos' book which was written in chapters each of which was devoted to certain topics. The following point hints at a difference between the ideological references of the two cantors; one attached to the linguistic-ethnic identity of the Enlightenment

⁴⁴⁹ Georgios Lesvios, *Εισαγωγή εις το Θεωρητικόν και Πρακτικόν της Μουσικής Τέχνης του Λεσβίου Συστήματος* (Introduction to the Theory and Practice of the Art of Music in the Lesbios system), (Athens: L. Papadopoulou & I. Leonidou, 1840). Certain musicologists even suggested that Focaefs had a personal interest in furthering the new (notation) method because he had an enormous publishing activity and if another notation system were to be approved by the Patriarchate, his economic interests would be damaged.

⁴⁵⁰ Theodore Focaefs, *Κρητὶς του Θεωρητικού και Πρακτικού της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (The Basis of Theory and Practice of the Ecclesiastical Music), (Constantinople: publ. Patriarchal Press, 1842), see the prologue.

⁴⁵¹ See G. Hatzitheodoros' introduction in Hrisanthos, *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν της Βυζαντινής Μουσικής* (Great Theory of Byzantine Music), (Athens: K. Spanos, 1976), p. κ'. The list of subscribers at the end of *Kripis* shows that it was demanded by musicians from a very wide geography, from Constantinople, Asia Minor, Aegean islands, Egypt, Cyprus to Mount Athos, Thrace (also Bulgarian speaking populations of Plovdiv) Bucharest, Jassy.

tradition, the other to a confessional identity with an emphasis on belonging to the liturgical tradition of the Eastern Church. Focaefs copied an interesting passage from Hrisanthos' *Introduction*⁴⁵² where the latter advised the beginner of the ecclesiastical music to learn the scale (meaning the intervals) from a Greek (*Ellinas*) psalter, saying that the foreign (*alloethnis*) musician does not keep the intervals when he sings. Focaefs copied the passage almost word by word but instead of saying that the student has to learn the scale from a Greek (*Ellinas*) psalter, he wrote, "...a psalter having experience and the style of the Eastern Church (*Anatoliki Ekklesia*)" and continued, "so that he cares for the producing of the tones (*profora*), because the musician who does not have experience and the style (*ifos*) of the Ecclesiastical Music, when he sings does not keep the intervals with the precision they were ordained".⁴⁵³ Apart from the ideological turn that we hinted at, the quoted passage also has significance for our general argument: we have to note Focaefs' usage of the words "experience" and "style" in the passage he cited, Hrisanthos had not used them.

In the following decades, the motif of style (*ifos*) will appear often in the liturgical music books and be one of the major elements in the patriarchal musical discourse.⁴⁵⁴ For instance, in the fourth edition of the collection of liturgical chants *Ταμείον Ανθολογίας* (Treasury of Anthology) (1851) published by Theodore Focaefs, in the prologue the publisher uses phrases like "...the style and the *melos* of the institutionalized ecclesiastical music..." or "...the ecclesiastical style which has been

⁴⁵² Hrisanthos of Madytos, *Introduction into the theory and the practice of ecclesiastical music*, p.25.

⁴⁵³ Th. Focaefs, *The Basis of Theory and Practice of the Ecclesiastical Music*, p.47.

⁴⁵⁴ There were probably similar discourses in the previous centuries that the Patriarchate employed to resist radical inventions in church music. However, the discourse we are analysing is the product of the nineteenth century (or even more precisely the post-Crimean war) context in which the Patriarchate of Constantinople sought to strengthen its power against its lay and ecclesiastical rivals.

institutionalized since centuries...”.⁴⁵⁵ Likewise, Focaefs writes in the prologue of *Kripis*: “In this present *Kripis*, the reader will find the instruction of the method which was canonized by the common opinion and the sanction of the Holy Synod; the inventors of the new mode of *exegeseis* (explanation) of the old lessons being Grigorios Protopsaltis [the first cantor] of the Great Church, Hourmouzios the Archivist and the present Metropolitan of Proussa (Bursa)”.⁴⁵⁶ So, he emphasizes that the new method (1814) was *the* officially recognized method. Second, he also notes that the new method was somehow a continuation of the *exegeseis* (interpretative analytical writing) which existed since the late seventeenth century. In the following decades, the question of whether the ecclesiastical musical tradition was disrupted by the new method would become a frequent topic of discussion in the music debates. Also, in the first decades of the twentieth century it would become a major point of controversy between the European music scholars of the Byzantine chant and Greek musicians.⁴⁵⁷

In the early liturgical music in the West, for instance in the Gregorian tradition, notation came after the stabilization of the repertory in memorized performance. The oldest chant manuscripts were too small to sing from and probably served only as a reference for the cantor and as a control against deviation from the true and venerable tradition.⁴⁵⁸ Similarly, a long training in the memorization of the chants held an important place in the tradition of the Eastern Orthodox church. Also

⁴⁵⁵ Theodore Focaefs, *Ταμείον Ανθολογίας* (Treasury of Anthology), vol.1, (Constantinople: de Castrou, 1851), see the prologue. The originals of the phrasals: “Υφος και το μέλος της καθιερωμένης Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής” and “από τοςούτων ήδη αιώνων καθιερωμένου εκκλησιαστικού ύφους”.

⁴⁵⁶ Th. Focaefs, *The Basis of Theory and Practice of the Ecclesiastical Music*, see the prologue.

⁴⁵⁷ See Konstantinos Psahos, *Η παρασημαντική της βυζαντινής μουσικής, ήτοι, Ιστορική και τεχνική επισκόπησις της σημειογραφίας της βυζαντινής μουσικής από των πρώτων χρόνων μέχρι των καθ' ημάς*, (Athens: Sakellariou, 1917).

⁴⁵⁸ John Butt, *Playing with History. The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 115.

in Ottoman art music tradition, the transmission of the music repertory was situated within a value system that prescribed absolute loyalty to the version of a musical work taught by one's master, as notation served only as a mnemonic aid, not as the ideal embodiment of a musical piece.⁴⁵⁹ The following example indicates a significant point of contact between Ottoman art music and Greek-orthodox liturgical music. In the prologue to the first publication of *Μουσική Κυψέλη* (*Music Hive*) (1857) cantor Stephanos Lambadarios (the head of the left-choir) carefully emphasized that he delivered the liturgical hymns in his book, in conformity with the *chronos* (tempo) and rhythm⁴⁶⁰ (*chronikon rhythmmon*) and the style of the Great Church of Christ which he had learned through a lot of endeavor and toil from the First-cantor Konstantinos during his twenty-five-year officiation under his aegis.⁴⁶¹ Here, apart from emphasizing his loyalty to the version of the hymns he had learned from his master, Stephanos also empowers himself by proclaiming to be the follower of a great musician like Konstantinos. This is also another similarity with the power strategies of the secular musicians.⁴⁶² The example of Stephanos indicates that the Greek-orthodox cantors connected themselves with a chain of music masters,

⁴⁵⁹ See Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz*, (Istanbul: YKY, 1998), pp.69- 85. According to Behar, in the value-system of *meşk*, the system by which the Ottoman/Turkish music was instructed and transmitted, overcoming hardships and toil were positively valued. The ethical codes *meşk* dictated a great respect for one's teacher and loyalty to the version of the musical works that were transmitted by him. For a specific example, see Cem Behar, *Zaman, Mekân, Müzik*, (Istanbul, Afa Yayınları, 1992), p.160. Cem Behar gives the example of Hafız Ahmet Efendi (1869- 1943) who resigned from his teaching position in Darülelhan upon a conflict with the director of Darülelhan about one note of a song by Dellalzade İsmail Efendi; he wanted to avoid even a microtonal deviation from the version of the song that he had learned from his master.

⁴⁶⁰ An explanation of the differences between the musical concepts *chronos*, rhythm and tempo is beyond the scope of this study. Yet, we should note that the issue of rhythm of the ecclesiastical chants will be a very much discussed topic during the sessions of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople at the beginning of the twentieth-century. See Georgios Violakis, "Το περί ρυθμού ζήτημα (The rhythm issue)," *EMS3* (1900), p. 104.

⁴⁶¹ Stephanos Lambadarios, *Μουσική Κυψέλη* (*Music Hive*), ed. by D. Ioannis Protopsaltis, (Constantinople: publ. house I. Pallamari, 1882), see the prologue to the first edition in 1857. Also in his *Ανθολογία* (*Anthology*), (Constantinople, 1863), Stephanos Lambadarios stressed that the style that he used was purely ecclesiastical.

⁴⁶² For the transmission of musical works, the concept of chain of instruction (*meşk*), teachership and apprenticeship, see Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz*, pp. 99-109.

venerable cantors who had taken their place in the canon of post-Byzantine liturgical music as representatives of the patriarchal *ifos*. In a later work, in his theoretical book on music theory, Stephanos emphasized that any effort to study ecclesiastical music would be in vain without a full knowledge of the principles (*αρχαί*) and the canons (*κανόνες*) which were handed over by the ancient founders and teachers of the science and art of chanting.⁴⁶³ Referring to a continuous musical tradition since the sixth century, he cited the names of Kosmas and Romanos, the well known hymnographs of the sixth century, Ioannis Koukouzelis the twelfth century music reformer, and the most prominent cantors of the Patriarchate of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who, according to Stephanos, received the “ecclesiastical style” from the former.

The “Thorny” Road from Constantinople to Ancient Greece: Kyriakos Filoxenis’

Lexicon of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music

In this section, conflicting interpretations of the Greek-orthodox musical past will be investigated by focusing on the debates around a music dictionary. The manuscript of the music dictionary was written by a musician called Kyriakos Filoxenis. We have very scant biographical knowledge about him. According to M. Gedeon, he was born in Constantinople but his origins were from the Dodecanese.⁴⁶⁴ G. Papadopoulos writes that he learned the first letters from the “Hellenist” Ioannis

⁴⁶³ Stephanos Lambadarios, *Κρητὶς ἤτοι Νέα Στοιχειώδης Διδασκαλία του Θεωρητικοῦ και Πρακτικοῦ της Εκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς* (*The Basis namely the New Basic Instruction of the Theory and Practice of the Ecclesiastical Music*), ed. by. D. Ioannis Protosaltis, (Constantinople: Patriarchal Publishing House, 1875), p. γ’. Stephanos Lambadarios died in 1864. The book was published by his son-in-law I. Protosaltis. So, the prologue must be written before 1864.

⁴⁶⁴ Manouil Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα Χρονογράφου* (*Notes of the Chronicler*), (Athens, 1932), p.192. There is a confusion about Filoxenis’ origins. On the cover of the music dictionary, it is written Kyriakos Filoxenis of *Efesiomagnitos* (Ephesus-Magnisia) – the metropolitanate of Ephesus does not include the Dodecanese - and M. Gedeon also refers to him once indicating his relationship with Ephesus-Magnisia.

Taxis and the chanting from his grandfather who was a very good cantor in Ephesus. Later, he was instructed by Iosif of Crete and learned the musical theory from Athanasios of Selefkia. The latter was a cantor born in Cyprus who became a student of Georgios the Cretan and learned the old and the new music notations, as well as lay music. G. Papadopoulos claims that Kyriakos Filoxenis is said to have inherited the old musical manuscripts which his teacher had possessed.⁴⁶⁵ M. Gedeon also has an interesting note about the character and the manners of Filoxenis. He describes him as a coarse person with folkish manners who was even sometimes vulgar and quick-tempered, for instance during discussions.⁴⁶⁶ Again in *Αποσημειώματα Χρονογράφου* (*Notes of the Chronicler*), on the pages devoted to Patriarch Grigorios VI, M. Gedeon narrates a quite interesting anecdote about him. According to the latter, in 1868 and 1869, Kyriakos Filoxenis came many times to the patriarchal house, asking to be ordained a priest. But the Central Ecclesiastical Committee first postponed, and then refused to give permission for his ordination because his legs were paralysed and he was walking with the help of a crutch. Gedeon says that finally Filoxenis approached Grigorios, being sure that if Grigorios would give his permission and also pray for him, his paralysis would be cured. In the end, Grigorios appreciated Filoxenis' faith and gave consent for his ordaining. Six years went by. Then, Gedeon continues, one day I met a tall, respectable priest who said that he knew me. After some conversation, I told him that I still did not remember him. The unknown person said: "I am Kyriakos Filoxenis... when Grigorios gave his consent for me to become a priest, he also prayed for me to recover. I recovered, since

⁴⁶⁵ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp. 360- 61, for Athanasios Selevkias' biography see p.338.

⁴⁶⁶ Manouil Gedeon, *Notes of the Chronicler*, p.192: «[...] λαϊκόν, τραχύν εις τας συζητήσεις, ήτο δε και τόσον ευέξαπτος, ώστε κατά τινα συζήτησιν πολύ σφοδράν να είπη, επί συνεδριάσεως "άρχων λαμπαγάδαρε" τόν τότε (1868) λαμπαδάριον της Μ. Εκκλησίας Ραιδεστηνόν».

Patriarch Grigorios is a holy person”.⁴⁶⁷ As well as showing our musician’s supersituousness, this anecdote may also anticipate that perhaps thanks to Filoxenis’ “good” relations with Patriarch Grigorios, the first part of his dictionary was published despite the negative comments of the cantors’ council which examined it.

I could not find any trace of Filoxenis before the year 1859 in which he published another book on the theory of music⁴⁶⁸ which he dedicated to Paisios, the Metropolitan of Ephesus. At this point, I want to note a very interesting “coincidence” which may provoke some questions. Two years earlier, in 1857, the First-cantor Nikolaos of Smyrna⁴⁶⁹ had also dedicated his collection of ecclesiastical chants *Doxastarion* - which was also published by the printing house of S. Ignatiadis like Filoxenis’ *Theory* - to the Metropolitan of Ephesus Paisios and had used a “curious” sentence in his prologue: “Man, be it civilised or barbarian hates ingratitude”.⁴⁷⁰ The book was published during the patriarchal term of Kyrillos VII (1855- 1860). The ungrateful behaviour to his “patron” Paisios which Nikolaos put interestingly into terms of civilised-barbarian was probably the result of the following conflict. In 1856, patriarch Kyrillos had given consent to the decrees issued by the Sublime Porte which had the intention of weakening the power of the Elders (*Gerontes*).

Some information on the administration of the orthodox *millet* and the system of *Gerontismos* are in order. The long negotiation between the clergy and the laity in

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., pp.296-97.

⁴⁶⁸ Kyriakos Filoxenis, *Θεωρητικόν Στοιχειώδες της Μουσικής*(*Basic Theory of Music*), [Constantinople: S. Ignatiadis, 1859], (Thessaloniki: P. Pournara, 1992).

⁴⁶⁹ According to G. I. Papadopoulos, the compositions of Nikolaos did not achieve the approbation of the Great Church because they deviated from the old ecclesiastical music writings. See G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.356: «παρεκκλίνοντα πώς εκ των αρχαίων εκκλησιαστικών μουσικών γραμμών».

⁴⁷⁰ Nikolaos Protopsaltis Smyrnis, *Doxastarion Triodiu kai Pentikostariou* (*Doxologies of Triodion and Pentekostarion*), (Constantinople: S. Ignatiadou, 1857).

the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in the period 1858- 1862 ended up with the proclamation of the General Regulations which had important consequences both at the level of the center, that is the patriarchal institution, and at the local level, on the reorganization of community structures and their administration. The administrative system of the Patriarchate which was in use since the eighteenth century was *Gerontismos*, “a regime of condominium of the patriarch together with the metropolitans of the sees in the vicinity of Constantinople who were permanent members of the Holy Synod”.⁴⁷¹ Paisios was one of the Elders in the Holy Synod who was forced to leave Constantinople and to pass his synodical duties onto high clericals who were members of the National Temporary Council.⁴⁷²

This information about the administrative system of the orthodox *millet* and the conflict between Kyrillos VII and the Metropolitan of Ephesus Paisios may seem redundant. However, it is relevant because in the following pages I will raise some questions about the stance of certain cantors or other actors of the musical field (including Filoxenis) in the political-ideological encampments of the 1860s around the discussions that Filoxenis’ *Lexicon* (1868) triggered. Before we proceed, let me ask some tentative questions (despite all the dangers due to a simplistic interpretative approach and a severe lack of data) that emerge from what I said until now, for a future study. Did Kyriakos Filoxenis dedicate his theory book to Ephesios Paisios as an indication of his support for *Gerontismos* just at a time when the issue was debated hotly at the Patriarchate? Regarding the fact that Nikolaos of Smyrna

⁴⁷¹ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularization*, p.20.

⁴⁷² Ibid., p.72, p.103 for the sharpening of the conflict in 1856 and 1859. Actually in 1859 Paisios signed the protest in which a certain group of Metropolitans defended the system of Elders using the argument that, it was an ecclesiastical privilege approved by the Reform Edict of 1856.

obviously supported Paisios, can we talk about a network of cantors based on political ideas or the places of origin?

Towards the end of the year 1867, musician Kyriakos Filoxenis appealed to the Great Church of Christ for the publication of his book *Lexicon tis Ellinikis Ekklesiastikis Mousikis* (Dictionary of the Greek ecclesiastical music). The Church formed a council composed of four prominent cantors of Constantinople, in order to examine the Dictionary and confirm whether it could be published or not. Finally, the A-M part of the dictionary was published in 1868, by the printing house of Evangelinos Misailidis, with the sponsorship of the two employees of the Imperial Post office, Sofronios Rahtzopoulos and Anastasios Hatzi Nikolaos, together with a lengthy report of the council. The council consisted of the Archimandrite of Sinai (erudite in music) Germanos Afthonidis, the Domestikos of the Great Church Nikolaos, the cantor of the Church of Hagios Nikolaos (Galata) Ioannis Zografos of Geyve and the cantor of the Church of Hagios Ioannis ton Chion (Galata) Georgios Violakis.

First, let us see what motivated Filoxenis to write a dictionary of musical terms. In the prologue of *Lexicon*, the author writes that he wanted to publish a dictionary for two reasons. The major reason, he says, was his burning fervor for the national music (*ethniki mousiki*) and second he wanted to remedy the situation that due to negligence, the melodies and branches (*kladoi*) which were known to the ancestors from time immemorial were losing their own names and adopting foreign names, like in the case of the church modes.⁴⁷³ Having said this, in general terms, Filoxenis' endeavor may perhaps be evaluated as a continuation of the reformist

⁴⁷³ Kyriakos Filoxenis, *Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music), [Constantinople: Evangelinos Misailidis, 1868], (Athens: Kouloura, 2005), p. γ'.

Hrisanthos' attempts at Hellenizing the basic concepts of music theory. For instance, Filoxenis used a very interesting argumentation in order to restore a Greek term to the musicological vocabulary; he wanted to replace the Arabic-originated *makam* name 'hümayun' (meaning imperial) with the equivalent Greek term. He argued that in the old prototype manuscripts of the hymn "*Hagios o Theos (Holy God)*" the Byzantine musicians had written on the manuscript as an epithet "βασιλικόν" which means imperial/royal. This well known hymn of the Epitaph is in the second plagal mode which is similar to the Ottoman makam *hümayun*. Hence, in fact, Filoxenis wanted to say to his readers that in the post-Byzantine era, the term "βασιλικόν" was directly translated into Ottoman-Turkish as *hümayun*, corresponding to a *makam* which is a branch of the second plagal mode and that the Greek term was forgotten.⁴⁷⁴

Filoxenis' *Lexicon* indicates a devout endeavor of searching for analogies and relations between the music of the ancient Greeks and what he named Greek ecclesiastical music. However, the interesting point is that nine years ago, at the beginning of his *Theory*, he had stated his own position in the then current debate on whether "the ecclesiastical music was the music of the Arabs or the Greeks". He had written, "It is totally irrelevant for us whether our ecclesiastical music is Arab, Greek or Asian," and had turned to emphasize his aim, which was "to correct, rectify and replenish the shortcomings of the music which was accepted by the Orthodox Church".⁴⁷⁵ However, there too, following Hrisanthos, he had claimed that the sequence of the eight modes and the three genera (diatonic, enharmonic and

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid, p.33. There is not a reference to this Greek term `βασιλικόν` in his previous book *Basic Theory of Music* which was published in 1859.

⁴⁷⁵ See "Introduction" in K. Filoxenis, *Θεωρητικόν Στοιχειώδες της Μουσικής (Basic Theory of Music)*, [Constantinople: S. Ignatiadis, 1859], Thessaloniki: P. Pournara, 1992.

chromatic) went back to the ancient Greeks.⁴⁷⁶ Repeating a well-known scheme, he had interpreted music as a tradition which, after the ancient Greeks, was developed by the Arabs, then passed to the Turks and had flourished at the hands of the ecclesiastical musicians. In the prologue to his *Lexicon*, Filoxenis adopted a more assertive language and claimed that “it is impossible to challenge that our music came down from the ancestors to us through tradition and writings.”⁴⁷⁷

If we look more closely at how he built his argumentation regarding the issue of continuity, especially the parts about ancient Greek modes, we see that he frequently quoted from the works of ancient writers, i.e. Aristides Quintilianus, Plato, Plutarch, Aristoxenos, in order to explain what this or that ancient mode sounded like. He presented these verbal definitions of the characteristics of the ancient and ecclesiastical modes as an undeniable link between each and every one of the eight modes of both systems. He would be severely criticised by the inspection committee for this, as we will see in the following pages. Furthermore, he cited various authors of the Hellenist literature of the early nineteenth century, i.e. Harissios Megdanos⁴⁷⁸, Kyriakos Melirritos, a later follower of A. Pitzipios whose works were the earliest examples emphasizing the cultural unity and continuity of the Greek language and art. For instance, in order to argue that the ecclesiastical modes were identical to the modes of the ancients, he quoted from *Χρονολογία ιστορική* (Historical Chronology) of Kyriakos Melirritos of Salonica, in which the author

⁴⁷⁶ He also stated that Greeks know the division of the time into fractions, *martiries* and *fhoras* thanks to the Arabs. The fact that he uses various Turkish musical terms i.e. ‘*makam dallari*’, ‘*bozuk*’ indicates that he was familiar with the Ottoman court music like most of his cantor contemporaries.

⁴⁷⁷ «Ότι μὲν ἡ παρ’ ἡμῖν μουσικὴ ἐκ παραδόσεως καὶ γραφῆς μέχρις ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων κατήντησεν, οὐδεὶς δύναται νὰ διαμφισβητήσῃ».

⁴⁷⁸ K. Filoxenis refers to H. Megdanos’ *Περὶ Μουσικῆς τῶν παλαιῶν* (*About the music of the ancients*) without writing the publication date and to his *Καλλιόπη παλιννοστούσα ἢ περὶ ποιητικῆς μεθόδου* (*The return of Kalliopi or the poetic method*), (Vienna, 1819). In the latter work he codified the poetic tradition which was also aimed to be used as a school book. H. Megdanos wrote also *Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Πάνθεον* (*The Greek Pantheon*) published in 1812.

claimed that during the first centuries of the Christian religion the ecclesiastic authorities discarded the ancient Greek names of the modes, saying that they were national i.e. dorian, lydian, phrygian etc. and replaced them with the first, second, third modes.⁴⁷⁹

Another point which is worth mentioning is that Filoxenis also drew on the literature about poetry. A widely read book in the intellectual circles, *Kalliopi*⁴⁸⁰ seems to have found its way to Filoxenis' library. One of the fundamental aims of the book was to show that the poetry and music of the ancients survived.⁴⁸¹ Filoxenis also noted the use of the ancient poetic meters in Christian hymns. For instance, commenting on a particular verse, he wrote that the prominent eighth century church father St. John of Damascus borrowed the poetic meter from Homer's epic Odyssey.⁴⁸² Referring to the work of the ancient writer Bacchius the Ancient⁴⁸³, he emphasized that the figures of the signs of the existing notation were, in fact, letters of the Greek alphabet in vertical, inverted and lateral forms.

⁴⁷⁹ K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p. ιε'. See *Χρονολογία ιστορική. φιλοπονηθείσα υπό Κυριακού Μελιρρύτου του Θεσσαλονικέως*, εκ του Τυπογραφείου της Σχολής των αποίκων Ελλήνων εμπόρων, (Odessa, 1836). The book starts with the topics of time, astrology and seasons, devotes a chapter to the music of the ancient Greeks and later ecclesiastical music, then talks about the history of the ancient Greeks, passing from one subject to another.

⁴⁸⁰ *Καλλιόπη, Ήτοι Θεωρία συνοπτική προς διδασκαλίαν Περί Ποιήσεως εν γένει, περί Βουκολικής, Περί Εποποιίας, περί Δραματικής, Περί Λυρικής* (*Brief Theory for the teaching of Poetry in general, Pastoral, Romance, Dramatic, Lyrical*) υπό του εν Σύρω Γυμνασιάρχου Γ. Σερονίου, (Ermoupoli: N. Varvaresou, 1845). Among the subscribers of *Kalliopi* were Nikolaos Aristarhis, K. S. Kalliadis and the parish councils of the Theological School of Halki and the Girls School of Stavrodromio.

⁴⁸¹ *Kalliopi*, p. 10: "[Our] ecclesiastical music is that of the ancients, it underwent some modifications and changes due to the Greco-Romans and the Christian mores... so we notice spontaneously that lots of doxologies and hymns coincide with the songs of the ancients».

⁴⁸² K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p.39 and p.45.

⁴⁸³ *Βάκχειος ο Γέρων*, in French sources Bacchius L' Ancien. Filoxenis refers to an edition of Bacchius' *Εισαγωγή τέχνης μουσικής* (Introduction into the art of music) in Latin and Greek published in 1841. French musicologist Ruelle mentions the translation of the German scholar F. Bellermann without giving the exact date but it must be this edition that Filoxenis uses. After the fruitful results of the 1893 French excavations in Delphi, the study of the history of the ancient notation would gain new momentum and Bacchius would be translated once more. See Ch.- Emille Ruelle, *Collection des Auteurs Grecs relatifs a la Musique, V Alypius et Gaudence. Bacchius L' Ancien*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1895).

Now let us see the decision of the inspection committee which was assembled by patriarch Grigorios VI (Feb 1867- 1871). After the committee members read the manuscript of Filoxenis' *Lexicon*, on 13 December 1867, they sent the patriarch a report in which they stated their opinion about it and advised the author to do some corrections along the suggested lines. Some months later, on 8 April 1868, the council members sent a second report to the patriarch, this time approving the publication of the book, yet saying the following: Despite the fact that K. Filoxenis did not do all the corrections that the council had advised, due to the fact that his book did not contain anything to prevent its publication, the council members approved it, but "in order to fulfill their duty", they demanded (saying that they found it necessary) that their two reports be published in the book.⁴⁸⁴ The printed *Lexicon* which we are talking about includes only the entries (in alphabetical order) from A to M. We do not know the reason why the rest of the work was not published.

One of the main points of criticism that we see in the first lengthy report referred to the fact that Filoxenis claimed the sameness of the ancient Greek modes, Dorian, Lydian etc. with the ecclesiastical modes, First, Second *ihoi* etc. not only regarding their order according to the ranks of notes but also regarding their melos.⁴⁸⁵ The council's response about the relationship between the ecclesiastical modes and those of the ancients was that "some admit a correspondance between the *arithmetic sequences of the ihoi*, but everyone doubts the sameness of the melody".⁴⁸⁶ Following that they wrote, "We also find the vague theory about the

⁴⁸⁴ Second report signed by all four members of the council, sent to Patriarch Grigorios on 26 March 1868, copy no. 1392. See K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p. γ'.

⁴⁸⁵ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.167.

⁴⁸⁶ K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p.δ'. The ordering of the *ihoi* according to their leading tones can be explained as follows: The first mode *dorios* of the ancients was based on

implementation of the prosody of the ancients to music, which appears in many parts of the treatise, venturous”.⁴⁸⁷

Furthermore, the council also warned Filoxenis about his neologisms and his mistakes regarding the etymology of some Turkish words.⁴⁸⁸ This has a special importance because Filoxenis attempted to change the Arab or Persian-originated names of the modes (of the so-called Arabopersian music) that the Ottoman musicians had been using for centuries, by inventing Greek names for them. The members of the council Ioannis Zografos and Georgios Violakis were two of the very remarkable Greek musicians who used to compose songs in the Ottoman urban musical tradition, playing the *tanbur* and publishing popular song collections composed of the works of Greek but also Turkish and Armenian composers. They also criticized Filoxenis because of the unnecessary material in his book, for instance according to the council, he wrote myriads of hymns, chants etc. that every cantor would know by heart through continuous practice.

Generally speaking, even though admitting a link with ancient Greek music, the four musicians/cantors of the council seemed to be opposing the designation of ecclesiastical music as the successor of the music of the ancient Greeks. Curiously enough, in both reports the members of the council refer to Filoxenis’ manuscript as The Dictionary of the Science of Music (*Lexikon tis mousikis epistimis*) while the title of the book which was published was the Dictionary of Greek Ecclesiastical

the tone la, like the first mode of the ecclesiastical music was based on the tone pa (or western re) in the new theory. The second mode of the ancients, *lydios* was based on the tone si, like the second mode of the ecclesiastical music was based on the tone vou (which corresponded to mi) in the new theory, etc.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., p.8’.

⁴⁸⁸ For instance, he replaced the makam name ‘*saba zemzeme*’ with the Greek term ‘*βανκαλικόν*’ which means lullaby but obviously he was wrong about the meaning of the word ‘*zemzeme*’. See K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p. 34. *Saba* is a well known Arabic makam name. *Zemzeme* means a sweet melody, not necessarily a hypnotic melody.

Music (*Lexicon tis ellinikis ekklesiastikis mousikis*). In the prologue that was written by Filoxenis in October 1868, we often see the term “Greek ecclesiastical music”. So, did Filoxenis submit the first title to the council because he thought that it had more of a chance of receiving approval and then published the book with the title that he had in mind from the beginning? Or maybe, he came up with the second title later in the process of inspection and publication? Even though I cannot answer these questions with certainty, I should note that the nineteenth-century discourse on music defined music as a science and dictated that its theory and history should be researched with scientific methods. I had mentioned this in the previous chapter, regarding the alliance between the literate elite and the cantors which resulted in the foundation of the Music Society of Constantinople (1863). The following paragraph is rather revealing about the approach of the four prominent cantors of Constantinople regarding the existing research on the ancient Greek musical sources:

Unfortunately we are not in the position to judge the appropriateness and the usefulness of the testimonies of the ancient Greek authors i.e. Plato, Euclides, Pythagoras, Bacchius L’Ancien etc. because as far as we know, with all the research of the recent archaeologists and the studies in Europe, the ancient treatises about music are incomprehensible to us and besides today’s knowledge of the ancient music leans on guesswork and probability.⁴⁸⁹

Not only the patriarchal committee members but also certain European scholars found Filoxenis’s book too “bold”. The German scholar of Greek and Latin philology Wilhelm Christ, in one of his works, criticised the Greek authors for their lack of judgement, prejudices and lack of sufficient methods. Attacking particularly Filoxenis’ *Lexicon*, he wrote:

For us, dozens of exclamations about the relationship of the Byzantine music with the ancient Greek serves nothing, still less the continuous trials of

⁴⁸⁹ K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p.β’. Quoted from the report of the council dated 13 December 1867.

matching the melodies of the Christian canticles to the verses of Homer and Euripides. In such a dark field, first the older sources should be studied and the connecting elements should be exposed before one gives oneself in to empty calls and dreamful fantasies.⁴⁹⁰

Despite all their disagreement with Filoxenis' venturesome attempts of using and citing the treatises of the ancient musicians, the committee members showed their respect to the research that Filoxenis had done.⁴⁹¹ After their critical remarks about drawing on the ancient musical works, the council members wrote, "Nevertheless, we find it praiseworthy that K. Filoxenis produced a study about the research of the Greek treatises, and opened the way of retrospection into the inexhaustable source of antiquity".⁴⁹² Let us remember that the study of the ancient treatises and the clarification of the musical issues were among the first aims of the Music Society (1863). So, I do not think that the members of the council would challenge the necessity of research on the ancient Greek sources; however their focus and emphasis lied elsewhere. Rather than turning to the explanation of the living music through theoretical assumptions that went back to ancient Greece, they preferred a retrospective analysis of the ecclesiastical musical codexes and manuscripts (which existed in various monasteries) trying to trace the successive systems and notations back to the eighth century.⁴⁹³ Hence, they stated that Filoxenis should have written

⁴⁹⁰ Wilhelm Christ, "Über die Harmonik des Manuel Bryennius und das System der byzantinischen Musik", *Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur der Byzantiner*, (Munich, 1870), p.38. Extrapolating from the cliques amongst the Greek intellectuals of Constantinople, we may perhaps suggest that in fact, Matheos Paranikas' (student of Christ) sarcasm for Filoxenis was behind Christ's criticism.

⁴⁹¹ Let us also note that Zografos published in his song collection the song of Raif Efendi in *makam Bestenigar* notated by Filoxenis in the Byzantine notation, presenting the song with the amicable expression, "notated by venerable Kyriakos Filoxenis". See Ioannis Zografos, *Music Anthology*, p.266.

⁴⁹² K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, see the report of the council signed on 13 December 1867.

⁴⁹³ From the first report of the council: "Even though he speaks about various methods and systems of music, we wonder how the author does not consider it necessary to recite these in a certain order, at least from the historical point of view. It is accepted that since the oldest era, newer systems replaced the previous ones, like the last one of Petros...In the holy Monastery of Mount Sinai (of course in other monasteries, too) many musical manuscripts in membrane and papyrus survived from the eleventh,

about the old methods and systems before the eighteenth century more thoroughly, and criticised that “he dealt with them superficially, mentioning them incidentally and sufficed with referring to their existence vaguely, only once in a while”.

Elsewhere in the report, without missing the opportunity to emphasize their view, they attacked the new method which was invented by the Three Teachers (1814), saying that though the new method facilitated the teaching of ecclesiastical music, it lacked the theoretical merit of the old method.

It should be clear by now that this important report reveals the ideas and the standpoints about music, not only of Kyriakos Filoxenis, but also of the other three cantors and the prominent cleric Germanos Afthonidis, who would play an important role in the music “reform” in the coming decades. Only two years before the commissioning of the report on Filoxenis’ book, G. Afthonidis was appointed (as one of the three appointees) by patriarch Sofronios III (1863- 1866) for the reinstitution of the patriarchal music school which was closed since 1821. The letter signed by the Archbishop of Ganos and Hora Hrisanthos, Archimandrite of Sinai Germanos Afthonidis and the prominent poet Elias Tantalidis which was sent to patriarch Sofronios III together with the statutes of the Fourth Patriarchal Music School seems to have been penned by Afthonidis. In the letter, he severely criticised the simplified system devised by the Three Teachers. Reiterating the motif of decline and corruption of the ecclesiastical chants, he wrote that the simplification of the system damaged and mechanized the art of chanting, and complained that there was almost no music teacher who mastered the old system and that the musicians were in disagreement with each other about the basics of theory. He also supported the work

ninth and even eighth century, whose notation does not have any relation or identical characters with the modern notation”. K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p.8’.

of the Music Society by pointing out to current expectations, saying “The scientific researches of [our] distinguished musicians promise a secure solution to this hard issue”.⁴⁹⁴ In the statutes of the Music School, it was stated that the teachers would keep the “decent and solemn style of the Great Church”.⁴⁹⁵ However, G. Papadopoulos narrates that due to financial difficulties and undue touchiness, the Fourth Patriarchal Music School dissolved after a short time.⁴⁹⁶ The above mentioned three cantors Ioannis Zografos, Nikolaos the Domestic of the Great Church and Georgios Violakis were appointed as teachers to the Fifth Patriarchal Music School (1868- 1872) that was founded in 1868 by the successive patriarch Grigorios VI.

At this point, let us go back to our main objective of looking into the ideological tendencies and views about the administration of the patriarchate and the *millet* and see if they cut across the musical field. In his study on the Ottoman reforms and the implementation of the General Regulations, D. Stamatopoulos differentiates between two wings within the Greek-orthodox community, the “clericalists” and the “reformists” representing an ideological opposition throughout the period 1839- 1876. However, he recognizes that these categories were not static and monolithic in themselves. About the “clericalists”, he writes the following:

There was an obvious differentiation between those who struggled for the maintenance and later the resurrection of the Elders system, and those who attempted to divert the reform to various models of patriarchal centralization. The common denominator which united the two categories was the view about the predominance of the clergy with respect to the laity in the Church and especially about the issues pertaining to its administrative composition”.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁴ *Κανονισμός της Πατριαρχικής Σχολής της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (Statute of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music), (Constantinople: Anatolikos Astir, 1866), p.3. See the letter dated 25 April 1866 published together with the statute of the Music School.

⁴⁹⁵ *Statute of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music*, p.7, article 6.

⁴⁹⁶ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp. 375- 76.

⁴⁹⁷ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularization*, p. 31.

Grigorios VI who assembled the inspection council for the approval of Kyriakos Filoxenis' book and took the initiative of reopening the Patriarchal Music School was one of the leading high clergy of the "clericalist" wing. In 1867, he ascended to the patriarchal throne thanks to the support of pro-Russian neo-Phanariot Stavrakis Aristarhis after the uprising in Crete which had resulted in the convergence of the Greek and Russian policies. Grigorios connected the revisioning of the General Regulations with the reinstatement of the *ancient ecclesiastical glory* and basically put forth the essence of the question as the construction of a model of patriarchal centralization.⁴⁹⁸ He wanted to implement centralizing measures also regarding the chanting practice in the churches of Constantinople. According to the constitution of the Fifth Patriarchal Music School,

cantors who were employed in the Greek-orthodox churches of Constantinople were bound to attend the Music School two Sundays per month and chant various ecclesiastical hymns assigned to certain religious feasts uniformly with others, with the required dignity and a clean pronounciation, maintaining the solemn style of the Great Church under the supervision of the teachers of the School".⁴⁹⁹

Furthermore, every beginner cantor had to pass an exam in front of a twelve-member educational society and receive the written permission of the board of trustees of the Patriarchal Music School before he was employed in a church.⁵⁰⁰ Grigorios VI was an ardent protector of the church traditions, also of course the music tradition of the

⁴⁹⁸ D. Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularization*, p. 284. The emphasis in the quot belongs to me.

⁴⁹⁹ *Κανονισμός της Πατριαρχικής Σχολής της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (Statute of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music), (Constantinople, 1868).

«Ο παρών κανονισμός υποχρεοί τους Ιεροψάλτας, όπως συνερχόμενοι δίσ του μηνός κατά Κυριακήν, ψάλλωσι κατά χορούς εκκλησιαστικά άσματα ιερών ακολουθιών πάσης εορτής μετά της απαιτουμένης ευκοσμίας και σεμνότητος και μετά καθαράς προφοράς, προς γενικήν και ομοιόμορφον τακτοποίησιν και διατήρησιν του κοσμίου και σοβαρού ύφους της Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας, υπό την εποπτείαν των ειρημένων μουσικοδιδασκάλων της Σχολής».

⁵⁰⁰ *Statute of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music*, 1868, article 14.

Orthodox Church. In 1868, he issued a circular against polyphonic church music, saying that “ecclesiastical chants and melodies could not be chanted with a foreign manner without its character and rhythm being transformed into an alien, insubstantial coldness and deadness”.⁵⁰¹ Hence, the chanting tradition that he advocated required the denunciation of the introduction of the western-style of chanting. If we may extrapolate from this point, it also required the denunciation of any interpretation of music history or music theory which gave so much significance to the ancient Greek heritage that it became a rival historical discourse at the expense of the discourse that emphasized the continuous tradition of the orthodox church from around the sixth century till the present. We do not know how Grigorios VI reacted to the reports of the council, or if he read Filoxenis’ book. As to the question why he appointed the particular cantors to the council we do not have a certain answer except that they were respectable cantors known for their loyalty to the “style” and the heritage of the Great Church.

As for the two cantors of Galata, Ioannis Zografos of Geyve and Georgios Violakis who were in the inspection council, if we want to categorize them according to their sympathies with any political faction, the impression that we have of their musical works allows us to say that they had ideological affinities with the “reformist” wing who supported the Ottoman reforms.⁵⁰² In the following chapters, we will interpret the literary work and the role of Archimandrite Germanos Afthonidis in the “music reform” in a detailed way. For now, let us say that in the 1870s and 1880s he would be defending an ecumenist ideology, endowing the Greek *genos* a leading role in the unification of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Regarding

⁵⁰¹ Giannis Filopoulos, *Introduction to the Greek Polyphonic Ecclesiastical music*, p.90.

⁵⁰² In the previous section, I had drawn attention to the text of a hymn written for the Sultan by cantor Ioannis Zografos, which I had taken as a sign of ‘Ottomanism’.

the music question, he would be open to the modernist approaches of some segments of the elite.

Now let us turn to the sponsors and the owner of the printing house in which the book was printed. We do not know anything about the two functionaries of the Imperial Post Office who financed the publication of the book, except that from the surname of one of them, Hatzi Nikolaou, we may assume that he had Asia Minor origins. The owner of the printing house was the editor of the newspaper *Anatoli*, Evangelinos Misailidis who was born in *Kula* (Uşak). Let me note a few points about Misailidis's relations with various segments of the Greek-orthodox elite and the Patriarchate. D. Stamatopoulos draws our attention to turmoil within the Greek-orthodox ruling elite which erupted during the review of the General Regulations in the year 1865. According to the Greek historian, Patriarch Sofronios III surprised his traditional supporters the neo-Phanariots and sided with his old opponents, the clerics who had gathered around Joachim II who supported a version of patriarchal centralization. Sofronios' recession from his reformist stance resulted in the protests of some segments of the laity. Furthermore his appointment of Gerasimos, the Metropolitan of Halkidona (he was for the Elders system) to the position of the resigned Metropolitan of Methimni drew a severe attack from E. Misailidis in his newspaper *Anatoli*. Upon this, many members of the Greek elite mostly the bankers and entrepreneurs sent Sofronios a signed letter showing their solidarity with him. Stamatopoulos notes that the circle of bankers supported Sofronios in this critical moment, in which the alliance of the Patriarch with the "joachimist" Elders seemed to legitimate the attacks against him of the "modernist" neo-Phanariots, like Stefanos

Karatheodoris.⁵⁰³ Returning to Evangelinos Misailidis, as a journalist who published his newspaper in Turkish, he was the spokesperson of the Turkish-speaking Greek-orthodox of Asia Minor in Constantinople. Hence, we may extrapolate that it is unlikely that he supported the Elders system which seems to be antithetical to the participation of the provincial clerics in the decision-making that took place in the center. Furthermore, assuming that he had good relations with the Ottoman authorities – he was decorated with a Mecidiye of the fourth rank- it is possible to say that he was ideologically closer to the reformist groups like the neo-Phanariots. So, this may explain his opposition against Sofronios. But, I think there is more to his conflict with the Patriarch. First, let me note that in their letter to Sofronios III, the bankers reprimanded an article published in *Anatoli* due to its disrespectful mocking of the religion and the patriarchal throne, and expressed their respect for the holy traditions of the religion.⁵⁰⁴ Even though I do not know how these two conflicts coincided, I will argue that the letter was a response not only to Misailidis' article about the resignation of Methimnis but there was in fact another article in *Anatoli* which aroused the fury of the banker circles. Hence, the letter also seems to be a reaction to an accusation by Misailidis toward probably the financial elite, which I will talk about, that appears (in a fictionalized way) in his novel *Temaşa-i Dünya* (1872). The main character of the novel, Aleko Favini is imprisoned due to an article that was published in his newspaper. The reason was that he wrote: "You forgot the

⁵⁰³ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularization*, pp.256-261.

⁵⁰⁴ D. Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularization*, p.449. Stamatopoulos cited the letter (signed on 24 December 1865) which was published in *Anatolikos Astir* on 31/12 January 1866. Among this group which was composed of 40- 50 entrepreneurs who called themselves Orthodox Commercial Body of the capital were, A. Iggleisis, Stephanos Rallis, Petros Skilitzis, Georgios Zarifis, Andreas Siggros and Dimitrios Paspalis.

real binding duties of the religion and turned the churches into idolatries”⁵⁰⁵. Upon this, patriarch Sofronios [Misailidis wrote, “Afronios” which means unwise] accused the journalist of defaming the icons and applied to the Ottoman government that the latter be tried in an Ottoman court.⁵⁰⁶ Apart from attacking the wealthy families of Constantinople about their misconception of orthodoxy, I think, with this episode, which probably happened in 1865/66, Misailidis wanted to warn the Patriarch that he should keep the autonomy of the patriarchal institution concerning the religious and spiritual spheres. In the novel, he criticizes the Patriarch about permitting the discussion of an issue pertaining to Christianity in the Islamic court. Actually, this provides evidence that even though the first crisis between the Ottoman government and the Greek-orthodox community on the so called “Privileges issue”⁵⁰⁷ took place in the 1880s, it had already created a “crisis” within the ruling elite of the community much earlier.

Coming to Grigorios VI, the patriarch during the inspection of Filoxenis’ dictionary, he was the choice of the circles who opposed Joachim II.⁵⁰⁸ Grigorios endorsed a type of ecumenist ideology which was shaped by patriarchal centralization. Due to his conservative and uncompromising stance about the traditions of the orthodox Eastern Church, Grigorios VI had a conflict even with some of the “clericalists.” In the 1830s, during his first patriarchal term, he had

⁵⁰⁵ It is not unlikely that a person like Misailidis who published hundreds of books about the essence and meaning of orthodoxy could have written an article – especially when he was at loggerheads with the bankers - in which he criticised the excessive ornaments and icons that were donated to the churches by the wealthy families of the city.

⁵⁰⁶ Evangelinos Misailidis, *Temaşa-i Dünya (Seyreyle Dünyayı)*, p.496. See Merih Erol, “19. Yüzyılda Basılan Karamanlıca Eserler” & “Evangelinos Misailidis” (The *Karamanlidika* works published in the 19th century and Evangelinos Misailidis) *Toplumsal Tarih*, (August 2004), pp.66- 71.

⁵⁰⁷ See Haris Exertzoglou, “Το Πρινοβιακό Ζήτημα (The Privileges Question)”, *Ta Historica* 16, (1992), pp.65- 84.

⁵⁰⁸ See Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “Ecumenical Ideology in the Rum Millet (19th-20th c.),” in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

rejected the translation of the New Testament into *karamanlidika* which was the work of the Metropolitan of Moscow Platon who was aiming at subverting the missionary activities which disseminated the translations of the bible in Turkish.⁵⁰⁹ This may suggest why E. Misailidis, who had a considerable publishing enterprise in *karamanlidika* including the printing of the Bible in Ottoman Turkish in the Greek alphabet with the aim of educating the Turkish-speaking Christian orthodox of Asia Minor, could have had strained relations with patriarch Grigorios VI. The fact that he was prohibited from attending the meetings of the Patriarchate in August 1869⁵¹⁰ strongly indicates that at that time there was a clash between him and patriarch Grigorios. But, perhaps the two main questions we have to ask are: how can we situate *Lexicon* within the whole spirit of Misailidis' literary and publishing activities, and second, assuming from the severe criticisms of the inspecting committee that it might have even rejected the publishing of the dictionary, why did Grigorios VI allow for its publication? Regarding the first, in his prologue, Filoxenis passionately tried to convince his readers about the immediate need to research and study the ancient and Byzantine musical sources. Furthermore, he called for an education that would give a correct knowledge of the Greek language to Greek children.⁵¹¹ In fact, all these references to education, erudition and the Greek language were in tune with the emphasis that Misailidis always made in his writings, especially about spreading Greek education to the Turkish-speaking populations of Asia Minor. Moreover, a book like *Lexicon*, evoking so much national pride with a

⁵⁰⁹ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularization*, p. 391.

⁵¹⁰ *Konstantinoupoli*, 28 August 1869. The reason for the punishment of Misailidis was the following. In *Anatoli*, there was an article expressing the complaints of the "brothers of Asia Minor" that the clerics from Asia Minor were contempted because they could not speak Turkish.

⁵¹¹ K. Filoxenis, *Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, pp. 107'-108'.

parade of ancient Greek philosophers and musicians, must have definitely struck a chord with him.

The importance of *Lexicon*, or with its full name, *Dictionary of Greek Ecclesiastical Music* for the agenda of a patriarch like Grigorios, who adamantly defended orthodoxy against catholic and protestant missionary activity (especially during his first patriarchship), can perhaps be explained as follows. Filoxenis's book provided a glorious genealogy to the music of the Orthodox Church at a time when it was trampled by the fans of catholic liturgy, more precisely the fans of the polyphonic music in the Western church.⁵¹² Actually, *Lexicon*'s attempt to link the early Christian liturgy with ancient Greek music fitted the new reconceptualization of the relationship between "Hellenism" and "Christianity" that was in existence since the 1850s.⁵¹³ For instance, the speech of the Metropolitan of Chios Grigorios on 30 January 1866 at the feast of the Three Hierarchs reveals that the discourse which referred to the relationship between the ancient Greek civilization and Orthodox Christianity was not absent among the Greek orthodox high clerics close to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In his speech, Grigorios championed orthodoxy as mild Christianity, in opposition to the "theocratic and worldly absolutism" of the western church and the "religious anarchy of rationalism" of the reformist church. Furthermore, he asserted that logical discussion, research, and respect for the laws of one's fathers which were among the teachings of Greek education made the orthodox

⁵¹² The previously mentioned controversial novel *Papissa Ioanna* of Roidis was published only two years ago.

⁵¹³ For a brief but brilliant account of the smooth conflation of the Greek classics and Orthodox doctrine and how the intense conflicts in the history of the Byzantine Empire concerning the appreciation of Hellenic philosophy were glossed over in the nineteenth century Greek national narrative, see Effi Gazi, "Reading the Ancients: Remnants of Byzantine Controversies in the Greek National Narrative," *Historein* 6 (2006), pp. 144-49.

impervious to catholic and protestant infusions.⁵¹⁴ Here we see how Grigorios used this “marriage” between Hellenism and Christianity to attack the catholic and protestant missionary activities.

Coming to Kyriakos Filoxenis, in order to evaluate his works and come to a full understanding of his ideological position, more research is necessary. Regarding his approach to music, there is no doubt that he mastered the Ottoman court music and saw it in the tradition that started with the ancient Greeks and came to the “Turkish” musicians in the course of the centuries. If he tried to resurrect ecclesiastical music, it was the “Greek Ecclesiastical Music” which would have its “own” vocabulary and its glorious history.

⁵¹⁴ Grigorios Metropolitan of Chios of Vizantios, *Προσλαλιά (Address)*, (Chios: K. M. Prokidis, 1866), p.4. Also the previously mentioned expressions, the “theocratic system” and “worldly absolutism” of Rome and the “religious anarchy of rationalism” are quoted from this text, p.3.

CHAPTER V

THE MUSICAL FIELD, ACTORS, AND THE REFORM OF ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC

Orientalism, L. A. Bourgault- Ducoudray's Musical "Mission" and Greek Music

In the previous chapters, we had already noted that among the members of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, there were also many European experts or scientists. In the 1860s, these were generally philologists and archaeologists. Around the mid-1870s, we see that the Society came into contact with European – in this period, especially with French – composers and musicians. In the following pages, we will explore various forms of such collaboration and interaction between the French composer Louis Albert Bourgault- Ducoudray⁵¹⁵ and the members of the Greek-orthodox literate public, especially certain cantors and intellectuals of Constantinople (but also Athens and Smyrna) in the 1870s.

Bourgault-Ducoudray was not one of those European travelers who spent some years in the Ottoman capital motivated by individual curiosity, rather he was sent with a

⁵¹⁵ Louis (Albert) Bourgault-Ducoudray (Nantes 1840- Yvelines 1910): French scholar and composer. He was a nephew of Billault, the famous minister of the Second Empire. Although he was preparing for a career in law, he entered Ambroise Thomas' class at the Conservatoire in 1859, a year after his comic opera *L'Atelier de Prague* had been performed in Nantes. He won the Prix de Rome in 1862 with his cantata *Louise de Mézières*, and during his subsequent visit to Italy developed an interest in both the music of Palestrina's time (16th century) and folk music. In 1868 he moved from Nantes to Paris and shortly thereafter founded the *Société Bourgault-Ducoudray*, an amateur choral group which performed the works of Lassus, Palestrina, Janequin, Bach and Handel among others. He was also one of the founders of Société Nationale de Musique. In 1874 he travelled to Greece to study ancient and popular Greek music, later did similar research in the music of Brittany. From 1878 he taught music history at the Conservatoire, where he introduced his students to the music of Rimsky-Korsakov and Musorgsky as early as 1880 and offered a course on Russian music in 1903. The Russian composer Balakirev, who is famous for his work which promoted nationalism in Russian music and brought together the composers known as The Five, owes much to Bourgault-Ducoudray who supported the performance of his works in Paris. Bourgault-Ducoudray was named an Officier of the Légion d'honneur in 1888. See Sadie Stanley (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, vol.3, London, 1980, pp.110-11.

“mission” by the French Ministry of Public Education to do research on the Greek ecclesiastical and popular music and subsequently to collect popular songs in Constantinople, Smyrna and Greece.⁵¹⁶ Regarding the nineteenth century French scholarship on Greek music, in the late 1850s, certain French or Francophone musicologists, motivated by a search for the foundations of their own civilization, had produced works about the ancient treatises on music theory.⁵¹⁷ In 1877, following up on the spirit of such works and in order to justify his own research, Bourgault- Ducoudray boldly claimed a privilege on the part of the French regarding the study of the “Hellenes”: “The interest that we have for the development of music in the Hellenes makes this franchise a duty for us; it shall not insult anyone if one comprehends the sentiment that guided us”.⁵¹⁸

After the defeat from Prussia, French governments tried to bring about a regeneration of political, civil and cultural life, by giving the nation a renewed and strengthened sense of its identity. During the Third Republic, music became an

⁵¹⁶ In 1842, a service of missions was created in the division of Arts and Sciences of the Ministry of Public Education to “encourage and provide subvention for the travels oriented towards a physical and geographical research or studies related with language and history that generally interests [our] civilization”. In 1874, a commission of missions was created which was formed by various scientific committees of different specialties. Louis Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray was among the scientists who were sent to Greece and Asia Minor, categorized in the archives of the Ministry as the mission group F/17. Another musician who was sent with a “mission” was Charles-Émile Ruelle, an expert of ancient Greek music. Ruelle did research in various libraries of Spain on the ancient manuscripts. He published Charles Émile Ruelle, *Études sur l'ancienne musique Grecque: rapports à M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique sur une mission littéraire en Espagne*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875). See *Centre Historique des Archives Nationales, Ministère de l'Instruction publique Service des Missions, Missions Scientifiques et littéraires en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, Inventaire thématique by Nadia Coutsinas under the direction of Armelle Le Goff, (Paris, 2006).

⁵¹⁷ A. J. Vincent, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits relatifs à la musique grecque*, vol.1, (Paris, 1847). Charles-Émile Ruelle, *Étude sur Aristoxène et son École*, (Paris: C. Lahure, 1857). *Passage du traité de la musique d'Aristide Quintilien relatif au nombre nuptial de Platon*, translated by A. J. Vincent and Th. Henri Martin, (Rome, 1865). From the Francophone Belgian musical scholarship, *Mémoire sur Cette Question: Les Grecs et Les Romains ont-ils Connus l'Harmonie Simultanée Des Sons? En ont-ils Fait Usage dans leur Musique?*, presented by Fr. Jos. Fétis, on 9 April 1858.

⁵¹⁸ From the preface of L. A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Etudes sur la Musique Ecclésiastique Grecque. Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient. Janvier-Mai 1875*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1877).

important symbol that the Republic sought to control⁵¹⁹ and a venue through which national culture was re-invented, affirmed and cultivated. The musical scene of the Second Empire which had been dominated by operettas and chansonettes that stood for frivolity, depravity and causes of social disintegration for most intellectuals, was severely reprimanded. Cultivating a taste for art that would instruct and not only entertain became the aspiration of the post-war French society. In this connection, the attachment of the Department of Fine Arts to the Ministry of Public Instruction was justified by acknowledging the potential of the fine arts to educate the nation and to cultivate a love of the beautiful which would secure the progress of civilization and the glory of the nation.⁵²⁰ In 1871, a group of young musicians who would be at the forefront of the post-war revival of French music founded the *Société Nationale de Musique*, with the aim to create a “serious” French musical style.⁵²¹

Having thus introduced briefly Bourgault-Ducoudray’s project and the musical climate in Third Republic France with an emphasis on the formation of a national music culture, I will elaborate on the question of Orientalism in nineteenth century European music as it is necessary for a full understanding of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s research on the Greek folk songs and ecclesiastical music. The opera

⁵¹⁹ Barbara L. Kelly mentions the use of *Marseillaise* by the Third Republic as a symbol that was rooted in the French Revolution and especially its use at public occasions, transforming it from a revolutionary song of the masses into a respectable national anthem. See Barbara L. Kelly, “Introduction: The Roles of Music and Culture in National Identity Formation” in *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939*, ed. by Barbara L. Kelly, (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008).

⁵²⁰ Avner, Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.249, referred in Barbara L. Kelly, “Introduction”, p.5.

⁵²¹ Among these young musicians were Camille de Saint-Saens, César Frank, Jules Massenet, Gabriel Fauré and Vincent d’Indy. See Michael Strasser “The Société Nationale and its Adversaries: The musical politics of L’Invasion germanique in the 1870s”, *19th-century Music*, 24 (3), (Spring 2001), pp. 225-251. Also Michael Strasser, *Ars Gallica: the Société Nationale de Musique and its Role in French Musical Life, 1871-1891*, (Ph.d diss., University of Michigan, 2000). Strasser challenges the misconception that the founders of the *Société* were fundamentally motivated by the abolition of the German influence on French musical life. He argues that on the contrary in their efforts to promote “serious” music, the young musicians who gathered in the *Société* looked across the Rhine for their inspiration and were not averse to adopting both the ideals and the techniques of German music.

genre has been a fruitful research arena for historians who wanted to see how the Orientalist world-view was articulated in music.⁵²² The larger context of the use of exoticizing elements in music and other arts in France was the active French colonization in North Africa, Middle East and Southeast Asia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵²³ In this respect, Bourgault-Ducoudray was a composer of his own time, as his *Rhapsodie Cambodgienne* suggests his search for inspirational elements in non-Western music.⁵²⁴

Orientalism has been seen as an act of discursive construction of the East for the West, an act of power in the service of the projects of imperialism in the nineteenth century. It is also true that the romantic notions of folk culture of the preceding century had already articulated similar essentializing perceptions. R. Middleton noted that the late eighteenth century discourses on music in the West disseminated a perception about the essential immediacy of music especially regarding a range of musical “others” e.g. popular, folk, foreign music. He continued that as a result of this perception the romantic conceptions of linguistic and musical “authenticity” became the prime motifs behind the collections of folk epics, folk poetry and folk songs in various nineteenth-century national movements within or at

⁵²² See Ralph P. Locke, “Constructing the Oriental ‘Other’: Saint-Saens’s “Samson et Dalila”,” *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 3 (3), (November 1991), pp. 261- 302. Also see Jonathan Bellmann (ed.), *The Exotic in Western Music*, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Martin Clayton (ed.), *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire 1780s-1940s: Portrayal of the East*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

⁵²³ Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza’s expedition to Gabon took place in 1875- 1878, his second expedition to Africa was in 1879-82.

⁵²⁴ Didier Francfort dates the *Rhapsody* to 1890, while Sadie Stanley to 1882. Didier Francfort, *Le Chant des Nations. Musiques et Cultures en Europe, 1870-1914*, (Paris: Hachette littératures, 2004), p.219; Sadie Stanley, *The New Grove Dictionary*, p.111. Francfort considers rhapsody as *the* genre that conforms both to nationalism and exoticism which conciliates the mastering of the rules of academic classicism and the liberty of inspiration.

the fringes of Europe.⁵²⁵ The new significance that folk music gained in the constitution of a national music in France is noted by D. Francfort as, “The savant music which sought to affirm its ‘national’ character turned systematically to *Volksmusik*”.⁵²⁶ Nevertheless, a contradictory current also seems to be at work at the same time. In his assessment of how music was employed in the nation-making process of rural France in the Third Republic, E. Weber notes that the native songs were looked on with contempt as vulgar and were erased, while national forms and themes penetrated the native ones in music and dance.⁵²⁷ In a complementary fashion, Francfort champions a group of musicians e.g. Bourgault-Ducoudray, Vincent d’Indy and Charles Bordes who, by establishing the idea that popular music represented “the eternal genius of a people”, rehabilitated the heritage of the popular song which had been disdained in France until the 1880s.⁵²⁸ Much like “authenticity”, the quality of spontaneity was reserved for the category of folk music. During his descriptions of various festive events in Greece, Ducoudray repeatedly displayed an enthusiasm for the spontaneity and improvisation of folk music.⁵²⁹ We have to bear in mind that such essentializing qualifications helped to foster an authority on the musical “other”, e.g. non-western or folk music.

Ducoudray’s curiosity and interest in the East, his inspirational search for music with wide expressive qualities are revealed in his suggestion to the musicians of the West to exploit the chromatic wealth of oriental music. However, this romantic

⁵²⁵ Richard Middleton, “Musical Belongings: *Western Music and Its Low-Other*” in *Western Music and Its Others. Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* ed. by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 59-86.

⁵²⁶ Didier Francfort, *Le Chant des Nations. Musiques et Cultures en Europe, 1870-1914*, p.193.

⁵²⁷ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870- 1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), pp.441- 42.

⁵²⁸ D. Francfort, *Le Chant des Nations. Musiques et Cultures en Europe, 1870-1914*, p.196.

⁵²⁹ Louis A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d’une Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, 2eme édition (Paris: Hachette, 1878). The first edition was in 1876.

orientalist expectation of a new music, which could be created by fusing the micro-tonal structure of oriental music with the harmonic accords of European music, was not new. Bülent Aksoy wrote that Bourgault-Ducoudray's yearning for the application of harmony to eastern music was an unprepared, "outsider" and a later extension of the western approach which corresponded to the concept of an "Oriental Renaissance" that went back to the eighteenth century, namely to the translator/musician Antoine Murat.⁵³⁰

Let me provide some information about Bourgault-Ducoudray's published song collection. In 1876, Ducoudray published - with piano accompaniments - the Greek popular songs that he collected from Smyrna and Athens. He used the term "popular" because in comparison with the English, the word "folklore" was introduced late into the French language, and hence for songs and tales from the rural areas the French used the word "popular".⁵³¹ In Europe, folk songs were often published accompanied by harmonizations for a choir or parts written for the piano. This resulted in the emergence of the term "real" popular music in order to demarcate the authentically popular and commercial music.⁵³² K. Romanou drew

⁵³⁰ Bülent Aksoy, *Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Musiki (Ottoman Music through the Eyes of the European Travellers)*, (Istanbul : Pan Yayıncılık, 2003), p.160. Antoine Murat was born in Constantinople, his father was European and his mother Armenian. He worked as a translator in the Swedish and the Prussian Embassies. He learned both western music and Ottoman lay music. His above-mentioned music treatise is entitled, *Essai d'un traité sur la melodie orientale ou Explication du Système, des Modes et des Mesures de la Musique Turque*. After eighty years of oblivion, the composer and violinist August Ritter von Adelburg received the French manuscript from his uncle Baron von Testa. Adelburg translated it into German, and published it in the Viennese art journal *Aesthetische Rundschau* in 1867 with the title, "Einiges über die Musik der Orientalen, insonderheit über das dominierende persisch-türkische Ton-system".

⁵³¹ Dimitris Papanikolaos, *Singing Poets: Literature and Popular Music in France and Greece*, (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2007), p.22.

⁵³² In his paper "Musiques populaires et musiques savantes: une distinction inopérante?" presented at the *Conference of the International Society for Cultural History*, Ghent University, Belgium, August 28-31, 2008, Didier Francfort noted that "choral harmonizations of the popular old songs placed the line of demarcation not anymore between the popular and savant music, but between the authentically popular and the commercial music".

attention to the fact that Bourgault-Ducoudray gathered under the common label of “popular” songs both the folk songs and the commercial songs which he collected.⁵³³

The French musicians L. Bourgault-Ducoudray, Ch. Em. Ruelle and later Eugene Borrel dealt with the question of how to solve the dilemma of contemporary eastern music between keeping its indigenous qualities and universalizing. Universalizing meant adopting the musical values and techniques which came to form the canon of European music. The question of acquiring a modern music to be able to join the civilized nations was seen as an urgent issue not only by the modern Greeks but also by many other young nations whose music cultures had remained outside the influence of the musical developments that had taken place in Western Europe, i.e. anti-phonial singing, contrapuntal music writing, temperament of the intervals of the diatonic scale and polyphony. The mentioned French musicians defended the view that on the way to progress, the non-western nations should not abandon the specific qualities of their own music which reflected the genius and the temperament of their nations.⁵³⁴ This view which was outside the most imperialist expressions of orientalist thought, was still an equally essentialist view. Ducoudray’s formulation of eastern music as “immobilized” and “stagnant” and of European music as “weary of an excessive development” served as a justification for the adoption of polyphony in the case of the former, and for the adaptation of new expressive musical elements like the ancient modes in the case of the latter.⁵³⁵ But he also claimed that the chromatic modes did not belong to the real musical

⁵³³ Kaiti Romanou, *Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησης 1901- 1912(Wandering in the National Music 1901-1912)*, p. 173.

⁵³⁴ Louis A. Bourgault- Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d’une Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, p.9: “Que leur engouement pour le progrès n’aille pas jusqu’à l’abandon de leur propre génie et à l’oubli du véritable tempérament de la nation!”

⁵³⁵ L. A. Bourgault- Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d’une Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, p.17.

temperament of the Greeks, but were elements of the Turkish or Arabic influence, and tried to convince his readers that Greeks should only use diatonic modes like in most of their popular songs.⁵³⁶ The elimination of the chromatic modes and the tones lesser than the half-tone was necessary for the production of polyphonic music. He added that the existing state of Greek music was isolating Greece from the consort of the European nations. The paradox was, while he supported the view that the Greeks should keep the variety of scales in their music which made it superior to European music in one aspect and should not reduce it to two (major and minor) scales mimicking western music; at the same time he was offering to eliminate the chromatic and enharmonic modes which were an integral part of that music.

Bourgault-Ducoudray's scholarly pursuit in Greek ecclesiastical music has to be seen in relation to his interest in early music and the Gregorian chant. In the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian war, one of the questions which was central to the debates on French culture was what constituted the real French music and subsequently which musicians' works should be included in the canon of great French works. In her article on the music festival organized in Dijon in honor of the eighteenth century musician Rameau in August 1876, K. Ellis wrote that Louis Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray was among the spectators of the event. Furthermore, she noted him as one of the key actors in the revival of early music in nineteenth

⁵³⁶ Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Etudes sur la Musique*, ibid, p.69: «Comment expliquer l'usage, universellement répandu dans les provinces, du *bouzouki*, instrument dont les intervalles sont tous des *tons* ou des *demi-tons*? Vers la partie supérieure du manche se trouvent bien, il est vrai, des divisions correspondant à des *tiers* ou des *quart de ton*; mais cette partie de l'instrument est réservée à l'exécution des mélodies *étrangères*, turques ou arabes. La présence sur un instrument populaire en Grèce de deux échelles mélodiques dont l'une, l'échelle européenne, est consacrée aux mélodies *grecques*, et l'autre, l'échelle à quarts ou à tiers de ton aux mélodies *étrangères*, n'indique-elle pas quel le véritable tempérament musical de la nation ?».

century France.⁵³⁷ Indeed, Ducoudray's enthusiasm about the Gregorian chant influenced younger composers like Vincent d'Indy and Charles Bordes who founded the "Schola Cantorum" (La Société de propagande pour les Chef d'Oeuvres religieux) of Paris in 1894.⁵³⁸ E. Emery and L. Morowitz wrote that medieval and Renaissance music, especially the plain chant enjoyed an enormous revival at the end of the nineteenth century in France. They noted that this was largely through the efforts of the founders of Schola Cantorum and their alliance with the monks of Solesmes to restore the medieval rules governing the performance of the Gregorian chant.⁵³⁹ Perhaps, Bourgault-Ducoudray's study in Gregorian modes in the 1870s can be seen as a preparation ground for the later revival of the Gregorian chant. In his book, the French musician attempted at explaining the roots of the plain chant, the continuity between ancient Greek music and Byzantine music, and the relationships of both to oriental music. In the romantic revivalist approach that he displayed in the preface of his book, Bourgault-Ducoudray likened the antique scales used in the plain chant to mummies in contrast to the vivid melodies of the Orient.⁵⁴⁰

In the rest of this part, I will focus on Bourgault-Ducoudray's observations on the popular and ecclesiastical music practice during his stay in Constantinople and Smyrna and his interaction and exchange of ideas with the local and foreign

⁵³⁷ Katharine Ellis, "Rameau in Late Nineteenth-Century Dijon: Memorial, Festival, Fiasco," in *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939*, ed. by Barbara L. Kelly, (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008), pp.197-214.

⁵³⁸ It is an interesting point that in the late 1920s, Ahmed Adnan Saygun, who would be one of the prominent creators of the Turkish national music school, was sent by the Turkish State to study music with Vincent d'Indy in Schola Cantorum. The mysticism in some of his works perhaps owes to the teachings of d'Indy as well as to the affiliation of his family with the Mevlevi order.

⁵³⁹ Elizabeth Emery & Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in fin-de-siècle France*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p.99. Also see Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments. The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp.15-20.

⁵⁴⁰ Louis A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente Mélodies Populaires de Grèce & d'Orient*, (Paris, 1876), p.7: «On retrouve en Occident l'application de ces gammes dans les mélodies du Plain-Chant; mais ces dernières, privées aujourd'hui, de leur rythme et de leur caractère primitifs, ressemblent à des momies, si on les compare aux mélodies vivantes de l'Orient».

prominent musicians and other professionals there. In the previously referred *Souvenirs d'une Mission Musicale*, the published memoirs of Ducoudray on his travels to Greece and Asia Minor in 1875- 6, we find valuable traces of his thoughts and approach towards the popular and church music of modern Greeks. Ducoudray's views about the popular music and the ecclesiastical music of the modern Greeks referred to the two sources of Modern Greek identity, the Hellenic and the Romaic. His depictions of the musical festivities that he attended in Athens strongly reflected a dilettanti classicism which looked for the surviving traces of ancient Greece. For instance, talking about the predilection of the Greeks for the flute he drew on Homer's texts.⁵⁴¹ However, he saw the church music as a derivative of a musical culture which was the product of an oriental taste, a music which "did not proceed directly from the Hellenic genius like the popular songs".⁵⁴² Elsewhere, he saw the ancient Greek culture at the fringes of Europe in confrontation with the Semitic races, and said that even though ancient Greek culture was always influenced by Asia, it gave in to the foreign influences more easily at its decline. He found a clear causality between the prevalence of Christianity, its submergence of the ancient world and the encroachment of oriental taste into the Occident.⁵⁴³

After his stay for about a year in Athens, Ducoudray first went to Smyrna in the spring of 1876 and then to Constantinople. In Smryna, thanks to his contact with the French and the Greek consuls, he found occasions for listening to a Greek and an Armenian local singer. His views on the oriental art of singing are congruous with

⁵⁴¹ Louis A. Bourgault- Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d'une Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, p.6.

⁵⁴² Ibid., p.9. Yet, he also admitted that it was "one of the elements that composed the musical patrimony of modern Greece".

⁵⁴³ L. A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Etudes sur la Musique Ecclésiastique Grecque. Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient. Janvier-Mai 1875*, p.4.

the generalized observations of the European audience. In his memoirs, he notes the certain well known characteristics of eastern music, i.e. improvisation, virtuosity, and tendency and taste towards high-pitches. In Smyrna, he was also introduced to Misail Misailidis, the first-cantor of Hagios Dimitris Church, the brother of the previously mentioned journalist Evangelinos Misailidis. He provides us with a brief but informative paragraph about Misailidis' skills for theoretical study and his criticism of the contemporary theoretical works. He writes that, Misailidis read the ancient treatises, and in a yet unpublished work showed the contradictions between their principles and those of the moderns. Moreover, according to Ducoudray, he revealed the "numerous errors that touched these theories which pretended to give the ancient music as the basis of Byzantine music". Misailidis also prepared a comparative music grammar that intended to teach oriental notation and European notation comparatively, which according to Ducoudray, could "bring down the barrier that separated the Orient and the Occident from the point of music".⁵⁴⁴

In Constantinople, Archimandrite Germanos Afthonidis and Elias Tantalidis poet and teacher at the Theological School of Halki served the French musician as guides to expand his research and to illuminate him on various technical musical issues, as well as sharing their opinions with him about the existing music practice. Ducoudray wrote in his *Souvenir* that the chanting at the Patriarchate was below the level of both the practice in the Church of Hagios Dimitris in Smyrna and the average one in Athens.⁵⁴⁵ He criticized especially the drone (*ison*)-singers or choristers (boys under the age of puberty) who shouted in a pitiless manner.

⁵⁴⁴ L. A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Souvenir d'une Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, pp.16-17.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., p.18: "L'exécution du chant à l'église patriarchale ne parut non-seulement au-dessus de celle de Saint-Dimitri à Smyrne, mais au-dessus de la moyenne de ce qu'on entend à Athenes".

Afthonidis confided in him that most of the cantors were ignorant and that the existing music theory was absolutely insufficient for forming a good cantor.

Ducoudray obviously esteemed Afthonidis' personality, describing him as erudite and having a great independence of mind and said that if he wrote a work on music, his musical knowledge would illuminate many problems of ecclesiastical music.

As a result of his conversations and exchange with the educated elite of the Greek-orthodox public of Constantinople – he visited the Thracian Educational Society (*Thrakikos Ekpaidevtikos Sillogos*) and the Greek Literary Society -

Ducoudray apparently noticed that music was a vehemently discussed issue among the Greeks of the city. In his memoirs, he shows his surprise about the fact that many young people could competently discuss issues about their sacred music, and interestingly enough he does not miss the opportunity of implicitly criticizing the anti-clericalism in the political discourse of the Third Republic and the musical values and aesthetic that it cultivated.⁵⁴⁶

Finally, we come to the conclusions that Ducoudray came up with at the end of his research about Greek ecclesiastical music. He says the following about the issue of continuity from ancient Greek to Byzantine music, also displaying his understanding of what a crucial debate it was for the modern Greeks:

The efforts of the (modern) Greek theoreticians for establishing a clear link between these two musics witness solely a desire for a vigorous and perseverant unity in the Hellenic spirit. Sometimes they misunderstand the passages of the ancients that they cite in order to support their arguments; sometimes they reproduce the ancient precepts without actually an object, because they apply to the facts that disappeared from practice. Does that mean that there is no vestige of the ancient Greek music in the Byzantine

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.22-23: « J'ai été bien des fois surpris d'entendre des jeunes gens discuter sur la valeur de telle ou telle de leurs mélodies sacrées et chanter de mémoire des exemples à l'appui de leur opinion. Combien en trouverait-on en France se plaisant à raisonner sur le chant grégorien et pouvant le faire avec quelque compétence? ».

music? ... For us, this would be falling into another exaggeration. The differences between the Byzantine and the Greek art, however considerable they may be, are explained by the transformation of the taste at a place in different epochs.⁵⁴⁷

Ducoudray's visit to Smyrna and Constantinople and his observations that he published in his books or in his *Souvenir* had an enormous impact on the intensification of the already existing conflicts within the musical "field" in Constantinople. First, his criticism about the cantors of the Patriarchate (probably also his remarks about the lower quality of the liturgical music there, in comparison to Athens and Smyrna) alarmed the Greek ecclesiastical and lay elite regarding the immediate need for the therapy of liturgical music.⁵⁴⁸

Music Committee of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople (1877)

In this section I will look at the music issue through the prism of some of the tasks that the music committee of the Greek Literary Society tried to accomplish. About the aims and the work of the committee, my basic source is the report read by the chairman of the committee, Iakovos of Amfipoli⁵⁴⁹ at the session of 28 April 1877. The committee declared that "...from what has been written and said in public since years about [our] ecclesiastical music, [our] Society comprehended that it is indeed [our] national music, which has been protected by our spiritual Mother the holy

⁵⁴⁷ L. A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Etudes sur la Musique Ecclésiastique Grecque*, p.1.

⁵⁴⁸ L. A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Etudes sur la Musique Ecclésiastique Grecque*, p. 7. In fact, Ducoudray noticed that for the education of a good cantor, a long training was needed. So in a way, he confirmed with his views that the simplification of theory (the way Hrisanthos had attempted to do) opened the gap between the theory and practice even further. He criticized the ecclesiastical music that he heard at the Patriarchate for the abuse of trills and accords, trembling voices and nasal chanting.

⁵⁴⁹ The session of 28 April 1877, *EFSK* vol.12 (1877-1878) (1879), pp.172- 175. The members of the music commission were banker D. Paspallis, physics-mathematics teacher A. Spatharis, cantor Ioasaf Rossos, cantor Evstr. Papadopoulos, scholar of Byzantine hymnography M. Paraniakas, Archimandrite Germanos Afthonidis and deacon Daniil as secretary.

Church, like its blood-relative (*omaimonos*) language...”.⁵⁵⁰ Language was the most tangible element of national identity and had a long history of rectification which went back to the eighteenth century. The relatively younger musical discourse borrowed and adapted from the discourse that saw the Greek language as the heritage of the Church and as the authentic character of the Greek nation.⁵⁵¹ The music committee aimed at the research of music and its elevation to its previous status and eminence. For this purpose, it planned to act along the following lines. Music would be examined from a philological point of view, its phases in different epochs would be compared and their relationships to the whole and to each other would be discovered. Secondly, after the investigation of the pedagogical music employed by the civilized nations, a system of music instruction was to be constructed with the aim of introducing it to the Greek Orthodox schools. The third aim reflected a “civilizing project”, hinting at a control over the tastes of the lower classes, to “develop a moral aesthetics of music” in the people. However, the priority was given to the most practical issues, the second and the third ones, leaving especially the philological and scientific studies to a later stage.

The acceptance of western notation was seen as a necessity to achieve the practical goals. This radical decision was justified with two aims; the first one was to disseminate the music which was considered an ethnic heritage through music lessons in the school curriculum. Music instruction would be based on a pedagogical music system like in Europe, for which the European notation was more adaptable. In addition, Greek music would be accessible to the members of the community who

⁵⁵⁰ *EFSK* vol.12 (1877-1878) (1879), p.172.

⁵⁵¹ Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the looking-glass. Critical Ethnography in the margins of Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 51- 53.

were already familiar with the European notation – the children of the Greek elite usually received private instrument lessons. The second implicit aim in adopting the western notation was to facilitate the participation of Europeans in musicological debates whose scholarly help regarding the philological and scientific work of the committee was considered important. Hence, the cantors in the committee (Germanos Afthonidis and Ioasaf Rossos) would write some of the church chants and old hymns which had maintained the ancient style and melody (*ὄφος και μέλος*), in the European notation. The French musician Bourgault-Ducoudray announced and celebrated this decision of the music committee in the prologue of his book on Greek ecclesiastical music. He wrote that old hymns which kept their ancient styles and melodies would be “cleaned” from new elements, and the “pure” ecclesiastical would be separated from the “external” element, meaning the Turkish element.⁵⁵²

The increasing use of polyphonically arranged church hymns in the Greek Orthodox churches in western Europe and the familiarity of the Greek upper classes with western entertainment forms i.e. opera, operetta, public concerts were some of the reasons why the issue of a music reform came on the agenda. However, radical reform attempts drew the disapproval of the Church. In 1878, the members of the parish council of the Church of Eisodion in Stavrodromio were warned by a letter from the Patriarchate because they attempted to use “tetraphonic” music in the church liturgy, “ignoring that the limits of the jurisdiction of the parish council extend by no means beyond the administration of the finances, they transgressed those and interfered with the rights of the highest spiritual authority, the Great

⁵⁵² L. A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Etudes sur la Musique Ecclésiastique Grecque. Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient. Janvier-Mai 1875*, see the prologue: «...η Επιτροπή να καθάριση τα μετά ταύτα και τα έτι νεώτερα, αποχωρίζουσα το καθαρώς εκκλησιαστικόν του πολιτικού ή εξωτερικού λεγομένου».

Church, on which the spiritual regulation and the provision of the churches depended”.⁵⁵³ The Church also reminded the members of the parish council that polyphony had been banned by the Synodal Decree at the time of patriarch Anthimos in 1846 when this music was attempted to be introduced into the Greek Orthodox Church of Vienna. This event would be interpreted about thirty years later by the prominent cantor Konstantinos Psahos as “a sorrowful page in the musical life” of his teacher cantor Evstratios Papadopoulos who was at that time the first cantor of the Church of Eisodion. According to Psahos, the residents of Pera, who were the great benefactors of the community, had insisted and forced the cantor to introduce “foreign music” into the church. Finally, Psahos narrates with relief that Papadopoulos soon managed to annihilate the illegitimate demands of the parish notables and returned to the customary music of the church.⁵⁵⁴

Reform between Theory and Practice: Conflicts within the Musical Field

In the last months of 1879, the debates in Constantinople about the continuity of the Greek musical tradition and the present unsatisfactory performance of the liturgical music came to a point of crisis in which two different models of reform or restoration clashed in the columns of *Neologos*. In January of the same year, Patriarch Joachim III had submitted his memorandum in the Patriarchate, referring to issues related to

⁵⁵³ Patriarchal letter (A 49 062 no. 1247) 7 April 1878, Archive of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople: “Το άκουσμα τούτο ού μικρόν εθορύβησεν ημάς πρώτον διότι η υμετέρα ευγενία καίτοι μη αγνοούντως ότι τα όρια της δικαιοδοσίας της εφοροεπιτροπής ουδόλως εκτείνονται πέραν της των υλικών διαχειρίσεως, υπερέβητε ταύτα, επεμβάντως εις δικαιώματα της ανωτάτης πνευματικής ημών αρχής της Μ. του Χριστού εκκλησίας οθ’ην και μόνην απόκειται η των ιερών Ναών πνευματική διάταξις και διακόσμησις”.

⁵⁵⁴ K. A. Psahos, “Ευστράτιος Γ. Παπαδόπουλος (Evstratios G. Papadopoulos) ,” *Formiks*, period 2-year 5 no. 3- 4, 15-31 May 1909, p.2.

the higher and lower clergy, monasteries, education and financial matters.⁵⁵⁵ So, perhaps it is not surprising that the members of the Greek Orthodox community appealed to the Patriarch about the reform of ecclesiastical music in the same year. One of the recipes for reform emphasized the importance of the investigation of theoretical problems and tried to prove the existence of a single thread of continuity of the musical tradition through a research into the ancient musical treatises. The other model saw the theoretical speculations as totally redundant. While looking at the issue of the improvement of the liturgical music as a problem only pertaining to the practice of music, it discussed the continuity and discontinuity of the musical tradition with reference to the acoustical, rhythmic and stylistic qualities of the actual performed liturgical music. In this section, I will try to show that these two clashing models were in fact connected with the positions of the actors in the debate about the westernization/modernization of ecclesiastical music. Here, we will particularly focus on the music debates between cantor Panagiotis Kiltzanidis who insisted on the first model and banker Dimitris Paspallis who defended the second one.

In 1879, a series of articles in *Neologos*, on the tone system of the contemporary ecclesiastical music, resulted in discussions among three prominent cantors pertaining to the origins and the continuity of ecclesiastical music, its relationship with European music, and how to deal with the gap in its practice and theory. The first-cantor of the Church of Eisodion in Stavrodromio (Beyoğlu)

⁵⁵⁵ The national council was assembled in January 1879 and Joachim III submitted his memorandum in February. According to Stavros Th. Anestidis, the newspaper *Neologos* which would turn against Joachim in 1883/84 due to the Patriarch's attitude during the "issue of privileges", was at that time following the agenda of the Patriarchate with interest and its attitude to Joachim and his supporters was mild and in general positive. Stavros Th. Anestidis, "Ιωακείμ ο Γ'. Αρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης (1878-1884, 1901-1912) (Joachim III, Archbishop of Constantinople and Ecumenical Patriarch 1878-1884, 1901-1912)" *Δελτίο ΚΜΣ* 6 (1986- 1987), pp. 391- 411, see p.398. *Neologos'* stance is important for our interpretation in the following pages.

Evstratios Papadopoulos⁵⁵⁶ asserted that the *elasson* (minor) tone did not exist in the music of the ancients and the Byzantines. The *elasson* (minor) tone was one of the three tones of the diatonic specie according to the new theory of Hrisanthos. Papadopoulos claimed that after the fall of Constantinople, due to the eclipse of the Music School and the mixing with the Turks for a long time, the ancient patterns (*tropoi*) and the ecclesiastical modes (*ihoi*) degenerated and their intervals changed and the *elasson* tone emerged due to the ignorance and the bad habits of the cantors.⁵⁵⁷ Furthermore, he said that the enharmonic specie of the ancients disappeared in the fourth century BC. Displaying his affiliation with the views of the French composer Ducoudray, he noted the degeneration of the Byzantine modes, which had been close to ancient modes, as a result of a change in taste due to the mixing with the Turks.⁵⁵⁸ E. Papadopoulos called for a return to the original form of the ecclesiastical music which according to him (echoing Ducoudray), was based on the seven diatonic modes of the ancient Greeks. For the purposes of our study, the meaning of the discussion, whether the enharmonic specie was used or not in the early church music or by the Byzantines is two-fold. First, it pertains to the question of the continuity of music from the ancient Greeks to Byzantines. Second, by claiming that the authentic form of the church music did not have the enharmonic and the chromatic scales, E. Papadopoulos was in fact opening the way for the

⁵⁵⁶ See *Neologos* 8, 15, and 16 October 1879 no. 3190, 3196, 3197 for Papadopoulos' article. Papadopoulos had expounded the following views in his music lectures that took place in *Club Mnimosini* in Phanar and in the Greek Literary Society.

⁵⁵⁷ Evstratios Papadopoulos, "Περί Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (About the Ecclesiastical Music)," *Neologos* 15 October 1879.

⁵⁵⁸ In Louis Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Etudes sur la Musique*, p.2, Ducoudray wrote that the enharmonic specie had totally vanished from the music of the Romans by the end of the fourth century BC.

harmonization of the ecclesiastical chants.⁵⁵⁹ As far as the theoretical debates among the church musicians are concerned, the issues of the division of the scale and the values of the intervals have been the most discussed musical issues. These musical debates and how they were conducted in the associations and clubs show that these musicians subscribed to a discourse on the positive value of the scientific methods, i.e. experiment, measurement and calculation. For instance, E. Papadopoulos and the Smyrniot cantor M. Misailidis tried to prove their point that the scale (or *diapason*) had 72 units through experiments on instruments⁵⁶⁰.

Let me come to one of the main actors of the musical debate, cantor P. G. Kiltzanidis. Kiltzanidis tried to prove that contemporary ecclesiastical music was the music of the ancient Greeks. He wrote that ecclesiastical music was as ancient and national (*ethniki*) as language and that the first church fathers and musicians inherited the music and the language from the ancient ancestors.⁵⁶¹ Drawing on the example of language, he insisted that the old magnificence of the music could be restored if it could be reformed like the language. As a sign of continuity, he pointed out that the three species - diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic - of the ancients were existent in contemporary music.⁵⁶²

During the heated musicological debates among the above mentioned three cantors, banker Dimitrios Paspallis published an article in *Neologos* entitled “To

⁵⁵⁹ The Smyrniot cantor Misail Misailidis criticized Papadopoulos, saying that by limiting the music to the diatonic specie and turning it into European music, he removed its wealth and grandeur. See *Neologos* 9 October 1879 no. 3191 for Misailidis’ article.

⁵⁶⁰ Panagiotis G. Kiltzanidis, *Neologos* no. 3162, 31 September 1879. While Papadopoulos and Misailidis claimed that the scale was composed of 72 units, not 68 as Hrisanthos had established, Kiltzanidis argued that it consisted of 66 units, as determined by Euclides who proved this with the monochord.

⁵⁶¹ Panagiotis G. Kiltzanidis, *Διατριβαί περί της Ελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music)*, (Constantinople: publ. house of Anatolikos Astir, 1879), p.2.

⁵⁶² P.G. Kiltzanidis, *Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p.5.

those concerned with the rectification and improvement of our ecclesiastical music”⁵⁶³. He called the cantors to leave the theoretical discussions which “brought no benefit to the public”⁵⁶⁴ and appealed to the Patriarch to reform the practical part of the church music. After publishing Paspallis’ article, the editors of *Neologos* refused to publish cantor Panagiotis Kiltzanidis’ theoretical article, saying that there was no one in this world who could understand it and that Paspallis’ article had already given an answer to the theoretical discussions. As a reply, P. Kiltzanidis severely criticized D. Paspallis in his previously cited *Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music* ⁵⁶⁵ in which he also continued his discussions with the cantors E. Papadopoulos and M. Misailidis. He criticized Paspallis’ practical approach to the problem of reform and his rejection of all theoretical discussions about the tones and species saying that they were fiction. However, as he indicated in his letter, for Paspallis the main issue was that contemporary church music was not pleasing the congregation and not appealing to it aesthetically in the way it was performed, due to the arbitrariness and the ignorance of the cantors. He enhanced the view that it was possible to clear it from its “foreign and barbarian” elements and to reendow it with its ancient beauty and simplicity. However, according to Kiltzanidis, the practical aspects could anyway be corrected by a sanction from the spiritual leader, but the fundamental issue was the theoretical system.

Rather than commenting on the relationship of contemporary music to the music of the ancient Greeks, D. Paspallis lamented about the rupture of the former

⁵⁶³ *Neologos* 18/30 October 1879.

⁵⁶⁴ See P. G. Kiltzanidis, *Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p.6. This shows that the technical details of the musicological issues began to exhaust the public sentiment and the interest in ecclesiastical music.

⁵⁶⁵ P. G. Kiltzanidis, *Διατριβαί περί της Ελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (*Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music*), (Constantinople: publ. house of Anatolikos Astir, 1879).

with early Christian music. In his article in *Neologos*, Paspallis wrote: “If our first music teacher John of Damascus would come to one of our ecclesiastical services, he would ask immediately of which race (*phyle*) these cantors were and which music they used”. He also said that contemporary Greek ecclesiastical music had moved away from its state in the early years of Christianity and that music had subdued the word. He wrote: “The pronunciation of words, the prosody, the time and rhythm of the psalmodic poem is drowned in an out-of-rhythm, alien melody”.⁵⁶⁶ Furthermore, he enhanced the view that after the fall of Constantinople, except in Mount Athos, the musical tradition could not be maintained intact, the knowledge of the old notation dwindled, a corruption of taste and the insertion of Asian/Turkish idioms prevailed:

Some scholastics, the so called musicians, with their own ignorance trying to explain the occult old hieroglyphic notation and those incomprehensible signs complemented them with the oral tradition. At that time, the confusion of ideas and terms had reached its climax which can also be seen in the wretched (*αθλία*) language of the centuries after the fall. What a situation! What a rupture! Each of those prominent cantors, whose names I omit, had their own schools and their own flags. Fortunately, like always, our holy cleric in the acropolis of orthodoxy, in that dignified retreat of Athos collected our musical ruins and protected them as a whole, as much as the intellectual and the scientific credentials of the venerable hagioritic (from Mount Athos) fathers made it possible. But what happened in the cities? Confusion, musical disorder and above all bad taste, the insertion, if one could say tastefulness, of ordered lines, golden spots through calligraphy of musical relics and of course the so called *kalophonic eirmos*, which with their *tererismata* [tenuto parts], holding of the tone, *nanarismata*, *gagarismata* and *gourgourismata* [alluding to the *terennüm*⁵⁶⁷ of the Ottoman Persian songs] and with other inserted episodes inspired every other sentiment but aesthetics.
568

⁵⁶⁶ P. G. Kiltzanidis, *Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p.31: From Paspallis’ article in *Neologos*, in Greek: «Η προφορά των λέξεων, η προσωδία, ο χρόνος, ο ρυθμός όλος της ασματικής ποιήσεως πνίγεται εντός μίας εκρύθμου και ξενικής μελωδίας...».

⁵⁶⁷ *Terennüm* is the part that is sung after each line of the Persian vocal compositional form “*beste*”. It is based on meaningless syllables i.e. ten nen ni, ta te ne nen. Similar parts are also found in the Greek ecclesiastical chants. (Listen to the music example no.6 in Appendix CD).

⁵⁶⁸ P. G. Kiltzanidis, *Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, pp.33-34.

Kiltzanidis' opinion about the continuity of the melody and the issue of foreign influence was the following:

From St. John of Damascus to Ioannis Protopsaltis of the Great Church during the patriarchate of Kyrillos in 1756, the notation and the ecclesiastical chants did not change because it was neither possible to write the secular music (*εξωτερικά μέλη*) with this notation nor to write the ecclesiastical melody with another notation.

From that period on, through the explanatory (*επεξηγηματικός τρόπος*) method of writing which was invented and introduced by Ioannis encouraged by Kyrillos in order to facilitate the teaching and the spreading of chanting, foreign idioms (*ξενισμοί*) entered, especially to *papadika* [a type of ecclesiastical melody].⁵⁶⁹

Regarding the early nineteenth century reform of Hrisanthos, D. Paspallis doubted that it secured the continuity with the previous tradition⁵⁷⁰ and saw it as an incomplete effort of purging ecclesiastical music from foreign idioms which should be continued. In fact, he was arguing for the adoption of the western notation. To support his argument, he said that the European notation developed from the first form of the ancient Greek music notation and that it was the most methodic and perfect notation in use. Cantor Kiltzanidis refuted this by saying that the western music notation had its own course of development and that it was impossible to adapt it to the ecclesiastical chants.

Paspallis' recipe for the improvement of ecclesiastical music consisted of the following suggestions: the establishment of a music council assembled from

⁵⁶⁹ P. G. Kiltzanidis, *Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, pp. 3- 4.

⁵⁷⁰ Paspallis argued that the Three Teachers did not analyse enough the signs of the old notation while inventing the new, hence he doubted the continuity of the ancient melody. The issue of the passage from the old notation which was supported by a strong vocal tradition, to an analytical notation (generally Petros of Morea is considered as a dividing line) and then to Hrisanthos' simplified notation, is still one of the most controversial topics of Greek musicology. About whether a rupture emerged within the tradition due to the New Method or not, Kiltzanidis claimed that the Three Teachers studied all the ecclesiastical chants which were written in the new analytical writing and that they possessed the ecclesiastical music and the ancient genuine melody during the period when the First-cantors Ioannis and Daniil made the first step toward analysis.

impartial musicians who knew the scientific system of European music⁵⁷¹. Second, according to Paspallis, a new systematic anthology of ecclesiastical chants should be written complying with the ancient prototypes, purified of all “cacophonic strangeness (*κακόφωνη οθνεία*) and effeminate character”. Thirdly, brief, dignified and above all unified chanting should be enforced in the churches and the arbitrary behavior of the cantors should be punished. Finally, the slow hymns chanted on the important feasts should be reformed by removing the “meaningless, barbarian and foreign syllables”.

Like Paspallis, Kiltzanidis also appealed to Patriarch Joachim III to assemble qualified experts and issue a circular to solve the musical question which had become very important.⁵⁷² He pleaded with the Patriarch “not to allow this holy heirloom of [our] ancestors (*πατροπαράδοτον ημίν κειμήλιον*) to be supplanted or altered in any way in the name of modernism (*νεοτερισμός*) or any other such fallacious idea”⁵⁷³.

We have seen the arguments of both sides. Similar to the previously mentioned response of the cantor Ioannis Rossos to the Greek scholar Tzetzis, Kiltzanidis admitted that a local secular flavor had entered ecclesiastical music. However, Kiltzanidis himself practiced both lay music and ecclesiastical music, and was against the encroachments of the European music into the *maqam-ihos* (modal) musical traditions as any Ottoman musician of his time. As a Greek-orthodox church musician, he avoided using an argument of “corruption” of ecclesiastical music as a legitimation for its westernization. He could see the Ottoman urban song tradition and the Greek-orthodox ecclesiastical music as two systems living side by side. In

⁵⁷¹ Paspallis said that the fanaticism of the partial musicians can create a “comedy” like in the Synodal meeting of 1846 which reprimanded I. Haviaras’ tetraphonic ecclesiastical music that was being used in the Greek Orthodox Church of Vienna.

⁵⁷² P. G. Kiltzanidis, *Treatises about Greek Ecclesiastical Music*, p.6, 8.

⁵⁷³ Ibid, p.17.

order to resist the discourse that legitimated the westernization of music and to reconcile the two musical traditions without seeing the second as being assimilated to the first, the existing ecclesiastical music had to be credited. For obvious reasons the best strategy of doing that was to show that it descended from ancient Greek music, and that was only possible through using evidence related to the formal structure because the ancient melody itself did not survive. Furthermore, if the difference between the sound systems of, on the one hand the ancient Greek music and its successor Byzantine music, and on the other that of contemporary European music could be emphasized, then the westernization attempts of the Greek upper classes could be refuted. Also, perhaps we should take into account that the excessively sophisticated theoretical arguments which required the possession of specialized music knowledge empowered the cantors both individually as experts and increased their prestige as a professional group within the community.

In these debates, we have to comment on the position that the newspaper *Neologos* took. *Neologos* which was published by Stavros Voutiras had become the most important representative of the radical ethnocentrist circles in the 1860s.⁵⁷⁴ In his seminal book, M. Gedeon wrote that during the Cretan revolt in 1867, *Neologos* published news about the revolt and was sponsored by the supporters of the “Great Idea” and therefore, its publication was banned for one or two weeks.⁵⁷⁵ By siding with D. Paspallis’ (Paspallis was close to Joachim) argument during the music debates of 1879, *Neologos* rejected the archaist approaches to the issue of Greek cultural continuity which narrowly focused on the indication of the link with ancient

⁵⁷⁴ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, *Reform and Secularism*, p.286.

⁵⁷⁵ About Stavros Voutiras and *Neologos*, see Manouil Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα Χρονογράφου* (Notes of the Chronicler), (Athens, 1932), pp. 38- 41.

Greek music and merged the issues of reform and continuity together, while regarding reform, it supported more tangible and practical solutions.

It is also possible to think that banker Dimitrios Paspallis shifted from a more positive stance about the post-Byzantine musical tradition and began to subscribe to the discourse of the radicals that emphasized the “decline” in music in the last four centuries.

In the rest of this section, I will analyze a pamphlet written by D. Paspallis shortly after the music discussions in *Neologos*.⁵⁷⁶ As a member of the dissolved music committee of the Greek Literary Society, Paspallis must have published this essay after the dissolution of the music committee. This was a sort of vindication letter to the Greek public, in which he explained why the work of the committee was interrupted and defended its aims. He criticized the cantors who blocked the music reform that the music committee had started by writing ecclesiastical chants in western notation. He categorized the conflicting parties as progressives versus fanatics who had fought against every new idea since the Renaissance.⁵⁷⁷ He generalized and depicted the cantors holding on to their archaic ways with a guild mentality, afraid of losing their jobs to the ones equipped with modern knowledge. Paspallis mentioned the French music scholar Ch. Em. Ruelle’s speech held a year before in *L’Association pour l’encouragement des études Grecques en France*.⁵⁷⁸ I think, he was trying to convince his readers that European musicians like Bourgault-

⁵⁷⁶ D. Paspallis’ pamphlet has no title. The copy that I found in the Library of Theological School of Halki was in a bound-volume containing other pamphlets. On its last page the pamphlet bears the name of Paspallis and the date 15 December 1879.

⁵⁷⁷ D. Paspallis’ pamphlet, p. 5: “[...]these are due to ignorance, human sickness and squalor. Fanaticism, obstinacy and villainess condemned Galileo and so many other philosophers with hardships[...]”.

⁵⁷⁸ He quoted passages from Ruelle’s speech which was published in the *Annuaire* (for the 12th year) of the Association.

Ducoudray and Ruelle could be useful collaborators in accomplishing the desired music reform. For that, he represented them as empathic partners who comprehended the moral value of the particular music that the Greeks inherited from their ancestors.

He translated into Greek a paragraph from Ruelle's speech:

This music is an ethnic heritage and an ancient tradition, which is both ecclesiastical and lay. If it is elevated and improved, then it can serve as a starting point for the reestablishment of a prototypical music language, indeed particular and appropriate to the eastern peoples.⁵⁷⁹

It would be interesting to know the real content of creating a prototypical music for the eastern peoples based on Greek music and what Ruelle had in mind when he said "eastern peoples".

In his pamphlet, Paspallis played with a rhetoric of embarrassing his readers about taking advice from Europeans: "...I consider it a shame for us, orthodox Greeks, to be taught what to do by the Europeans about our most valuable national and inner interests..."⁵⁸⁰ At the same time, he defended his ideas with an orientalist language that drew upon the classical *topoi* of the orientalist discourse: "We, in our wretched Byzantinism dozed with *mandragora* (narcotic herb), three-legged in our audacity, are sufficed with words like "keep the ancient and the inherited"⁵⁸¹ or "...while we obstinately insist on and continue in an effeminate Asiaticism, seeking and applying one-third of the tone or the quarter tone, which are entirely paraphonic, which were apparently introduced in the period of decline to the music of the Greeks

⁵⁷⁹ D. Paspallis' pamphlet, pp.7- 8.

⁵⁸⁰ D. Paspallis, p.9. By the term "inner" interests, he probably meant the spiritual needs and the religious traditions of the orthodox Greeks.

⁵⁸¹ D. Paspallis, p.9.

of the East, and evoking a gruesome and abominable feeling due to their false relations to each other...”.⁵⁸²

He also condemned the methods of the existing church music as arbitrary and parochial, the opposite of the positively valued notions of being scientific and universal. This way of argument was particularly used in defending the western notation. In his talk, Ch. Em. Ruelle had argued for the necessity of adopting the western notation because Byzantine notation was signifying the relative distance of one tone to the other, whereas western notation – which was used everywhere in the world- signified the precise and mathematical gradation of the tones.⁵⁸³ Let us note that even though they actively took part in the music committee of the Greek Literary Society and were persuaded to transcribe a number of ecclesiastical hymns into western notation, it is very doubtful that Ioasaf Rossos and Germanos Afthonidis considered western notation as a method that could entirely replace traditional notation. We should always keep in mind that there was no consensus about the music reform (even the same agents of reform were behaving in a contradictory way at different times), besides, of course, there were different levels of reforming along the lines of the European music, i.e. the teaching and dissemination methods, the compositional techniques etc.

Towards the end of his essay, Paspallis used a strategy arguing for the religious interests of the majority and said that because of the egoism of the cantors, the public had stopped going to the church (not to hear that music) which resulted in

⁵⁸² D. Paspallis, p.10. He referred to the work of the Belgian musician F. S. Fetis about the theory of harmonics which had put into doubt the mathematical relationships, and hence the existence of the tones lesser than the half-tone. In the same context, he also quoted (on p.6) from J. J. Rousseau in French: « Quart de ton, intervalle introduit dans le genre enharmon, par Aristoxène, et duquel la raison est sourde ». Let us note that Paspallis adopts here the classicist view perpetuated by European Enlightenment that defined whatever came after classical Greece as decline.

⁵⁸³ D. Paspallis, p.8.

the weakening of the religious feelings among the Christians. So, he defended modernism in the name of religion. In his plea to Patriarch Joachim III about the settling of the music question, Paspallis wrote that the latter, as the spiritual leader, had to be “conservative and progressive at the same time”.⁵⁸⁴ Patriarch Joachim responded to these requests and issued two circulars in January 1880 concerning the improvement of the liturgy and the rectification of the chanting in the churches of Constantinople.

To sum up, in this section we witnessed that two individuals with different symbolic capitals – cantor Kiltzanidis with his specialized music knowledge and banker Paspallis with his social status and his affiliation with the parish church council of Stavrodromio (Beyoğlu) both of which allowed him to speak in the name of the orthodox “public” - tried to shape the public opinion about the music reform using various institutionalized spaces that formed the public sphere, i.e. daily press and voluntary associations. In the coming pages, the developments in the musical field will be further investigated.

The *Greek Music Society* and the Vocal Tradition of Ecclesiastical Music

In this section I will focus on the Greek Music Society (*Ellinikos Mousikos Sillogos*) which was founded on 24 February 1880.⁵⁸⁵ Just a month before, Patriarch Joachim III responded to the plea of banker D. Paspallis and issued two circulars

⁵⁸⁴ D. Paspallis, p.12.

⁵⁸⁵ “Ο εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικός Σύλλογος (Music Society of Constantinople),” *Grafikos Kosmos*, 1 November 1881. The periodical *Grafikos Kosmos* writes that 44 most experienced cantors and intellectuals of the capital came together on 24 February 1880 and founded in Galata, the Music Society of Constantinople. According to Georgios I. Papadopoulos, the formation of the society was the fruit and the result of his lecture about ecclesiastical music that took place on 10 February 1880 in the Greek Literary Society. See G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp.396-7. At that time, the chairman of the GLS was Spirydon Mavrogenis.

addressing the cantors of Constantinople.⁵⁸⁶ In these circulars, cantors were ordained to chant plainly, keeping the rhythm, and in a modest, calm, dignified, clear, austere and melodic way.⁵⁸⁷ The circulars also warned the cantors and choristers about their attire which should be uniform and decent. In the first circular, while ecclesiastical music was lauded as a valuable heritage which had to be improved and elevated, its relationship with the music of the ancient Greeks, an issue which as we know occupied the prominent cantors of the day, was glossed over with one sentence, saying that ecclesiastical music poured out from the music of the ancient Greeks.⁵⁸⁸ The second circular also bound the parish church councils by stating that “no chief of the holy church, trustee or notable can force the cantor to chant incompatible with the present circular”.⁵⁸⁹ This might be thought as a response to the attempts of introducing polyphonic music into the Church of Eisodion (Pera) in 1878 and was closely connected with Joachim’s general determination about preventing the trampling of the ecclesiastical or the clerical element by the lay elite. Joachim defended the position of the high clergy also in the administrative matters of the community. His attempt at establishing the “Educational and Philanthropical Brotherhood” in 1880 was interpreted as a move in order to downgrade the educational mission of the Greek Literary Society. In March 1880, he assembled a council composed of the members of the rich families of Constantinople and certain

⁵⁸⁶ These two circulars were published in G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp.420-424. The first one was issued on 2 January 1880 and the second on 8 January 1880. See these circulars (in Greek) in the Appendix.

⁵⁸⁷ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.421: “[...] καὶ ἀνάλογον πρὸς τα θεία αὐτῆς ἄσματα, ἔχουσιν το μεγαλοπρεπές ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι, το τερπνόν ἐν τῇ εὐρυθμίᾳ καὶ το σεμνόν ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταπεινότητος, ἡρεμίας καὶ κατανύξεως καθαρὰ, ευκρινεῖ, ἀπερίττω καὶ ἐμμελεῖ ψαλμωδία”.

⁵⁸⁸ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.420: “Ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἡμῶν Μουσικὴ, ὡς ἀπορρέουσα ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων[...]”.

⁵⁸⁹ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.424: “Οὐδεὶς δὲ προϊστάμενος ἱεράς ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ἐφορὸς, ἡ πρόκριτος δύναται νὰ καταναγκάσῃ τὸν ἱεροψάλτην ἵνα ψάλλῃ τι ἀπάδον τῇ παρούσῃ ἐγκυκλίῳ”.

professionals of the community, in order to establish a central institution which would supervise the financing of the education of the Greek-orthodox living in the Empire. H. Exertzoglou, who analyzed the discourses related to the issue which were propagated in the Greek Press of Constantinople, noted that the downgrading of the role of the intellectuals in the education of the Greek nation (*ethnos*) created discussions about social hierarchy and national ideology. According to him, with its strong emphasis on orthodoxy, the new institution distinguished itself from the existing practice.⁵⁹⁰

Concerning the name of the music society - ‘*Ellinikos*’ Mousikos Sillogos - some comments are in order. Soon after the establishment of the mentioned “Educational and Philanthropical Brotherhood” “*Agapate Allilous*”, Patriarch Joachim suggested that in the first article of its statute the founders should be mentioned as the “*Graikoi*” of Constantinople. This drew criticism from the newspaper *Neologos* which argued for the ethnic name, *Ellines*.⁵⁹¹ We do not know if the name of the Music Society became an issue of debate among its founders, yet it is worth noting that it is named as *Ellinikos Mousikos Sillogos* in its statute which was signed on 6 April 1880.⁵⁹²

The aims of the Greek Music Society were declared as the “theoretical and practical investigation, improvement and cultivation of [our] *ethniki* music, both the

⁵⁹⁰ Haris, Exertzoglou, «Κοινωνική ιεραρχία, ιδεολογία και εθνική ταυτότητα: το νόημα της ίδρυσης της Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Αδελφότητας ‘Αγαπάτε αλλήλους’ (Social hierarchy, ideology and national identity: the meaning of the foundation of the Educational Brotherhood ‘Agapate Allilous’)», *Ta Historica* 12 (22), (June 1995), pp.85-118.

⁵⁹¹ H. Exertzoglou, “Social hierarchy, ideology and national identity”, pp.92- 93. Exertzoglou gives references to *Neologos* 29 and 30 March 1880.

⁵⁹² *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολη Ελληνικού Μουσικού Συλλόγου (Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople)*, (Constantinople: Thrakis, 1880). The syntactic council was composed of G. I. Papadopoulos, G. Raidestinos, D. Petallidis, Ioasaf Ieropsaltis and Agathangelos Kiriazidis.

ecclesiastical and external (lay) music”.⁵⁹³ It would also encourage the studying of ‘all the stages of’ the history of ecclesiastical music.⁵⁹⁴ The Society took practical and effective measures toward the improvement of the practice of ecclesiastical music. It formed an educational committee whose main goal was the reform and improvement of ecclesiastical music. As well as forming a ground for scientific discussions, the educational committee would also inspect the execution of the chanting practice via an inventory of the cantors of Constantinople.⁵⁹⁵ The GMS also aspired for the further instruction of the cantors who were already practicing chanting.⁵⁹⁶ This was predominantly a cantors’ society, almost all of the 44 founders of the Society were cantors in Constantinople.⁵⁹⁷ If we remember the banker D. Paspallis’ criticism pointed at the “fanatic” cantors who possibly degraded the general image of the cantors, we can interpret some of the features of the Music Society as conscious attempts at recovering that image. It does not seem possible that the Greek Music Society was intended as a professional union for the cantors but we also have evidence that the founders of the society desired to provide financial

⁵⁹³ *Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople*, article 1.

⁵⁹⁴ *Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople*, article 1: “...the investigation (εξασκρίβωση) of its history from the ancient years till present with attention and profundity...” Also, at the music school that was planned to be founded, the history and the philology of the ecclesiastical music were designated to be compulsory courses for every student. See *Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople*, article 61.

⁵⁹⁵ *Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople*, article 45, p.13.

⁵⁹⁶ *Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople*, article 2(6): “The cantors of the capital gather at least once a week to practice collective uniform chanting”.

⁵⁹⁷ G. Raidestinos, P. Kiltzanidis, G.I. Papadopoulos, N. Ioannidis, Al. Georgiadis, Nilefs Kamarados, D.G. Kifiotis, Th. A. Papadopoulos, Al. Vyzantios, Io. Pagkalos, Ag. Kyriazidis, Ilias Ierodiakonos, Xar. Georgiou, G. Progakis, M. Pogiatioglous, A. Palamaris, G. Nomikos, Iakovos Ierodiakonos, Pol. Paheidis, Dim. Kukuzelis, Al. Nomismatidis, B. Velliadis, Ioasaf Ieropsaltis, D. Petallidis, Sp. Georgopoulos, Ioannis Ierodiakonos, Iordanis Nikolaou, Al. Karagiozis, Dim. Papadopoulos, P. Petridis, K. Mavridis, N. Alfatzis, K. H. Dimitriadis, Io. Tsirinidis, Konst. Fokaefs, Hr. Pashalis, B. Kifiotis, Io. Kifiotis, G. Sarantaekklisiotis, G. Makastaridis, Emm. Pikos, G. Tiberios, K. Papadopoulos, K. Ananiadis.

support to the cantors in need.⁵⁹⁸ In improving the image of the cantors, one of the leading figures of the Society, Georgios Radestinos (1833-1889) the former *Protopsaltis* (first cantor) of the Great Church played a major role. Radestinos had been singing in various churches of Constantinople since 1849. With the mediation of Patriarch Konstantinos I, he had become cantor in the church of the Sinai Monastery in Balat, where he learned the ecclesiastical chanting from the eminent cantor Konstantinos Vyzantios. Radestinos was famous for his dignified and archaist style, and was appreciated for his strong attachment to the tradition of the Church of Constantinople. His lectures and performances with the choir of the Society contributed positively to his own image while affirming the work of the Society with a discourse that propagated a return to the most ancient forms of the ecclesiastical chants. Numerous articles in newspapers mentioned with appraisal the regular meetings of the Society, referring not only to the old and “dignified” style of the chants that were performed but also to the uniformity that the choir achieved in its performance.⁵⁹⁹ If Georgios Radestinos was the prestige of the Music Society as a respected cantor who carried the vocal tradition, Georgios I. Papadopoulos was its most active member who gave many lectures to promote the history of ecclesiastical music. Furthermore, he contributed to the shaping of the musical “field” by promoting the art and the profession of chanting. For instance, one of his lectures was about the etymology of the words “to psalt”, “psalmody” and “psalter”, by which he probably intended to arouse a reflective thought in the public about the

⁵⁹⁸ *Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople*, article 77: “The presiding board keeps one-third of the revenues of various activities, after the subtraction of the expenses, as a reserve fund for the treatment of the cantors who suffer an illness”.

⁵⁹⁹ In one report in *Anatolikos Astir*, 12 January 1881, it was written that G. Raidestinos notated the hymn in accord with the old dignified style and 22 musicians sang together showing that *omiomorfos* (uniform collective) chanting was possible.

profession of psalting.⁶⁰⁰ He was also interested in compiling the biographies of cantors, primarily the ones who had lived in Constantinople and in canonizing more or less a chain of transmission of the art of psalting. In this regard, his lecture in the Greek Music Society, about the cantors and the music teachers who lived in the period after the Fall of Constantinople⁶⁰¹ is an important attempt in championing the post-Byzantine cantors. Similar lectures continued, showing more and more interest in the history of specialization and professionalization of chanting which was a religious practice that had been executed in the early centuries of Christianity by the whole congregation. A lecture in 1882 tackled the employment of canonical cantors in the early church and the reproaches of the fourth and fifth century Church Fathers for the abuses in the art of music.⁶⁰²

Not surprisingly, the Society found support among the high clergy, probably due to its efforts at studying and improving ecclesiastical music, and its declared aim of protecting it against the Europeanizing tastes of the community. The Metropolitan of Mytilene Konstantinos Valiadis⁶⁰³ was the honorary vice-president of the Greek

⁶⁰⁰ See the list of G. I. Papadopoulos' lectures in EMS in *Grafikos Kosmos*, 1 November 1881. The above-mentioned lecture was entitled, "Γραμματικά και κριτικά επί των λέξεων ψάλλω, ψαλμός, ψάλτης κτλ." and another one related with the phonetic organs and the formation of the voice, "Περί του οργανικού συστήματος της φωνής και του σχηματισμού του φωνητικού ήχου".

⁶⁰¹ *Anatolikos Astir*, 28 October, 1881.

⁶⁰² *Grafikos Kosmos*, 15 December 1881. The lecture was entitled "Περί της πρωϊμώτατα εγκαταστάσεως εν ταις εκκλησίαις της τάξεως των κανονικών ψαλτών, και των καθ' αὐτὸν μομφών των Πατέρων του Δ' και Ε' μ.Χ. αιώνος δια τας εν τη μουσική τέχνη εισαχθείσας καταχρήσεις".

⁶⁰³ Konstantinos Valiadis was born in 1833 in Chios. He learned ecclesiastical music from the first-cantor of the Metropolitan church of Chios, Nikolaos Poulakis. He studied at the Theological School of Chalki. Then, he continued his studies at the University of Athens and then studied theology and ecclesiastical rhetoric in Strasbourg and Heidelberg. In 1876, he was appointed the Metropolitan of Mytilene. He was candidate in the patriarch elections three times, 1884, 1887 and 1891. He became the Metropolitan of Ephesus in 1893. In 1897 he was elected patriarch and remained on the patriarchal throne until he was forced to leave this post by the 'Joachimists' in 1901. During his patriarchship, he tried to ameliorate the broken relationships of the Patriarchate of Constantinople with other patriarchates and churches, i.e. church of Crete, Patriarchate of Alexandria, Mt. Athos and part. of Antioch. However, the conflict with the Patriarchate of Antioch remained unsolved. In 1898, he assembled a synodal council to publish the New Testament in an effort to restore the ancient text of the ecclesiastical tradition and of the Church of Constantinople. He tried to build good relations with

Music Society. He had written in 1870 an article in *Neologos*, with an aim to refute the arguments of the supporters of the new harmonic polyphonic music, an issue which was being discussed at the time by the Holy Synod of Greece.⁶⁰⁴ At the annual celebration of the Greek Music Society on 4 December 1881, he criticized the attitude of mimicking the Europeans and moreover, showed his strong disapproval for the liturgical music of the western church.⁶⁰⁵

On 14 December 1880 the educational committee of the Society was invited to the Patriarchate for consultation on the music issue. During the meeting, banker Dimitrios Paspallis, Xenofon Triantafillidis, Archimandrite and erudite musician Germanos Afthonidis and mathematics teacher Andreas Spatharis were present⁶⁰⁶. Just after the meeting at the Patriarchate, a small scandal caused severe discussions among the members of the music society. On 16 December, the GMS sent to the newspaper *Anatolikos Astir* a declaration that the minutes of the meeting at the Patriarchate were *needed* to be published for the knowledge of the orthodox *panhellenes*⁶⁰⁷ (*orthodoxou panelliniou*), in fact implying that the chairman of the

the Anglican Church. He died in 1914 in Chalki. For his biography, see the website of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, <http://www.ec-patr.org/list/index.php?lang=gr&id=316>. In the coming chapters, we will see him as an active supporter of traditional ecclesiastical music; as honorary member of the music society 'Orfeus' (founded in 1886), as the president of the patriarchal music council in 1887 and the founder of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople in 1898.

⁶⁰⁴ Georgios I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp.454- 457. Also see, K. Valiadis, "Παρατηρήσεις τινές επί του ζητήματος της εκκλησιαστικής ημών μουσικής κατ'αντιπαράθεσιν προς την τετράφωνον (Some remarks about the question of our ecclesiastical music in confrontation with the tetraphony)," *Neologos*, 9 and 11 July 1870.

⁶⁰⁵ The following quote is taken from his speech: "The vehement and irresistible current of the new civilization and our uncontrollable tendency to praise any new thing coming from Europe, threatens our systems that survived [...] Our Society will show following Pythagoras' monochord that our music is the only appropriate music for praising God, not the acoustic polyphony". Source: *Anatolikos Astir*, 17 Feb 1882.

⁶⁰⁶ These four individuals whose views seemed to be much esteemed by the Patriarch were probably not members of the Greek Music Society. Concerning D. Paspallis, perhaps it has to do with his conflict with P. Kiltzanidis. Similarly we do not see the name of Evstratios Papadopoulos among the members of the Society.

⁶⁰⁷ S. Anagnostopoulou noted that the use of the national epithet "Panhellenion" in the "patriarchal" historiography of the period (1878- 1910) demonstrated that the Patriarchate was making out its claim

society D. Petallidis and the head of the educational committee cantor Ioasaf did not attend the meeting. Upon this, Petallidis and Ioasaf complained in the same newspaper that they were not informed about the extra meeting. On 26 December, the chairmanship of the Society wrote a letter to the newspaper in the name of 107 members, saying that both chairmen failed to do their duties by not coming to the regular meetings. As a result of the scandal, on 31 December 1880 D. Petallidis was replaced by P. Thomas and cantor Ioasaf by Panagiotis Kiltzanidis. We do not know whether this event had any ideological connotations but it is also noteworthy that two prominent cantors Ioasaf Rossos and Panagiotis Kiltzanidis were not invited to the meeting at the Patriarchate.

In 1881, the Society had about 80 honorary members including the members of the high clergy beginning with the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III, the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, the Archbishop of Cyprus, the metropolitans of more than 30 sees, and several archimandrites, and members of the notable families of Constantinople, e.g. Spyridon Mavrogenis (the honorary president of the Society), Alexandros Karatheodoris, S. Aristarhis, the owner of the newspaper *Neologos* S. Voutiras, the owner of *Anatolikos Astir* B. D. Kallifron, and professionals and intellectuals, e.g. M. I. Gedeon, M. Paranikas and Th. Georgiadis. Moreover, among the honorary members of the Society were also prominent intellectuals and scholars of the Hellenic Kingdom, e.g. historians K. Sathas, D. Vernardakis, K. Paparrigopoulos, S. Koumanoudis, and philologist D. Semitelos, and also European scholars, e.g. Emmanuil Miller, Emile Legrand, Paul Stoppel and

to the boundaries of its ecumenicity. Sia Anagnostopoulou, "The Terms Millet, Genos, Ethnos, Oikoumenikotita, Alytrotismos, in Greek Historiography", p.42. So, the members of the Greek Music Society were referring to the ecumenicity of the Patriarchate.

Richard Foister.⁶⁰⁸ The new educational committee that was formed in January 1881 was composed of *Megalos Ritor* of the Patriarchate Konstantinos Kalliadis, doctor Iroklis Vasiadis, writer Odyseos Ialemos, musicologist Georgios I. Papadopoulos, A. Vatis, cantor P. Kiltzanidis, cantor Georgios Radestinos, music teacher Alexandros Vizantios, A. Georgiadis and cantor D. Kifiotis.

The GMS drew heavily on religious symbolisms and developed a high degree of ritualization in its celebrations which played with the juxtaposition and the contrast of religious and secular.⁶⁰⁹ Besides reflecting its ideological choice and its balanced position between orthodoxy and secular ideology that the Society wanted to project about itself to the public, this may also have to do with the in-between status of the cantor in the church canons and as a church employee. The calendar of the society was based on the religious calendar, namely the Society chose the three-member committee which inspected the activities of the presiding board on Palm Sunday (*Κυριακή των Βαΐων*) or the new chairman of the Society was to be elected on the Sunday of the Myrrhbearers.⁶¹⁰ As examples to “mixed” practices, the Music Society had two seals; the general seal bore the mythical figure of Orpheus playing the lyra surrounded by trees and animals, the second seal which belonged to the educational committee bore the figure of St. John of Damascus.⁶¹¹ Furthermore, during its annual public celebrations, the symbolic language of the ritual was based on the use of the religious and secular in alternate succession. Both of the annual

⁶⁰⁸ See “Ο εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικός Σύλλογος (Music Society in Constantinople)” *Grafikos Kosmos*, 1 November 1881; *Anatolikos Astir*, 28 January 1881.

⁶⁰⁹ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp.100- 110. According to Bell, ritualization is the strategic manipulation of “context” in the very act of reproducing it. She claims that the generation of a privileged opposition is one of the main strategies of ritualization.

⁶¹⁰ *Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople*, articles 82, 83, p.21.

⁶¹¹ *Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople*, article 81.

celebrations of the Society began with a mass in the Church of Hagios Nikolaos in Galata held by a metropolitan who was also a member of the Music Society. Then the celebrating crowd walked to the school of Galata singing hymns. There, the honorary chairman Spyridon Mavrogenis held a speech which was followed by an ecclesiastical chant sung by the choir of cantors of the Society. After that the orator and the general secretary of the Society G. Papadopoulos read the yearly report of activities followed by another chant sung by the choir.

The relationship of the Greek Music Society with Patriarch Joachim III needs careful consideration. Joachim supported the Greek Music Society and the music school that it founded, and promised the Society members the assistance of the Mother Church.⁶¹² Furthermore, he emphasized the importance of the achievements of the Society which focused on the improvement of the living vocal practice. However, Joachim aspired to monopolize and centralize the scientific research and the theoretical reform regarding music, and to the detriment of the GMS, he called certain musicians who formed its backbone to work in the Music Committee of 1881 that he assembled. This was implicitly lamented by Georgios I. Papadopoulos the founder of the Society.⁶¹³ The Music Society existed until 1884 but unfortunately we do not have precise information about how it dissolved. Yet, towards the end of 1882 there seemed to be disputes on financial matters within the Society which, according

⁶¹² Patriarchal correspondence, letter sent to the chairman of the Greek Music Society, Codex A' 52, no. 4882, 7 November 1881: "[...] η Μήτηρ Εκκλησία παρέξει υμίν κατά το δυνατόν την ηθικήν αρωγήν αυτής προκειμένου περί διαδόσεως ιερού πατροπαραδότου κειμηλίου [...]".

⁶¹³ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p. 401: "Since then, the scientific commission of the Society stopped functioning as it had lost its most important members".

to a report in *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, resulted in the Church's withdrawal of its protection from the Society.⁶¹⁴

We already mentioned the emergence of a serious concern about the redefinition of the orthodox tradition of the Church especially after Joachim III came to the patriarchal throne. One of the manifestations of this search for the roots of orthodoxy and of the attempts of rectification of its glorious history in the musical discourse was the veneration of John of Damascus as the founder of ecclesiastical music. It could be a challenge for another rather interesting study to elucidate how John of Damascus came to be commemorated as the founder of the eight-mode music system of the eastern orthodox church as there are no sources that indicate anything particular about his contribution to the study of ecclesiastical music theory. Such a study would require a scrupulous analysis of the Byzantine (even Arab) music sources, as well as a thorough analysis of the nineteenth century European and Greek works on Christian liturgical music. E. Gazi's brilliant recent work illuminated the process in which the holiday of the Three Holy Hierarchs came to be established in the nineteenth century as the celebration of the Greek-orthodox education/culture, within a discursive field in which Hellenic culture was reconciliated with Christian ethics. One of the great achievements of the book is the recognition that this reconciliation was not totally a nineteenth century construct but that already in the twelfth century, the Three Hierarchs gradually came to be identified with the particular fourth century Cappadocian Church Fathers (St. Basil the Great, John Chrysostome and Gregory the Theologian) who had defused the antithesis between

⁶¹⁴*Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, 8 September 1882. Also, according to a letter of doctor Th. Georgiadis (signed on 17 Dec 1882) which was published on 22 December 1882 in *Neologos*, during the meeting of the Music Society, G. I. Papadopoulos was vehemently attacked by various cantors.

paideia and true Christianity in their writings.⁶¹⁵ Here, we will not go into the grandiose task of discovering the genealogy of the myth about John of Damascus, but suffice with hinting at some aspects of his celebration in the Greek Music Society and perhaps raise some questions for a future study.

In its statute, the annual celebration of the Greek Music Society was designated to be on the fourth of December, the same day as the feast of St. John of Damascus. If we look closely at the activities of the Society, we may even notice that the “myth” of St. John of Damascus as the founder of ecclesiastical music was consolidated through the music lectures and the regular chanting sessions of the Society. For instance, in the first annual celebration of the Greek Music Society, both Spyridon Mavrogenis and Georgios Papadopoulos held a speech on St. John of Damascus. Mavrogenis’ speech was more on the western scholarship – he mentioned *Patrologia Graeca*, the edition of Byzantine Patristic and Ecclesiastical Greek texts compiled by J. P. Migne - on St. John of Damascus, whom he referred to as “our” Saint. He also treated his theological work and his position against the iconoclasts briefly, and mentioned him as the “teacher and founder of our ecclesiastical music”.⁶¹⁶ In his speech, Papadopoulos celebrated St. John of Damascus due to his protection of ecclesiastical music from the ignorance and the arbitrariness of the musicians who used theatrical music in their chants and because with his *Oktoihos*, he rendered canonical collectivity and sentiments befitting the Christian worship to ecclesiastical chanting.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁵ Effi Gazi, *Ο Δεύτερος Βίος των Τριών Ιεραρχών. Μια Γενεαλογία του «Ελληνοχριστιανικού Πολιτισμού»*, (*The second life of Three Hierarchs. A Geneaology of “Hellenochristian civilisation”*), (Athens: Nefeli, 2004).

⁶¹⁶ *Anatolikos Astir*, 17 February 1882.

⁶¹⁷ *Anatolikos Astir*, 16 December 1881.

John of Damascus was the son of a prominent family in the civil administration of Syria in the period of the Umayyad Empire, when the Arab Empire was expanding. In 638, the patriarch of Jerusalem Sofronios surrendered the holy city to Caliph Umar: Arab conquests had produced an environment in which Christians who had different Christological views i.e. monenergists (the doctrine that Christ has a single “theandric”, divine-human activity), monothelitists (the doctrine that Christ has a single [divine] will) confronted each other in open controversy. The monks of Palestine, whom John joined probably in the second decade of the eighth century, had a prominent role in defending the orthodoxy of the Byzantine councils. In the history of eastern Christianity, John of Damascus has been credited for his apology for icons, developed in his *Treatises Against Those Who Attack the Holy Images*⁶¹⁸ written during the first phase of the Iconoclastic Controversy (717-787).⁶¹⁹ He lived at a time when the orthodox tradition was being refined and important liturgical forms were being established. Apart from his works in the tradition of heresiography, a long Christian tradition which treats Islam as a heresy⁶²⁰, John of Damascus is also renowned for his liturgical poetry. He composed the Easter Canon “The Day of Resurrection” *Αναστάσεως Ημέρα* which brought him

⁶¹⁸ The most recent English translations are St. John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images*, trans. David Anderson, (New York: Crestwood, 1980) and St. John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, trans. Andrew Louth, (St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003).

⁶¹⁹ See James R. Payton, “John of Damascus on Human Cognition: An Element in His Apologetic for Icons”, *Church History* 65 (1996), pp. 173-183. Payton notes that John of Damascus drew on the heritage of the previous church fathers on the specific question of human cognition, yet as a creative effort he brought the Christological arguments to the center of the debate about religious imagery. For him, the icon served the purpose of the stimulation of the memory, a reminder of the Incarnation. Actually, John of Damascus’ role in the iconoclastic controversy is not directly related to the purposes of this study, yet it might have some significance to the extent that it drew the attention of the nineteenth century Modern Greek historiography or the developing field of the history of the Eastern Church music. Yet, we do not know whether John of Damascus, starting from his explorations about the significance of human materiality in the context of the defense of the icons, wrote anything about the significance of music in worship.

⁶²⁰ Aziz Al- Azmeh, *Rome, New Rome and Baghdad: Pathways of Late Antiquity*, Carl Heinrich Becker Lecture of Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, (Köln: Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, 2008), p. 70.

so much fame that he was credited with the whole of the *Paraklitiki*, the service book which contains the texts for the basic eight-week cycle on which the Byzantine liturgical year is based⁶²¹. St. John's Canon consisted of stanzas (*troparia*) each of which corresponded to nine biblical odes (one of them had dropped out later). He composed each *troparia* in one of the eight different tunes (*ihos*) which were already in use before his time.

In his book *Contributions to the History of Ecclesiastical Music* (1890) G. I. Papadopoulos claimed that John of Damascus systematized the old eight-tune *αρχαία οκτωηχία* and that he was the author of a book on the theory of ecclesiastical music.⁶²² According to him, John's *Oktoihos* which was composed of eight major parts was a practical application of the eight ecclesiastical modes. Hence, he asserted that the hymns in *Oktoihos* were organized according to musical principles and were shaped under a musical system.⁶²³

Another issue is regarding the incorporation of John of Damascus into the church canon (it must be some time in the centuries that followed the iconoclastic controversy) and into the nineteenth century discourse on "Helleno-Christianity", while his liturgical work bore traces of Jewish and Islamic theological concepts. John of Damascus lived at a time when the orthodox Christian tradition was reconsolidated against heresies, defined its space against the Jewish religion and Islam, but used some of the arguments of the latter to defend its own doctrines. A.

⁶²¹ See Andrew Louth, *St John Damascene. Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, (Oxford: Early Christian Studies, 2002), pp. 3- 14, p.252.

⁶²² G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.165. Papadopoulos claimed that parts of a music book *Grammatiki* written by St John was in Mount Athos. According to him, in *Grammatiki* basic modes, plagal modes, as well as their corresponding modes in the ancient Greek music were explained. Yet, he also noted that some Byzantologists had argued that this book did not belong to St John of Damascus.

340 G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p. 166.

Louth draws attention to the irony that in his Easter Canon, St. John used two passages from Gregory Nazianzen's two homilies for Easter in which the word "pascha" was derived not from the Greek word *paschein*, to suffer, but from Hebrew, *pesach* Passover, referring spiritually to the passage from below to above, to the land of promise⁶²⁴.

The scholar of the history of eastern Christianity J. Pelikan noted that the iconoclastic controversy, in which John of Damascus was a major figure, evoked discussions about the doctrine of the Church and the relation between the Church and the empire. At the end of the controversy, a diarchy of the emperor and the patriarch emerged which meant that the Church could define its orthodoxy conforming to the Scripture and the apostolic tradition.⁶²⁵ The appropriation of this break-through in the history of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire by the nineteenth century Greek historians was in various ways. Elucidating the complicated continuity from Byzantinism to romantic Hellenism and Great Idea, C. Mango reminds us of how the historian Konstantinos Paparigopoulos interpreted the iconoclastic movement as an expression of the Hellenic spirit which was preserved better in the eastern centers of the Empire.⁶²⁶ In a recent study, D. Stamatopoulos pointed out to the Archivist of the Patriarchate M. Gedeon's attack on K. Paparrigopoulos concerning the latter's interpretation of the period of iconoclasm. According to Stamatopoulos, the Greek historian Paparrigopoulos described iconoclasm as a reform movement in Byzantium, trying to make it acceptable to the West. Gedeon, Stamatopoulos noted, "understood the Byzantine tradition only through the final

⁶²⁴ A. Louth, *St John Damascene. Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, p.260.

⁶²⁵ Jaroslav Pelikan, *L'Esprit du Christianisme Oriental 600-1700*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), pp.154-55.

⁶²⁶ Cyril Mango, "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism" in *Byzantium and Its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, (London: Variorum, 1984).

arrangement which the end of Iconoclasm imposed and which was symbolically connected to the premier place acquired by the clergy and its most extreme segment, monasticism”.⁶²⁷ The appropriation of the iconoclastic controversy in Greek national historiography definitely has to do with the interpretation of the past and the conceptions of Greek identity but it is beyond the scope of this study. In Constantinople of the 1880s, the reverence to St. John of Damascus, who saved the worshipping tradition of the Eastern Church and strengthened the dogmatic decisions of the Byzantine ecumenical councils, should be understood in relation to the ecumenist policy of Joachim III, namely reconsolidating and strengthening the eastern orthodox tradition and the privileged position of the Orthodox clergy vis-à-vis the laity in the internal affairs of the *millet*.

The Patriarchal Music Committee of 1881: “A Reform Not To Lose All”

The aggravation of the Eastern Question, the creation of the autonomous Bulgarian principality and Joachim III’s enthronement as the leader of the *millet* in 1878 gave a momentum to a process in which religiosity as a moral ideal and orthodoxy as the ethnic-confessional identity were boosted. During his first patriarchship, Joachim was accused by some segments of the community of impoverishing the authority of the Great Church in Thrace, Macedonia and Epirus. In an anonymous article in *Anatolikos Astir* entitled “Hellenism and Orthodoxy”, the author decried against the Patriarchate that in Varna, the Greek-orthodox were being forced to go to the Bulgarian church with weapons and police and that the villages

⁶²⁷ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “Ecumenical Ideology in the Orthodox Millet (19th-20th c),” in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

were going out of the authority of the Great Church into the Exarchate.⁶²⁸ Joachim's defense of the ecumenist ideology, which meant gathering the orthodox Slavs of the Balkans under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and his Russophile stance brought on the agenda or welcomed reconciliatory moves towards the revision or even the rejection of the schism of the Bulgarian church. It has to be noted that Joachim enhanced an 'Orthodox Commonwealth' and as its center, the Patriarchate of Constantinople which claimed and protected its rights in administering the Orthodox populations against the challenges of, not only the Bulgarian Exarchate, but also the Hellenic state and the Ottoman government. In 1884, he resigned due to the controversy between him and the Ottoman government about several issues including the trial of the civil affairs of the Orthodox clergy⁶²⁹, and also due to his conflict with the Trikoupis' government in Greece.⁶³⁰ His stance about the music issue cannot be seen separately from his general attitude of taking a distance from an ethnic identity and his ideal of consolidating the Patriarchate of Constantinople as the sole institution which preserved and promoted a religious tradition that united all the orthodox in an ecumenical sense. He promoted the tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church (hence its liturgical music) and articulated an ecumenist discourse which focused on Constantinople as its center.

In 1881, Patriarch Joachim III established a committee composed of the prominent church musicians of Constantinople and assigned them, "the adjustment

⁶²⁸ "Ο Ελληνισμός και Η Ορθοδοξία (Hellenism and Orthodoxy)," *Anatolikos Astir*, 17 February 1882.

⁶²⁹ See Haris Exertzoglou, "Το Προνόμιακό Ζήτημα", (The Privileges Question)", p.67. Also, Vangelis Kechriotis, "The Modernization of the Empire and the Community 'Privileges': Greek-orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies", pp. 56-58.

⁶³⁰ See Evangelos Kofos, "Patriarch Joachim III (1878- 1884) and the Irredentist Policy of the Greek State", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 4, (October 1986), pp.107- 20. Joachim was opposing the efforts of the Hellenic state in Macedonia and Thrace to take over control of the education and the appointment of Metropolitans among the Greek-Orthodox of the Empire.

and the settlement (την τακτοποίηση και την διακανόνιση) of the ecclesiastical music and its purgation (καθαρισμό) from foreign melodies which did not exist in the ancient music”.⁶³¹ Reminding the reader of the appeal of various members of the community to the patriarch about a music reform, let me note that the music issue seems to have gained a special urgency in the early 1880s. In the publication organ of the Patriarchate *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, the establishment of the Music Committee was announced with the following statement: “We are revolving in the circle of generalities and theories, while the awakening national consciousness is demanding urgently the purgation of our ecclesiastical music from the later penetrations of the usage of foreign idioms”.⁶³²

The Music Committee consisted of the learned Archimandrite Germanos Afthonidis, mathematics teacher of the Great School of the Nation Andreas Spatharis (who was a “Joachimist”⁶³³), the first cantor of the Patriarchate Georgios Violakis, cantor Ioasaf Rossos, the first cantor of the Church of Eisodion in Pera Evstratios Papadopoulos, the first cantor of the Church of Neohorio (*Yeniköy*) Nikolaos

⁶³¹ “Η Περί της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής Μέριμνα (Care for the ecclesiastical music)”, *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, year 1, vol. 3, 10 June 1881.

⁶³² “Η Περί της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής Μέριμνα (Care for the ecclesiastical music)”, p.47: “Τούτου ένεκα περιεστρεφόμεθα είς τον κύκλον των γενικοτήτων και θεωριών, εν ώ η αφυπνισθείσα εθνική συνείδησις απήτει τον ως τάχιστα καθαρισμόν της εκκλησιαστικής ημών μουσικής εκ των επεισάκτων ξενισμών”.

⁶³³ Konstantinos Spanoudis designated the term “Joachimism” (and anti-Joachimism) which referred to the two opposing political stances in the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople, for the period between the two offices of Joachim III, that is from 1884 to 1901. See Konstantinos Spanoudis, *Ιστορικαί Σελίδες. Ιωακείμ ο Γ΄* (Historical Pages. Joachim III), (Constantinople, 1902), p.54. In Spanoudis, p.116, Andreas Spatharis is said to be in the first ranks of Joachimists. Also the biographer of A. Spatharis, Elef. Th. Kasianis writes that “Spatharis struggled vigorously for the return of Joachim to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, after his twelve years’ self-exile in Mt. Athos”. Elef. Th. Kasianis, *Ανδρέας Σπαθάρης. Ο Φαναριώτης Διδάσκαλος του Γένους και Ποιητής* (Andreas Spatharis. The Phanariot Teacher of the Nation and Poet (1837-1901), (Athens, 1976), p. 28. Elsewhere (on. p.32), the author gives information about Spatharis’ stance in the music debates: “He worked continuously together with other prominent men in the music societies and councils against our ignorant and xenomaniac community members...”.

Ioannidis.⁶³⁴ After nine meetings, the Music Committee submitted a report to the Patriarch on 25 March 1881, noting among other things the necessity to construct a special music instrument to be able to execute the tones of the ecclesiastical music. In 1882, the Patriarchate sent a letter to the chairman of the Committee G. Afthonidis rendering its approval for the construction of an organ according to the new division of the tonal intervals (“scientific division of tonal intervals”, as the letter said) on which the Committee was working, and for the use of the new instrument in music instruction.⁶³⁵ We have to mention the support of the Greek Orthodox elite for the construction of the music instrument. In 1883, the prominent merchant Stefanos Zafeiropoulos donated 300 Liras to be used for various purposes related to the improvement of ecclesiastical music and the financing of the Music School. The Patriarchate emphasized particularly the following two aspects regarding the research on music, more or less, in order to gain the sponsorship of the wealthy Greek Orthodox: the “purgation” of the ethnic-religious heritage and the “scientific” nature of the research that was being done on music. The letter sent by the Patriarchate to Zafeiropoulos informed the Greek Orthodox merchant that, about 100 Liras of his donation would be reserved for the construction of a new instrument at a European factory; according to the letter, a step which was expected to save the ecclesiastical music from the “devastating foreign influence”, and to “render vitality and life to the laws of music, in general, and guide it in the unresearched parts of this vast science”.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁴ “Η Περί της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής Μέριμνα (Care for the ecclesiastical music)”, p.47.

⁶³⁵ Patriarchal Correspondence: Codex A’ 52, no. 205, 16 January 1882.

⁶³⁶ Patriarchal Correspondence: Codex A’ 53, no. 439, 31 January 1883: “[...]διασώζον αυτήν από της ολεθρίας ξενικής επιρροής, αλλά και εις τον μουσικόν εν γένει νόμον ίνα παρασθή αφορμήν νέας κινήσεως και ζωής και χειραγωγήσεως εις μέρη τέως άδύτα της απεράντου ταύτης επιστήμης[...]”.

The Music Committee continued its work with long intervals until at least 15 June 1885, the date which appears on the report that it submitted to Patriarch Joachim IV. Interestingly enough, among the members of the Music Committee, this time we see the name of cantor Panagiotis Kiltzanidis, and Georgios Progakis who joined the committee as secretary after the death of N. Ioannidis.⁶³⁷ It is noteworthy that Kiltzanidis was not assigned as member of the Committee during the patriarchship of Joachim III. Perhaps, Joachim did not want to involve him in the reform process that he had in mind, due to Kiltzanidis' "conservative" stance (or rather, his insistence on the solution of purely musical issues) and his controversy with the banker Dimitrios Paspallis. Joachim III seems to have preferred to "solve" the issue under his own aegis or with the experts whose ideological views he favored. In his study, A. Hatzopoulos also noted that, Joachim met the criticism of cantors while he enforced the scientific reform of music.⁶³⁸

Some remarks on the leading role of Germanos Afthonidis in the work of the Committee are in order. In 1872, G. Afthonidis had published an article in the periodical *Hronos* in which he lamented the threatening spirit of innovation and offered his own solution to the issue of reform.⁶³⁹ There, he took a position against the attempts of introducing polyphonic music to the churches of Athens and explained the melodic system of the church music in comparison with that of western

⁶³⁷ This report was published in *Στοιχειώδης Διδασκαλία της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής εκπονηθείσα επι τη βάσει του Ψαλτηρίου* (Basic Instruction of the Ecclesiastical Music), [Constantinople: Patriarchal Press, 1888], (Athens: Kouloura, 1999), pp.3-6.

⁶³⁸ Antonios Hatzopoulos, *Η Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική Παιδεία στην Εκκλησία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατά το 19^ο και 20^ο Αιώνα*, (Alexandroupoli, 2001), p.131. Hatzopoulos supported his point referring to an article published in *Mousiki* after Joachim III's death. In the article, it is said that, Joachim endeavoured a lot for the music institutions, but "the prickliness of the cantors' ignorance hampered his efforts and care". "Ο Πατριάρχης Ιωακείμ ο Γ' και η Εθνική Μουσική," *Mousiki*, 1912, p.340.

⁶³⁹ Germanos Afthonidis, «Περί της Ελληνικής ιεράς μουσικής κατ'αντιπαράθεσιν προς την ευρωπαϊκὴν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς τέχνης (About the Greek sacred music in comparison with the European music from the aspect of art)» *Hronos*, Constantinople, 1872, pp.84- 99.

music; trying to show that from the natural point of view the former was actually superior due to its wealth of tones. In the same article, he had written: “In the art of our sacred music, everything consists of practice, contrary to all other arts, theory is learned through practice, rather than the practice being applied to theoretical laws”.⁶⁴⁰ Thus, he had shown the way to a reform of the theory, which he saw as absolutely necessary, based on the living practice. Let us remember that the French composer Bourgault-Ducoudray had also referred to Afthonidis’ approach to music theory and supported his views on music for their practicality and focus on the vocal tradition.⁶⁴¹ Ducoudray wrote that the theory he was reproducing in his book belonged to Germanos Afthonidis which did not conform to the numerous theories published in Greece at that time, and that it was much more in harmony with the practice. I think Ducoudray’s implicit recommendation of Afthonidis as the future implementor of a reform, might have played a role in his election as the head of the patriarchal music committee of 1881, which was assembled by Patriarch Joachim to solve the music question.

Musicologist S. Bovy wrote that as soon as Joachim III appointed the Music Committee, he appealed to Germanos Afthonidis to preside over it. Furthermore, he claimed that Afthonidis was the principal artisan of the reform. Bovy gave as a proof an interesting letter written by G. Afthonidis to his close friend, poet and teacher at the Theological School of Halki, Elias Tantalidis in which Afthonidis cited some phrases from a letter sent to him by the French composer Bourgault-Ducoudray⁶⁴²

⁶⁴⁰ Germanos Afthonidis, “(About the Greek sacred music in comparison with the European music from the aspect of art)”, p.87.

⁶⁴¹ Louis A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Etudes sur la Musique*, p.13.

⁶⁴² Samuel Baud-Bovy writes that Ducoudray’s letter dates from 29 March 1876. Ducoudray wrote: “Croyez-moi, ne soyez pas si scrupuleux à l’endroit des tiers de ton. Vos scrupules, je les comprends. Mais il faut savoir sacrifier quelque chose pour ne pas tout perdre. Vous ne pouvez pas sauver votre

and also gave his own opinion about the question of reform. According to Bovy, in his letter Afthonidis insisted on the necessity of the use of an organ based on quarters of the tone, like the harmonium constructed by the French music scholar Vincent twenty years before to display his theories on ancient Greek music.⁶⁴³ Bovy's contention is supported by the opinion of G. I. Papadopoulos that G. Afthonidis was the architect of the psalterion together with the mathematician A. Spatharis.⁶⁴⁴

Now let me focus on the report of the Music Committee submitted to Joachim IV in 1885 and the treatise on music theory, prepared by the Committee as the outcome of its investigations, that was published as 'prologue' in the previously mentioned booklet *Στοιχειώδης Διαδασκαλία* in 1888. In the prologue, one can trace a political/cultural discourse which has much to do with the exigencies of an especially critical period of the Eastern Question. The history and the traditions of the orthodox Eastern Church – among others, the chanting tradition – are seen as a cement which can provide the attachment of the fragmented orthodox *genos*. The uniformity of the Eastern Church tradition is emphasized, while a remarkably anti-western discourse points out to European music as the enemy which corrupts tradition:

Everywhere in the East where the orthodox eastern churches exist, the vigor of the tradition maintained the essence of the holy melody pure and uncorrupted. From the land of Palestine till Egypt the tradition is - with the three diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic species, with tonal intervals, the flats and sharps, the main eight modes and their branches - chanted identical in Syria as in Romania, in Serbia as in Epirothessaly, in Crete as in Mount Athos, in Palestine, in Bulgaria, in Cyprus as in Morea. In other words the

musique ecclésiastique, qu'en la régularisant: Le seul moyen pratique est d'en consacrer et d'en sanctionner l'exécution sur l'orgue à quarts de ton". Samuel Baud-Bovy, "Bourgault-Ducoudray et la musique grecque ecclésiastique et profane", *Revue de Musicologie*, 68 (1/2), (1982), pp. 153- 63. Bovy claimed that the letter was in fact written to be read by a public who ignored both Afthonidis and Bourgault-Ducoudray.

⁶⁴³ S. Baud-Bovy, "Bourgault-Ducoudray...", p.157.

⁶⁴⁴ Georgios I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.449.

tradition is preserved unwounded, same and vigorous wherever the invasion of the European melody has not weakened it.⁶⁴⁵

The debates about the “invasion” of European music was shaped not only by the conservative worries of some segments of the Greek-orthodox community, regarding the Europeanized music tastes and preferences of the elites; but was also about a purely musical-aesthetic concern which was the corruption of the ear that was admitted to be the common problem of all eastern music. Constant exposition to the tempered intervals of European music could damage the familiarity with and the ability of hearing the small intervals of eastern music.⁶⁴⁶ It should be stressed that the Patriarchal Music Committee approached the musical issue with an inclusive attitude which saw the theoretical and practical issues on the agenda not only as the problems of Greek-orthodox ecclesiastical music but of eastern music in general.⁶⁴⁷ In those years, the claims of the eastern musicians about the importance of the refined and small tonal intervals of their music gained support from the recent publications in Europe, especially the works of the German physician Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894). In his famous work on music theory, H. von Helmholtz argued that the aesthetic effect of the small tones that were used in ancient Greek music was perceptible and not only by an extremely refined ear as the contemporaries

⁶⁴⁵ Στοιχειώδης Διδασκαλία της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής εκπονηθείσα επι τη βάση του Ψαλτηρίου (*Basic Instruction of the Ecclesiastical Music*), p.12. The prologue of the booklet which the paragraph is cited from, was also signed on 15 June 1885.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 8: “The invasion and the prevalence of the european melody, whose tonal intervals are very different than the non-tempered intervals of the eastern music, corrupted and is continuing to corrupt our ears secretly; the execution of eastern songs with the instruments reserved to the European tempered half-tones changed the nature of these songs essentially”.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., p.9: “The work of the Three Teachers was really great, but however great it was, it failed to remedy the problems that were suffered by the eastern music in general, and especially by [our] ecclesiastical music”.

claimed.⁶⁴⁸ The significance of the micro tones for eastern music would be repeated by Turkish musicians at the beginning of the twentieth century especially to claim that they could not have aesthetic satisfaction when they tried to play the Ottoman/Turkish music based on *makams* with instruments that had tempered intervals, for instance the piano.⁶⁴⁹

The achievements and the reformatory role of the Music Committee of 1881 in terms of the revision of the theory and practice of music have been long lasting especially if we consider that various treatises on the theory of ecclesiastical music written in twentieth century Greece still addressed the conclusions and the solutions of the Music Committee. The patriarchal Music Committee of 1881 aimed at “correcting” the errors of the theory of Hrisanthos concerning the sizes of the intervals which, as we know by now, was a burning issue among the musicians of Constantinople at the time. As a result of its meetings and discussions, the Music Committee divided the octave into 36 intervals - which were easily doubled to be the Aristoxenian 72 - instead of the 68 intervals of Hrisanthos designated for the diatonic

⁶⁴⁸ Hermann von Helmholtz, *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik* (*On the Sensations of Tone*), (Braunschweig, 1863). The Greek musical circles in Constantinople knew about the work of Helmholtz. In *Basic Instruction of the Ecclesiastical Music*, p.17, there is a reference to a later edition (1877) of *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*. References also to other books on music theory and acoustics in the German language bring to mind that the German educated physics-mathematics teacher Andreas Spatharis may have introduced the ideas in these works to the Music Committee.

⁶⁴⁹ Rauf Yekta, “Musique orientale” (Péchrev dans le mode Ouchak; Péchrev dans le mode Paucélik), *La Revue Musicale*, Septieme année, no.8, 15 Avril 1907, p.213. In this article, R. Yekta compared the vibrations of the notes of the scale of *nihavend* (mode) on oriental instruments with the vibrations of the notes on a Pleyel piano and argued that especially for some notes, the vibration difference was so big that the difference between the two instruments could be hearable. Furthermore, in order to stress the significance of the micro tones for the eastern modes, he gave the examples of the *Uşşak* and *Buselik* modes, which would create even more severe problems of tonality (than Nihavend) if played on the piano. For articles of Rauf Yekta which were published in *La Revue Musicale*, see İlhami Gökçen, *Rauf Yekta'nın Fransızca Musiki Yazıları*, (Ankara: Ürün Yayınları, 2007). Among the European languages, R. Yekta knew French. He also cited the French version of Helmholtz's work in this article.

scale, and also changed the arithmetic ratios of the intervals which had been provided by the latter.⁶⁵⁰

The Music Committee used modern means to rectify the execution of the chant, it aimed at the elimination of arbitrariness by standardizing and improving music instruction by the use of an organ.⁶⁵¹ As mentioned before, it constructed a *psalterion* that could produce the scales of the eight *ihoi* (*ecclesiastical modes*), which was exhibited to the patriarch and other church officials and then installed in the Sixth Music School of the Great Church, to be used in teaching.⁶⁵² We should note that the use of the *psalterion* was strictly restricted to the field of education since the use of any music instrument in the church was out of the question. The Committee also rendered a constant and precise tempo to the ecclesiastical chants by the use of a metronome, with an expectation in the long run to establish a uniform chanting with homogeneous sound in the church choirs.

To conclude with the achievements of the Patriarchal Music Committee which was founded by Joachim III and continued its work under Joachim IV, we can say the following. If we remember the severe debates of 1879 on music and the increasing demands of the Greek upper classes for a radical westernizing reform of church music, it would not be wrong to say that the spiritual leader of the Greek-

⁶⁵⁰ Dimitris E. Lekkas, «Η διατονική βάση της Βυζαντινής μουσικής: συστηματική δομική προσέγγιση», *Polyphonia* 8, (Spring 2006), pp. 7- 33. Lekkas asserts that the “corrected” ratios submitted by the patriarchal council were based on a seemingly mathematical operation which was ambiguous and theoretically suspect, and that despite the evocation by its inspirators that this tonal division was sanctioned by the best cantors of the time, in fact it was acoustically indistinguishable from that of Hrisanthos.

⁶⁵¹ Andreas Spatharis had already noted during a session in the Greek Literary Society in 1875, the necessity of using an instrument, saying that the intervals perish in a music which does not employ any instruments. *EFSK* t. 9 (1874-1875), pp. 226-229, minutes of the session YKT’ on 16 February 1875.

⁶⁵² See for the description of the psalterion, Kaiti Romanou, “Keyboards for the eight echoi,” *Mousicologia* 7-8, (1989), pp.17-46: “The psaltirion had an organ mechanism, the wind being provided in the pipes with bellows activated by pedals...” Also, Romanou wrote that the psalterion was repaired at the time of Patriarch Constantinos in 1898 and its octave was expanded.

orthodox *millet* was faced with the need to satisfy the Greek-orthodox elites, (which he tried with a middle-way solution) and to dissuade them from their westernizing tendencies. The negative qualities attributed to church music such as being irrational, parochial and arbitrary were sought to be refuted by a scientific treatment of music and by taking measures aiming at the elimination of arbitrariness in chanting. What made the work of the Music Committee most effective was its novel approach toward the music question; its members aimed at founding a solid theoretical structure based on the existing vocal tradition, emphasizing that they were not inspired by any of the pre-existing theories.⁶⁵³ The musicians of the Committee used their sense of hearing, which was sensitive to the subtleties of the contemporary chanting practice, to measure the intervals and then reproduced them on a monochord with movable frets, whose values were then calculated.⁶⁵⁴

In this chapter, our survey of the musical field will not be complete without introducing one of the most active personalities of the period. We already recognized G. I. Papadopoulos as the founder of the Greek Music Society (1880). However, he is also well known for his two works on ecclesiastical music history.

⁶⁵³ *Basic Instruction of the Ecclesiastical Music*, p.11: "...the Council, refraining from the use of every prior theory, followed a clearly experimental route and the nature of the scale was confirmed gradually through many trials".

⁶⁵⁴ Hrisanthos' empirical method of fretting (to put a small bar of metal across the fingerboard of a musical instrument in order to produce a note of the desired pitch) the monochord was criticised. See K. Romanou, "Keyboards for the eight echoi" *Mousicologia* 7-8, (1989), pp.17-46. Also *Basic Instruction of the Ecclesiastical Music*, pp.9-10. The musicians of the Committee also reported that their experiments proved the identification of the intervals that are used in the ecclesiastical and lay songs with the pythagorian intervals which had also been recognized as the "melodic diagram" by the recent acoustic theories in Europe, namely, the theories of Ernst Naumann, Hermann von Helmholtz and Jamin Bouty. See *Basic Instruction of the Ecclesiastical Music*, p.17. The cited works were the following. Ernst Naumann, *Über die verschiedenen Bestimmungen der Tonverhaeltnisse*, (Leipzig, 1858). Hermann von Helmholtz, *Lehre von der Tonempfindungen*, (Braunschweig, 1877) and Jamin Bouty, *Acoustique*, (Paris, 1879).

Georgios I. Papadopoulos' History of Ecclesiastical Music

The two major music histories written by Greek Orthodox musicians living in the Ottoman Empire, which preceded G. I. Papadopoulos' first music history *Contributions to the History of Our Ecclesiastical Music* (1890), were the second part of Archimandrite Hrisanthos' book on music theory entitled "Narration of the beginning and the advancement of music"⁶⁵⁵ and the second part of the book of cantor Theodore of Focaea *Foundations of Theory and Practice of Ecclesiastical Music*⁶⁵⁶ which was copied from the book of Hrisanthos. Sharing a common practice with the eighteenth century music histories, these three music histories referred to accounts about music in the Bible and in Greek mythology, narrated anecdotes showing the importance of music for the ancient Greeks, and quoted from the theoretical works of the ancient Greek musicians. So, one can say that in their attempts at writing music history, the orthodox intellectuals of the Ottoman East emulated the music history writing in the West.⁶⁵⁷ K. Romanou noted that these three works extended the tradition of the ancient Greek theoretical treatises into the modern practice and at the same time displayed a wish for the acknowledgement and the preservation of this valuable heritage.⁶⁵⁸ Regarding the act of writing music

⁶⁵⁵ Hrisanthos of Madytos, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής (Great Theory of Music)* ed. by Panagiotis G. Pelopidis, (Trieste: Michele Weis, 1832). The original Greek title of the part on music is, "Αφήγησις περί Αρχής και Προόδου της Μουσικής".

⁶⁵⁶ Theodore of Focaea, *Κρηπὶς του Θεωρητικού και Πρακτικού της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (The Basis of Theory and Practice of the Ecclesiastical Music)*, (Constantinople: publ. Patriarchal Press, 1842).

⁶⁵⁷ This point has been made by Kaiti Romanou, *Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησις 1901- 1912 (Wandering in the National Music 1901-1912)*, p.6: "The modern Greek music culture draws our attention as being in the periphery or margins of the western culture; the problems and the findings which are formulated during the investigation of this role, unavoidably reveal the viewpoint of the western musician regarding this particular culture. This viewpoint designates the concepts of acme and decline – based on an aesthetic which has crystallized from the knowledge of the western music and its history – and identifies the historicity of this or that sector and sort of music".

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.9.

history, it is interesting to see that in the course of the nineteenth century, it passed down from an archimandrite (a member of the high-clergy) and a cantor, to an intellectual Georgios I. Papadopoulos, which should perhaps be taken as a sign of secularization and “democratization of writing”,⁶⁵⁹.

Both music histories of Papadopoulos maintained the basic tenet of romantic historiography, the notion of uninterrupted continuity of Hellenism, and showed a remarkable concern for the study of early Christianity and Greek orthodoxy. In his *Contribution to the History of the Ecclesiastical Music*, G. I. Papadopoulos gives significant space to the biography and hymnographic work of John of Damascus and uses him as a landmark in the periodization of his musical narrative.⁶⁶⁰ In his second book *Historical Survey of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music*, Papadopoulos combines the tripartite model of the Modern Greek national historiography with a history of ecclesiastical music whose progress through time is based on the stages of evolution of music notation.⁶⁶¹ Here, he constructs the stages of music history more systematically, and opening the way to the twentieth century examples of music

⁶⁵⁹ Ioanna Petropoulou used the term “democratization of writing” referring to the change after the mid-19th century in the practice of history writing among the orthodox intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire, namely from a history written by high-ranking officials to a history written by a class of people from a broader social base. See Ioanna Petropoulou, “Changing Frames of Historiography: Cappadocian Stories,” *Historiein* 4 (2003-4), pp. 206-13.

⁶⁶⁰ This book consists of three parts: Part a) Ecclesiastical music from the apostolic years till John of Damascus, Part b) The reformer of ecclesiastical Byzantine music, John of Damascus, Part c) Ecclesiastical music from the eighth century till our time.

⁶⁶¹ Georgios I. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορική Επισκόπηση της Βυζαντινής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (*Historical Survey of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music*), (Athens, 1904). The main three parts of this book are totally congruous with the ancient-medieval-modern historical schema: The Ancient Ecclesiastical Music (1-700), the Medieval Ecclesiastical Music (700-1453), the Modern Ecclesiastical Music (1453-1900). The inner divisions are in accordance sometimes with historical landmarks and sometimes with the change in the music notation: the first period consists of ‘From Apostolic Years until Constantin the Great’ (1-323) and ‘From Constantin the Great till Damascene’ (323-700). The second part consists of the following periods: ‘John of Damascus the reformer of the Byzantine music’, ‘From the 8th century until Master Ioannis Kukuzelis (700-1100)’ and ‘From Kukuzelis until the capture of Constantinople’ (1100-1453). The modern part consists of the following periods: ‘From the capture of Constantinople until Petros of Morea’ (1453-1730), ‘From Petros of Morea until the invention of the new notation’ (1730-1814) and ‘From the three inventors of the new notation until our time’ (1814-1900).

historiography and dealing with the eastern ecclesiastical chant, he introduces the twelfth century musician Ioannis Kukuzelis, the famous eighteenth century cantor Petros of Morea or Archimandrite Hrisanthos as initiators of a new era.

The consolidation of the history of ecclesiastical music with its convincing and meaningful stages was parallel to the invention of the elements of a musical discourse which tried to whitewash certain musical traits or expressions which had been used by the opponents of the existing ecclesiastical music as catchwords to defame this music as foreign, Asian or Turkish. In 1883, in an anonymous essay published in *Anatolikos Astir*, the author claimed that the *kratima* (tenuto) sung during the church service known by the name *tererem* was originally sung to the Byzantine emperor in the imperial court during ceremonies, and that *tererem* was in fact the mutated form of a Latin word meaning ‘king’, a word that was Hellenized as it passed from old to new Rome.⁶⁶² On 5 October 1883, the Smyrniot cantor Misail Misailidis replied to the essay of the Athenian scholar Ioannis Tzetzis which was published in the periodical “*O Parnassos*”. Tzetzis argued that after the fall of Constantinople, the music in the Church of Constantinople lost its entire link with Byzantine music and became a Turkish-Arab-Persian mixture. One of Tzetzis’s statements which Misailidis refuted was about the chromatic and enharmonic species. The latter said that these species were inherited from ancient Greek music, not as Tzetzis claimed from Arabic or Persian music. Misailidis wrote that because the *enarmonios ihos* was called *acem* in secular music, Tzetzis thought that this *ihos* was really Persian. The Smyrniot cantor continued with an interesting analogy: “[...] in Asia Minor there are myriads of *homogenis* (Greek Orthodox) who, due to the

⁶⁶² “Περί των εν ταίς εκκλησίαις ψαλλομένων κρατημάτων (About the tenutos chanted in the churches)” *Anatolikos Astir*, ? June-July 1883.

national catastrophe, speak Turkish today; should we call them Turkish, and not Greek orthodox?”⁶⁶³ Papadopoulos’ book (1890) was taken by various scholars and musicians as an answer to claims which condemned the music used in the Greek church as foreign music. The Greek politician and diplomat Alexandros R. Rangavis commented on the issue of inheritance from the Jewish tradition, he wrote in the newspaper *Ethniki* on 1 December 1890: “Without question, through important evidence it [Papadopoulos’ book] proved that the Christian Church took neither its language, nor its ceremony or music from the Jewish”.⁶⁶⁴ Further attempts at justifying certain practices and styles in music which were claimed to be imported, foreign or simply eastern, can be exemplified by Rangavis’ explanation in the same article for the nasal singing in the eastern church. Rangavis advanced the view that nasal singing was the result of monophony because, in the Byzantine imperial churches, mostly 150 or more cantors had to chant from the same pitch, hence when the cantors with bass voice had to sing from the drones according to the tenor voices they had to produce the so called head voice (*falsetto*).⁶⁶⁵

Papadopoulos’ book shows that music history writing – along with other scientific and intellectual practices i.e. compiling a music dictionary or giving public lectures on music - was really one of the means through which a national discourse was articulated. Christianity was an important ingredient of this national discourse

⁶⁶³ “Εκκλησιαστικά. Συζήτησις(Ecclesiastical. Discussions)”*Anatolikos Astir*, 5 and 12 October 1883.

⁶⁶⁴ A. R. Rangavis wrote: “Κατά τρόπον νομίζομεν αμφισβήτησιν μη επιδεχόμενον, διά μαρτυριών σπουδαιωτάτων αποδεικνύει ότι η Χριστιανική Εκκλησία ως ουδέ την γλώσσαν, ουδέ τας ιεροτελεστίας, ούτως ουδέ την μουσικήν παρεδέχθη της εχθράς αυτής Ιουδαϊκής”. Rangavis’s article was republished in G. I. Papadopoulos, (*Historical Survey of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music*), Athens, 1904, p. 17. G. I. Papadopoulos had dealt with the issue of Jewish or Roman heritage in Greek music, in a subchapter entitled “Αναίρεσις της δοξασίας ότι η μουσική ημών είναι Εβραϊκής η Ρωμαϊκής Καταγωγής (The refutation of the view that our music is of Jewish or Roman descent)” in his *Contributions to the History of Ecclesiastical Music*, pp.36- 44.

⁶⁶⁵ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Historical Survey of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music*, p. 10’.

which produced a Romaic identity that attributed a primary historical role to the Church of Constantinople. In the section *Η Μουσική του Δαμασκηνού εν Ρωσσία* (The Music of Damascene in Russia) of his book, Papadopoulos championed the Greek nation as the pioneering bearer of Christian culture and the one who delivered it to other Christian nations. He wrote:

The orthodox Christianity is obliged to mention the Greek Christian music with veneration, which has been maintained in the orthodox east until our time, [...] declaring the return of the whole nations, and of Russians to Christianity, witnessed by the account that the representatives of its sovereign were overwhelmed by the heavenliness of the Damascene music, as it was chanted then in the church of Hagia Sophia.⁶⁶⁶

Not surprisingly, in 1883 during Joachim III's patriarchship, the Russian musicologist Georgios Arnoldos was invited to give a lecture in Constantinople on the relationship of Russian ecclesiastical music to Byzantine and ancient Greek music.⁶⁶⁷ Furthermore, Papadopoulos mentioned a letter (published in *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*) which Apostolos Hristodoulos, a teacher at the Theological School of Halki sent to Patriarch Joachim from Kiev, saying that there were Greek-Slavic melodies in the Russian church which were modeled on ancient Greek ecclesiastical music and written in a particular notation different than both the old and the new notation used by contemporary Greeks.⁶⁶⁸

This kind of information, or information such as A. R. Rangavis gave Papadopoulos, that in the old monasteries of Kiev, the priests resisted accepting polyphonic music and tried to keep the Byzantine psalmody,⁶⁶⁹ aroused the interest

⁶⁶⁶ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p. 227.

⁶⁶⁷ “Η Ρωσική Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική (The Russian Ecclesiastical Music)”, *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, 19 July 1883, year 3, vol.4, 1882- 83.

⁶⁶⁸ The letter was dated 15 October 1883 and was published in *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia* year 4, vol. 19, 1884, pp. 268-270. See G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p. 228.

⁶⁶⁹ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p. 230.

of the Greek musicians for the earlier Russian church music with the hope of, on the one hand, finding clues related to the earlier stages of the music of the eastern orthodox church and on the other, of appropriating the early Russian ecclesiastical music as Byzantine and hence Greek. Apart from this, the old and the new Russian church music appeared as an issue which had to be confronted and interpreted regarding the reform of ecclesiastical music which was in the air. Papadopoulos used the “late” Christianization of the Russians (in the tenth century) as a strategic argument to challenge the “authenticity” of Russian church music against the supporters of polyphonic music in the Greek-orthodox churches who were showing orthodox Russia as an example. During a public lecture in Club *Mnimosini*, G. I. Papadopoulos said:

But Russia did not innovate; before accepting Christianity it did not have a sacred music, it took our music [...] could not maintain it without the Greek language, due to ethnological reasons that we showed in the first lecture, it fabricated its own national music without discarding ours, first fluctuated, and then finally was systematized by [Luigi]Cherubini. But nevertheless, we as the pioneer Christians and the first orthodox are obliged to feel a great delight because among all our Christian brother peoples, we have kept the norm of the apostolic and catholic antiquity unchanged[...].⁶⁷⁰

Papadopoulos dedicated his *Contributions to the History of Our Ecclesiastical Music* to the four patriarchs of the Eastern Church; the ecumenical Patriarch Dionysios, and the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. He emphasized the unity of the musical tradition in the eastern orthodox church, yet he did not engage in writing an “ecumenist” music history. However, the identification of ecclesiastical music with national music should not be seen as a given, and even though it showed tendencies

⁶⁷⁰ The passage is from the lecture held by Papadopoulos in the Club *Mnimosini* on 5 February 1889. The lecture was republished in his book under the title «Αδύνατος η Αντικατάσταση της Εκκλησιαστικής ημών Μουσικής δια της Ευρωπαϊκής Τετραφωνίας (It is impossible to replace our ecclesiastical music by European tetraphony),» in G. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp. 499-538. For the quoted paragraph, see p.524.

of a unifying romantic conception of music history, *Contributions* was not a full-fledged narrative that identified ecclesiastical music with the national music of the modern Greeks. The national discourse on music appropriated the music of the eastern orthodox church in the course of a gradual process in which the question was asked both ways: why do we call the music of the Greek nation “ecclesiastical music”? and why do we call the ecclesiastical music, “national music”? The debate or the ideological confusion over the terms was very intensive especially in the period between the 1880s or even before, till the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, the decree of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece referred to Papadopoulos’ work as “ιστορικήν σκιαγραφίαν της Ελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (historical outline of Greek Ecclesiastical Music)” even though the word “Greek” did not exist in its title.⁶⁷¹ It is interesting to compare it with the letters written by Patriarch Dyonisios to the community of Mount Athos to inform them that G. Papadopoulos would do research in the monasteries there, or his letters to certain wealthy Greeks asking for sponsorship for the publication of the book. In these letters, the work is described as the history of ecclesiastical music/ our ecclesiastical music but not “Greek ecclesiastical music”.⁶⁷² The Patriarch of Antioch Gerasimos employed the expression “our *ethniki* ecclesiastical music” (*εθνική εκκλησιαστική ημών Μουσική*).⁶⁷³ Also, in the prologue of *Contributions*, Papadopoulos commented on the issue of naming:

⁶⁷¹ The church of Greece promoted the book by issuing a decree on 23 July 1890 to encourage the cantors and the musicians of Greece to become subscribers. See G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp. κε’-κστ’.

⁶⁷² Patriarch Dionysios’ letter to Mount Athos bears the date of 25 June 1887. See G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp. κα’-κβ’.

⁶⁷³ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, pp. λα’-λβ’. Patriarch Gerasimos’ letter is dated 15 May 1890. As another example to the variational uses of *ethniki*, in the prologue of *Μουσικόν Απάνθισμα* (1872), Ioannis Zografos of Geyve conjures the term ‘*ethniekklisiastiki*’ music, see p. ζ’.

Our music is called *Ecclesiastical* because it mainly revolves around or its study is mostly about ecclesiastical chants. And except from the ecclesiastical chants (*internal* as generally called by the music teachers) also the songs (*komoï*) of the symposia and choirs (they are called *external*) are sung according to the rules of the former[...].⁶⁷⁴

In 1902, Athanasios Petridis, a gymnasium director in Piraeus, reversed the question in the title of his article published in the music periodical *Formiks* “Why is ecclesiastical music called national (*ethniki*) and Byzantine?” A. Petridis stressed the hellenization of the Christian Church, noting that the Apostles preferred the Greek language over Hebrew or Latin. He furthermore wrote that Christians had accepted the religious music of the Greeks in their liturgies since time immemorial and that they never deviated from the prosody and the poetic meters of the ancient Greek language.⁶⁷⁵ As for the term “Byzantine music”, it had come into use at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁷⁶

In this section, we discussed the appearance of an ethnic conceptualization of orthodoxy in the music history writing practice of Georgios I. Papadopoulos. Furthermore, especially the second book of Papadopoulos signaled the identification of ecclesiastical music with Byzantine music, as well as the identification of both with the national music of the Greeks. In the following chapter, more light will be shed on this process.

⁶⁷⁴ G. I. Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History*, p.1, footnote 1. However, interestingly, Papadopoulos diffidently stated in the footnote that the name attributed by the erudite Europeans to this music, *modern Greek music*, was not unapt.

⁶⁷⁵ Athanasios Petridis, “Η Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική Διατί Ονομάζεται Εθνική και Βυζαντινή,” *Formiks*, no: 17, 10 June 1902.

⁶⁷⁶ See Jean B. Thibaut, « La musique byzantine et le chant liturgique des Grecs modernes,» *Echos d'Orient*, ii (1898). For the appreciation of Thibaut’s work on Byzantine notation by the musicians of Constantinople, see Kaiti Romanou, *Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησης 1901- 1912*, pp. 140-41.

CHAPTER VI

MUSIC, POLITICS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY AT THE END OF THE EMPIRE

The Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople (1898- 1922)

One of the first things that Patriarch Konstantinos V did, just after he came to the patriarchal throne, was to take measures for the restoration of ecclesiastical music. In an article in *Aktis*, a journal published in Smyrna by Emmanuil Emmanuilidis, the author showed his enthusiasm about Konstantinos' election and revealed the expectations of the Greek-orthodox from him concerning the restoration of the demeaned prestige of the patriarchal throne and the elevation of the financial and spiritual situation of the high and lower clergy.⁶⁷⁷ Furthermore, as V. Kechriotis noted, the election of Konstantinos (the Metropolitan of Ephesus) as patriarch in the middle of the Greek-Ottoman War (1897), had to do with - as he had good relations with the Ottoman authorities - the need to recuperate prestige and trust to the Rum *milleti* among the Ottomans.⁶⁷⁸ In July 1897, the members of the Music Council that was established during the patriarchship of Anthimos VII in 1895⁶⁷⁹, decided to convert the former to a music society. Musicologist G. I. Papadopoulos and Konstantinos Psahos, the first cantor of the church of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (*Hagiotafitiko Metohio*) in Phanar were assigned to prepare the statute of the society.

⁶⁷⁷ See *Aktis*, 5, 1 May 1897, p.82. Also cited in Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Izmir at the End of the Empire*, p. 92.

⁶⁷⁸ Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Izmir at the End of the Empire*, p. 92.

⁶⁷⁹ During its first meeting in November 1895, this Music Council deliberated over reviewing the work of the Music Council of 1881 and bringing into use the psaltirion (the organ) which was constructed by the latter. See *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, no.45, 29 October 1899.

Hence, in July 1898 the *Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople* was founded under the aegis of Konstantinos V.⁶⁸⁰ The Metropolitan of Skopje, Ambrosios became the chairman of the EMS, while Georgios Violakis the first cantor of the Great Church became the vice chairman. The members of the previous Music Council were ordained as the founders of the new music society by a patriarchal letter. Hence, among the founders of the EMS were the *protopsaltis* (first cantor) and the *lambadarios* (head of the left-side choir) of the Great Church and the first cantors of the community churches of Pera and Galata, namely, Nilevs Kamarados the first cantor of the church of Hagios Konstantinos in Pera, Evstratios Papadopoulos the first cantor of the church of Eisodion in Pera, Polihronios Pahidis the first cantor of the church of Panagia in Galata. Among its other founders were Georgios Progakis who used to teach music at the Theological School of Halki, the previously mentioned musicologist G. I. Papadopoulos and the composer and folk song collector Georgios Pahtikos who used also to teach music at the community schools. Last but not least, also three teachers from the Great School of the Nation (*Megali tou Genous Sholi*), who were also in the previous Music Council, namely Andreas Spatharis, Evangelos Amaxopoulos and Konstantinos Zahariadis were among its first members.⁶⁸¹ The EMS channelled its activities into four working councils. These

⁶⁸⁰ According to the statute of the EMS, the scope of the Society was the following: “the theoretical and practical studying, improving and cultivating of [our] national music, - of the ecclesiastical and lay (*exoteriki*) music - clarifying its history from ancient years to our day with attention and respect, comparing it with the music of other - old and new, eastern and western - nations, correcting it in a precise, scientific and artful fashion, restoring it to its ancient and pure melody and instructing it perfectly”. *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Εκκλησιαστικού Μουσικού Συλλόγου, εν Κωνσταντινούπολει* (*Statute of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople*), (Constantinople: Patriarchal Press, 1899), article 1.

⁶⁸¹ *Παράρτημα Εκκλησιαστικής Αλήθειας. Εργασίας του εν τοις Πατριαρχείοις εδρεύοντος και δυνάμει υψηλής κυβερνητικής αδείας λειτουργούντος Εκκλησιαστικού Μουσικού Συλλόγου* (*Appendix of*

were, the board of trustees of the Music School established by the EMS, the council for organizing musical contests i.e. contests of hymn compositions for the patriarch or the patron saint of the society John of Damascus, the publications council, and the technical council (*τεχνική επιτροπή*) which examined and approved the unpublished musical treatises and works of cantors and musicians of various Greek-orthodox communities e.g. from Smyrna, Lesvos, Keşan.⁶⁸² In the next years, the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople drew members from diverse professions; some high ranked state officials, lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists, a few merchants, clerics of various ranks, musicians from other cities or Aegean islands, and naturally, many cantors with various ranks.⁶⁸³ In 1902, the Society offered a remarkable amount of honorary memberships to prominent Greek intellectuals and the members of the wealthy Greek-orthodox families of Constantinople, Athens and Europe.

Before examining the activities of the EMS more closely, let me focus for a while on Patriarch Konstantinos' agenda of reform concerning the ecclesiastical chant. I had mentioned that Konstantinos V had considerable knowledge of music

Ekklesiastiki Alitheia. The work of the Ecclesiastical Music Society), vol.1 1 January 1900. This source will be referred to *EMS* hereafter.

⁶⁸² *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, no.46 & 47, 5 and 13 November 1899.

⁶⁸³ According to June 1900 records, the following members joined the EMS: Konstantinos Xanthopoulos lawyer, Fotios Fotiadis doctor (he was the most influential figure among the demotists in Constantinople), Hristos Hatzihristos the head of the Greek-French high school in Pera, Nikoklis Makridis a high ranked official in the ministry of Foreign Affairs, Iakovos Vasiadis the editor of *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, Odiseus Seymiris musician and 20 psalters and clerics with various ranks. Between 1 June -31 December 1900, Vasileos Zambokas a high official of the Post-office, K. Kokkolatos (doctor) and Themistoklis Georgiadis (musician) were added to the list of the Society together with 20 psalters and clerics. During ten months between 1 January -31 October 1901, Nikolaos Andreiomenos, photographer, Stavros Vrahamis teacher of natural sciences, Grigorios Haviarapoulos dentist, Meletios İliadis wheat merchant, İlias Hatziathanasiadis merchant, Grigorios Skanavis musician, Fotios Philipidis artist became regular members of the Society. In 1902, Theofilos Aperis doctor, Georgios Theoharidis engineer-architect, Nikolaos Tsoulkas banker, Dimitrios Vyzantios musician, Markos Vasileos musicologist and the secretary of the first Patriarchal Bureau, Kleovoulos Zahariadis music teacher joined the EMS.

and that he actively endeavored for the improvement of ecclesiastical music in the Greek Music Society of Constantinople in the 1880s. During his patriarchship, he undertook the adjustment and the arrangement of the ecclesiastical chants, for instance, he ordered that the slow and therefore long chants be sung in a faster tempo, so that the divine service would not be too long and result in the shrinking of the congregation.⁶⁸⁴ Also, we see that he wanted to endow the ecclesiastical chants with a more spiritual and also national character by stripping off their popular or secular idioms and expressions. For instance, the Patriarch wanted the alteration of the tenuto (*kratima*) parts of the ‘Hymn to Virgin Mary’. (Music example no.3 in Appendix CD). The *kratima* is a melody with meaningless syllables i.e. terirem, terrere, tititi etc. which serves to protract, to “hold” the canonical melody of a chant, and is similar to what is called *terennium* in the Ottoman art song. The expert of the ecclesiastical chant, M. K. Hatzigiakoumis noted that “the *kratima(ta)* together with the *kalophonic eirmoi*, express more than any other type of melody, the dominant character of the ecclesiastical chant under the Turkish yoke, namely the intensity of sentiments and the ‘laicization’ of the Byzantine music tradition”.⁶⁸⁵ In 1898, Konstantinos V assigned the first cantor of the Patriarchate Georgios Violakis to replace the “meaningless syllables or the so called *teretismous*” in the *kratima* parts of the well known late seventeenth-century chant ‘Hymn to Virgin Mary’ (*Θεοτόκε*

⁶⁸⁴ During Konstantinos’ patriarchal term, religiosity seems to have been given a particular emphasis. For instance, religion lessons were offered in the building of the Greek Literary Society by the Bishop of Harioupoleos Germanos, the chairman of the association *Ευαγγελιστός Ιωάννης* in Pera. See *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, no.54, 4 December 1898.

⁶⁸⁵ Manolis K. Hatzigiakoumis, *Η Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική του Ελληνισμού μετά την Άλωση (1453-1820)* (*The Ecclesiastical Music of Hellenism after the Fall of Constantinople*), (Athens: Κέντρον Ερευνών και Εκδόσεων, 1999), p.186.

Παρθένε) of Petros Bereketis⁶⁸⁶, by repeating words from the text, “without the smallest change or damage to its original melody”.⁶⁸⁷ I think this can be interpreted as a step toward the “purgation” of ecclesiastical music from the Asian/Turkish influences, or in other words, as the “nationalization” of the ecclesiastical chants. Even though we do not know the exact dimension of the revision and rearrangement of the ecclesiastical chants, one can probably argue that the Patriarchate of Constantinople exerted its authority as the center of orthodoxy by approving and disseminating (by printing them in its publishing house) the readjusted versions of the ecclesiastical chants. Let me note that this was not something new, since the music books which were used in the instruction of ecclesiastical music at the theological and other schools have always required the approval of a committee of experts assigned by the Holy Synod. For instance, in 1898 the Holy Synod appointed a committee composed of Georgios Violakis first cantor of the Great Church, Iakovos Nafpliotis first domestikos of the Great Church and Konstantinos Psahos first cantor of the *Hagiotafitiko Metohio*, in order to examine the music book published by the Metropolitan of Pelagonia Kosmas, who also composed

⁶⁸⁶ Petros Bereketis (compositional activity 1680-1710) is considered as the most ‘lay’ ecclesiastical composer of the years of the Ottoman rule. See Manolis K. Hatzigiakoumis, CD booklet *Μνημεία Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής. 5 & 6 Ψάλλοντές σου τον τόκον Πέτρον Μπερεκέτη*, (Athens: Κέντρον Ερευνών και Εκδόσεων, 2001), p.31. Especially concerning the ‘Hymn to Virgin Mary’, M. K. Hatzigiakoumis noted that this well known eight-mode chant of Bereketis is the only melody in the history of ecclesiastical music which has had a centuries long, uninterrupted, vivid and broad liturgical use. See, Manolis K. Hatzigiakoumis, CD booklet *Μνημεία Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής. 3 & 4 Θεοτόκε Παρθένε*, (Athens: Κέντρον Ερευνών και Εκδόσεων, 2001).

⁶⁸⁷ «Θεοτόκε Παρθένε Πενταπλούν(Hymn to Virgin Mary quintuples)», *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, year 18, no. 27, 26 June 1898: “[...]διαρρύθμιση τούτο προσηκόντως αφαιρών τας εν τω κρατήματι ασήμαντους συλλαβάς ή τερетισμούς καλουμένους και αντικαθιστών ταύτας δια της επαναλήψεως των λέξεων αυτού του κειμένου ανεύ ελάχιστης μεταβολής ή βλάβης του πρωτοτύπου μέλους”.

ecclesiastical and school songs, and to decide whether it could be introduced into the Theological School of Halki as the author of the book wished.⁶⁸⁸

One of the musical issues which was discussed during the sessions of the EMS was the importance of or the reasons for the lack of knowledge about the old (pre -1814) notation.⁶⁸⁹ The first cantor of the Great Church G. Violakis noted that in his youth, generally the aged cantors did not want to teach the old music writing because it was very difficult.⁶⁹⁰ All these discussions activated a sense of superiority among the cantors of Constantinople as the “owners” of a genuine musical tradition. The following incident shows their attitude toward the cantors of Athens. Already during the meetings of the previously mentioned patriarchal Music Council, its members were thinking about editing and publishing the manuscript of the original treatise, of late cantor Panagiotis Kiltzanidis, which had the title “*Κλείς της αρχαίας γραφικής μεθόδου*” (*Key to the ancient notation method*). In December 1898, the issue came once more on the agenda of the EMS. According to the members of the EMS, Kiltzanidis’ work could be a crucial guide in the study of the oldest music

⁶⁸⁸ Patriarchal Correspondence: Codex A’ 70, no. 1466, 30 March 1898.

⁶⁸⁹ The first-cantor of the Great Church Georgios Violakis delivered a lecture on 30 March 1899 in the EMS entitled, “Μελέτη Συγκριτική της νυν εν χρήσει μουσικής γραφής προς την του Πέτρου του Πελοποννησίου και προς την αρχαιότεραν γραφήν(Comparative study of the contemporary music notation in relation to that of Petros of Morea and to the older notation)”. See *EMS* 1, 1900, p.29. (Also reprinted Katerini: Tertios, 1991). Again on the issue of notation, G. Violakis lectured on 31 October 1900 in the EMS. See “Περί της γραφής της εκκλησιαστικής ημών μουσικής(About the notation of our ecclesiastical music),” *EMS* 3, 1900, p.90. Also, a non-cantor member of the EMS, Leonidas Nikoklis lectured on 12 July 1901 in the Society on this issue. See “Περί της αρχαίας παρασημαντικής (About the ancient notation)” *EMS* 4, 1901, p. 46. Hinting at the difficulty of achieving the pre-new Method versions of the hymns, in one of his lectures, Bishop Pamfilos Melissinos noted that the prominent first-cantor of the Patriarchate in the 1850s Konstantinos Byzantios taught the *doxastikon* «Αίμα και πυρ...» to his students Stephanos Moisiadis, Stephanos Lambadarios, Nikolaos Lambadarios and Georgios Radestinos, each of whom produced a different version of the old work while rewriting it in the new notation.

⁶⁹⁰ Georgios Violakis, “Μελέτη Συγκριτική της νυν εν χρήσει μουσικής γραφής προς την του Πέτρου του Πελοποννησίου και προς την αρχαιότεραν γραφήν” in *EMS* 1, 1900, pp.28- 53, (reprinted Katerini: Tertios, 1991), p.14.

writings and open the way for a deeper understanding of the wealth of Byzantine music.⁶⁹¹ In 1899, the EMS asked for the sponsorship of Grigorios Maraslis, a prominent banker from Odessa who had already funded a series of translations known as the ‘Maraslios Library’. However, the EMS wanted to print the book at the printing house of the Patriarchate while Maraslis insisted that it should be printed in Athens where the other books sponsored by Maraslis were being printed. Actually, the members of the EMS did not trust the qualifications of the musicians of Athens concerning their abilities of mastering the old notation, and because of that they insisted that the editing of the book be done by a group of cantors from the EMS⁶⁹². As the conflict could not be solved, finally, the Society decided to publish the treatise with its own means and instead asked Maraslis for financial aid regarding the renovation of the Society’s building, but it was refused.

Another issue concerning the readjustment of the ecclesiastical chants, according to their “genuine” forms, was the hotly debated topic of rhythm. Here, the basic issue at stake was whether the mixed rhythms were used or could be used in ecclesiastical music. Cantor Konstantinos Psahos’ view, that even though *tetrasimos* (like the 4/4 of European music) was the most widely used rhythm, *trisimos* (analogous to ¾) and *disimos* (2/4) rhythmic feet were also used in ecclesiastical chant, was opposed by other musicians.⁶⁹³ Hristos Papaioannos said that without showing a correspondence between the musical and the poetic rhythms, Psahos was assuming that the musical rhythms were as numerous as the poetic feet and poetic

⁶⁹¹ *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, year 18 no. 54, 4 December 1898.

⁶⁹² «Συνεδρίασις ΝΓ’» 16 December 1899, *EMS I*, p.20.

⁶⁹³ K. Psahos referred to Hrysanthos’ seminal theory book and said that the latter considered *tetrasimos* as the basic rhythmic foot, but he also used *trisimos* and *exasimos* rhythms.

meters.⁶⁹⁴ Komninos Amanitis, a musician from Lesvos, argued that it was difficult to explain and determine the rhythm of the chants which survived from the era before the famous cantor Petros of Morea (eighteenth century) because they were written in the old music notation that contained symbolic signs.⁶⁹⁵ Bishop Pamphilos Melissinos, trying to refute Psahos' reference to Hrisanthos, noted that the information in Hrisanthos' theory book concerning rhythm was never applied to practical instruction and that the tradition remained as the main point of reference.⁶⁹⁶ Georgios Progakis, the music teacher of the Theological School of Halki subscribed to the historical argument. He noted that the three-beat rhythmic pattern was a necessary connection between the two-beat and the four-beat patterns and cited from various European scholars who, having studied the Byzantine chants, came to the conclusion that these chants belonged to Byzantine Hellenism with their mixed rhythms, rather than to Latin or Protestant culture.⁶⁹⁷ Musician Themistoklis Byzantios argued that mixed rhythms were later innovations and were not compatible with the dignity of the religious melody. In his talk, similarly P. G. Pahidis the first cantor of Panagia Kafatiani Church in Galata explained the qualities of religious music and said that it was supposed to be different from the lay or folk music whose purpose was to amuse. He wrote:

[...]The main and the exclusive aim of [our] ecclesiastical music in the divine service is to transmit the text of the prayer in the most vivid way, to translate

⁶⁹⁴ “Συνεδρίασις Ξ” 28 April 1900,” *EMS2*, 1900, p.179.

⁶⁹⁵ K. Amanitis, “Περὶ Ρυθμοῦ (About rhythm)” lecture delivered on 28 April 1900, published in *EMS2*, p.101.

⁶⁹⁶ P. Melissinos, “Ὁ Ρυθμὸς ἐν σχέσει πρὸς τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὴν παρασημαντικὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας μουσικῆς (Rhythm and its relation to the tempo and notation of our music)” *EMS 3*, p.61.

⁶⁹⁷ G. Progakis, “Περὶ τῆς υπάρξεως καὶ τῆς χρησιμότητος τοῦ τρισήμου ρυθμοῦ ἐν τοῖς ᾠσμασι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας (About the existence and use of the *trisimos* rhythm in ecclesiastical chant),” lecture delivered on 22 December 1900 or 31 January 1901, *EMS 4*, p.17.

and interpret the meaning of the text to the Christian, to install it in the mind of the Christian, exciting him not mundanely and carnally but spiritually and through that spiritual excitement elevate him to the heavens where his prayer will be offered to God.⁶⁹⁸

The gist of the matter about the rhythm of the ecclesiastical chants seems to be the endeavor to differentiate the sacred music from the profane, by denying the former the lay rhythms which were used in dance tunes or folk music. Furthermore, the members of the EMS insisted on the interpretation of the indigenous concepts of ecclesiastical music through a deep understanding of the ecclesiastical musical tradition itself, so as to free themselves from the concepts and the tools of western music. For instance, that was one of the reasons why the work of cantor Nikolas Paganas⁶⁹⁹ from Lesvos, *Mousiki Paidagogeia* written for music education, was criticized and rejected by the technical committee of the EMS. Paganas had employed the concept of rhythm as it was used in western music.

Another debated subject was the poetic meters of the hymnography of the Eastern Church. This topic had a vital importance for the indication of the historical continuity of Hellenism. Yet, interestingly enough, a balanced account of the transition from pagan to Christian poetry was predominant, which accommodated not only the continuities but also discontinuities. It was well accepted that, towards the end of the fourth century, the ancient meter which was based on the length of the

⁶⁹⁸ P. G. Pahidis, “Ο Ρυθμός εις τα εκκλησιαστικά ημῶν μέλη(Rhythm in our ecclesiastical chants)” lecture delivered on 12 July 1900, *EMS3*, p.43.

⁶⁹⁹ Nikolaos Paganas was born in Plomario of Lesvos in 1844. For twenty years, he worked as a cantor in Lesvos. Then, for a long time he could not chant due to an illness in his phonetic organs. Subsequently, he devoted himself to the study of musical theory. He wrote many articles in various newspapers. He invented a new method of dividing the tonal intervals of the musical scale using a new calculation. Paganas was a member of the Patriarchal Music Council that was established in 1895. He taught many students vocal and instrumental music based on his new method. He could play various instruments. For his biography, see “Νικόλαος Παγανάς,” *Formiks*, year 2 no.4, 28 February 1903.

syllables was replaced by the tonic rhythm that designed the qualities of the syllables with equal lengths and a single accent.⁷⁰⁰ During one of his talks, Konstantinos Psahos argued that the tonic rhythmization was easier to hear than the ancient prosody which required the knowledge of long and short syllables, so during the fifth century the ecclesiastical liturgy became more understandable to the simple folk.⁷⁰¹ Another member of the EMS, N. Vasiliadis, a medical doctor interested in the origins and the history of the church melody, noted that beginning from the second half of the third century, heretics began to use the Greek meters and the Greek melodies in their satirical hymns. In reaction to that, the church fathers of the era wrote hymns with the ancient Greek meters and introduced altar melodies to the church⁷⁰². However, noting the connections with Syrian poetry, Vasiliadis said that the latter was not based on long and short syllables like the ancient Attic dialect but on tonic rhythm, and that Romanos the ecclesiastical poet wrote many *kontakia* (a type of religious poem) not only with the ancient Greek meters but also with tonic rhythm. He concluded that, while resembling the Hellenic, European and also Arab-Persian-Turkish music, the contemporary ecclesiastical music was Byzantine ecclesiastical music which borrowed many elements from ancient Greek music, yet a music which was the product of a mixture of nations that formed the Christianity of the fourth and the fifth centuries⁷⁰³. Vasiliadis' openness to the idea that early Church music owed to the Syrian tradition is worth noting. Yet, he gave priority to the Hellenic spirit,

⁷⁰⁰ Panagiotis Koupitoris, *Περί του Ρυθμού εν τη Υμνογραφία της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας (About Rhythm in the Hymnography of the Greek Church)*, (Athens, 1878).

⁷⁰¹ Lecture by K. Psahos “Περί του Ρυθμού εν τοις Ἀσμασι της Εκκλησίας (Rhythm in the ecclesiastical chants)” delivered on 17 September 1899, published in *EMS1*, p.56.

⁷⁰² N. Vasiliadis, “Ο ρυθμός εν τη εκκλησιαστική μουσική, ο ποιητικός και μουσικός (Poetic and musical rhythm in the ecclesiastical music)” lecture delivered on 27 July 1900, *EMS3*, p.9.

⁷⁰³ N. Vasiliadis, p. 8.

which according to him inspired the poetry of all the other nations. Again, accommodating the motif of discontinuity, during the meetings of EMS, it was said that after the conquest of Constantinople, while the poetic form dwindled in the church hymnography, the prose came to dominate as a sign of decadence. Therefore, the famous German Byzantinologist Karl Krumbacher was especially praised due to his engagement in restoring the old poetic forms to the church hymnography.⁷⁰⁴

To summarize some points which have been made until now, I showed the articulation of a musical discourse through particular practices demanded by Patriarch Konstantinos V and the debates within the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople. This musical discourse emphasized the spirituality and the national character of the ecclesiastical music and, by emphasizing the qualifications of the cantors of Constantinople, it provided support for the authority of the Patriarchate. However, the main period in which ecclesiastical music was strongly connected with the image of the Patriarchate, acquired the designation of “Byzantine music” and became an established component of the Greek national identity, was during the second patriarchship of Joachim III (1901- 1912).

D. Stamatopoulos stated that despite the efforts of the lay bankers who supported him, Joachim could not return to the patriarchal throne for seventeen years due to the opposition of the ethnocentric circles in Constantinople and the Greek embassy. He interpreted Joachim’s come back as a sort of compromise with the basic doctrines of the Greek foreign policy, i.e. his tougher stance toward the Bulgarian

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid. The work of K. Krumbacher was published in Greek translation. See Karl Krumbacher, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής Λογοτεχνίας* (*The History of Byzantine Literature*), (Athens: Marasli publications, 1897). The second and the third volumes were published in 1900.

Exarchate.⁷⁰⁵ Soon after his election as patriarch, Joachim assumed the role of honorary chairman/ protector of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople. Under his auspices, the sponsorship of the EMS was based on more solid means. By transferring a regular sum from the reserves of the National Fund (*Ethniko Tameio*), Joachim possibly contributed to the perception of the Society by the members of the Greek-orthodox community as a community institution. The Music School of the EMS was given special attention and was sponsored by some of this fund. As in the annual examinations of other Greek-orthodox schools, the students of the Music School were given their certificates in the presence of a crowded audience composed of the Greek consul, members of the clergy and prominent lay members of the society.⁷⁰⁶ Already during his previous patriarchship, Joachim had made it clear by gathering the Patriarchal Music Council of 1881 that the restoration of ecclesiastical music had an important place on his agenda. Furthermore, he himself had sent 5 Liras from Mount Athos for the Music School of the EMS on 4 May 1901- even before he came to the throne. The sudden flow of donations to the EMS from the lay

⁷⁰⁵ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, "Ecumenical Ideology in the Orthodox Millet", pp.15-16. Stamatopoulos also noted that the high clergy were against Joachim since his first patriarchy due to "his loyal submission to Ottoman legitimacy up to the contestation for the usefulness of the Privileges' existence". Regarding the anti-Joachimist wing in Constantinople, I would like to draw attention to two references, one in Stavros Th. Anestidis's article and the other mentioned by D. Stamatopoulos in the already referred article, which are especially interesting for our topic. Anestidis mentions that Georgios I. Papadopoulos (he is the musicologist whose activities were analysed in the previous chapters) was rather critical of Joachim's failure in improving the finances of the Patriarchate and protecting its rights in Macedonia and Thrace. G. I. Papadopoulos, *Η Σύγχρονος Ιεραρχία της Ορθοδόξου Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας*, (The Modern Hierarchy of the East Orthodox Church), vol.1, (Athens: typografeion Alex. Papageorgiou, 1895), pp. 88- 95 mentioned in Stavros Th. Anestidis, "Ιωακείμ ο Γ΄. Αρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης (1878-1884, 1901- 1912)," *ΔΚΜΣ* 6 (1986-87), p.393. Also Dimitrios Stamatopoulos commented on the book of G. I. Papadopoulos, interpreting the book as an attempt at legitimizing the anti-Joachimist wing. See D. Stamatopoulos, "Ecumenical Ideology in the Orthodox Millet", p.8.

⁷⁰⁶ *Λογοδοσία Απαγγελεθείσα κατά την τελετήν της επιδόσεως των απολυτήριων εις τους μαθητάς της Μουσικής Σχολής του Εκκλησιαστικού Συλλόγου τη 29 Ιουνίου 1901 εν τη Πατριαρχική Μεγάλη του Γένους Σχολή υπό του εκ των εφόρων Γεωργίου Ι. Παπαδόπουλου*, (Constantinople: Patriarchal Press, 1902), p.5.

bankers, high ranked employees of the Ottoman administration, and from the members of the wealthy Greek families living in Europe after Joachim's reelection seems to be a show of support for the long awaited patriarch.⁷⁰⁷ On 8 June 1901, the EMS members visited and congratulated their new patron pompously, together with a choir composed of the fourth grade students of the Music School who sang hymns to the Patriarch.⁷⁰⁸ Joachim III wanted to disseminate his own image as the protector of the national heritage by promoting ecclesiastical music.⁷⁰⁹

The following correspondence reveals that at the beginning of the twentieth century, ('Byzantine') ecclesiastical music was seen as a crucial part of the Greek national identity among the Greek speaking orthodox populations of Russia. In 1902, a cantor from Batum Stephanos Koutsogiannopoulos wrote a letter to the Patriarchate to suggest the instruction of Byzantine music at schools and its introduction to the churches in all the Greek-speaking villages of Caucasia, and demanded a certificate for himself from the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople in order to teach ecclesiastical music in Russia.⁷¹⁰ The Patriarchate responded positively to the cantor. Also, in order to inform the Russian authorities, it sent two additional letters to

⁷⁰⁷The honorary members of the EMS were as follows in the year 1902: M. Logothete Stavrakis Aristarhis Bey, Konstantinos Vayanis Efendi (donated 2 Turkish Liras), members of the Administrative National Mixed Council Manuil Raktivan (merchant), Mihail Sifneos (merchant-banker) and Zisi Th. Zisi (banker), Stephanos Musuros, Alexandros G. Pantziris Bey, Andreas Kopasis Efendi (d. 10 silver *mecidiye*), Ioannis Ioannidis Efendi (palace architect), Alexandros Mavroyenis Bey the governor of Samos, Grigorios Karidis director of the newspaper "Byzantios", Dimosthenis A. Evgenidis and Konstantinos Vlastaris bankers in Constantinople, Konstantinos Evst. Sevastopoulos (d. 50 Turkish liras), Kostaki Anthopoulos Pasha the ambassador of Ottoman Empire in London (d. 80 golden francs), Ioannis Pezmasoglou general director of the Bank of Athens, Evgenios Zalakostas Greek consul in Sofia, Angelos Vlahos the inspector of the Holy Synod in Athens and Dimitrios Vernardakis. See *EMS5*, pp.118- 128.

⁷⁰⁸ *EMS4*, p.128

⁷⁰⁹ For instance, he employed a photographer (N. Andreiomenos) for the photographing of the Music School's choir during chanting. *Tahidromos*, 9 June 1901.

⁷¹⁰ Patriarchal Correspondence, Codex A' 75 no. 6671, 2 October 1902. This is the letter sent as a reply from the Patriarchate to S. Koutsogiannopoulos.

Ioannis Vostorgof⁷¹¹, the general inspector of the ecclesiastical schools in Caucasia and to the Archimandrite of Tiflis and Exarch of Siberia Alexios⁷¹².

The new geopolitical situation after the defeat of Greece in the 1897 Ottoman-Greek war and the severe blow that the Great Idea had received strengthened the possibility of the “imperial” scheme for the dominant group within the Patriarchate. In a brilliant analysis of the power relations in the Balkans, E. Skopetea noted that in the Greek world, the “mourning” for the 1897 defeat did not last long as the new developments in the region i.e. the revolution of the Young Turks and the military coup in Greece (Goudi, 1909) were taken as the beginning of a regeneration.⁷¹³ All these developments and the escalation of the Macedonian issue provided an atmosphere in which the relations between Hellenic Greeks and the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire were especially close. Furthermore, another parameter in the geopolitical possibilities of the day was the ideal of the Greco-Turkish rapprochement and the united opposition of all the peoples of the Balkans and Asia Minor against the outside menace which threatened the region.⁷¹⁴ Recent studies prefer to see the first decades of the twentieth century which overlapped with the patriarchship of Joachim III and which became a stage for crucial developments, i.e. the Young Turk Revolution and the changing balance concerning the power and

⁷¹¹ In the short biography published in *Formiks*, I. Vostorgof was depicted as an excellent theologian and one of the best preachers in Russia, who was dedicated to the survival and cultivation of the “Greek language, Byzantine music and the Greek customs and traditions” in the region of Caucasia. See “Ο Αιδεσ. Ιωάννης Βοστοργόφ,” *Formiks*, year 2 no.13, 15 November 1903, p.3.

⁷¹² Patriarchal Correspondence, Codex A’ 75 no. 6671, 1 October 1902.

⁷¹³ Elli Skopetea, “Οι Έλληνες και οι εχθροί τους (The Greeks and their enemies),” in *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20^{ου} αιώνα (History of Greece in the 20th Century)*, (Athens: Vivliorama, 1999), pp.10-35.

⁷¹⁴ Diogenis Xanatalos, “The Greeks and the Turks on the eve of the Balkan wars”, *Balkan Studies* 3, (1962), pp. 277-295. D. Xanatalos focuses on the activities of the two crucial Greek statesmen, Ion Dragumis and Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis (director of the Organization of Constantinople).

legitimacy within the Greek Orthodox *millet*, as a period whose outcome was not predetermined and during which the multiplicity of views and schemes existed for a long time. For instance, V. Kechriotis argued that the courses of neither Turkish nor Greek nationalism could be taken for granted as an obvious consequence of the modernization program of the Young Turks.⁷¹⁵ Regarding the ecumenist scheme of the Patriarchate, Joachim III's approach to the Russian Church during his second patriarchship, his attempt at reassessing the relations between the Orthodox and the Catholic and Protestant churches, as well as his intention of reforming the orthodox calendar are well documented.⁷¹⁶ Again trying to avoid teleological history writing, D. Stamatopoulos claimed that the two components of the ecumenical scheme supported by Joachim III, the "imperial" and the "pan-Orthodox" perspectives (unification of the orthodox of the Ottoman Empire with the Slav orthodox) remained powerful as historical possibilities until the end of the First World War.⁷¹⁷

I would like to argue that reflecting the multiplicity of historical possibilities (Ottoman imperial scheme, unification with the Slavs, Greek nationalism), the musical discourse contained at least for some time many different emphases. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ecclesiastical Music Society members became interested in investigating the common music heritage with Russia and got

⁷¹⁵ Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Smyrna*, p. 33.

⁷¹⁶ Stavros Th. Anestidis, "Ιωακείμ ο Γ'. Αρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης (1878-1884, 1901- 1912)", pp.398-99.

⁷¹⁷ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, "Ecumenical ideology in the Orthodox Millet (19th-20th c)", pp. 20-23. Stamatopoulos draws our attention to the reply of the Russian Holy Synod to the Encyclical sent in 1904 by the Patriarchate of Constantinople to all the autocephalous Orthodox churches and Patriarchates. Based on this letter, which was published in *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* in 1905, Stamatopoulos notes that orthodox ecumenicity concerned not only the Patriarchate of Constantinople but also Russia, and that the latter gave support to Joachim III's ecumenist project and even surprisingly, the Synod of the Russian Church recognized the precedence of the seat of Constantinople in this process and in taking the initiative for the unification of all the Christian dogmas.

into contact with Russian musicians.⁷¹⁸ In 1900, Stephanos Smolenski, music professor in the Synodic School in Moscow, was elected as honorary member of the EMS. On 8 March 1900 he sent a letter to the Society, thanking them for his election as an honorary member. In his letter, Smolenski mentioned the Greek music manuscripts that he had collected while he was in Constantinople three years before, and he compared them to the ones in Russia. He continued that, his goal was to clarify the transition process from the Greek music notation to the Russian system of music writing and added that he was not only interested in the centuries' long transition but also the long way that the notation traversed from Constantinople, through Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania to Kiev and Moscow⁷¹⁹. Hence a common Byzantine heritage which embraced the Balkans and Russia was affirmed by Smolenski, which was no doubt much appreciated by the EMS members. However, to be able to grasp the Greek-Russian religious and cultural rivalry in this period fully, more research is necessary. Russia's priorities were to secure the Empire's power and status as a Great Power; internally it wanted to secure the loyalty of its citizens, be they Catholics, Jews or Muslims, externally it wanted to expand its influence to the south as the patron of orthodox Christianity while it desired to consolidate its economic and political sphere of power in the Balkans. The Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople (1894- 1914) was founded as the outcome

⁷¹⁸ In 1900, the members of the EMS Archimandrite Iona, musicologist G. I. Papadopoulos and H. Papaioannou suggested the membership of Sergei Orlof the priest of Pangalti Russian Hospital, Nikolaos Mahrof the deacon of the Church of the Russian Embassy, and Vasilios Koulakof the director of the music choir of the Russian Embassy. See, "Συνεδρίασις ΝΗ", 23 February 1900," *EMS2*, p. 168. Let me also note that in 1901, Alexandros Gkikas Ambassador of Romania, Savvas Grouits Ambassador of Serbia and Zinoviev Ambassador of Russia also became honorary members of EMS. "Συνεδρίασις ΟΑ'," *EMS4*, p.97. On 22 December 1900, Archimandrite K. Fotios, G. Papadopoulos and N. A. Valiadis had suggested their election as honorary members.

⁷¹⁹ "Συνεδρίασις Ξ' 28 April 1900," *EMS2*, p.175. Smolenski's letter was translated from Russian to Greek by Hristos Papaioannou.

of the collaboration of the diplomat A. I. Nelidov and professor F. I. Ouspensky, with the aim of competing with European powers in the scientific field and of serving the political scope of furthering the Russian influence in the Christian East with greater independence.⁷²⁰ Further research should be done on the relations between this cultural association - which encouraged the research and publications on Byzantine music - and the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople.

The next section will deal with the musical discourse from a different perspective. In the preceding pages, the major agents in the articulation of this discourse were the patriarchs at the seat of Constantinople and the EMS. In what follows, I will focus on the participants of the music debate in Greece and on how the musical discourse was instrumentalized in a broader context.

The Patriarchate, Greece and the Music Heritage at the turn of the Century

As mentioned earlier, in nineteenth century Greece, the attitude which rejected western domination in the historical representations of the nation and in the organization of everyday life, subscribed to a musical discourse that focused on ecclesiastical music and defended its values and norms (targeting the Latin Church) and endorsed anti-Western arguments. If, for some time, the source of these values and norms were under discussion, the post-1897 atmosphere proved available for the prevalence of the authority of the Patriarchate on a particular *ifos* (style). In 1898, N. Mihalopoulos published *Νέα Μουσική Κυψέλη* (New Music Hive) in Athens, the third edition of the well known chant book whose previous editions were approved

⁷²⁰ Konstantinos Papoulidis, *Το Ρωσικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1894-1914)*, (*The Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople*), (Salonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1987), p.48.

by the Patriarchate.⁷²¹ The book included the chants and the lessons of the famous eighteenth century cantor Petros of Morea and Stephanos Lambadarios, a prominent cantor of the 1850s and 1860s, both of whom had served at the Great Church. In the prologue, the prominent musician of Athens, Fokios Vamvas introduced the book as “the equipment of every musician without which it is impossible to chant canonically (κανονικώς) and with dignity (σεμνοπρεπώς) according to the patriarchal style (ύφος) of the Great Church”. Then, referring to the supporters of the use of polyphonic music in the churches of Athens, Vamvas said that, the contents of *Nea Mousiki Kipseli* could not be substituted by any foreign music and by “the frango-theater - music (φραγκοθεατρομουσική)” which they were attempting at inserting into the churches.⁷²²

In 1901, the music journal *Formiks* began to be published in Athens.⁷²³ The people who gathered around this journal aimed at protecting the traditional music from westernization. The pages of *Formiks* were full of folk songs and ecclesiastical melodies written in Byzantine notation. It provided a forum where ecclesiastical music and folk music were promoted as national heritage.⁷²⁴ Furthermore, it constituted an important communication ground for the (church) musicians of Greece and the Ottoman Empire. The reaction of *Formiks* toward the episodes of

⁷²¹ *Νέα Μουσική Κυψέλη Κατά την Προφοράν και το Ύφος της του Χριστού Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας* (*New Music Hive according to the Articulation and Style of the Great Church of Christ*), ed. by N. Mihalopoulos, (Athens, 1898).

⁷²² *Ibid.*, p. γ’.

⁷²³ *Formiks* was published bimonthly between 1901 and 1912 by Ioannis Th. Tsoklis, Germanos Kyriazis and Panagiotis Tzanneas, all of whom were cantors. For more information on *Formiks*, see Kaiti Romanou, *Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησις 1901- 1912*, part I, pp. 17- 21. For a meticulous and detailed account of its content, see K. Romanou, *Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησις 1901- 1912*, part II, pp. 426- 536.

⁷²⁴ For instance, see the article “Προσοχή εις τινά Καταπατουμένην Παράδοσιν (Attention to the trampled tradition)”, *Formiks*, 1 December 1901.

“Evangelika” is revealing. Some remarks about the incidents are in order. These were the riots which broke out as a reaction to the proposal of the translation of the Gospels into the vernacular language.⁷²⁵ The crowd which demonstrated against the translation of the Gospels was composed of university students, professors and artisanal groups of Athens and Piraeus. The translation of the archaic language into spoken language was taken as a Slavic conspiracy in view of the contemporary Greek-Bulgarian struggles in Macedonia.⁷²⁶ In modern Greek historiography, these events have been interpreted as the manifestations of the old social and ideological divisions within Greek society, “small revolutions” which gained new supporters.⁷²⁷ As A. Dialla noted, the emergence of an event like the “Evangelika” had to do with the definition and redefinition of national identity after the defeat of 1897.⁷²⁸

At the beginning of the twentieth century in Greece, the developing industrial centers such as Piraeus, Bolos and Lavrion with their uneasy lower classes became places where the “social question” merged with the crisis of national identity and what is more important, this situation served for the intellectuals and the political activists to define and exalt a powerful “people-nation” which would be the guardian

⁷²⁵ See Philip Carabott, “Politics, Orthodoxy and the Language Question in Greece: The Gospel Riots of November 1901,” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 3 (1), (1993), pp.117-38.

⁷²⁶ On the attitude of the Patriarchate to the riots and the language question, see particularly, Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “Τα όρια της «μέσης οδού» Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και Γλωσσικό Ζήτημα στις αρχές του 20^{ου} αιώνα(The limits of “middle way”. Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Language Question at the beginning of the 20th century)”, (Ευρωπαϊκή Εταιρία Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, n.d.) Here, Stamatopoulos notes the mild attitude of the Patriarchate and argues that it especially avoided addressing the issue as a conflict between the Greeks and Slavs in the Balkans.

⁷²⁷ Elli Skopetea, “Οι Έλληνες και οι εχθροί τους (The Greeks and their enemies)”, p.11.

⁷²⁸ Ada Dialla, «Ευαγγελικά και Πανσλαβισμός: Ο Παράδοξος Συσχετισμός; (Evangelika and Panslavism: a paradoxal connection?) », *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο Ευαγγελικά (1901) – Ορεστικά (1903) Νεωτερικές πιέσεις και κοινωνικές αντιστάσεις*, (2003), p.54.

of national values at the expense of the will of the europeanized upper classes.⁷²⁹ I would like to argue that the musical discourse which sutured the elements of Greekness and Christianity together, reconfiguring a synthesis that might be called a “helleno-christian civilization” as we had seen in the music history of G. I. Papadopoulos, provided an intellectual system and a powerful ideological framework which would exclude the “materialist” ideas of the potentially “dangerous” groups who were disquieted by economic and social differentiations and divisions, and would integrate them peacefully into the broader society.⁷³⁰ Furthermore, this particular historical interpretation seems to have gained a new importance in view of the turmoil in Macedonia.⁷³¹

Immediately after the “Evangelika”, *Formiks* drew attention to the music question and connected the issues of innovation in language (the issue of the

⁷²⁹ For a brilliant analysis of social and economic conflicts in early twentieth century Greece, see Hristos Hatziosif, «Introduction», in *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20^{ου} Αιώνα. Οι απαρχές 1900-1922* (prepared by Hr. Hatziosif), vol. A1, (Athens: Vivliorama, 2000), see pp.14-24. An analysis of the “social question” in Greece is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to remind Georgios Skliros’s book *Το κοινωνικόν μας ζήτημα* (Our Social Question) (1907) where Skliros endorsed a Marxist analysis of the Greek society and argued for a radical revolution of the social conditions. According to him, the progressivist elements of the society, the demoticists, should organize the workers and teach them that their interests conflict with the interests of the bourgeois ruling class. For more, see Patrikiou-Stavridi Rena (ed.), *Δημοτικισμός και κοινωνικό πρόβλημα (Demoticism and social question)*, (Athens: Ermis, 1976), p.η’.

⁷³⁰ For the concept of “helleno-christian civilization” and for this particular comment, see Efi Gazi, *Ο Δεύτερος Βίος των Τριών Ιεραρχών. Μια Γενεαλογία του «Ελληνοχριστιανικού Πολιτισμού»*, (Athens: Nefeli, 2004), p.54.

⁷³¹ In 1905, Pavlos Karolidis, history professor at the National University of Athens wrote the following in the music periodical *Formiks*: “The Greek ecclesiastical music, which is generally called Byzantine, as strictly related with the historical beginning and development of the Christian church, is all through the life of the Greek nation an eternal creation of the cultural life of Hellenism[...]The South Slavic peoples like Serbians, Bulgarians and Moldovlachians took this music from Byzantium together with the Greek Orthodoxy and maintained it for centuries till now, as a valuable heritage of their religious lives”. See Pavlos Karolidis, «Η Βυζαντινή Μουσική», *Formiks*, no:19- 20, 15- 31 December 1905. It is meaningful that Karolidis said this only a year after the publication of G. I. Papadopoulos’ *Historical Survey of the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music* in 1904. Let me also emphasize that during the years of the ‘Macedonian struggle’ (1904- 1908) the Slavs were seen as *the* enemy, even the “common danger” against Hellenism and the Ottoman Empire. See Elli Skopetea, «Οι Έλληνες και οι Εχθροί τους. Η Κατάσταση του έθνους στις αρχές του εικοστού αιώνα», *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20^{ου} Αιώνα*, (Athens: Vivliorama, 1999), pp.10-35.

translation of the Bible into the vernacular) and innovation in the church (implying the westernization in ecclesiastical music), and rejected both.⁷³² In 1902, it published the patriarchal decree of 24 November 1901 - which addressed the cantors of Constantinople and reminded them of the regulations that the 45th canon of the Ecumenical Synod of Troillo brought to church chanting - hence *Formiks* was emphasizing the authority of the Patriarchate on ecclesiastical music.⁷³³ Sometime later, the Greek deputy Nikolaos Levidis sent a letter to Patriarch Joachim III, complaining about the introduction of music instruments into the churches of Athens and asked whether the use of music instruments and polyphony were allowed in the Church⁷³⁴. In the meanwhile, reporting about the Music School in Constantinople, *Formiks* had been campaigning for the foundation of an ecclesiastical music school in Athens and complaining about the indifference of the State to the issue. In 1903, when the government allocated five thousand drachmas to the “Society for Instruction of the Ancient Drama”, *Formiks* protested by saying that the foundation of the Music School was more crucial for the benefit of the nation, than the teaching of the ancient dramas⁷³⁵. On 6 July 1903, the administrative board of the “Society of Music and Drama” decided on the establishment of the Byzantine Music School and assigned to the director of the Conservatory of Athens Georgios Nazos the examination of the issue in cooperation with the Metropolitan of Athens. On 25 July 1903, G. Nazos went to Constantinople in order to receive information about the “scientific basis” of Byzantine music and to see if its instruction would be possible at

⁷³² I. Θ. Τ., “Ανέξαρτητοι Γνώμαι (Independent Opinions),” *Formiks*, no.4, 15 November 1901.

⁷³³ “Καθήκοντα Ιεροψαλτών (The duties of the cantors)” *Formiks*, no: 7, 1 January 1902.

⁷³⁴ “Εκκλησιαστικές Ειδήσεις (Ecclesiastical News),” *Tahidromos*, 13 June 1902.

⁷³⁵ “Ζητήματα και Σκέψεις. Τι λέει ο Κ. Λεβίδης (Issues and Thoughts. What is Mr. Levidis saying?)” *Formiks*, 30 January 1903.

the Conservatory of Athens⁷³⁶. In 1904, the Byzantine Music Department was opened and upon Patriarch Joachim's appointment, cantor Konstantinos Psahos was sent from Constantinople to teach ecclesiastical music in Athens.

After this brief survey of the participants of the music debate in Athens whose efforts led to the institutionalization of ecclesiastical music education in the Greek capital, let me return to the Greeks of Constantinople and to the framework of *millet*, in order to investigate the music education at the Greek-orthodox schools with questions that have to do with state legitimacy, patriotism and national identity.

Joachim III, Moral Education and Music Instruction at the Greek Orthodox Schools

In what follows, I will try to provide a tentative analysis of the music education at the Greek-orthodox schools in the Ottoman Empire by focusing on the attempts, especially during Joachim III's second patriarchship, at the moral regeneration of the Greek-orthodox children and youth through the reform of the music education at the schools.

Let me note that music education at the Ottoman public schools is not a well researched topic. Yet, it is an interesting one especially due to its relevance to the attempts of the Ottoman ruling elite at creating a national basis for Ottoman citizenry, and the legitimization of the state and sultan. The educational efforts of the Hamidian era were shaped by an intention of instilling in the Ottoman youth the virtues of imperial subjecthood and loyal citizenship. In her influential article on Ottoman women and education during the Hamidian era, E. B. Frierson noted that,

⁷³⁶ «Εκκλησιαστικές Ειδήσεις», *Tahidromos*, 25 July 1903.

the Sultan's legitimacy was understood and responded to by Ottoman women through a discourse that invested in sacrality and Islam which was useful for their gaining entry to the public sphere.⁷³⁷ Where Frierson saw Abdülhamid II as a monarch who, through autocratic measures, seized the right to mediate between his populace and the West, another historian drew attention to the *adaptation* of Western education at the state schools during his rule. Contrary to some influential revisionist works which emphasized the secular logic of the state or the instrumental use of religion in order to implement a rational secular program⁷³⁸, B. Fortna noted that the imposition of Islamic morality and the incorporation of the elements of the Ottoman and Islamic tradition in the education at the state schools during the Hamidian era should be seen as a sincere effort to transform the society.⁷³⁹ The instruction of morals was envisioned as a corrective measure to the encroachments of Western culture. Fortna has brilliantly shown that Western methods of education were adapted to a curriculum with a high moral content and to a system of state monitoring of student behavior outside the classroom.

Regarding the education at the Greek-orthodox schools, A. Ozil's study has convincingly shown that in the second half of the nineteenth century, education in these schools was predominantly secularized and emphasis was laid on the teaching

⁷³⁷ Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: Women and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire 1876- 1909," *Critical Matrix: The Princeton Journal of Women, Gender, and Culture*, IX (2), (1995), pp.55- 90, p.72.

⁷³⁸ Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1), (January 1993), pp. 5-6.

⁷³⁹ Benjamin C. Fortna, "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman "Secular" Schools," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, (2000), pp.369- 393. Also see Benjamin C. Fortna, "Morals" in *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the state, and education in the late Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 202-247. A similar point has also been made by S. A. Somel who has argued that in the Hamidian public school system traditional and religious values were cultivated as a source of ideological unity. See Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

of the Greek language.⁷⁴⁰ However, the secular and westernized education in the Greek-orthodox schools should not automatically be connected with Greek nationalism, as secular education did not rebut Ottomanness but on the contrary legitimated it.⁷⁴¹ Hence, education was not only an instrument of promoting Greek culture and Greek consciousness but also an instrument for the promotion of an Ottoman patriotism. In her recent study based on the encomiums sung to the Sultan on the occasions of anniversaries and feasts at the schools of the Greek-orthodox, S. Anagnostopoulou noted that for both the Patriarchate and the Helleno-Ottoman elite, the person of the Sultan and the Palace constituted the central point of reference for Ottoman patriotism.⁷⁴² Hinting at a similar point, N. Özbek claimed that, due to its high level of personalization, the Hamidian political language could be called “patriarchal patriotism”.⁷⁴³ From what I said until now, there are two characteristics to be noted about the public education in the late Ottoman Empire: first, an education which combined the use of western methods with moralizing aims, second, the dissemination of a sense of Ottoman patriotism and loyalty to the sultan. Now, let me provide more insight into these, using contemporary material regarding the music education at the Greek-orthodox schools.

The part on music education in the *Analytical Program for the Elementary Schools* (1900) gives us an idea about some aspects of the music education at the

⁷⁴⁰ Ayşe Ozil, *Education in the Greek Orthodox Community of Pera in 19th century İstanbul*, (Ph.d diss., Boğaziçi University 2001), p. 92. Based on her research on the analytical programs of the School of Panagia in Pera, Ozil concluded that even if the religious lessons always maintained their place of honor, the secular element was dominant in education.

⁷⁴¹ Sia Anagnostopoulou, (*Asia Minor*), p.301.

⁷⁴² Sia Anagnostopoulou, “The ‘nation’ of the Rum sings of its Sultan: The many faces of Ottomanism”, in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming], p.6 in the unpublished paper.

⁷⁴³ Nadir Özbek, “Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime 1876- 1909,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 37 (2005), p.74.

first-level Greek-orthodox schools at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that the music of most of the children's songs, which were named in the *Program*, were taken from the German or French pedagogical music books and subsequently set onto Greek texts. Thus, while the melodies belonged to the European musicians i.e. Jules Enigg⁷⁴⁵ and Claude Augé, Jules Lammers, the poems were written by Greek lyric-writers such as A. Kantakouzinis, I. Ioannidis, A. Vlashos and Zalakostas. Also there were some songs from the famous Constantinopolitan poet Elias Tantalidis' book *Ἀσματα εἰς ευρωπαϊκὴν μελωδίαν* (Songs in European Melody) (1876) and the song collection of Adamantidis, another prominent folk song collector. Coming back to European musicians, G. Stavros noted that the contribution of Jules Enigg to the production of school songs in Greece was the greatest. Also his collection of three hundred school songs by Greek and foreign musicians, constituted for a long time the main body of repertoire in the music education of the teachers and students.⁷⁴⁶ It can well be argued that this practice of combining western melody with Greek content echoes the creative adaptation that I have mentioned at a more general level regarding the education at the Ottoman schools in this era.

Sia Anagnostopoulou noted that the second patriarchal term of Joachim III (1901- 1912) was characterized by both the maintenance of the Ottoman imperial

⁷⁴⁴ “Μουσική” Αναλυτικόν Πρόγραμμα των κατώτερων σχολείων 1900, *The Great School of the Nation file II-II*, Archive of University of Athens.

⁷⁴⁵ The German musician Jules Enigg taught at the Conservatory of Athens and he published together with Alexandros Kantakouzinis, the director of the ecclesiastical choir of the court chapel and teacher (of harmony) at the Conservatory, a book consisting of songs composed for the instruction at the Conservatory. The title of the book was *Νέα Ἀσματα Παιδαγωγικά* (New Pedagogical Songs) and was published by the Phileducational Society of Athens in 1884.

⁷⁴⁶ Giannis Stavros, “Τραγούδια που διδάχτηκαν στα ελληνικά σχολεία κατά τον 19^ο αιώνα (Songs which were taught in the Greek schools in the 19th century)”, *Poliphonia* 7 (Autumn, 2005).

scheme and the nationalization of the sacred community according to the pan-Islamic ideology enhanced by the state institutions. She interestingly associated the use of Byzantine symbols and the hellenization of the Byzantine legacy by the Patriarch, with the regime of Abdülhamid II where the state institutions were imbued with an Islamic character as an element of a quest for a new imperial/national ideology.⁷⁴⁷ One might possibly see Patriarch Joachim's circular (1901) that made the ecclesiastical music lessons compulsory at the Greek-orthodox schools, in this context.⁷⁴⁸ Furthermore, under his auspices, a music textbook was prepared for use in schools. He assigned Markos Vasilios, musician and at the same time secretary at the Patriarchate, to compose songs for the students of the schools and of the Music School. A. Hatzopoulos noted that at the beginning of the twentieth century the Greek families of Constantinople mostly preferred to give their children only a western musical education and even complained about the ecclesiastical music lessons at school.⁷⁴⁹ A supporter of Patriarch Joachim's attitude on this issue, Georgios Pahtikos would remember the patriarch after his death, especially for his efforts in cultivating "national music and national songs" in schools and for preventing the singing of foreign songs by the students during the annual

⁷⁴⁷ Sia Anagnostopoulou, "The terms Millet, Genos, Ethnos, Oikoumenikotita, Alytrotismos in Greek Historiography," in *The Passage from the Ottoman Empire to the National States*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004). For Abdülhamid II and the panislamist ideology, see Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998).

⁷⁴⁸ Antonios Hatzopoulos, *Η Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική Παιδεία στην Εκκλησία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατά το 19^ο και 20^ο αιώνα* (*The Ecclesiastical Music Education in the Church of Constantinople in the 19th and 20th centuries*), (Alexandroupoli, 2001), p. 131- 132.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 31. Hatzopoulos says that in the 1890s, Georgios I. Papadopoulos advocated the enforcement of ecclesiastical music in all the schools, as a compulsory course.

celebrations of the schools.⁷⁵⁰ I would like to illustrate this issue of ecclesiastical music education with some contemporary correspondence. According to a letter dated 1 December 1895 retrieved from the Patriarchal correspondence, the National Mixed Council approved the demand of the Board of the Great School of the Nation (*Megali tou Genous Sholi*) concerning the four-year compulsory teaching of the ecclesiastical music lesson, starting from the third year of education.⁷⁵¹ However, in a letter sent to the director of the Great School of the Nation Archimandrite Mihail Kleovoulos on 17 June 1896, the Patriarchate asked why the lesson of ecclesiastical music was passed over in silence, during the public exposition of the annual activities of the School.⁷⁵² The letter can be seen as an indication of the Patriarchate's wish to secure the continuation of the ecclesiastical music lessons. The following letter may explain why the ecclesiastical music lesson was missing from the above-mentioned exposition. We learn from a letter written on 13 September 1896 by the musician Georgios Pahtikos to the board of the Great School of the Nation that, a year before he had written to the School, suggesting that the instruction of ecclesiastical music should be a compulsory course at the orthodox schools, and that he offered to teach music in this school without receiving a salary for the first year. According to the same letter, after he taught the lesson for about six months without salary, the board announced the rejection of Pahtikos' petition for a regular payment and the music course was made voluntary and limited to three years, not four years

⁷⁵⁰ “Ο Πατριάρχης Ιωακείμ ο Γ’ και η Εθνική Μουσική,” *Mousiki*, year 1 vol.12 December 1912, p. 340.

⁷⁵¹ Patriarchal Correspondence, Codex A’ 66, no. 6701, 1 December 1895.

⁷⁵² Patriarchal Correspondence, Codex A’ 67, no. 3731, 17 June 1896.

as he had suggested.⁷⁵³ The dispute between Pahtikos and the board of the Great School of the Nation reverberated to the Patriarch. The correspondence between the board of the School and the Patriarch in November 1896 reveals that the music lesson was made voluntary because many children were not present during the music lessons of the previous year. The compulsory lesson had caused the parents' complaints because they lived far from the school and the music lesson resulted in the children's coming home late and also it was not necessary because their children already received at home, European music education from a private teacher.⁷⁵⁴

A letter sent on 29 November 1898 by Evstratios Papadopoulos, the first-cantor of the church of Eisodion in Pera and the music teacher of the ecclesiastical choir of the Zografeion lycée, to the central board of trustees of the Greek-orthodox community of Stavrodromio (Beyoğlu), is also revealing in this respect.⁷⁵⁵ The letter is, in fact, a report written by Papadopoulos upon the demand of the central board of trustees, on the state of the music choir. In the report, the cantor complains that the students have many commitments due to other lessons and that, at the hour of the music lesson, they run off. Papadopoulos adds that he even holds the gate of the

⁷⁵³ Letter of the music teacher G. Pahtikos to the Board no.578, *Correspondance of the board of the Megali tou Genous Sholi*, Archive of University of Athens, Pera/Constantinople 13 September 1896. The evidence revealing the often changing decisions about the teaching of ecclesiastical music, I think, testifies to the instability of the policies on this issue.

⁷⁵⁴ Letter of the Board of the MGS to the Patriarch no: 594, *Correspondance of the board of the Megali tou Genous Sholi*, Archive of University of Athens, Phanar/Constantinople 15 November 1896. The original of the translated part: “Ενεκρίθη δε ίνα από υποχρεωτικών γένηται προαιρετικόν το μάθημα τούτο διότι η υποχρεωτική αυτού ακρόασις κατά το προλαβόν σχολικόν έτος πολλών απουσιών των μαθητών και από των άλλων μαθημάτων εγένετο αιτία και πολλές των γονεών και κηδεμόνων των μαθητών μεμψιμοιρίων προεκάλεσε, των μεν τας μακράς των κατοικιών των μαθητών αποστάσεις, των δε την διδασκαλίαν της Ευρωπαϊκής μουσικής, παρεχομένην κατ’οίκον υπό ιδίου διδασκάλου[...]”.

⁷⁵⁵ Letter of Evst. Papadopoulos to the CBT of the Greek-orthodox community of Stavrodromio no.204, *Correspondance of the Greek-orthodox Community of Stavrodromio*, Archive of University of Athens, Pera 29 November 1898. I owe thanks to Meropi Anastasiadou for providing me with the transcription of this letter.

school and brings the runaways back to the lesson. But this does not seem to work. Blaming the parents, he says that the next day the students come with a paper from their parents or doctors saying that they suffer from their chest or their throat so that they should be exempt from the music lesson. After enumerating several other difficulties that he meets regarding the training of a music choir in only eight months, and the disadvantages of starting every year from scratch with newly elected untrained students, Papadopoulos concludes that, as the consent of the parents is necessary, influential persons should interfere and convince them not to prevent their children from joining the choir.⁷⁵⁶

With Patriarch Joachim III's circular, not only ecclesiastical chants but also folk songs - which had "many usages in life"- were introduced (in addition to the existing western music education) into the eight-year program of the Greek-orthodox schools.⁷⁵⁷ According to the previously mentioned *Analytical Program for the Elementary Schools* (1900),⁷⁵⁸ the appropriate music for the education of the children should "have a text which is closely linked to the melody and is either of a religious or a demotic spirit". It continues, "If the religious song sublimates the religious life of the man, the demotic song fills him with a deep love for his birth place (*genetiran*)[...]".⁷⁵⁹ In this respect, let us pay attention to the plea of the Greek-

⁷⁵⁶ The related part from the letter of E. Papadopoulos: "Επειδή λοιπόν και η συγκατάθεσις των γονεών είναι απαραίτητος, είναι ανάγκη νομίζω, να επεμβαίνωσι σημαίνοντα πρόσωπα όπως πείσωσι αυτούς να μη κωλύωσι τα ίδια τέκνα να καταταχθώσιν εις τον χορόν".

⁷⁵⁷ «Η Εκπαίδευσις Μας (Our education)», *Tahidromos*, 21 September 1901: "α) Τα εκκλησιαστικά άσματα τα αποτελούντα τα θρησκευτικά δημοτικά άσματα, άπερ δέον να ώσι κτήμα παντός του λαού και β) τα κυρίως δημόδη άσματα, ών ο παίς θα κάμη πολλαπλήν χρήσιν εν τω βίω, τούτου ένεκεν αμφοτέρα τα είδη περιελήφθησαν εν τω νέω οκταταξίω προγράμματι των σχολών".

⁷⁵⁸ "Μουσική" Αναλυτικόν Πρόγραμμα των κατώτερων σχολείων 1900, *The Great School of the Nation file 11-11*, Archive of University of Athens.

⁷⁵⁹ We should note that until very late in the 19th century, folk songs were not seen as appropriate for education. Giannis Stavros notes that I. Sakellaris was the first to include two folk songs into his

orthodox music teacher Georgios Pahtikos that both the melody and the content of the school songs should be appropriate for the age and the nature of children, and that the subjects of the school songs should arouse in the child, love for God, for virtue and the homeland.⁷⁶⁰ It should be noted that love and loyalty to the birthplace or homeland, and perhaps by extension to the Greek-orthodox community and communal life, was encouraged as a necessary component in the moral education of the children. In 1895, Pahtikos published a music book entitled *Apollo, the Leader of the Muses*⁷⁶¹, which he wrote for the use of the Greek schools both in Greece and the Ottoman Empire. In the prologue, he wrote that the aim of the music education was to imbue pious, virtuous and patriotic feelings into the hearts of the students who should be the law-abiding subjects/citizens of the future. He furthermore stressed that religious chants and folk songs were the fundamental elements of a pedagogical music that should be made compulsory in the Greek-orthodox schools.⁷⁶²

My analysis will continue with Pahtikos in the next section, where the notions of homeland, community and patriotism will be investigated based on his biography and his first-hand documents.

collection of school songs, in his *Μούσα, ήτοι βιβλίον μουσικών παιδαγωγικών προωρισμένον δια τα Διδασκαλεία*, (Athens, 1882).

⁷⁶⁰ Georgios Pahtikos, «Παιδευτικά, Η Μουσική εν τοις παρ' ημίν σχολείοις (Education. Music in our schools)», *Εβδομαδιαία Επιθεώρησις Νεολόγου (The Weekly Review of Neologos)* vol.2 no. 49, Constantinople, 1893. Also see Georgios Pahtikos, “Η Μουσική εν τοις παρ' ημίν εκπαιδευτηρίοις,” *Formiks*, 30 November 1903. As devotion for *patrida* was seen among the virtues to be instilled in the Greek-orthodox children, let us remember S. Anagnostopoulou's note on this term. In her seminal work, she noted that, the terms nation (*ethnos, millet*) and fatherland (*patrida, vatan*), beyond the fact that they were given new meanings in the nineteenth century, were instrumentalized for the redefinition of an institutional framework whose components were traditional while its function was totally new. Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor*, p.16.

⁷⁶¹ Georgios D. Pahtikos, *Απόλλων ο Μουσηγέτης. Περιέχων Στοιχειώδεις Ώδικας Γνώσεις μετα Μονόφωνων, Δίφωνων, Τρίφωνων και Τετράφωνων Χορικών Ασμάτων προς Χρήσιν των Ελλ. Εκπαιδευτήριων Αμφοτερών των Φυλών*, vol. 1, (Athens: Anesti Konstantinidiou, 1895). Pahtikos wrote this book for the use of schoolchildren. The book includes 37 pedagogical, 8 ecclesiastical, 8 demotic and 5 ancient songs.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, p. ζ'.

Between the Hellenic Nation, Community and *Patrida*: the Multiple Commitments
of a Greek Musician

The life and work of the philologist and musician Georgios Pahtikos provide an interesting and colorful picture of a Greek-orthodox individual living between three worlds, Athens, Constantinople and his hometown Ortaköy (in Asia Minor). Through his speeches, writings and musical compositions, he tried to construct an image of a unified Hellenic nation in time and space, and he struggled against the encroachments of western influence into the Greek-orthodox communities of Asia Minor.

Georgios Pahtikos was born in 1869 in Ortaköy of Bithynia.⁷⁶³ He completed his secondary education at the School of Varvakeio in Athens and then studied philology at the University of Athens and at the same time music at the Conservatory. His professors from the Philological School Georgios Mistriotis and Dimitris Semitelos instilled in him a deep devotion to philology and the ancient Greek drama. Georgios Mistriotis was a fervent supporter of the so called pure language (*Katharevousa*). He was one of the representatives of the discourse which implied that the ‘vulgar mob’, or the folk as the archaists used to call them, was ruled by its material needs only, and that it was incapable of expressing important concepts or philosophical ideas beyond its low needs.⁷⁶⁴ Mistriotis’ archaism and his stance concerning the language issue were to be echoed in Pahtikos’ abomination and contempt for the demotic language.

⁷⁶³ For the biography of Pahtikos, see *Formiks*, year 2 no. 7, 15 April 1903.

⁷⁶⁴ Alkis Kiriakidis-Nestoros, *Η Θεωρία της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας. Κριτική Ανάλυση (The Theory of the Greek Folklore Studies. Critical Analysis)*, (Athens: Εταιρεία Σπουδών Νεοελληνικού Πολιτισμού και Γενικής Παιδείας, 1978), p. 65.

During his education at the Conservatory, Pahtikos studied with Alexandros Kantakouzinos. At the Conservatory, following the directorship of Georgios Nazos in 1891, the Italian tradition was replaced by the German one which was dominant in Europe at that time, especially due to the theories of Wagner.⁷⁶⁵ During his lecture in the Archaeological Society of Athens in 1901, Pahtikos revealed the idealistic spirit with which he approached music. For instance, he said that the ancient Greek music was not only a source of aesthetic pleasure but also of virtue.⁷⁶⁶

Even though he finally returned to Constantinople in 1895, he was frequently visiting the city before this date and came into contact with the Greek-orthodox elite of Pera. In 1893, he composed a hymn for the prominent banker Hristakis Zografos⁷⁶⁷ and performed it at the inauguration of the Zografeion High School together with the music choir of the Society *Ermis*. Later, he became one of the first members of the *Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople* and taught at the Music School of the Society. In the 1890s, he began composing music for ancient Greek dramas⁷⁶⁸ and founded an amateur music group *Omilos ton Erasimolpon* (Club of Song-Lovers) composed of talented young ladies and gentlemen of the Greek society of Constantinople, in order to perform his own compositions for

⁷⁶⁵ See Kaiti Romanou, «Η Μουσική 1871- 1909 από την Παράδοση στο Αστικό Πρότυπο» in *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού 1770- 2000*, vol. 5, (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003). Also, for the history of the Conservatory, see G. Drosinis, *Γεώργιος Νάζος και το Ωδείο Αθηνών* (*Georgios Nazos and the Conservatory of Athens*), (Athens, 1938), pp.69- 103.

⁷⁶⁶ Eleven years later, G. Pahtikos published the text of this lecture in his own music periodical *Mousiki*. See G. Pahtikos, «Τα Αρχαία Ελληνικά Δράματα και η Μελοποιία των Χορικών» *Mousiki*, vol. 3, March 1912.

⁷⁶⁷ Anastasios G. Tagis, *Ωδή εις Χρηστάκην Ζωγράφον επί τοις εγκαίνιοις του Ζωγραφείου / Αναστασίου Γ. Τάγη. Υπό Γεωργίου Δ. Παχτίκου μεμελοποιημένη*, 1893.

⁷⁶⁸ In 1893, he published his two choral compositions for Sophocles' play *Philoctetes*. Georgios D. Pahtikos, *Δυο χορικά εκ του «Φιλοκτήτου» του Σοφοκλέους*, (Athens, 1893).

ancient Greek tragedies and comedies, as well as the folk songs collected by him during his trips to various parts of the Greek-speaking geography.

In 1901, his music for *Iphigeneia in Tauris* of Euripides was awarded by the newly founded *Society for the Instruction of Ancient Dramas* in Athens.⁷⁶⁹ The art critic of the ancient drama contest, Wilhelm Barth commented on the choral composition of Pahtikos for *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. He noted that regarding the prosody and the rhythm of the ancient text, Pahtikos “reproduced the character of the ancient rhythm with success and accommodated it with the analogous movements of the psychological mood and the various meanings of the tragedy”. Barth had also stated that Pahtikos did not hesitate to sacrifice the strict harmonic polyphony for the requirements of the pure Greek scales.⁷⁷⁰ Our musician became known also in Europe, especially in Germany among various intellectuals and musicians who had interest in the ancient Greek language and music. For instance, in 1903 his compositions for the choral parts of *Oedipus the King* – which were rejected by the *Society for the Instruction of Ancient Dramas* - were performed in Munich at the

⁷⁶⁹ The establishment of this Society was probably inspired by the recent excavations of ancient Greek music. In 1892, an excerpt from Euripides’s *Orestia* (around 1st century BC) was found in papyrus. During the excavations of the French Archaeological Society of Athens in Delphi in 1893, two hymns for Apollo (2nd century BC) were found, which were the lengthiest remnants of ancient Greek music (Listen to the music example no.1 in Appendix CD). The two hymns circulated in harmonized version and with instrumental accompaniment and were performed many times. See Theodore Reinach, “La Musique Grecque et L’Hymne a Apollon”, *Extrait de la Revue des Etudes Grecque*, Paris, Juin 1894. The French musicologist Theodore Reinach argued that the lost music of the ancient dramas could be reconstituted through the study of the poetic meter in their surviving texts. Georgios Mistriotis, the professor of Philology at the University of Athens defended the same view in Athens. Musicologist Kaiti Romanou drew attention to the fact that these archaeological findings coincided with the preparations for the revival of the Olympic Games, which brought to the agenda in general the issue of Greek music. Kaiti Romanou, “Εκδόσεις συλλογών της μουσικής του ελληνικού λαού (1830-1930),” unpublished paper.

⁷⁷⁰ The report signed by Wilhelm Barth was published in Georgios D. Pahtikos, *Η Μελοποιία των Χορικών και των Κομμών ιφιγένειας της εν Ταύροις του Ευριπίδου*, (Athens, 1901). Pahtikos dedicated this book to Joachim III.

centennial celebration of the German composer Franz Lachner.⁷⁷¹ However, for the European music critics his compositions for the ancient dramas sounded very modern and partly “folkish”.⁷⁷² This is not surprising because he was actually employing folk tunes in his compositions for the ancient dramas. Concerning his compositions for *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, Pahtikos wrote that the parts arranged by him for instruments were totally national, (*ethniki*, meaning bearing the Greek character) because he took them from his unpublished collection of folk songs, and as an example he gave a song from Asia Minor, from the Greek-speaking town Malakopi of Cappadocia⁷⁷³.

Folk song collections have certain “functions” within the framework of national projects. Ethnomusicologist P. V. Bohlman asserted that national folk song collections appear at historically critical moments when historical circumstances make it necessary to define or redefine the nation.⁷⁷⁴ The history of the Greek folk song collections goes back to the 1820s.⁷⁷⁵ Throughout the nineteenth century, as M. Herzfeld noted, Greek musicians and scholars collected and studied folk songs, legends and tales as relics to commemorate the past and advanced them as

⁷⁷¹ G. Pahtikos’ letter to M. Evangelidis. Letter G 76 1151, Constantinople, 8 August 1903: “Εἰς το Μόναχον προ τινῶν ημερῶν μετὰ της εορτῆς της εκατονταετηρίδος του θεωρητικοῦ συγγραφέως και μουσουργοῦ Fr. Lachner ἐξετελέσθησαν και χορικά τινὰ ἄσματα εκ του “Οιδίποδος Τυράννου” κατὰ την ἐμὸν μελοποιῖαν, ην η επιτροπεία της εταιρίας των αρχαίων δραμάτων εἶχεν, ως γνωστόν, απορρίψει”.

⁷⁷² For instance, about the performance of Pahtikos’ *Philoctetes* (Sophocles’ tragedy) at the theater “Odeio” on 26 February 1912, the music critic of the German-French newspaper «Osmanischer Lloyd» Schrader wrote: “However, occasionally the choral songs sound very soft and very modern, and some parts folkish”. See «Σοφοκλέους ‘Φιλοκτήτης’», *Mousiki* vol.4, April 1912.

⁷⁷³ Georgios D. Pahtikos, *Η Μελοποιία των χορικών*, p.17. Also in one of his letters sent to Association ‘Anatoli’ in Athens, on 10 September 1900, he mentions that he intends to compose choral music for an ancient tragedy based on the folk songs of Asia Minor. Letter G 47 no. 1207 Pera, 10 September 1900.

⁷⁷⁴ Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism. Cultural Identity and Modern History*, (California: World Music Series, 2004), pp. 94-95.

⁷⁷⁵ In Europe, we have Greek folk song collections dating from the 18th century. But the first systematic collection belongs to Claude Fauriel which was published in 1825. See Alexis Politis, *Ανακάλυψη των Ελληνικών Δημοτικών Τραγουδιών* (*Discovery of Greek Folk Songs*), (Athens: Themelio, 1984).

prophecies of future redemption.⁷⁷⁶ A thorough survey of the folk song collections published by Greek or non-Greek musicians is beyond the scope of this study.⁷⁷⁷

In the 1870s, in the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, a contest was announced with the theme of ‘Live Memorials’ (*Ζώντα Μνημεία*). The aim of this contest, which was sponsored by the prominent banker Hristakis Zografos, was the collection of the dialects, the customs, traditions and superstitions of the Greek people.⁷⁷⁸ During its fifth year, a collection of folk songs was also added to the program of this long term contest which offers its awards only in 1895- 6. One of the awarded folk song collections belonged to Pahtikos, the other was collected by a doctor from Samothraki Nikolaos Fardis.⁷⁷⁹ According to H. Exertzoglou, through the mediation of the contest, the collected dialects, tales, legends, customs, beliefs, - and folk songs - were elevated from their local levels and made part of a wider recognizable whole, which began to be acknowledged as an element of Greek national identity. Exertzoglou furthermore noted an interesting paradox; the necessity for the collection of Greek dialects as a unifying cultural layer which provided proofs

⁷⁷⁶ Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: folklore, ideology and the making of modern Greece*, (New York: Pella, 1986).

⁷⁷⁷ Kaiti Romanou, “Εκδόσεις συλλογών της μουσικής του ελληνικού λαού (1830- 1930),” unpublished paper. Merih Erol, “Η Εθνικοποίηση της Μουσικής στην Ελληνορθόδοξη Κοινότητα της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα”, unpublished paper.

⁷⁷⁸ Tatiana Stavrou, *Ο εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος. Το Υπουργείον Παιδείας του Αλυτρώτου Ελληνισμού*, (Athens, 1967). Also see Haris Exertzoglou, *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19ο αι.*, (Athens: Nefeli, 1996), pp.103-4.

⁷⁷⁹ Except Pahtikos and Fardis, the other participants in the contest were, Petros Filanthidis, Simeon Manassidis, Menos Filintas, and Marigo Stathaki. Pahtikos had collected 150 folk songs from Epirus, Crete, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor and the Aegean islands, 80 of which were awarded. For the collection of N. Fardis, see Markos Dragoumis, *Ογδόντα Πέντε Δημοτικές Μελωδίες Από τα Κατάλοιπα του Νικόλαου Φαρδύ* (*Eighty five folk melodies from the leavings of Nikolaos Fardis*), (Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 1991). Also about an unpublished song collection of Petros Filanthidis, see Markos Dragoumis, “Μια ανέκδοτη συλλογή τραγουδιών του Πέτρου Φιλανθίδη” in *Η Παραδοσιακή μας Μουσική* vol.1 (Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 2003), pp.29- 36.

for national continuity, was adduced at the same time with the observation of the linguistic and cultural fragmentation of the Greek-speaking populations.⁷⁸⁰

However, the legends, tales, beliefs or folk songs were a topic of interest not only for the literate Greeks of Constantinople who were agents of a national discourse, but also for foreigners who approached the culture of the various peoples living in the Ottoman Empire with an orientalist curiosity. Some years before the contest of the GLS, two collections of popular traditions and folkloric material collected from the peoples living in Asia Minor and Constantinople were published by the French folklorist Henry Carnoy who collaborated with a local Greek Ioannis Nikolaidis who used to teach at the Lycée of Chios. These collections were *Traditions Populaires de Constantinople et Ses Environs* (1891)⁷⁸¹ and *Folklore de Constantinople* (1893)⁷⁸². The first one comprised the superstitions and beliefs of Turks, Greeks and Armenians while the second one contained the legends of Constantinople. In the prologue of the second book, the authors revealed their enthusiasm for the variety of the populations living in Constantinople who maintained their customs and traditions under a liberal administration.

Now, let me focus on Pahtikos' folk song collection in a more detailed manner. Pahtikos began collecting folk songs already when he was studying at the

⁷⁸⁰ See «Οι Διαγωνισμοί (The contests)» in Haris Exertzoglou, *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19ο αι.*, pp. 121-23.

⁷⁸¹ Henry Carnoy, Jean Nikolaidis *Traditions Populaires de Constantinople et Ses Environs. Contributions au Folklore des Turcs, Chrétiens, Arméniens etc., Première Série*, (Paris: Aux Bureaux de "la Tradition", 1891). I owe thanks to Prof. Dr. Edhem Eldem who brought these sources to my attention. The authors wrote in the prologue of *Traditions Populaires* that this book was the first one in a book series, one of which would include also the Greek folk songs. They had also published the popular traditions of Asia Minor in 1889.

⁷⁸² Henry Carnoy, Jean Nikolaidis, *Folklore de Constantinople. Légendes et Traditions Locales*, (Paris: Aux Bureaux de "la Tradition", 1893). Nikolaidis dedicated this book to Aristidis Georgiadis, the lawyer of the Ministry of Public Education. In *Folklore de Constantinople*, every legend is recorded together with the name, ethnicity, place of birth, occupation and the age of the narrator.

University in the 1880s. In 1905, he published a voluminous folk song collection, from the series of the book publications sponsored by Georgios Maraslis, which is still considered today as a milestone for the study of the Greek traditional music.⁷⁸³ Notwithstanding its errors concerning poetic meters and rhythm, it is significant for being the first collection which comprised songs from a very broad geography where the Greek language was spoken, e.g. Cappadocia, Pontos, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace and Cyprus. Also, it was devoted only to rural folk music, unlike the previous song anthologies which did not make a distinction between urban and rural songs.⁷⁸⁴ Pahtikos prepared also a second collection composed of 80 songs of the Armenian and Turkish speaking Christian orthodox of Asia Minor, but due to the death of his sponsor, it was not published.⁷⁸⁵

A. Kiriakidou-Nestoros wrote that, in the *official* Greek folklore studies, at the end of the nineteenth century, the folk - which, as she notes, was not much differentiated from “the vulgar mob” - emerged as “the most genuine inheritor of the ancestral glory, as the folklorists had discovered a host of memorials of Greek antiquity in the humble manifestations of its life”.⁷⁸⁶ She furthermore drew attention to the fact that the folklore studies in Greece, founded by Nikolaos Politis, was shaped along the lines of the English folklore studies, that is, defining folklore as the study of what the folk believes, says and does according to the tradition. Saying that

⁷⁸³ Georgios Pahtikos, *260 Δημώδη Ελληνικά Άσματα από του στόματος του Ελληνικού Λαού της Μικράς Ασίας, Θράκης, Μακεδονίας, Ηπείρου και Αλβανίας, Ελλάδος, Κρήτης, νήσων του Αιγαίου, Κύπρου και των παραλίων της Προποντίδος συλλεγμένα και παρασημανθέντα (1888- 1904)*, (Athens: Bibliothiki Marasli, 1905).

⁷⁸⁴ This point is noted by Markos Dragoumis, «Η Συλλογή Παχτίκου και το πρόβλημα των μουσικών καταγραφών της» in *Η Παραδοσιακή μας Μουσική* vol.1, (Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 2003), pp.52- 60.

⁷⁸⁵ *Mousiki*, vol.4 April 1912, p.124.

⁷⁸⁶ A. Kiriakidou-Nestoros, *Η Θεωρία της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας. Κριτική Ανάλυση*, p. 148.

in Greece, unlike the industrialized England, the folkloric manifestations were still part of the lives of the people, Kiriakidis-Nestoros noted that Politis expanded the definition of folklore studies in order to include the traditional elements which were alive.⁷⁸⁷ In the prologue of his folk song collection, Pahtikos used the term “musical archaeology” for his research and work, and added that with his folk song collection, he aimed to prove that “the ancient music is not, as generally believed, *dead* but living in the songs of the Greek people, at least as much as it was allowed by the long and dark years”.⁷⁸⁸

Having dwelled enough on various aspects of Pahtikos’ musical work - including collecting folk songs -, I will move to the realm of his social relations and make a few remarks on his relations with the Greeks of Constantinople. S.

Anagnostopoulou noted that regarding the leadership of the *millet*, a remarkable change occurred sometime between the end of the nineteenth century and 1908. She asserted that, roughly before this date, the leadership of the *millet* was in the hands of a Greek bourgeoisie which was entrenched in the Ottoman political class, and owed its economic and political power to the Ottoman capital. Its lifestyle and mentality were cosmopolitan and shaped by European values. Then, Anagnostopoulou claimed the emergence of a new class in the big coastal cities, especially in Smyrna, which began to take control of the communal institutions and educational mechanisms. The distinguishing feature of this new group, which she calls the “Greek” middle class, was belonging to the new professions, i.e. doctors, teachers, journalists, lawyers etc.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., pp.149- 150.

⁷⁸⁸ Georgios Pahtikos, 260 *Δημώδη Ελληνικά*, p. ιστ’.

and they were generally Hellenic citizens.⁷⁸⁹ The famous Greek composer of the twentieth century Manolis Kalomiris, who was actually among the students of Pahtikos at the Greek-French School directed by Hristos Hatzihristos in Pera, depicts the latter's frustration with the Greeks of Constantinople who, according to him, were attached to foreign fashions and indifferent to his musical work. In his memoirs, Kalomiris writes that when the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople decided to stage *Antigone* of Sophocles with the music of F. Mendelssohn, Pahtikos made an uproar in the newspapers and his circle of friends claiming the existence of another music written for *Antigone* which was much more archaic and composed by an "Irish" musician, who was in fact himself.⁷⁹⁰ This is not to say that he was not welcomed by the Greek elite of the city. Let us only mention that Pahtikos gave many concerts in the GLS with his choir and delivered lectures in the Society on ancient Greek, medieval and modern Greek music.⁷⁹¹ However, a very interesting reference in one of his letters reveals his perception of and sentiments about the Greek bourgeoisie of Constantinople and also perhaps his social and ideological proximity to what Anagnostopoulou has called the "Greek" middle class. Pahtikos was an active member of the Association of People from Asia Minor 'Anatoli' (Σύλλογος των Μικρασιάτων "Ανατολή"). The Association 'East' was founded in 1891 in Athens by the initiative of the professor of Philosophy at the University of Athens Margaritis Evangelidis.⁷⁹² The main aims of the Association were the moral

⁷⁸⁹ Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Asia Minor*, pp.301-308.

⁷⁹⁰ Manolis Kalomiris, *Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου (My Life and My Art)*, (Athens, 1988), pp. 39- 40.

⁷⁹¹ In 1896 in the GLS, he gave a lecture with the title "The Medieval Greek Music". See «Η Μεσαιωνική Ελληνική Μουσική», *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, year 15, 17, 23 February 1896.

⁷⁹² Margaritis Evangelidis (1850-1932) was born in Constantinople. In 1871, he graduated from the Great School of the Nation (*Megali tou Genous Sholi*) and went to Athens to study at the

and intellectual improvement of the Christian Orthodox of Anatolia through school education and the reinstatement of the Greek language among the Turkish speaking and the Armenian speaking populace.⁷⁹³ In one of his letters to M. Evangelidis, which is kind of a report of the situation in the Greek-orthodox community of Ortaköy in Asia Minor, he mentions doctor N. Panteleimonos, the head of the board of the Greek-orthodox community, who had increased the revenue of the community considerably through the renting of the newly constructed community buildings. He writes to Evangelidis that the doctor should be rewarded with a letter of praise and the honorary membership of the Association, saying that, ‘I do not see a big difference between Zafeiropoulos and Stefanovik and others, and N. Panteleimonos. A 100 drachmas donation of the first, compared to the noble efforts of the second for the progress of a foreign-language speaking Greek community of Asia Minor, I think, is beyond comparison’.⁷⁹⁴ It is worth noting that Pahtikos seems to downgrade the generosity of the wealthy Greeks of Constantinople while praising the small-scale but endeavoring efforts of a doctor in Asia Minor.

Pahtikos’ musical activities sometimes formed a bridge between Constantinople and Athens. Thanks to the fact that he mentioned his musical compositions or concerts in his letters to M. Evangelidis, we also gain some first-hand information about the musical activities of the Greek upper classes of Constantinople. In one such letter, he reports that his music choir *Omilos ton*

Philosophical School. He went to Germany with the support of Menelaos Negrepontis, there he became a student of the philosopher Edouard Zeller. Then in 1885, he became lecturer of history of philosophy at the University of Athens. In 1886, in Athens, he founded a Brotherhood in order to support the schools in Kyzikos (*Ereğli*).

⁷⁹³ For more information, see Nikos E. Milioris, “Ο Σύλλογος των Μικρασιάτων η «Ανατολή»”, *Mikrasiatika Hronika* 12, (1965), pp. 337- 367.

⁷⁹⁴ Letter of Georgios Pahtikos, G 4 no: 231 Tarabya (Θεραπείας), 3 January 1894.

Erasimolpon has already been taught the polyphonic hymn dedicated to Georgios Averoff the influential benefactor of the Greek-orthodox community of Alexandria, composed by Pahtikos himself. We understand from the letter that Pahtikos was planning to give a concert in Athens, probably at the Association *Anatoli*, with a music choir composed of some members of his *Omilos ton Erasimolpon* and also members of the Association's choir. Adding that the female choir will consist of sixteen girls, Pahtikos says, "I am convinced that it will gather the laurel of Asia Minor [it will be very successful], because all of them have good voices and belong to good families, since the daughter and the wife of the late A. Pagis will also come."⁷⁹⁵

Pahtikos' musical work accompanied his political commitment and he offered his music at the celebrations of the Association *Anatoli*, where for instance the hymn of the Association became a symbolic practice which united its members, as the children of Asia Minor. The first poet and the composer of the hymn "Anatolia" was Ahilleas Kelaiditis. The lyrics are given below:

The mother of the sun, the fatherland of the glory
The hearth of religion, the cradle of the world Anatolia
The home of muses, the country of love
Your holy soil is still fragrant.
They left you buried in black ruins,
Your own folk and the heartless foreigners forgot about you
Hidden sparks are flashing from your ashes,
Few children are gathered here around your sweet hopes.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹⁵ Letter G 164 (without number), Constantinople 14 March 1906.

⁷⁹⁶ Letter G 137 no. 3898 Constantinople, 2 August 1905. In original:

Του ηλίου μητέρα, της δόξης πατρίδα / εστία θρησκείας, του κόσμου κοιτίδα, Ανατολή
Μουσών κατοικία, του έρωτος χώρα / το θείον σου χώμα ακόμα και τώρα μυροβολεί
Σ'ερείπια μαύρα σ'αφηκαν θαμμένη / και σ'εχουν ξεχάσει δικοί σου και ξένοι χωρίς καρδιά
Πετούν απ'την σταχτη σου σπίθαις κρυμμέναις / γλυκαίς σου ελπίδες εδώ μαζεμέναις λίγα παιδιά.

In his letter sent to M. Evangelidis on 2 August 1905, Pahtikos mentioned that he agreed with Evangelidis that the first two lines of the poem sounded like demotic language. Hence, while he set the poem into melody anew, he offered to alter these lines with the help of Hristos Hatzihristos, the director of the Greek-French High School in Pera.⁷⁹⁷ Pahtikos announced his own composition with excitement in a letter dated on 4 June 1905: “Its [of the *Mikrasiatikos* hymn] musical notes will connect and galvanize all the people from Asia Minor”.⁷⁹⁸ A month later, while he sent Evangelidis the score of the hymn to be printed, he also informed him about the composition, that it was, “completely harmonized, and both in the ecclesiastical and the western notation”.⁷⁹⁹

Pahtikos was also interested in the musical activities of the cohabiting ethno-religious populations in the Empire. Among the collaborators of his musical periodical *Mousiki* were Karnik Kanciyan, the Armenian teacher and the first-cantor of the central Armenian Church of Pera, and Rauf Yekta, the prominent Turkish musicologist. In 1912, Pahtikos received a letter from a French musician called Emile Chizat, who was at the time composing a melodrama with the title *the Armenian*, inspired by the massacre of the Armenians in Constantinople. The musician asked for information about Armenian music and the Armenian folk songs. Pahtikos sent him three songs, saying that he would get into touch with the

⁷⁹⁷ Letter G 137 no. 3898 Constantinople, 2 August 1905: “After the demotic dispute (*μαλλιαρικός αγώνας*) of the last years, I totally agree with you that we should not leave a demotic stigma”. The letter shows that during the “language question” in Greece, people like H. Hatzihristos and Pahtikos who can be counted among the intellectual elite of Pera took a stance against demotic language and supported the *katharevousa*.

⁷⁹⁸ Letter G 126 no. 3657 Constantinople, 4 June 1905. We also read in the letter G 4 no.231 Tarabya (Constantinople) 3 January 1894 that, Pahtikos dedicated and sent one of his musical compositions to the Asia Minor Association.

⁷⁹⁹ Letter G 133^a (without number), Constantinople 16 July 1905.

Armenians in the city, in order to provide him with more Armenian music.⁸⁰⁰

Another evidence for his interest in how the other ethnicities promoted their own ecclesiastical and folk music is his report in *Mousiki* on a concert that was given in Taksim Theater (*Mnimatakia*) by a choir composed of 200 Armenian girls and boys, for the foundation of the Armenian Music School in Constantinople.⁸⁰¹ The article has several interesting points. During the concert, twenty Armenian folk songs were performed which were collected and harmonized by the Armenian priest and musician Vardapet Komitas, a graduate of Berlin Conservatory. Pahtikos praised the choir master Komitas, noting that Komitas and other clerics who were in the audience shared the sentiments of their congregation which formed a “real picture of a national life”.⁸⁰² Here, Pahtikos was holding up the Armenian clergy as an example to the Greek-orthodox clergy who were, according to him, not involved in fostering the musical manifestations of Greek national culture. The second point has to do with Pahtikos’ approach to Armenian music and the way he found similarities between it and Greek music. For instance Pahtikos found the rhythms similar: “Even, the Greek 7/8 (*eftasimos*), the characteristic rhythm of the ancient music, was there”. However, he did not mention that the same rhythms were also used in Ottoman art music. Thirdly, he highlighted the polyphonic arrangements of ecclesiastical hymns and folk songs realized by the Armenian musician, in order to support his own position

⁸⁰⁰ *Mousiki*, year 1 vol.4 April 1912, pp.123-24. In his letter back to Chizat (published in *Mousiki*) Pahtikos interestingly wrote: “Without being hindered too much from the real historical events, you created with your fruitful phantasy changing many things, hence you produced an original work from the poetical and musical aspects[...]”.

⁸⁰¹ Georgios Pahtikos, “Η Μουσική ανά τους Συνοίκους Λαούς (Music in the neighbouring peoples)” *Mousiki*, vol.5, May 1912, pp.158-59.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, p.159: “Διότι τήν ρηθείσαν συναυλίαν ου μόνον κληρικός διηύθυνεν, αλλά και ικανοί κληρικοί υπήρχον μεταξύ των θεατών αυτών, οι οποίοι συνεμερίζοντο τα συναισθήματα του πνευματικού αυτών ποιμνίου. Ιδού αληθής εικόν εθνικού βίου”.

against the opponents of the harmonization of the ecclesiastical chants. It is obvious that Pahtikos' musical interests and curiosities went beyond Greek music. In the next section, I will introduce and discuss his dialogue with a Turkish musicologist.

Now, I will focus more closely on Pahtikos' letters to M. Evangelidis and on his activity as a member of the Association *Anatoli*. In many of his letters, Pahtikos speaks about a non-Greek speaking student, generally from his own hometown⁸⁰³, for which he tries to arrange a further education opportunity in Athens. He asks Evangelidis if the Association can register this young student at a secondary level school or at the University in Athens and if he /she can be accepted as a fellow at the school, with the prospect that the student would return after his/her studies to his/her hometown and contribute to the linguistic transformation of the community.⁸⁰⁴ In their correspondences, the members of the Association *Anatoli* articulated a discourse which was impregnated with a love for the natural and historical beauties of Asia Minor and with a sense of pride about being *Mikrasiates*, belonging to this privileged space of Hellenism, proclaiming it as the cradle of civilization.⁸⁰⁵ Pride,

⁸⁰³ In one of his speeches given in 1893, which will be mentioned later, Pahtikos gives information about the demographic and linguistic composition of Ortaköy. He says that out of the eight thousand total population, six thousand were Armenian speaking Greek-orthodox and two thousand were Armenians. He adds, "Even though ours [the Greek-orthodox] are much more than the Armenians, due to significant and curious historical reasons, they speak at home and in the social life a vulgar Armenian mixed with so many Greek and Turkish words that we can call this dialect Greek-Turkish-Armenian(ellino-tourko-armenikin)". See Georgios D. Pahtikos, *Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες εν Βιθυνία* (The Olympic Games in Bithynia), (Athens: Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Αδελφών Η. Καλεργή, 1893), pp.7-8.

⁸⁰⁴ In the letter G 98 no: 2707, Constantinople 4 July 1904, Pahtikos requests from Evangelidis to ask the Arsakeion Girls' School (in Athens) whether a non-Greek speaking female student from Ortaköy can be accepted as a fellow. He adds, "we have to have a female teacher in Ortaköy, either an infant school teacher or of girls' school, because otherwise, the change in language will hardly take place". As we see in another letter, Pahtikos wants to send his own nephew (Aristoxenis) who used to study in Ortaköy, to the Agricultural School of Athens with the thought that later on he can serve his homeland. (Letter G 237 no: 7253 Constantinople, 20 May 1908).

⁸⁰⁵ In one of his letters, G 113 no: 3055 Constantinople 18 September 1904, Pahtikos talks about his recent trip to Asia Minor, specifically to Bilecik, Yenişehir and Bursa etc., in order to collect folk songs. His lyric narration which reveals his passion for Asia Minor, is worth quoting: "I sat on horses,

devotion and also attachment to hometown were expressed through the usage of the word “*patrida*” whose abundance strikes us in Pahtikos’ letters to the chairman of the Association M. Evangelidis.⁸⁰⁶ In the previous section, I noted that in the nineteenth century, the notion of *patrida* (fatherland) was instrumentalized to legitimize the integration of the Greek-orthodox into the Ottoman institutional framework.

However, the use of this term by Pahtikos and probably also by other members of the Association referred to a locality, not to a fatherland, yet to a locality which was directly connected to Athens by real communication and symbolic ties. In 1893, when he was still a student, Pahtikos held a speech in Athens, at the seventh meeting of the Association *Anatoli*. The subject of the talk was the athletic games organized in Ortaköy (Bithynia, the hometown of Pahtikos) on the day of Saint George’s feast. At the beginning of his talk, Pahtikos stressed the importance of studying and examining the live memorials of tradition in order to obtain crucial convictions about national unity. He said, even though it was a religious feast, one could see the traces of the ancient ideas, totally contradicting with the existing religion, and that Homeric

mules, and ox-carts, and went on foot in some places. I slept at gorgeous guest rooms, but also under the cover of the sky and on bed of the land. But, I was not at all discontented because eventually, the villages, and the sky that covered me belonged to our beloved Asia Minor”. Pahtikos continues, he says that he collected 98 songs and that if he had more time he would have collected 200. Then, with an explosion of excitement, he writes the following lines: “You, poor Asia Minor, what natural and national wealth in your bosom, you harbor! Everywhere, my venerated [Evangelidis], I came across glorious remains. Everywhere, relics of ancient glory, ancient eminence. “Past grandeur, you cry while narrating them”[a line from the Greek national anthem, the verse belongs to the famous poet Dionysios Solomos]”. In original: “Εὐ καημένη Μικρὰ Ἀσία τι πλούτον φυσικόν καὶ ἐθνικόν περικλείεις εἰς τὰ στήθη σου! Πανταχοῦ, σεβαστέ μοι, συνήντην ἐνδοξα ερείπεια. Πανταχοῦ λείψανα ἀρχαίας δόξης, ἀρχαίας ευκλείας. «Περασμένα μεγαλεῖα καὶ διηγώντας τα νὰ κλαῖς»”.

⁸⁰⁶ Evangelia Balta noted that especially after 1864, in the prologues of the books written in Turkish with Greek letters, the readers were being addressed as ‘compatriots’ (*vatandaşlar*) and also that the authors were stating their purpose in writing their books as an expression of their love for their ‘homeland’ (*vatan*). See E. Balta, "Anadolulu Türkofon Hristiyan Ortodoksların "Ulusal Bilinç"lerini Araştırmaya Yarayan Bir Kaynak Olarak Karamanlıca Kitapların Önsözleri(The prologues of the karamanlidika books as sources for investigating the “national consciousness” of the Turcophone christian orthodox of Anatolia)", *Tarih ve Toplum* 12, (1990).

customs and traditions were still preserved and flourished after so many centuries.⁸⁰⁷

During his talk, he noted the common characteristics that these local games shared with the Olympic games of classical antiquity. Furthermore, he also found similarities between the Greeks of Bithynia and the ancient Greeks of Olympia; hospitality, love for nature and sport, religious devoutness, civil rivalry, the spirit of competition, the awarding of the winners and their heroization. After saying that the Greek-orthodox of Ortaköy were Armenian-speaking, he added, “yet they proudly maintain a love for Greek education and for the religion of their fathers”. Then, he continued, “The witnesses of this are the schools for boys and girls [...] and the big Byzantine style church bearing the name of Saint George which is capable of rivaling the cathedral of Athens, if not by its opulent ornamentation at least by its size and architecture”.⁸⁰⁸

The following paragraph from a letter written by Pahtikos in January 1894 is very telling about his connection to Greece:

The expected bankruptcy of Greece is the topic of every conversation of the Greeks here [Constantinople]. Minds are ultimately provoked against the bastard [sic.] Greek politicians whose particularistic ambitions caused this derogatory situation. Some say that *Ellas* (Greece) should be erased from the map and instead “Ottoman Empire” be written, some say something else. I heard those with sorrow, also from the *Mikrasiates* during my visit to my home town [Ortaköy]. Everyone is decrying against the lack of patriotism of the Greek politicians who, they say, made us the toy and the mockery of the peoples who are hostile to Greeks.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁷ Georgios D. Pahtikos, *Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες εν Βιθυνία* (The Olympic Games in Bithynia), pp.5- 6.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 7- 8.

⁸⁰⁹ Letter of Georgios Pahtikos, G 4 no: 231 Tarabya (Θεραπείαις), 3 January 1894. The excerpt in original: “Η επικειμένη πτώχευσης της Ελλάδος είνε το αντικείμενον πάσης της συναναστροφής των ενταύθα Ελλήνων. Τα πνεύματα είνε ως μέγιστον ερεθισμένα κατά των νόθων Ελλήνων πολιτευτών των επιφερόντων ένεκα των κομματικών αυτών παθών την εξευτελιστικήν ταυτήν κατάστασιν. Άλλοι μεν λέγουσιν ότι η Έλλας πρέπει να εξαλειφθή εκ του χάρτου και να σημειωθή «Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία» άλλοι δ’ άλλως. Μετά λύπης μου ήκουσα τα αυτά και έτι χειρόνα και παρά Μικρασιατών κατά την εν τη πατρίδι εκδρομήν. Πάντως κατακραυγάζουσι κατά της αφιλοπατρίας

This excerpt refers to the economic impasse and the political turmoil which escalated in 1893 in Greece. Does this paragraph allow us to say that Pahtikos imagined Greece as his motherland? What can we say about his loyalty, on the one hand to the Ottoman state and the Sultan, and on the other to the Greek King? As the letter shows, Pahtikos is no doubt very concerned about the independence of Greece and the sovereignty of the Greek King, and reveals Hellenic sentiments and his connection to “*Ellas*”. In fact, this is not so unique because in the Ottoman Empire there were many Hellenic citizens (like the ones living in Smyrna) who publicly manifested their loyalty to the Greek King during the celebrations of his name day.

In his study on the Smyrniot Greek doctor Apostolos Psaltoff (1862 -1923), V. Kechriotis has shown the flexibility of loyalties that this doctor could evoke, namely participating fully in the inter-communal network of Smyrna while at the same time serving the Hellenic “national cause” in the *Pan-Hellenic Organization* and in the foundation of *Hellenic Asia Minor Defense*. Drawing a distinction between Ottoman society and the Ottoman state, Kechriotis noted that even though Psaltoff did not commit himself to the Ottoman state, he was deeply involved in Ottoman society. Furthermore, he emphasized Psaltoff’s professional service to Smyrniot society as the most important element of his self-image and loyalty.⁸¹⁰ Even though the questions that can be raised regarding Psaltoff may also be relevant for Pahtikos and there are some definite parallelisms, we have to note that Pahtikos used to serve

των εκεί ελλήνων πολιτευτών, οι τινες μας κατέστησαν, λέγουσι, παίγνια και αντικείμενον γλευασμού των λοιπών εχθρικός προς τους έλληνας διακειμένων λαών”.

⁸¹⁰ See Vangelis Kechrotis, “Between professional duty and national fulfillment: the Smyrniot medical doctor Apostolos Psaltoff (1862-1923),” in *Elites urbaines et savoir scientifique dans la société Ottomane (XIX-XX siècles)* ed. by M. Anastassiadou, (Paris: IFEA & Maisonneuve et Laroche, 2003), pp. 331- 348. Also see Vangelis C. Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Izmir*, pp.73-81.

a voluntary association which, even though may have been reporting to the Greek authorities, did not have the scope of challenging the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Besides, though I do not have evidence, Pahtikos was probably not a Hellenic citizen. Moreover, the question of loyalty also depends on what choices one has in particular situations. I will try to address this issue after providing some more autobiographical material.

A considerable number among the Christian orthodox populations of Anatolia were Turkish or Armenian-speaking, which was seen as a problem by the propagators of Hellenism in the East. The only criteria by which the Greekness of these populations could be claimed were their orthodoxy and their attachment to the Patriarchate. In most of his writings, Pahtikos highlighted religion as the basis for the unity of the Greek-orthodox nation. In a published essay about his impressions from a trip to Nicea (*İznik*), he said:

The variety of local dialects, dresses, customs and traditions are united in the community of the religious belief and the community of the sacred Greek language and the music of the Church. What a big, not only religious but also national, power is our Mother Orthodox Church that miraculously unites under one pastor and one congregation and rescues Hellenism!⁸¹¹

In this context, the Association *Anatoli* fought against the catholic and protestant missionary activities by establishing theological seminaries in order to educate priests, by publishing books which disseminated the “correct” belief, and by establishing schools to instill the Christians of Asia Minor with the orthodox dogma and morality. In his letter (18 September 1904), Pahtikos insists that every

⁸¹¹ Georgios D. Pahtikos, “Εντυπώσεις εκ της ανά την Μ. Ασίαν προς περισυλλογήν δημοτικών ασμάτων περιοδείας (Impressions from a trip to Asia Minor for collecting folk songs),” *Mousiki*, vol. 9, September 1912, pp. 258- 259.

metropolitan see of Asia Minor should have an enthusiastic preacher who will tour the villages of the Greek-orthodox (*homogenis*). He continues,

Otherwise, there will come a gradual weakening of the forces, of moral and educational, of our communities, and we will mourn for a serious loss, not in a remote future. Our enemies are fighting back systematically and with a definite program. I think it is the duty of the Society *Anatoli* to take urgent precautions against this. It has to send, through the metropolitan sees, an apostle of our nationalism (*εθνισμός*)⁸¹² and religion especially to the foreign language speaking communities.

In 1900, the Association founded a theological seminary in Patmos. Five years later, the appointment of a new director to the Seminary by the Association brought the latter, the Ottoman authorities, and Patriarch Joachim III at loggerheads. Two letters among Pahtikos' correspondence with M. Evangelidis give information about the attitude of the Patriarch during the controversy, and also provide a clue about Pahtikos' approach to the Ottoman authorities and his thoughts concerning the authority and the role of the patriarch. In the letter sent on 7 May 1905, Pahtikos writes that, according to what the Patriarch said, the Ottoman Government demanded that the Seminary be removed to somewhere else, due to political reasons. Implying the Patriarch's reticence, he continues, "these political reasons remain unknown".⁸¹³ In a second letter sent about ten months later, Pahtikos says that the "Turkish Government" suspects that there is a foreign intervention in the works of the Seminary and that the Government directly mentioned the name of the

⁸¹² Letter G 113 no: 3055, Constantinople 18 September 1904. Also in Letter G 175a no. 4854 Ortaköy, Geyve 25 July 1906, Pahtikos wrote: "In Ortaköy we have a Protestant whom we try to scratch so that he does not come again. He distributed proselytizing books etc."

⁸¹³ Letter G 123 no: 3533, Constantinople, 7 May 1905: "The Patriarch said to me that the Ottoman Government demanded with a memorandum (*tezker*e) the change of place of the Religious School in Patmos due to political reasons. What the political reasons are remains unknown". In original: "Μοι είπεν ο Πατριάρχης ότι η Οθωμανική Κυβέρνησις δια τεσκερέ ζητεί τη μετατόπισιν του εν Πάτμω Ιεροδιδασκαλείου δια λόγους πολιτικούς. Τινες οι λόγοι οι πολιτικοί μένουσιν είσετι άγνωστοι".

Association.⁸¹⁴ He continues to inform us about the Patriarch's attitude during the crisis. He says:

Regarding the issue of the Director, the Patriarch speaks at first cautiously, but when he is assured that the Association knows little about what is going on, then he says, let the Association replace him with someone more respectable and active. He blamed the Association because it could not make a good choice of directors until now. It seems to me that the Patriarch does not have friendly sentiments towards the Director".⁸¹⁵

Furthermore, Pahtikos suggests that Evangelidis takes the consent of the Patriarch about the director of the Seminary so that the "Turks" would not suspect any foreign intervention.⁸¹⁶ There are several points to be noted here. First, contrary to the established literature which sees the Patriarchate and the Ottoman government as constantly at odds with each other, these letters show that the Patriarch tried to find a balance between the demands of the government and that of the Association *Anatoli* which recognized his authority as the head of the *millet*, but tried to use it for its own aims.⁸¹⁷ After all, in 1905-6, the Patriarchate was still an integral part of the Ottoman administration which would gradually change only after 1908. Another instance in which Pahtikos sought again the mediation of the Patriarch or of a prominent Greek

⁸¹⁴ Letter G 162 no: 4476 Galata, 7 March 1906. "[...]Η Τουρκική Κυβέρνησις ρητώς αναφέρει εν τω τεσκερέ ότι ξενική επέμβαση υπάρχει εις το ζήτημα της Σχολής. Την επέμβασιν δε ταύτην αναφέρουσα μνημονεύει ρητώς και το όνομα του υμετέρου Συλλόγου".

⁸¹⁵ Letter G 162: "Όσα δε δια το ζήτημα του Διευθυντού ο Πατριάρχης κατ' αρχάς ωμίλει επιφυλακτικώς, αλλ' όταν εβεβαιώθη ότι ο Σύλλογος είναι εν γνώσει ολίγην των γεγονότων είπεν, ας τον αντικαταστήση ο Σύλλογος δια σεβαστοτέρου και δραστηριοτέρου προσώπου. Εκάκισε τον Σύλλογον διότι δεν εποίησατο μέχρι τούδε καλώς εκλογάς των διευθυντών. Εφάνη μοι ο Πατριάρχης ούχι φιλά φρονών τω Διευθυντή, όταν δ' ανέφερα και λεπτομέρειας τινάς της διαγωγής του ένευσε χαμαί!..."

⁸¹⁶ Letter G 162: "Ο Σύλλογος είπεν ότι και εις το ζήτημα της παύσεως του Διευθυντού επιθύμει να έχη την συγκατάθεσιν του Πατριαρχείου ίνα μη κατόπιν οι Τούρκοι υποπτευθώσιν, ότι υπάρχουσι ξενικάί επεμβάσεις[...]".

⁸¹⁷ For a later period, after 1908, a similar point was made by Vangelis Kechriotis. Criticising the above-mentioned simplistic approach which exists in Turkish historiography, he noted that the patriarchal authority was challenged from inside its own domain, which compelled it to negotiate with all sides. See V. Kechriotis, "The Modernization of the Empire and the Community 'Privileges'...", p.63.

close to the Ottoman administration, was the issue of building a school in Cappadocia for the education of teachers of infant-schools. After discussing the issue with the Patriarch, Pahtikos went to take advice from Konstantinos Vayanis, the former governor of Samos, since the latter was from Nevşehir. In a letter, Pahtikos reported his discussions with these prominent personalities to Evangelidis.⁸¹⁸ He wrote that the Patriarch was eager to collaborate towards the achievement of the task and that he had offered to talk with important Greeks from Sinasos (Vayanis had advised that the school should be built in Sinasos) who lived in Constantinople. Furthermore, the Patriarch thought that the Association had to have a representative in Constantinople to be able to receive the permission of the Government, and that the involvement of the Association to the issue should not be revealed. So, either the community of Sinasos should seem to undertake it or the Patriarchate. Pahtikos concluded that the advice and the contribution of the Patriarch were very valuable for the realization of the plan.

Pahtikos did not have particularly good relations with the Ottoman authorities. In fact, there is not much evidence that shows his direct contact with them. However, there are some expressions in his music journal *Mousiki* (publ. 1912-1915) which reveal that he was rather skeptical. For instance, he was hesitant about the atmosphere of freedom and tolerance that the Constitution promised. In one of his essays written in 1912 - even though one might think that between 1908 and 1912, many incidents had already contributed to the formation of a tense atmosphere

⁸¹⁸ Letter G 126 no. 3657 Constantinople, 4 June 1905.

between Christians and Muslims in big cities like Smyrna⁸¹⁹ - he mentioned that even though after the proclamation of the Constitution things changed considerably, the local Greeks of Nicea (*İznik*) still went to church with some caution.⁸²⁰ As a second example, he criticized the district governor (*kaymakam*) of Giresun due to his ban on the singing of certain songs in the local theatre, saying that “he wanted to extend his absolutist instincts to the Muses”.⁸²¹ Coming back to the question of his loyalties, the least we can say is that while he dealt with issues concerning the Theological Seminary of Patmos or the School for the infant-school teachers in Cappadocia, he did not resort to an outright challenge of the Ottoman authorities or show any manifestation of political nationalism, but he came up with solutions which favored the mediation of the Patriarch (as the head of the *millet*) or of the prominent Greeks within the Ottoman administration.

This section was based on Georgios Pahtikos’ biography and his autobiographical material at my disposal. Using these sources, I tried to provide a multi-dimensional picture of this individual who constructed himself a network between three locations, each of which contributed to his identity as a Greek, Constantinopolitan and a musician from Asia Minor. He felt a strong sense of connection to the Hellenic nation and worked for the moral and spiritual

⁸¹⁹ See particularly, Vangelis Kechriotis, “II. Meşrutiyet döneminde, İzmir’de hristiyanlar ve müslümanlar arasında günlük ilişkiler (Everyday relations between Christians and Muslims in Smyrna during the period of Second Constitution),” *Toplumsal Tarih* 184, (April 2009), pp.18-27.

⁸²⁰ G. D. Pahtikos, “Εντυπώσεις εκ της ανά την Μ. Ασίαν προς περισυλλογήν δημοτικών ασμάτων περιοδείας (Impressions from a trip to Asia Minor for collecting folk songs),” *Mousiki* vol.9, September 1912, p.257.

⁸²¹ *Mousiki* vol.9, September 1912, p.282. Subsequently, Pahtikos narrated an anecdote in order to exemplify furthermore the despotism of the Ottoman authorities. During his studies in Athens while he was returning to Constantinople, once the customs officer in Constantinople did not let him in unless he paid occupation tax (*meslek vergisi*) on the grounds that he was a professional musician (*çalıcı*) because he was carrying instruments, an armonia, flute and guitar.

improvement of the orthodox populations of Asia Minor, including his hometown. His public identity derived from his musical performances, lectures on music, and his service to the Greek-orthodox community of Constantinople as a music teacher, as well as from his membership at the Association *Anatoli*. Also, as I demonstrated, he was part of the inter-communal culture of Constantinople. In the coming section, we will see how this multi-ethnic and multi-lingual musical culture actually worked.

Living Together: Music as a Space of Interaction and Contestation

It is well known that from the fifteenth century, the musical traditions of the Near Eastern and Balkan peoples merged in the lands under Ottoman rule and music was a realm where ethnic and religious borders were crossed. Drawing attention to the emergence of an important class of secular singers in the seventeenth century, W. Feldman noted the increasing prominence of free local composers and instrumentalists in this period, some of whom were non-Muslims.⁸²² Concerning the musical literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there are numerous treatises on the theory of art music (and the treatises which compare the theory of art music to e.g. the theory of Greek ecclesiastical music) written by non-Muslim musicians.⁸²³ Yet, in the nineteenth century with the rise of nationalisms, the church music of the Armenians and the Greeks began to be seen as belonging to distinct ethnic musical traditions. However, on the one hand, the fact that all these musical

⁸²² Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court. Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*, (Berlin, 1996), p.9. For the interesting biography and the multi-faceted activities of Ali Ufki, the seventeenth century Polish musician in the Ottoman court, see Cem Behar, *Ali Ufki ve Mezmurlar (Ali Ufki and the Psalms)*, (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1990).

⁸²³ See Eugenia Popescu-Judet, *Tanburî Küçük Artin. A Musical Treatise of the Eighteenth Century*, (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2002). The Armenian musician Artin's musical treatise on the practical theory and performing techniques of the art music was written in Turkish with Armenian characters.

traditions are based on analogous musical principles and concepts (regarding the tonal intervals, the rhythm, and the constitution of melody), and on the other, the spaces of music making and the gatherings at the scholarly meetings of the music societies, often brought together musicians and audiences from different ethnic and religious origins.

As an evidence of a kind of multi-ethnic and multi-lingual social mixing at the lower ranks of the Ottoman society, let me give the following example from Smyrna in the early twentieth century. A. Kaliviotis noted that the Armenian, Jewish and Turkish musicians often joined the Greek popular orchestras (generally called *estoudiantina*)⁸²⁴ which generally performed in the beer or coffee houses, or the taverns of Smyrna. These orchestras could perform multi-ethnic repertoires which were of course designed to please the multi-ethnic audience. For instance, as recorded by the record company *Favorite* in 1912, the Armenian singer Ovannes sung a repertoire (in Turkish) from the famous melodrama *Horhor Ağa* of Dikran Çuhacıyan with the accompaniment of an orchestra composed of Greek musicians.⁸²⁵ Another example from the same city, attesting to the multiple realms of activity of the Ottoman musicians, is the Smyrniot synagogue cantor İzak Algazi (1889- 1950). Algazi received a European education at the School of *Alliance Israélite*, and at the

⁸²⁴ *Estoudiantina* came to denote a particular type of orchestra which emerged in Constantinople around 1898 and became widespread in Smyrna in the early twentieth century. As the name suggests, meaning “education, study etc.” these orchestras were formed by young people who wanted to experiment with performing a multicultural repertoire with western instruments like the mandolin, guitar and harmonica. See Cemal Ünlü, *Git zaman gel zaman. Fonograf-gramofon-taş plak*, (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2004), p.169.

⁸²⁵ Aristomenis Kaliviotis, *Σμύρνη. Η Μουσική Ζωή 1900-1922. Η διασκέδαση, τα μουσικά καταστήματα, οι ηχογραφήσεις δίσκων*, (Athens: Music Corner & Tinella, 2002), p. 98. These *estoudiantina* orchestras also performed music and songs coming from beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire, e.g. cantatas from Corfu and Athens or Romanian songs which became famous in Smyrna at that time through the performances of a gypsy orchestra. See Lelia Karasaki, “Λαϊκά Τραγούδια και Χόροι της Σμύρνης,” *Mikrasiatika Hronika* 4, (1948), p.309.

same time an orthodox instruction at a traditional school. The musical work and performance of Algazi show a variety of languages and forms (religious, lay, art and popular). He composed and sung religious music (in *Hebrew*), and also performed Judeo-Spanish (*ladino*) songs of the Jewish oral tradition, as well as some Turkish *gazels* (vocal improvisation) and songs for commercial recordings.⁸²⁶

At the higher levels of the society, the financial and the intellectual elite from different ethno-religious backgrounds came together at concerts and balls given in the mansions of the Ottoman bureaucrats or the diplomatic staff of the embassies, at the theaters and in the music societies. More often than not, as music gained significance as an asset which bolstered the prestige of an ethnic community, it came to be displayed not only to the insiders but also to the outsiders of the community. On 15 February 1882, the Greek newspaper *Grafikos Kosmos*, reporting on the celebration of the Greek Music Society of Constantinople wrote that “*homogeneis* (Greek-orthodox) and the music-lover intellectual Armenians and Jews, all came to hear the Byzantine masterpieces that were sung [...]”.⁸²⁷ In addition to the fact that music itself played a considerable role in the creation of occasions and spaces of mixed sociability which produced such “cosmopolitan” snapshots, I also want to introduce the scholarly discussions on music as an important forum which brought together the Ottoman Greek, Turkish and Armenian musicians around similar concerns.

⁸²⁶ See Edwin Seroussi, *Mizimrat Qedem. The Life and Music of R. Isaak Algazi from Turkey*, (Jerusalem: Institute for Jewish Music, 1989). Also, for the wonderful performance of İzak Algazi from the recordings made in the 1920s and early 30s, see the CD *Osmanlı-Türk ve Osmanlı-Yahudi Musikisinin Büyük Sesi İzak Algazi Efendi*, (Istanbul: Kalan Music Productions, 2004).

⁸²⁷ *Grafikos Kosmos*, 15 February 1882.

In nineteenth century Ottoman society, the penetration of western habits into the public and private realms, the secularization of the structure of the society and the emergence of new elites produced various attitudes toward the West. As the century progressed, musicians from various ethno-religious backgrounds began to defend the use of western science in order to restore “their” music to an imagined glorious phase. I will try to show that certain notions and themes were shared in the musical debates which went on among the Greek-orthodox and the Muslim Turkish musicians of the time.⁸²⁸ At the turn of the century, one notes a conviction among the latter that the music of the Islamic peoples of the East was in a state of “decline”. This was no doubt related to a more general sense of inferiority before the West which had progressed in the last centuries. In musical discourse, “decline” was seen as the result of a lack of a scientific approach toward music. The following excerpt from the treatise of the Turkish musician Ali Rifat (Çağatay) (1869- 1935)⁸²⁹ *Fenn-i Musiki Nazariyatı* (Theory of the Science of Music) which was published in the periodical *Malumat* in 1895, is revealing:

⁸²⁸For a similar approach, see Johann Strauss, “The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,” in *Greece and the Balkans. Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment* ed. Dimitris Tziouvas, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp.47- 67. In this study, Strauss showed through various examples that there was an original and specifically Greek contribution to the shaping of new ideas among the Turks. He explained these intellectual connections with the fact that there were close ties and connections between many members of the Ottoman intellectual elite and the Greeks based on ethnic origins, matrimonial links, professional contacts or training in Greek schools. Highly interesting regarding the issue of language, is his observation about Şemseddin Sami’s (1850- 1904) ideas on the Turkish language. On p. 65, he wrote: “Many of the ideas cherished by Şemseddin Sami have parallels in the language debate among the Greeks: for example the idea of the decline and corruption (*inhitat, tedenni*) in a language which has to be stopped; or the necessity of purifying (*tathîr, tasfiye*) the language by eliminating its “foreign” – in the case of Turkish: Arabic and Persian – elements”.

⁸²⁹ Ali Rifat (Çağatay) was an oud player and composer. He taught at *Darüelhan* (House of Melodies), the music school which was opened in 1914. He was the founder of the *Oriental Music Association* in Constantinople which was established during WWI and was also the founding president of the *Institute for Turkish Music*.

Oriental music, which is the product of the beautiful harmony of art and nature, is composed of melodies that give pleasure and enjoyment to the soul. While in the last two centuries, it showed a significant progress within the laws of the science of mathematics, yet merely due to the fact that the theory of this science [music] was not given enough importance, it waned in comparison to its previous grandeur.⁸³⁰

As we saw in the Greek sources of the nineteenth century, the notion of “decline” in music was part of a nationalist rhetoric that advanced the necessity of rescuing the “authentic” form of the ecclesiastical chants which were considered to be part of the national heritage. I had also noted that certain Armenian and Greek-orthodox church musicians invented notation systems with this purpose. The systematization of music theory and the preservation of the music repertoire in written records was a shared concern of all the musicians in the East from the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Ali Rıfat’s remark on the contribution of mathematics to the progress of music in the last centuries referred, in fact, to the reality of his time. As I showed in the case of the Greek newspaper *Neologos*, in the 1890s, technical discussions and calculations increasingly filled the columns of Turkish newspapers such as *İkdam* and *Malumat*. The abundant use of figures materialized a discourse of progress, while at the same time making the authors seem objective and their work scientific.⁸³¹ Sometimes, the figures and calculations which were totally

⁸³⁰ Ali Rıfat, “Mukaddime(Introduction)”, *Malumat*, 23 May 1895 in Faysal Arpaguş, *Malumat Mecmuası’nın 1-500 Sayılarında Yer Alan Türk Musikisi ile İlgili Makaleler(The Articles on the Turkish Music Published in the 1-500 Issues of the Journal Malumat)*, (master of arts thesis, Marmara University, 2004), p.19: “Şark musikisi ki, sanatla tabiatın hüsn-i imtizacından mütehasıl ve sırf ruhu telezzüz eden nagamattan müteşekkildir, son bir kaç asır meyanında ulum-i riyaziyye kavanini dairesinde ciddi bir terakkiye nail olmuş iken mahza bu fennin nazariyyatına lüzumu derecesinde ehemmiyet verilmemesinden dolayı, vüs’at-i sabikasına nisbetle el-yevm bugün küçülmüştür”.

⁸³¹ The quest of the nineteenth century Ottoman musicians for scientific truth or the discourse of progress which determined their approaches to music are, in fact, connected with a particular type of musical discourse that was mainly shaped by the Enlightenment. In his interesting study, mentioning John Keeble, the organist of St. Georges Church who published *The Theory of Harmonics* in 1784,

incomprehensible to the non-expert public became a ground for discussion or exchange between the Greek, Turkish and Armenian musicians. In February/March 1900, musician Ebu Refi Kazım (1872- 1938) or (Kazım Uz) published in *Malumat* a rather technical article on the tones (*perde*) of the Ottoman art music. Kazım Uz was a graduate of *Dariüşşafaka* lycée in Istanbul, an institution which was founded in 1873 and known for its scientific and modern education.⁸³² He learned the traditional music from the prominent Mevlevi musician Zekai Dede. He was also an adherent of the Mevlevi order and among his compositional work were many religious hymns. In 1894, he published a dictionary of musical terms.⁸³³ He was also teaching mathematics and geometry at the secondary schools. Returning back to his article, among many interesting points regarding his calculations of the tonal intervals⁸³⁴ in what he called *Osmanlı musıkisi* (Ottoman music) Kazım's essay is worth mentioning for the following reason. In order to support his argument, the Turkish musician cited the values that the previously mentioned Greek-orthodox cantor

Richard Leppert noted that music was located in mathematics, in phenomena which in turn could be "objectively" measured and systematized. R. Leppert wrote: "Keeble, like others of his time, virtually fetishizes numbers as the embodying principle for both truth and progress." See Richard Leppert, "Music, domestic life and cultural chauvinism: images of British subjects at home in India", in *Music and society, the politics of composition, performance and reception*, ed. by. Richard Leppert & Susan McClary, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp.63- 104.

⁸³² For the biography of Ebu Refi Kazım (Uz), see Yılmaz Öztuna, *Türk Musıkısı Ansiklopedisi*, (MEB Devlet Kitapları, 1969), pp.463-464.

⁸³³ Kazım Uz, *Musiki Istılâhatı*(*Musical Terms*), Istanbul, [1310]1894.

⁸³⁴ Kazım argued that there were three types of intervals in Ottoman music: "bud-i tanini, bud-i mücenneb-i tamm, bud-i mücenneb-i nakıs". One recalls that in the theory book of the Greek-orthodox Archimandrite Hrisanthos (1832) which provided the basis of the nineteenth century modern Greek musical theory, there are also three intervals, *meizonos*, *elassonos*, *elahistos*. However, in another article in *Malumat*, the author who severely opposed Kazım, implied that the latter copied these intervals from the article of Salih Zeki in *İkdam*. The clarification of the exchanges or citations regarding the theoretical debates requires a meticulous musicological investigation since the issue is very complicated. Salih Zeki was a mathematician who was deeply involved in the theory of music and probably he introduced the 24- interval system of the Syrian historian and musician Mihail Meşakka to the debates among the Turkish musicians. Also, in the above mentioned polemical article, the author resented that while the intervals of the Ottoman music had been established during the time of Farabi, the abstract talk of a man from Mosul was preferred (*Musullu bir âdemin kavl-i mücerredî bunların cümlesine müraccahtır değil mi ya? Teessüfler olunur...*).

Nikolaos Paganas found for the chord lengths which rendered the sounds of the European instruments and said that the differences of these lengths complied with his own findings. Furthermore, he praised the work of Paganas.⁸³⁵ We do not know about the extent of the personal contact between Paganas and Kazım. It might be that Kazım Uz was auditing the public lectures delivered in the ‘Ecclesiastical Music Society’ of which Paganas was a member. He might also know Paganas’ calculations and results from his articles that were published in *Tahidromos* in 1899. Another possibility is that the two musicians came into contact in a Mevlevi lodge, as we know from examples in history, the non-Muslim musicians also frequented the Mevlevi lodges. At any rate, it seems that their dialogue continued because two months after Kazım’s article in *Malumat*, Paganas published one in *Nea Efimeris* with the title “The treatise of N. Paganas about the theories of musicologist Kazım Bey”.⁸³⁶

The use of notation could become an alternative to *meşk*, the traditional method of transmission of the repertoire, only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It could be argued that the growing amount of publications of music scores in the western notation increased the communication between the musicians coming from different ethno-religious groups. To mention a revealing instance, in 1885, the Turkish musician and music-score publisher Hacı Emin Efendi asked the opinion of

⁸³⁵ Ebu Refi Kazım, (without title), *Malumat*, 8 March 1900, in Faysal Arpaguş, p. 67: “Nikola Pağana Efendi bu sa’ylerinden naşi fevkalhadd seza-var-ı tahsindir”.

⁸³⁶ This article with its full reference “Διατριβή Ν. Παγανά περί των θεωριών του μουσικολόγου Κιαζήμ Βέη. Νέα Εφημερίς, έτος Γ’, αρ. 2746 και 4747, φύλλ. της 29 απριλίου και 1 μαΐου 1900,” was cited in *Λογοδοσία Απαγγελθείσα κατά την τελετήν της επιδόσεως των απολυτήριων εις τους μαθητάς της Μουσικής Σχολής του Εκκλησιαστικού Συλλόγου τη 29 Ιουνίου 1901 εν τη Πατριαρχική Μεγάλη του Γένους Σχολή υπό του εκ των εφόρων Γεωργίου Ι. Παπαδόπουλου*, (Constantinople: Patriarchal Press, 1902), p.28.

the famous Armenian musician Leon Hancıyan about the manuscript of his “instructor of notation”.⁸³⁷ The Greek, Turkish, Armenian and Jewish musicians did not only follow each other’s experiments, research and works on music, but also competed with each other based on their musical knowledge. A contract bill written in Turkish (with Arabic letters) which I found in the Archive of the Greek-orthodox cantor Nilefs Kamarados⁸³⁸ documents an interesting contest, a bet on a musical issue between the Greek cantor and the Armenian musician Leon Hancıyan.⁸³⁹ The topic of dispute was the division of the musical scale. According to the contract, if there were not six major tones in an octave, Hancıyan would give a harmonica to Kamarados, otherwise Kamarados would give Hancıyan 5 Ottoman Liras.⁸⁴⁰

After these concrete examples of exchange between the Greek, Turkish and Armenian musicians, let me return to my previous quest of showing the common

⁸³⁷ See Merih Erol, “Türkçe Matbu Nota ve Solfej Kitabı: Hacı Emin Efendi ve “Nota Muallimi” (1885) (A Music Notation Book in Turkish: Hacı Emin Efendi and the ‘Instructor of Notation’ 1885)”, *Müteferrika*, Istanbul, (Summer 2003), pp.103-140.

⁸³⁸ According to the information that I received from Ms. Merakou, the librarian in charge of the Archives of the Lilian Voudouri Library Athens, one of N. Kamarados’ daughters was married to a cantor called Nikolaos T. Vlahopoulos. N. Kamarados’ archive was sold to the library by one of the two sons of Nikolaos, Dimitrios Vlahopoulos. The archive contains not only the manuscripts on music theory, musical scores and some letters belonging to N. Kamarados but also documents belonging to N. Vlahopoulos.

⁸³⁹ In Georgios D. Kamarados-Byzantios, *Βιογραφία Νηλέως Καμαράδου, μουσικοδιδασκάλου* (*Biography of Music teacher Nileus Kamarados*), (Athens, 1976), p.15, it is written that the well known composer Leon Hancıyan (1857-1947) was Nilefs Kamarados’s instructor in the Armenian (Hampartsum) notation. Not surprisingly, in N. Kamarados’ archive, there are musical scores written in Hampartsum notation.

⁸⁴⁰ Archive of Nilefs Kamarados, *Lilian Voudouri Music Library*, Athens, Ταξινόμηση 10.1.1 “Chants Turc”. The transliteration of the document is as follows:

“Badi-i mukavele sened[i] oldur ki

Rum Pisaltisi Onilyas ile musiki hocası Leon Efendiler meyanında akd-ı mukavele olmuşdur şöyle ki bir oktav dahilinde yani ber tekmiil veterin nısfının derununda altı tekmiil sesi bulunmaz ise Leon Efendi mecburdur bir ayaklı armonika vermeğe şayed bulunur ise Onilyas Efendi Leon Efendi’ye mecburdur beş aded Osmanlı lirası vermeğe ve işbu mukaveleyi tarafeyn kabul etdiklerine mübeyyin işbu mukavele senedi tarafeyn temhir kılındı

Fi 26 Teşrin-i evvel sene 1303 [7 Kasım 1887]

Mezkûr Liyon Efendi’ye kefil bi’l-malim

Ermenice (?) imza”

themes and notions in the writings and discourses of the Greek and Turkish musicians. Reiterating the issue of approach to western music, I will highlight a point in Ali Rıfat's previously mentioned essay *Fenn-i Musiki Nazariyatı*. The Turkish musician stressed the impossibility of emulating European music or of using western notation which was, in his opinion, incompatible with oriental music. He wrote: "If we seek the progress of our music in altering its old style (*tarz-ı kadîm*), that is, by intermingling it with *alafranga* [European music] and by making it mixed (*mahlût*), we will lose the rules that the honorable ancestors (*eslâf-ı kirâm*) established with utmost care and destroy it".⁸⁴¹ The nationalist discourse on music among the Greek-orthodox, which has been thoroughly analysed in this study, had long cultivated the view that music, like language, had to be protected from foreign influences. Besides, several tropes used in this excerpt abundantly exist in the Greek musical texts of the nineteenth century, e.g. "old style", "honorable ancestors", the idea that music was taken over from the ancestors who established its rules, and the fear of corrupting the music by allowing the penetration of foreign idioms.

Another point is the vision of using western science in order to improve the music. I had mentioned the construction of a special music instrument (*psaltirion*), in the Orthodox Patriarchate in the 1880s, which executed the tones of the Greek-orthodox ecclesiastical music. Ali Rıfat suggested in his above mentioned essay the construction of tools like diapason and a metronome which could execute the rhythms of Ottoman art music, and the establishment of a more precise notation

⁸⁴¹ Ali Rıfat, *Malumat* 22 Mayıs 1311 [3 Haziran 1895], in Faysal Arpaguş, p.22: "Binaenaleyh biz musıkimizin terakkisini tarz-ı kadimini deęiřtirmek suretinde yani alafranga ile karıřtırarak mahlut bir hale gelmesinde arayacak olur isek eslaf-ı kiramın fevkalade himmet ve dikkatleri ile koydukları kavaid-i muntazamayı da elden çıkararak beyhude tahrib etmiş oluruz".

system.⁸⁴² Moreover, Ali Rıfat asked which intermediary tones should be adapted to an instrument with stable tones like the piano, so that transposition (playing a musical piece from a sharper or a flatter tone than its assigned tone) could be possible. I think this suggests that the construction of a special instrument, e.g. a piano/organ for the performance of traditional music was being discussed at that time.⁸⁴³

In the music debates, Ali Rıfat and Ebu Refi Kazım, whose views I touched upon until now were advocating the reform of oriental music through research and the use of the tools and methods of western science which should be adapted to oriental music in a careful manner. Both were convinced that oriental music should not be abandoned since they believed that it was superior in its expressivity to western music, and defended the former against those who saw it as inferior and backward.

In the last months of 1897, the musical debates among the Turkish musicians coincided with another debate, the so called “classics debate” that had been invading the columns of several dailies and magazines. During the “classics debate”, the idea was enhanced that, the translation of the western classics was an important need of Ottoman culture because the latter had not gone through a “classical period” in the western sense. Furthermore, it was argued that the translation of the classics would

⁸⁴² Ali Rıfat, *Malumat* 22 Mayıs 1311 [3 Haziran 1895], in Faysal Arpaguş, p.23: “Maahaza (diyapazon) ve (metronom) gibi fenn-i musıkide fevkalade haiz-i ehemmiyet olan bazı alatin bizde de ta’mini ve (metronom)a mukabil Türkçe usulleri gösterir bir alet yapılması ve bizim musıkide mevcut olan sesleri şimdiki gibi karine ile değil aslını gösterir ve nagamatını kaffeten zapt edebilir ekmel bir nota vücuda getirilmesi taht-ı elzemiyettedir”.

⁸⁴³ Ali Rıfat, *Malumat* 2 Teşrin-i sani 1311 [14 Kasım 1895], in Faysal Arpaguş, p.49: “Halbuki (piyano) gibi sabitü’l-ahenk bir çalgının bizde de yapılması lazım geldikde araya konulacak sesler nasıl olmalı ki herhangi bir (perde)den başlanırsa başlansın her (makam) icra edilebilsin”.

lead to original creation and generate “Turkish classics”.⁸⁴⁴ In his article which initiated the “classics debate”, Ahmed Mithad argued that Ottoman literature had not gone through a classical period and encouraged the translation of the western classics.⁸⁴⁵ An exhausting summary of all the essays or of the main arguments of the articles written by the authors who participated in the debate is beyond the scope of this study. However, I would like to mention some of them which might be crucial for our understanding of the music debates. Even though there was a consensus among the participants of the “classics debate” that the western classics should be read and appreciated, some rejected what they saw as an artificial imposition of the trajectory of the western literatures.⁸⁴⁶ Another theme which emerged during the “classics debate” was the criticism of the dependence on western centered cultural production and the idea of translating the classics not from the western sources but directly from their originals with the help of indigenous intellectual resources, e.g. the local Greek- or Latin-speaking men of letters living in the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁴⁷

The main projection of these themes to the ongoing music debate seems to be the expression of a wish for the creation of a national music independent of both the Arab-Persian tradition and western influence. With this in mind, in his article in

⁸⁴⁴ Ramazan Kaplan, *Klasikler Tartışması. Başlangıç Dönemi (The Classics Debate. The Initial Period)*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 1998). Also mentioned in Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, *The politics and poetics of translation in Turkey 1923- 1960*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), pp.98-99.

⁸⁴⁵ Ahmed Midhat, “Müsâbaka-i Kalemîyye İkrâm-ı Aklâm,” *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 24 August 1313 (5 September 1897), see in Ramazan Kaplan, *Klasikler Tartışması. Başlangıç Dönemi*, pp.65-69.

⁸⁴⁶ See especially the article of the prominent contemporary author Cenab Şehabettin, “Klasikler Meselesi(The Issue of the Classics),” *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 28 August 1313 (9 September 1897) in R. Kaplan, *Klasikler Tartışması. Başlangıç Dönemi*, pp. 75-80.

⁸⁴⁷ See Necib Asım, “Klâsikler (Classics),” *Malumat* 29 August 1313 (10 September 1897) in Ramazan Kaplan, *Klasikler Tartışması. Başlangıç Dönemi*, pp. 81-85. It is also interesting that N. Asım criticised the western centered concept of the classics which excluded the masterpieces of eastern literatures, e.g. the Egyptian, Chinese, Persian and the “Turanian” classics.

Malumat, Mehmed Celal encouraged the musicians to investigate various forms of (indigenous) classical, popular and rural music. He furthermore noted that, “instead of the Persian and Arabic music which are considered by some as classics, they should prefer [our] national music which remained undeveloped within the circle of the aristocratic class since its primitive stage and is even about to be swept by the flood called civilization”.⁸⁴⁸ Throughout his article, subscribing to the scientific discourse like many of his contemporaries, Mehmed Celal insisted on the cultivation of “scientific music” (*fenn-i musiki*), as he saw that contemporary music lacked this quality. He emphasized the need for rectifying and basing music on more scientific grounds in order to create “scientific Ottoman/Oriental music” (*musiki-i fenni-i Osmanî veya Şarki*).⁸⁴⁹ Mehmed Celal’s terminology brings us to the issue of naming which is closely connected to the issue of the identity of this music. It has to be noted that the late 1890s were the formative years of what we can call Turkish musicology, and various terms denoting the music in use competed with each other.⁸⁵⁰ For instance, D. Kushner mentions the debate in *İkdam* and *Malumat* in 1897 where Ahmed Midhat and Salih Zeki advanced the concept of “oriental music” which they

⁸⁴⁸ Mehmed Celal, “Bizde musiki”, *Malumat*, 23 Teşrin-i evvel 1313 [4 Kasım 1897] in Faysal Arpaguş, p. 105. The original of the quotation: “[...] kibar sınıfı nezdinde mehur kalmış, hal-i ibtidasından bir adım ileri götürülmemiş hatta medeniyet denilen seyl, bakayasını da silip süpürmeye hazırlanmakta bulunmuş olan[...]”.

⁸⁴⁹ Mehmed Celal, “Bizde musiki”, *Malumat*, 23 Teşrin-i evvel 1313 [4 Kasım 1897] in Faysal Arpaguş, p. 100, 105. Among the Greeks, musician Georgios Pahtikos was calling for the creation of a new Greek art music, based on the fusion of the folk and ecclesiastical music with western technique.

⁸⁵⁰ The old term *ilm-i musiki* (science of music) had been used in the book of the Moldovian Prince Dimitri Cantemir who had lived in Constantinople in the seventeenth century. *Kitab-ı ilmi’l musiki alâ vecih-i hurufat*, Türkiyat Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi Y. 2768, for the translation of Kantemir’s work, see Eugenia Popescu-Judet, *Prince Dimitrie Cantemir. Theorist and Composer of Turkish Music*, (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1999). The term “*alaturka*” (a la Turca) which denoted an opposition with the contemporary European music which was named as “*alafranga*”, was a frequently used term. *Musiki-i Osmani* (Ottoman music) had a short term of use, somewhat between the late 1890s till the first decade of the twentieth century. *Oriental music* and *Turkish music* were the other competing terms.

saw to be shared by the Muslim peoples of the East, while Necib Asım emphasized that music was a national creation.⁸⁵¹

Previously, in the context of the nationalisms in central, eastern and southeastern Europe and particularly Greek nationalism, I had mentioned the significance of the folk song collections regarding the representation of the unity of the nation in space and time. Revealing the parallelism between the patterns of these nationalisms and Turkish nationalism, in his letter to the editor of *Malumat* written in 1896, Necip Asım suggested the publication of shepherd songs, songs of the local bards and old (folk) songs.⁸⁵²

Since language is the most visible marker of ethnic identity, musical discourses with nationalist overtones often give special attention to the linguistic, philological and poetical aspects of the vocal music of an ethnic or linguistic group. For instance, the meter used in popular/classical poetry and song has been considered to be unique to the nation. Hence, it was not a coincidence that at the beginning of his letter, Necib Asım noted the contribution of *Malumat* to the recent debates on poetry which encouraged the use of the ancient Turkish meters.⁸⁵³ In 1897, on the eve of the victory against Greece, the poet Mehmed Emin wrote his famous poem, *Turkish Poems*. In this poem written in a simple language, M. Emin used the Turkish syllabic meter instead of the Arabic meter. As previously mentioned in the relevant chapter, at the turn of the century, during the meetings of the Ecclesiastical Music

⁸⁵¹ David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, (London, 1977), p.85.

⁸⁵² See Necib Asım's letter to Tahir Bey, the editor of *Malumat*, in Faysal Arpaguş, pp. 106- 107. F. Arpaguş does not provide the date of N. Asım's letter but transcribes Tahir Bey's reply to N. Asım which was published in *Malumat*, 25 June 1312 (7 July 1896). Necib Asım wrote: "Hülâsâ çoban şarkılarımızı, çöğür şairi denilen yerli şairlerimizin eserlerini, eski şarkı ve türkülerimizi, musiki-i Türkî'mizi ihyâya hizmet edecekler için bir sahife açmanızı rica ederim."

⁸⁵³ Necib Asım's letter to Tahir Bey, the editor of *Malumat*, in Faysal Arpaguş, p. 106.

Society of Constantinople, the meters used in the Greek-orthodox church hymnography were as much a topic of debate as the purely musical issues. Apart from this common attention to the meters of the poetry or hymnography, also I have to mention a more general emphasis concerning the relationship between music and language, which was probably inspired by the German romantic discourse that seems to have had an impact on both the Greek and the Turkish musical discourses. In his essay *Fenn-i Musiki Nazariyatı*, the previously mentioned Turkish musician Ali Rıfat advanced the view that music abided by the rules of the language and the literature of each ethnicity,⁸⁵⁴ a view that had shaped the Greek musical discourse since the Greek Revolution.

Having tackled the common issues in the musical debates among the Greek-orthodox and Turkish musicians at the turn of the century, now I will bring to attention an interesting dialogue. In the rest of this chapter, I will focus on two articles, the first one belonging to the Turkish musician Rauf Yekta⁸⁵⁵ and the other to the Greek-orthodox musician Georgios Pahtikos whom I mentioned at length in the previous chapter. Yekta's article was published in *İkdam* (January, 1899) with the

⁸⁵⁴ Ali Rıfat, *Malumat*, ibid.: "Musiki her kavmin lisan ve edebiyatının icab ettiği usul ve kavaide tabi olduğundan her memlekette bir nev olarak tanınmasında bir mecburiyet yoktur".

⁸⁵⁵ Rauf Yekta was born in 1871 in Istanbul. His father and grandfather (at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) were clerks in state service. After his basic studies, Yekta went to a language school (*Mektebü'l Lisan*) where he learned French. At the same time, he was working as a scribe assistant in a state office. He was also reading the old musical works in Arabic and Persian that existed in the libraries of Constantinople and articles in foreign languages on eastern and western music. He wrote many musicological articles in the Turkish newspapers and some in the French music journal *La Revue Musicale*. He began learning the traditional repertoire with the prominent musician Zekai Dede in 1885. After he was initiated into the Mevlevi order in 1886, he started learning the instrument *ney*. He studied the music theory of the Arab-Persian tradition with Ataullah Efendi, the sheikh of Galata Mevlevi Lodge. After his retirement, he was active at various music institutions, as teacher, founder and commission member until his death in 1935. For Rauf Yekta's biography, Süleyman Erguner, *Rauf Yektâ Bey. Neyzen, Müzikolog, Bestekâr*, (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), pp.15-26.

title “Music in the churches of the *Romioi*” (Greek Orthodox).⁸⁵⁶ There are two points which deserve attention in this article. First, Yekta mentioned with praise the research which the Greek-orthodox musicians were doing under the auspices of Patriarch Konstantinos V, referring to the establishment of a music committee in the Patriarchate and specifically to the previously mentioned work by Nikolaos Paganas, and Leonidas Nikoklis’ efforts in bringing a special instrument from Europe with the purpose of using it for the execution of the tonal intervals of ecclesiastical music. Yekta was holding up the fervent endeavor of the Greek-orthodox in the field of the theory of ecclesiastical music (which he thought was the same with that of oriental music) as an example to the Turkish musicians.⁸⁵⁷ At the same time, he was also reminding them of the dispute which was provoked by one of his articles in *İkdam* a year ago.⁸⁵⁸ During the dispute, musicians were divided by the question of whether the theory of European music could be applied to “oriental music” or whether the latter needed a special theory, as Yekta had argued. The second point that I want to note, has a special importance because it especially provoked Pahtikos to write his article. Yekta argued that *musiki-i Osmani*⁸⁵⁹ (Ottoman music) and the ecclesiastical

⁸⁵⁶ Rauf Yekta, “Rum Kiliselerinde Musiki,” *İkdam*, 17 Kanun-u sani (January) 1899. I used the transliterated version of the article which has been published in Murat Bardakçı, *Fener Beyleri’ne Türk Şarkıları*, (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1993), pp. 62- 70.

⁸⁵⁷ Rauf Yekta, “Rum Kiliselerinde Musiki,” in Murat Bardakçı, *Fener Beyleri’ne Türk Şarkıları*, pp.67-68: “[...]itirafından çekinmemeliyiz ki şimdiye kadar Musiki-i Osmaniye’nin bir nazariye-i fenniyesi meydana çıkamamış ve bunca zamandan beri devam eden bu hal-i gaflet bazı kimseleri Avrupa musıkisi nazariyatını şark musıkisine tatbiki heveslendirmiş ve bazıları da Haşim Bey merhumun şarkı mecmualarını nazariyat kitabı zannetmek derecesinde eser-i vukuf (!) ızhar etmiş iken Rum vatandaşlarımızın kilise musıkisi nazariyatından bahis olarak te’lif ve neşrettikleri kitaplar – bizim mahud mecmualara hurafat ile memlu olan edvar risalelerimize nisbetle- hem daha müfid, hem de daha makul addolunmak meziyyetini haiz bulunmaktadır”.

⁸⁵⁸ Rauf Yekta, “Kemana bir kiriş zammı (one more string to the violin),” *İkdam*, no. 1553, 5 Teşrinisani 1898. One of his opponents was Ahmed Midhat.

⁸⁵⁹ Rauf Yekta seems to have used the term “*musiki-i Osmani*” more systematically in his articles between 1898 and 1900, after that even though he used this term until about 1907, he increasingly began to use the term *şark musıkisi* (oriental music). I do not think that he used the term referring to a

music of the Greek-orthodox (Romioi) were born from the same source and were based on the same theory. He added that the seeming separation between the two was only a matter of difference between their styles.⁸⁶⁰ Furthermore, he continued, “in the history of our music, in the old times, one encounters among our Romioi citizens the ones who had both ecclesiastical and lay works [...]”⁸⁶¹ and referred to the famous eighteenth century Greek-orthodox musician Zaharia (“*rahib* Zaharya”)⁸⁶² and to Andreas who was a tanbur player at the court of Suleyman the Magnificent. Moreover, he appealed to the Patriarch, saying that if the biographical information regarding the prominent Greek musicians of the previous centuries, which possibly existed in the records of the Patriarchate, could be provided, then it would be a great service to the History of Ottoman Music which was in the process of being written.

At this point, I want to give more information about the efforts of Rauf Yekta and the composer and novelist Nuri Şeyda in writing the biographies of the prominent musicians of the past which were probably the first attempts at forming a musical canon. Risking a teleological observation, one could still say that they were the preparatory steps towards the canonization of twentieth century Turkish music historiography. Rauf Yekta, in his monograph of the musician Hoca Abdülkadir

common Ottoman musical heritage which was the possession of a unified Ottoman nation. Around that time, Ebu Refi Kazım was also using the term *musiki-i Osmani* without giving it any unificatory meaning in that sense. I think, here, the word ‘Ottoman’ does not relate to the concept of nation, but to the ruling elite of the Ottoman Empire.

⁸⁶⁰ Rauf Yekta, “Rum Kiliselerinde Musiki,” *İkdam*, 17 Kanun-u sani (January) 1899 in Murat Bardakçı, p. 66: “[...]musiki-i Osmanî ile Rumların kilise musıkisinin kat’iyyen bir esasdan mütevellid, bir nazariyeye müstenid olduğunu ve zahiren görünen mübayenetin de tavr-u refat ihtilafatından ibaret bulunduğunu anlamış idik”.

⁸⁶¹ Rauf Yekta, “Rum Kiliselerinde Musiki”: “...Rum vatandaşlarımızdan hem kiliseye hem de harice mensup esatize esamisine tarih-i musıkimizde mine’l-kadim tesadüf olunagelmesi...”

⁸⁶² Music example no. 4 in the Appendix CD.

Merâgî,⁸⁶³ wrote that about ten years ago, around 1890/91, the prominent journalist and intellectual Ahmet Midhat, in his article in the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, encouraged the writing of an accomplished history of Ottoman music and of the biographies of Ottoman musicians. In 1898, Nuri Şeyda began publishing some biographies in *İkdam*. In August of the same year, he published as the eighth one, the life and work of Abdülkadir Meragi. Şeyda introduced the musician as a great figure who had a considerable influence on the national music (*milli musikimiz*). Besides, he said that Meragi was the first teacher of the Ottoman masters (*esatiz-i Osmaniyye*).⁸⁶⁴ The famous Turkist Necib Asım's article which was published a month later in *İkdam* reveals that the topic of the history of Ottoman music provoked views inspired by a notion of cultural and even ethnic identity. Necib Asım wrote that he had expected that Nuri Şeyda would write the biographies of all Turkish musicians, not only the Ottoman Turkish. As a second point, he criticized Şeyda about attributing the foundation of Ottoman music to one person. Şeyda responded, "We do not recognize Hoca as the founder of all; but because we do not have any works from the musicians before him, and in order to organize a line of descent for the musicians after the period of Fatih who brought our music to this day, we want to assign Hoca as a point of origin". His answer is interesting for two reasons. First,

⁸⁶³ Rauf Yekta, *Hoca Abdülkadir-i Merâgî*, İstanbul: Feridiye Matbaası, 1318[1901], republished in Rauf Yekta, *Esatiz-i Elhan*, (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2000), pp. 63- 138. Yekta's essay was also published in *Tercümanı Hakikat*, no.1726, 25 Temmuz 1316 (7 June 1900). According to the tradition, Meragi (d. 1435) was a very good and famous musician who served in the palace of Hüseyin Baykara, the Timurid ruler of Herat.

⁸⁶⁴ Nuri Şeyda, "Hoca Abdülkadir-i Meragi," *İkdam*, no. 1483, 27 Ağustos 1898, republished in Rauf Yekta, *Esatiz-i Elhan*, pp.73-79. In the same years, Rauf Yekta was using in his biography of Zekai Dede, the term '*Osmanlı musikişinasanı*' (Ottoman musicians) when he referred to his teacher Zekai Dede, using this category in order to distinguish it from what he called '*Arap musikişinasanı*' (Arab musicians), for instance, when he referred to a sheikh in Egypt. See Rauf Yekta, *Esatiz-i Elhan*, pp.24-25.

talking in the name of the other musicians, he revealed the underlying motivation of constructing a respectable chain of tradition. Second, taken together with Yekta's intention of including the prominent Greek-orthodox musicians in the encompassing Ottoman music history, his statement can perhaps be taken as a clue of how these musicians were using the term "Ottoman music", namely as the music – within the sphere of oriental music – whose history was parallel to that of the Ottoman dynasty and the peoples under its rule.

R. Yekta's article was translated by the Turkish teacher Apostolos Fotiadis and published in the Greek newspaper *Nea Efimeris*. In November, Georgios Pahtikos wrote an article in *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, entitled "Musicology in the Ottomans".⁸⁶⁵ He began by noting that musicology was nothing else but the real and historical knowledge of the music of a nation, which was its specific character. Next, he mentioned that the activities of the Ecclesiastical Music Society was drawing the attention not only of the Greek-orthodox but also of the Ottoman musicologists of the city and began introducing Yekta's recent article to his readers. The main point of his disagreement was the view of the Turkish musicologist that the chants of the Greek-orthodox church were composed with the modes of Ottoman music. Pahtikos warned Yekta that such a claim required a long research because it was contrary to the history of ecclesiastical music (*επρίσκειται εν διαφωνία προς την ιστορίαν της εκκλησιαστικής ημών μουσικής*):

⁸⁶⁵ Georgios Pahtikos, "Ἡ Μουσικολογία παρά τοις Οθωμανοῖς (Musicology among the Ottomans)", *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*, ἔτος ΙΘ', αρ.49, 26 November 1899. Pahtikos is using the term "Ottoman" to denote the muslim Turks.

The modes of our ecclesiastical music, if they are precisely examined, are found to be the same (*ομοίοι*) not only with the Byzantine music, from which it directly descends, but also with that of the ancient Greek music.⁸⁶⁶

It would be misleading to think that Pahtikos' view that contemporary ecclesiastical music used the same tonal intervals which had existed in ancient Greek music, hence was its direct descendant though it had a totally distinct and idiosyncratic expression and melody, was predominant among all the Greek-orthodox cantors or musicians of his time. In this article, he passingly mentioned his recent dispute with cantor Nilefs Kamarados that took place during the meetings of the Ecclesiastical Music Society. Kamarados and Pahtikos had a dispute over whether the natural major (*meizonos*), minor (*elassonos*) and half-major (*elahistos*) tones of the modern ecclesiastical music theory existed in ancient Greek music.⁸⁶⁷ Pahtikos tried to prove the existence of the minor (*elassonos*) tone in ancient Greek music by citing quotations from the ancient Greek theoretical works. However, Kamarados was unwilling to accept that there was a direct and seamless connection with ancient Greek music as Pahtikos argued.

Returning to the article, Pahtikos tried to exemplify that music was a distinct quality of nations and continued that, even though the different European nations shared the same musical scale and the same music theory, they each had a different music. Then, in order to dismiss the possibility that Greek music "borrowed" its modes from Ottoman music, he asserted that the Ottomans could not have imposed their music on the Greeks because the religion, and subsequently the ecclesiastical

⁸⁶⁶ Georgios Pahtikos, "Η Μουσικολογία παρά τοις Οθωμανοίς (Musicology among the Ottomans)", p.462.

⁸⁶⁷ See "Συζήτησις των Κυρίων Ν. Α. Καμαράδου και Γ. Δ. Παχτίκου `Περί υπάρξεως ή μη εν τη αρχαία ελληνική μουσική του φυσικού μείζονος, ελάσσονος και ελάχιστου τόνου (The discussion of N. A. Kamarados and G. D. Pahtikos about the existence in ancient Greek music of the natural major, minor and half-major tones)" *EMS2*, pp.111- 112.

music was protected by the ecclesiastical privileges given by the Ottoman sultans.⁸⁶⁸

It is rather interesting that Pahtikos was referring to the theme of Privileges. Even though the privileges of the community was an issue which had been creating controversy between the Greek-orthodox community and the Ottoman government since the 1880s, it is as if Pahtikos was anticipating a similar but a much later reference to the issue. After 1908, as the question of the existence of an Ottoman nation as a political entity (and subsequently as a cultural entity) emerged, particularly during the parliamentary debates in 1909, the Greek deputies evoked the issue of privileges, especially regarding the cultivation of a separate education, in order to emphasize that the unity of the Ottoman nation depended, not on the establishment of a homogenous education for a fused ethnic unity, but on the development and transmission, by each ethnicity, of its own history and tradition.⁸⁶⁹

Appealing to Yekta, Pahtikos said that the history of Ottoman music should be written, “so that we learn its technical basis and its historical genesis”. This was, of course, a call for the clarification of the relationship between the two traditions. According to Pahtikos, music was an important means, a catalyst, for securing the peaceful coexistence of the neighboring peoples in the Empire. But this did not mean the creation of a common music history or theory which would melt the distinctive traditions of the different ethnicities. On the contrary, Pahtikos enhanced the view

⁸⁶⁸ Georgios Pahtikos, «Η Μουσικολογία παρά τοις Οθωμανοίς(Musicology among the Ottomans)», pp.462-63: “Under the scepter of the Ottoman dynasty, our holy religion remained unharmed and since the glorious days of our present revered sovereign Sultan Abdülhamit Han II has been shown a parental care. Not only that, but from time to time the monarchs sitting on the Ottoman throne surrounded our holy religion with special privileges. Our ecclesiastical music which constitutes an indivisible part of our religion, could not have been excluded, therefore it also was surrounded by our ecclesiastical privileges”.

⁸⁶⁹ For the arguments of Istanbul deputy Pantelis Cosmidis and Salonica deputy Georgios Choneos, see Vangelis Kechriotis, “The Modernization of the Empire and the Community ‘Privileges’ ...”, pp. 65-69.

that every people should clarify its own music in technical terms and develop a distinct music.⁸⁷⁰

The relationship of Ottoman music and Greek-orthodox ecclesiastical music became a topic of interest also in the meetings of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople. Iakovos Nafpliotis (the first domestikos of the Patriarchate)⁸⁷¹ held a talk in which he introduced the unpublished work of the eighteenth century cantor Panagiotis Halatzoglou entitled, “The comparison of Arabopersian music with respect to our ecclesiastical music”.⁸⁷² In Halatzoglou’s published treatise which exists in the additional publication of *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia* vol.2 (June, 1900), Nafpliotis added a footnote to the original manuscript of Halatzoglou, under the heading of Ottoman rhythms. He noted that the complex Ottoman rhythms were formed from combinations of smaller rhythms. He continued with the two most basic Ottoman rhythms, claiming that *sofyan* was “the same with *παίωνα*” and *semai* was the same “with *παίωνα* and *σπονδείον*” (the latter are ancient Greek meters). Subsequently, saying that all the other Ottoman rhythms were formed from these basic rhythmic feet, he came to the conclusion that the Ottoman rhythms were based on the rhythms of the ancient Greeks. Furthermore, he stated that in the seventh century, the Arabs translated all the scientific books into Arabic including the music

⁸⁷⁰ The original of the paraphrased expression: “Πρός τούτο δε απαραίτητον είναι ίνα άπαντες οι εν τη Αυτοκρατορία σύνοικοι λαοί διευκρινήσωσι τεχνικώς την μουσικήν αυτών και είτα δίδοντες αλλήλοις χείρα βοηθείας να παραγάγωσι πρωτότυπόν τι μουσικόν είδος”.

⁸⁷¹ For two of the ecclesiastical chants that Iakovos Nafpliotis recorded in the 1910 and 20s, listen to the music examples 7 and 8 in the Appendix CD.

⁸⁷² “Σύγκρισις της Αραβοπερσικής Μουσικής προς την Ημετέραν Εκκλησιαστικήν υπό Παναγιώτου Χαλατζογλου (The comparison of the Arabopersian music with respect to our ecclesiastical music by Panagiotis Halatzoglou)” by Iakovos Nafpliotis first domestikos of the Great Church, 16 March 1900, see *EMS2*, p.68.

books of the ancient Greeks, from them the Persians took over the science, and today, what is called Turkish music, is Arabopersian.⁸⁷³

In fact, educated Turkish musicians like Rauf Yekta, Ali Rıfat, Ebu Refi Kazım or others would not have any objections to the view that Ottoman art music drew on the Arab-Persian musical tradition which owed to the ancient Greek music theory. In his famous monograph on Turkish music,⁸⁷⁴ Rauf Yekta drew a full-fledged outline of the theory of oriental music (*doğu musikisi*)⁸⁷⁵ referring to the works of the ancient Greek and Arab theorists, and wrote that, the Arabs, Turks and Persians took their music theory from the ancient Greeks.⁸⁷⁶ In general, Yekta used the term “oriental music” for the music of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, who according to him shared the same music theory but had differences of manner and style in practice.⁸⁷⁷ Yet, as for the music that he heard at the Greek-orthodox churches of Constantinople, he would not change his mind. He wrote in a footnote in *La Musique Turque* that in 1905, upon his appeal, Patriarch Joachim appointed the first-cantor of the Patriarchate Iakovos Nafpliotis to teach him ecclesiastical music. At the end of these continuous lessons, he concluded: “This music is no other than

⁸⁷³ EMS 2, p.74.

⁸⁷⁴ Rauf Yekta, *Türk Musikisi (Turkish Music)*, (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, [1921]1986). I think, R. Yekta began to use the term ‘Turkish music’ in the 1910s. Yekta started writing this monograph in 1913 but it was published in 1921 in *Encyclopédie de la Musique* edited by Albert Lavingac.

⁸⁷⁵ According to him, oriental music existed in the following countries: “European Turkey, Asian Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Crete, Cyprus, Greek islands, Epirus, Thessaly, Morea, Trablus, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Persia, India, Turkistan, Afganistan, and probably China and Japan”. Rauf, Yekta, *Türk Musikisi (Turkish Music)*, p.22.

⁸⁷⁶ Rauf Yekta, *Türk Musikisi*, p.21: “The famous Turkish theorist Farabi (IX. century) who studied the musical works of the ancient Greeks for a long time, accepted the so called scale ‘separated ... system’ or the compound system, as the basis of the oriental music”. Yekta’s attempt at Turkifying Farabi is revealing about how the music history writing was influenced by Turkish nationalism in the 1910s and later.

⁸⁷⁷ Rauf Yekta, *Türk Musikisi*, p. 19.

what is called Oriental music and the many alien theories that are assigned to it, are nothing but the inventions of the people who think of themselves as theorists”.⁸⁷⁸

Singing Hymns to Foreign Sovereigns at the End of the Empire

The last chapter of such an eclectic dissertation, in the sense of combining different methods and sources, looking at the issue from diverse angles, was not an easy task. In the previous section, I tried to demonstrate that in the late Ottoman Empire music was a space of contestation for national discourses that were articulating a distinct musical identity for particular ethnic-religious groups. In this last section, I want to build more on this conflictual side of music in the everyday life of the plural Ottoman society. Based on various documents from the Prime Ministry Archive (Istanbul), I hope to show how particular activities in the Ottoman public space, i.e. concerts, melodramas and collective singing, were monitored by the state authorities to prevent any challenge to the legitimacy of the state and the sultan. Regarding what follows, the reader should not expect a considerable theoretical depth or even an exhausting analysis based on a satisfying amount of documents. Rather, it must be taken as an attempt at providing a vivid picture with the limited number of documents at my disposal and as laying the groundwork for a future study.

Let me start with a few examples of concerts with philanthropical aims. The Ottoman authorities did not tend to ban the music concerts organized for charity, however, the practice was that they set the place of the event in strict terms. N.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., p.40.

Özbek argued that Abdülhamid II saw the expanding of the public sphere as part of the legitimization of his rule, and noted that the sultan tolerated and integrated charity campaigns rather than suppressing them.⁸⁷⁹ We should bear in mind that concerts were closely monitored under the Hamidian regime from the perspective of public order, due to the large amount of people that they gathered. In 1894 the request of Hristos Hatzihristos, the Greek high school director, for permission regarding the concert that he wanted to organize in Taksim Garden for the benefit of the earthquake-stricken people in Greece was denied on the pretext that concerts of this type were not given in the open air but inside buildings such as in the embassies or in Tepebaşı Theater.⁸⁸⁰ Similar concerts with philanthropic aims were being organized also by other non-Muslim communities. In the 1890s, the Armenian Patriarchate organized annual public fund-raising concerts at the Municipal Concert Hall at Beyoğlu-Tepebaşı, for the community hospital in Yedikule Istanbul.⁸⁸¹ The proclamation of the 1909 Associations Law (*Cemiyetler Kanunu*) which set the institutional framework of the associations, societies and clubs was the culmination of a long process in which the central authority was already monitoring the activities of the societies. Lottery was one of the means through which money was raised for various benevolent purposes, usually taken up with the initiative of a philanthropic or

⁸⁷⁹ Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime 1876- 1909," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 37 (2005), pp.59- 81.

⁸⁸⁰ BOA DH. MKT, 258/3 ves. no. 11 1312. M. 3, 3 Muharrem 1310 (7 July 1894): "...bu misillü konserler açıkta verilmeyüb sefaretlerde ve Tepebaşı tiyatrosunda ve elhasl ebniye derununda verileceğine? olmasına ve Taksim Bahçesi'nde açıkta konser verilmenin emsal bulmağına nazaran işbu konserin mezkur bahçede verilmesi caiz olmayacağından..."

⁸⁸¹ Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime 1876- 1909," *ibid.* Özbek writes that between 1904- 1906 such concerts were allowed on the condition that the events be held under the supervision of the mayor. He documents this with BOA İrade Dahiliye 16/2. Z.1322 (7 February 1905).

cultural society.⁸⁸² A concern for the control of public space, in the very concrete and physical sense, is indicated by the following example. Much like in the case of Hatzihristos' concert, in 1909 the request of G. I. Papadopoulos - chairman of the *Mandolinata* Music Society belonging to a Greek school in Phanar - about organizing a lottery to raise money for the music society was met with suspicion and he was informed that the lottery should stay in the confines of the school, otherwise for such occasions a license had to be taken from the municipality.⁸⁸³ Sometimes, music societies from the Hellenic Kingdom wanted to give concerts in Constantinople or Smyrna. The correspondence between the Greek authorities regarding the concert of the Philharmonic Society of Athens reveals that they expected difficulties in receiving permission. According to the letter sent on 12 March 1893, the Philharmonic Society wished to give two concerts in Constantinople and Smyrna for the benefit of the music school of needy workers. The chairman of the Society asked the Greek Foreign Minister for the mediation of the Greek ambassador in Constantinople.⁸⁸⁴ Some days later, the Greek consul in Constantinople N. Mavrokordatos sent a letter to the Greek Foreign Minister, notifying him that he would assemble a committee of Greek citizens in order to prepare for the welcoming of the Society and for the concerts. The consul also said

⁸⁸² See Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Piyango Tarihi ve Milli Piyango İdaresi*, (Ankara: Milli Piyango İdaresi Yayını, 1993).

⁸⁸³ BOA DH. MUİ 1327. Za.7 (20 November 1909): "Fener mevkiinde Patrikhane ittisâlinde kâin rum mektebi dahilinde mandolinata namında musiki cemiyetinin masrafına karşuluk olmak üzere cemiyet-i mezkure reis'ül kütâtı Papadopol'un? tarafından keşidesine ? piyango hakkında? üzerine şura-yı devlet-i maliye ve nafia ve maarif daire-yi ? bi'l takdim tevdi' buyurulan 14 ? tarihli mazbatada bu gibi teşebbüsâtın ve müracaatın tevalii ve teali etmesi cihetiyle müsaade itâsı sui sirayeti istilzam eyleyeceğine binaen yalnız mekteb dahilinde ve suret-i hususiyede tertib ve keşide edilecek muvakkat piyangolardan mâdâsının tertib ve keşidesi şayan-ı kabul ve tervîç görülememiş bildirilmesi üzerine..."

⁸⁸⁴ AMFA, 1893, 29/2, From the chairman of the Philharmonic Society Spyridon Spathis to the Greek Foreign Minister, No 310, 12 March 1893.

that there was no need for the ambassador to mediate, as it might cause the “familiar groundless suspicions” of the Turks.⁸⁸⁵ Finally, the letter sent from Constantinople on 30 March 1893 reveals that the Society received permission and gave two concerts in the Ottoman capital, in the building of the Greek Embassy and Theater *Mnimatakion* in Taksim.⁸⁸⁶

Historian S. Deringil noted that in the nineteenth century, one of the spheres of the neo-traditions, through which the Ottoman state sought to implement a rational secular program and to create a public image, was the official music which had been Europeanized since the era of Mahmud II.⁸⁸⁷ During the Hamidian era, together with other invented traditions which were incorporated into the symbols of the state, the hymns which were sung to the sultan were a crucial part of the elaborate state ceremonials. I had mentioned that the hymns of praise which were sung for the sultan were part of the school feasts. There were several occasions in which national hymns of other countries or hymns to foreign monarchs were sung in Ottoman urban spaces. During musical performances or fund-raising events, the national hymns of the sponsors of the occasion or of the foreign diplomats who were present during the performance were played. For instance, in 1886, in the garden of Concordia Theatre in Constantinople, an Italian opera group performed two acts of *Lucretia Borgia* and one act from the *Carnaval de Naples* gratis, at a night organized under the aegis of the Greek consul Mavromatis, for the benefit of the earthquake-stricken in Greece.

⁸⁸⁵ AMFA, 1893, 29/2, From N. Mavrokordatos (Constantinople) to the Greek Foreign Minister, No 656, 18 March 1893.

⁸⁸⁶ AMFA, 1893, 29/2, From N. Mavrokordatos (Constantinople) to the Greek Foreign Minister, No 742, 30 March 1893. The letter noted that during the reception at the Embassy, the Society played the Greek and the Ottoman hymns.

⁸⁸⁷ Selim Deringil, “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35 (1), (January 1993), pp.3-29.

According to the report of the French consul, during the intermission the orchestra played the Imperial march of Majesty the Sultan, as well as the Greek, Italian and French hymns. The author of the report noted that during the Imperial march several gentlemen took off their hats and that the Greek hymn was very much applauded.⁸⁸⁸ I had mentioned that after the *Tanzimat*, urban spaces became sites where local groups advanced their religious differences and expressed their political allegiances to outside nation-states.⁸⁸⁹ The Greek Consul General in Smyrna reported on 25 April 1886 to the Greek Foreign Ministry that, on the 23rd of April in the Greek Orthodox Church of Hagios Georgios, a doxology was sung on the occasion of the name day of the King of Greece. According to the report, twelve thousand citizens were gathered inside and outside the Church during the doxology, and subsequently the crowd acclaimed the royal family, the Prime Minister and the Greek army.⁸⁹⁰ This kind of “tolerance” on the part of the Ottoman authorities often surprised the European travelers. For instance, the French journalist Gaston Deschamps wrote: “they [the Greeks] are even allowed to sing the Hellenic national hymn or raise the Hellenic flag in religious celebrations but on the other hand they work jointly with the Turks and even enjoy pompous (Ottoman) titles”.⁸⁹¹ However, in the following decades, the Hamidian regime increased its autocratic measures. As the control over the empire’s subjects tightened in the 1890s, singing hymns to rival powers was tried to be

⁸⁸⁸ BOA Y.PRK. ZB 3/64 1304.M.22 dated 2/20 October 1886. The document is written originally in French but also contains a translation in Turkish. According to the report around 530 to 540 spectators attended the event.

⁸⁸⁹ Sibel Sandi-Zayek, “Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth-Century Izmir,” in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, ed. by N. Alsayyad, (Westport: Praeger, 2001), pp. 42-66.

⁸⁹⁰ AMFA, 1886, 29/2, from the Consul General of Greece (Smyrna) to Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Greece) No 974, 25 April 1886.

⁸⁹¹ Gaston Deschamps, *Sur les routes d’Asie*, Paris, 1894, p. 153. I am quoting from Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greeks of Izmir*, p.60.

prevented. In his aforementioned article, S. Deringil revealed interesting evidence regarding the sultan's attempts of curtailing the circulation of "rival symbols", e.g. the coat of arms of rival powers found on the packaging of imported goods.⁸⁹² The manifestation of multiple allegiances, namely singing hymns to foreign monarchs, began to be seen as a threat to the existence of the state. In 1896, a report sent to Yıldız Palace notified the Sultan that during a gathering at the house of Gabriel Efendi, Gabriel Efendi demanded the singing of the British anthem and an Armenian song.⁸⁹³ After the 1897 Ottoman-Greek war and during the escalation of the separatist movements in the Balkans in the following decade, the use of symbols like the flag and the national anthem came to be even more strictly controlled by the state. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Education were alarmed when, during a school excursion, the Ottoman-subject Greek students hoisted the Greek flag on their boat and sang the Greek national anthem accompanied by a music band on board.⁸⁹⁴ The letter sent to the Ministries stated that the excursion organizers and the high school directors were to be warned about those acts and to be told that even though this was a normal practice for foreign subjects, it was inappropriate for Ottoman subjects.

⁸⁹² Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908", p.7. This happened in 1892.

⁸⁹³ BOA Y.PRK. AZJ 31/54 (1312): Cuma ertesi günü Mühürdar'da Gabriel Efendi'nin hanesinde ictimai-i azim olacağı mukarrer iken Apik Efendi'nin tavsiyesi üzerine gayet mahdud tutulduğu ve fakat esna-yı cemiyetde İngiliz marşı terennüm edilüb Ermenilere mahsus bir milli şarkı dahi terennüm edilmesi Gabriel Efendi tarafından arzu edilmiş ise de kâin validesinin müdahalesi üzerine men' edildiği ve ertesi pazar günü suret-i hususiyede Apik ve Agasyak ve Fındıklıyan ve saireden mürekkeb bir hey'etin öğleyin taamını birlikde icra eyledikleri icra etdirilen tahkikat neticesi olmak üzere arz-ı atebe-i süreyya-mertebe-i cenab-ı şehriyar-ı a'zamları kılınmış olmanın ol babda ve katıbe-i ahvalde emr ü ferman şevketlü veli-nimet-i bi-imtinan şevketlü azametlü kudretlü efendimiz hazretlerindir. (I owe thanks to Prof. Dr. Edhem Eldem for his help concerning the transcription of this and some other documents that I used in this section).

⁸⁹⁴ BOA ZB 334/94 23 June 1325 (1907): "[...]Yunan bandırası çektikleri ve beraberlerinde bulunan muzika ile Yunan marşı terennüm eyledikleri görülüp işitilmekte olub[...]".

Not only evident manifestations like singing the Greek hymn, but also more subtle manifestations, i.e. the themes or the symbolisms used in the staged musical works like operas were under the close scrutiny of the Ottoman authorities. Constantinople was a frequent stop for the *Ellinikon Melodrama* directed by the prominent Greek musician Dyonisios Lavrangas. We learn from the memoirs of Lavrangas that in 1905 the owner of the Concordia Theater engaged the opera company for forty performances. While the latter rehearsed Puccini's *La Boheme*, the audience wanted nothing but Greek operas. The only Greek operas in the opera company's repertoire were Lavrangas' work *Mayissa* (Sorceress) and Xinda's *Ipopsifios* (Candidate). Lavrangas wanted to keep his own work to the last performance which meant that *Ipopsifios* would be staged. But *Ipopsifios* was censored by the Ottoman authorities on the grounds that the deputy candidate in the opera's plot symbolized Prince George who was at that moment candidate for the Governorship of Crete. Lavrangas requested the intervention of the Greek consul, but the latter said that it was better not to insist. Finally, thanks to the intervention of Fehim Pasha who had been attending the performances of the *Melodrama* regularly, the ban was relinquished⁸⁹⁵. Another incident related to the same group was of a different nature. In 1906 the *Ellinikon Melodrama* visited Lesvos. During its stay, the news spread that some Greek fighters were massacred in Aghialon of Bulgaria. In memory of the deceased, a religious mass was organized in the Greek church of Agion Therapon. The participation of the *Ellinikon Melodrama* singers in the mass enraged the governor of

⁸⁹⁵ Dionysios Lavrangas, *Απομνημονεύματα (Memoirs)*, (Athens, n.d.), p. 163.

Lesvos Mehmet Bey, who asked the opera company to leave the island⁸⁹⁶. We can see that the ongoing struggle in Macedonia alerted the local Ottoman authorities against any public expression of sympathy for the fighters who were motivated by “separatist” concerns. The mutual aversion of different nationalities in the Balkans often erupted into street fights. In September 1909, an interesting report delivered to the Ministry of Internal Affairs noted that, more than a hundred Greek youth had attacked the members of the music band of the Albanian Club who had welcomed a group of deputies returning from a congress in Elbasan.⁸⁹⁷

As I demonstrated with the previous examples, music, which was an integral part of private meetings and entertainment, was strictly monitored by the state authorities. Sometimes, even the contents of the songs, anthems or theater plays were reported. A police (*zabıta*) report dated 18 July 1907 stated that at the tavern of Hacı Mihail in Makriköy (Istanbul), a Greek national march was being sung, “whose lyrics were hostile to Islam and the Ottoman state and nothing but obscene words and wrong accusations”.⁸⁹⁸ Obviously, as the government identified itself more and more with Islam, the complaints of the authorities reflected more of an inter-confessional conflict. In November 1907, a report notified Yıldız Palace that the theaters of

⁸⁹⁶ D. Lavrangas, *Απομνημονεύματα*, p.177.

⁸⁹⁷ BOA DH-MUI 1327. N -3, file no: 11- 1, doc. no: 65: “Elbasan kongresine gidip bu akşam saat onbir buçukta avdet eden mebusların istikbaline çıkan Arnavud klübü muzıka bandosu saat on ikide bir Hristiyan düğününe giderek bir saat kadar orada çaldıktan sonra diğer bir düğüne gidip, orada muzıka çalmaya başladığı bir sırada yüzü mütecaviz Rum delikanlıları mezkur bandoyu teşkil eden Arnavud gençleri üzerine ibtida taş endahıt suretiyle taarruz badehû ellerindeki sopalarla kendilerini darb ve bir kaçını cerh eyledikleri haber verilmesi üzerine[...]Ferman 30 Ağustos 1325(12 September 1909)”.

⁸⁹⁸ BOA ZB 477/58 1323. T. 5 (5 Temmuz 1323/ 18 Temmuz 1907): “Küçük Çekmece kazası kaimmakamlığına. Güftesi İslamiyet ve Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye aleyhinde elfaz-ı galizeden ve isnadat-ı leimaneden ibaret olan “İstiklal ve Bahtiyari-i Yunani” nam Yunan milli marşının dün gece Makriköy’de Sakız Ağacı’nda kâin Hacı Mihal’in gazinosunda piyano ile alenen terennüm edildiği halde men’ olunmadığı haber verildiğinden keyfiyetin bi’t-tahkik iş’arıyla beraber bu gibi şeylerin kaldırılmasına katiyen meydan verilmemesi hususuna himmet”.

Beyoğlu whose tenants were Greek Orthodox were employing Greek troupes coming from Greece, and that the Greek Orthodox families of the city were enthusiastically visiting these theaters every evening. The report also noted that in these theaters national plays were being staged and that the latter contained sentences against the Ottoman state. More specifically, it said that the theme of one of these obscene plays was the capture of Crete by the Ottoman state. Finally, the report drew attention to the vehemence of the situation by noting that, “in short, these days, the behavior of the *Rum* is worthy of attention”.⁸⁹⁹

The vivid material presented in this section reveals that music, or more generally entertainment, became increasingly censored and monitored as the state lost its legitimation. Furthermore, the findings of this preliminary research complement those of other studies - focusing mostly on the post-1908 era - that have demonstrated the tense atmosphere in the Ottoman cities where small inter-communal misunderstandings could easily develop into violence.⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁹ BOA Y. PRK. AZJ 53/48 1325. L. 23: “[...]Şu aralık Beyoğlu’nda mevcut bulunan dört tiyatrodan üçünün müstecirleri Rum olmak hasebiyle her ne sebebe ise bu kere Yunanistan’dan gelen Rum tiyatrolara hasr edilmiş her gece binlerce Rum aileleri kiliseye gider gibi tiyatroya şitaban olmakda ve mezkûr tiyatrolarda verilen piyeslerin ekserisi milli parçalardan ibaret olub bazılarında da dolayısıyla Devlet-i ebed-müddet-i Osmaniye aleyhinde cümlelere tesadüf edildiği ve ahlak ü adab-i umumiye nokta-i nazarınca gayetle çirkin add edilen piyeslerden madud “Belçika Kralının” sefahate dair tertib ve tanzim olunan bir piyesin keزالik vaktiyle Girid’in Devlet-i Aliyye tarafından suret-i istilas da mevzi-i temaşa kılınmakda ve’l-hasıl Rumların şu aralık hal ü hareketleri de şayan-ı dikkat bir halde bulunmakda olmasıyla beray-ı malumat arz olunur. Fi 16 Teşrin-i Sani sene 1323 (29 Kasım 1907)”.

⁹⁰⁰ Particularly see Vangelis Kechriotis, “II. Meşrutiyet döneminde, İzmir’de hristiyanlar ve müslümanlar arasında günlük ilişkiler,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, 184, (Nisan 2009), pp.18-27. Also see, Hervé Georgelin, «Boycottage des non-musulmans à Smyrne et dans le vilayet d’ Aydin, d’après les archives diplomatiques,» *Revue du Monde Arménien Moderne et Contemporain* 4, (1998), pp.7-22.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

This dissertation has explored the ways in which music played a role in the formation and negotiation of national and social identity in the Greek Orthodox community of Constantinople in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It argued and tried to show that music was central to the imaginations of the past and to the conceptions of collective identity. Musical discourse, the thesis has demonstrated, was articulated mainly through the practices and activities of the voluntary music associations and through the debates on musicological issues in the Greek dailies and journals. The process in which the music tradition was defined has largely been analyzed in view of the broader challenges that the Orthodox *millet* had to face in the second half of the nineteenth century. One of the emphases of this study was the response of the Orthodox Patriarchate to the nationalist threats that targeted the populations under its jurisdiction. This thesis has also investigated the ways in which music constituted not only a space of exchange of ideas and discourses, but also a realm of confrontation of ethnocentric approaches concerning musicians of different ethnic and religious backgrounds living in the Ottoman Empire.

Class, nation and music

The Crimean War and the promulgation of the *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Edict) in 1856 were landmarks concerning the economic and legal transformations which deeply affected the non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire. The economic opportunities that enabled new entrepreneurial activities, the rise of new social groups, and the developments in the urban space formed the backdrop of the emergence of novel

consumption practices and lifestyles which had a large impact on the field of identity-making. The scientific, literary, theatrical and music associations of the Greek Orthodox, as mentioned in this dissertation, became the essential spaces in which a civic, secular and bourgeois identity was shaped and displayed. Alongside these developments, the modest Christian act of benevolence was transformed into a more conspicuous and flamboyant charitable act which contributed positively to one's public image, a point which probably signaled a change in the value systems. Hence, donating for the extravagant decoration of the churches or the maintenance of church choirs composed of educated and experienced choristers became some of the ways in which the members of the Greek Orthodox upper and middle classes could reinforce their social status and prestige. Taking the text of Ioannis Raptarhis on the state of the Greek Orthodox churches in Constantinople (1860) as a starting point, I tried to demonstrate that social (or more precisely, class) and national identity-making were juxtaposed. One of my claims was that in the second half of the nineteenth century, music, more specifically ecclesiastical music, became a symbol of the aesthetic progress and refined taste of the members of the community/nation and rose to prominence as the marker of both social and national identity. I also pointed out to the use of a moralizing discourse by the Greek Orthodox middle classes which criticized on the one hand the upper classes for their extravagant consumption and their imitation of Europeans, and on the other, the lower classes for their ignorance and tastelessness.

A thorough analysis of the profession of church musicianship was beyond my aims in this thesis. However, one of my conclusions based on the career trajectories of several Greek Orthodox cantors was that in the second half of the nineteenth century, a first- or second cantor (first-cantor or the head of the left choir) did not

rank low at all on the societal scale. Even though the intriguing question of the place of origins of the Greek Orthodox cantors of Constantinople in the nineteenth century still awaits a more thorough research, as a general conclusion we can say that cantors originated mostly from various parts of Asia Minor, Cappadocia and the Aegean islands. This study tried to shed light also on the power strategies among the church musicians. It has been revealed that the learned church musicians of Constantinople sought power through the assertion of both their loyalty to the “genuine” style of the Patriarchate, and their knowledge of the pre-New Method (pre- 1814) notation.

The Political and Ideological Matrix of the Musical Discourse

In the aftermath of the Crimean War, there was a change of balance among the influence groups within the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The diminished influence of Russia in the internal affairs of the Patriarchate and the death of Stefanos Vogoridis and Ioannis Psiharis, who represented the English and French influence respectively, brought forth a new front led by the prominent bankers of Constantinople, which brought Joachim II to the patriarchal throne in 1860. As it has been cogently shown in Dimitrios Stamatopoulos’ work, the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the nineteenth century should not be considered as a unified decision-making unit; rather, a careful analysis should focus on the internal oppositions and conflicts among different lay and clerical groups. Major issues at stake were the restoration of the old regime (*Gerontismos*) and the stance to be taken about the issue of independence of the Bulgarian church. In order to locate the positions of the musical actors or the agents of the musical discourse on the political–ideological map with more precision, further research is necessary. Nevertheless, I embarked on such an endeavor particularly in the section about the dictionary of

musical terms written by cantor Kyriakos Filoxenis. Using the report of the inspection committee assembled by Patriarch Grigorios VI, the first part of the dictionary which was published, and the information I could gather on the author and the actors involved in the issue, I tried to interpret the controversy around the manuscript, situating the actors within the encampments around the Joachim II-Grigorios VI rivalry and the conflicts within different lay groups (the journalist and publisher Misailidis vs. the financial elite). I do not claim that I could illuminate all the connections among persons and networks. For instance, the connection of Kyriakos Filoxenis to the Metropolitan of Ephesus Paisios, a proponent of *Gerontismos*, Misailidis' stance towards Patriarch Grigorios VI or Filoxenis' relations with Misailidis still remain in darkness. I interpreted the criticism that Filoxenis' manuscript received from Archimandrite Germanos Afthonidis, cantors Georgios Violakis, Nikolaos Domestikos and Ioannis Zografos not as a conflict of personal interests or dislike, but rather as a sign of the existence of competing discourses within the musical field. What I metaphorically called, "the thorny road to ancient Greece" implies that the musical discourse which articulated an uninterrupted historical unity and continuity of the Greek nation did not remain uncontested and therefore, its predominance can not be taken for granted.

In Chapter four, I asked which past concerned the Greek orthodox educated elite of Constantinople and how music was used in the imagination and construction of that past. Since I do not consider the Greeks of Constantinople as a monolithic group, the question can be asked as what were the different arguments and emphases in the attitudes towards the past. Notwithstanding the scholarly or lay interest in the classical and glorious golden age of Hellenism among the Greek orthodox learned

society, there also seemed to be a strong tendency to encourage the engagement with the recent past. It has been shown that certain intellectuals, namely Archimandrite Germanos Afthonidis, Skarlatos Vizantios and poet Elias Tantalidis, far away from the concerns of ethnic historicism, expressed their wish and interest to understand how the Greek element passed from the Byzantine Empire to the rule of the Ottoman dynasty. One has to see this in relation with the immediate threats that were perceived by the orthodox *millet*. The crisis caused by the Bulgarian church called for the strengthening of the historical ties of the orthodox *genos*. Yet, I should also note that despite the varying degrees of emphasis, the discourse of the three-thousand-year continuity of Greek culture is to be seen even in the least ethnocentric writings of the time. Thus, for instance cantor Ioannis Zografos contested Kyriakos Filoxenis' argument about the direct lineage of the church music modes from the ancient modes, but still in the prologue of his song collection he paid homage to a national discourse which honored the Modern Greek nation as the descendant of the ancient Greeks. The real difference between the two perceptions of the music tradition is that one is comfortable with the idea that Greek music is part of the Ottoman mosaic of cultures – or as the borrower of that culture (Zografos) - while the other complains that after the Capture of Constantinople, the Greek musical terms were replaced by Turkish ones (Filoxenis). If we translate the attitude of Zografos into political- ideological terms, we can come up with the doctrine of the so-called “Helleno-Ottomanism”, the ideology which foresaw the rise of the Greek Orthodox element in the Empire as the result of its ability to maintain its integrity and share power with the Turks. However, the term “Helleno-Ottomanism” is not very sufficient because in fact it does not say much about the mechanisms and strategies

of identity formation. For instance, regarding the construction of an authentic musical identity, the musical actors of Constantinople emphasized the separation between court music and the ecclesiastical music compositions of the prominent musicians of the past which served their aims of overcoming the claims of “impurity” concerning the national musical heritage. With this negotiation of the borders of the music tradition, the Greek Orthodox could combine their ethnic identity while asserting their commitment to the Empire.

Interpretation of History and Inventions in the Musical Realm

E. Gazi noted that one of the major developments induced by the interpretation of the long and turbulent relationship between “Hellenism” and “Christianity” was the inclusion of the Byzantine era in national history.⁹⁰¹ This “Helleno-Christian” scheme also enabled, in the interpretation of music history, the conceptualization of the continuity from ancient Greek music to the ecclesiastical chant in the Byzantine era. This dissertation showed that the relationship between historical interpretation and musical discourse was both ways. I tried to demonstrate that the musical discourse contributed prominently to the reconstruction of the relationship between “Hellenism” and “Christianity”, which are the two building blocks of the nineteenth century Greek national narrative. Even though this point needs further elaboration, I argued that the projection of the seventh century monk John of Damascus as a central figure in the history of ecclesiastical music served for two purposes. In Georgios I. Papadopoulos’ music history, John of Damascus was commemorated as the reformer of the Christian liturgy. His task in the music history was framed as selecting from

⁹⁰¹ Effi Gazi, “Reading the Ancients: Remnants of Byzantine Controversies in the Greek National Narrative,” *Historein* 6, (2006), p. 147.

the ancient Greek melody what was “healthy” or well suited to the spirit of Christianity. Thus, the historical model which re-conceptualized the relationship between Hellenism and Christianity was reinforced by the assertion that there was no break between ancient Greece and the Byzantine era but a smooth transition marked by a process of selective appropriation. The second purpose of the reinterpretation of the ecclesiastical role of John of Damascus was related more to the immediate reality that the orthodox *millet* faced during the period of reforms that imposed the laicization of the administration of the *millet*. The promotion of an ecclesiastical figure like John of Damascus who was known for his anti-Iconoclastic stance served the ecumenical policy of the patriarchal circles who wanted to maintain the orthodox clergy as the prime element in the administration of the *millet*.

Another closely related theme is the ecumenical program of the Patriarchate which corresponded to the unification of all the orthodox populations under the authority of the seat of Constantinople. One of the arguments made in this dissertation was that the concept of “patriarchal style” in ecclesiastical chanting was “invented” or came into use in the second half of the nineteenth century as a strategy to increase the power and the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople as the center of orthodoxy.

Modernization, Music and the Greek Orthodox Elite

In his interesting book, Martin Bernal has noted the prevalence of the historical model that saw the ancient Greek civilization as essentially European or Aryan. Accordingly, this model denied the contact of Greece with the Egyptian and Semitic

cultural area.⁹⁰² Furthermore, this particular historical model with its implication that modern Greeks were kin to contemporary Europeans stood in close proximity to the conviction that modern Greeks should have European music. The debates around the polyphonic ecclesiastical music throughout the nineteenth century reveal the musical orientalism manifested in the aesthetic vocabulary of the Greek elite. The orientalist discourse can be traced back to the pre-Revolution writings on music. In the essays of the Greek intellectual Adamantios Korais, the eastern idioms and styles in music were associated with foreign rule and their abolition was demanded. The incorporation of the Hellenic expansion to the East and Alexander the Great into the national historiography was used to circumvent the claims of Asian, Arab or Turkish impositions. In other words, according to this interpretation, the Greeks under the Ottoman rule had not been imposed an alien musical character or style, they simply took back/ were taking back what “they” had loaned to the Asians.

In the late 1870s, the reform of ecclesiastical music appeared as an urgent issue that concerned the Greeks of Constantinople. The aesthetic argument conflated with the national one and condemned the “effeminate and Asian” chanting in the churches not only as unpleasing to the ear of the believers but also foreign to the authentic national self. This dissertation attempted to illuminate the debates around the music reform and the final solution offered by the Patriarchal Council of 1881. One of the striking features of the musical discourse was the *ipso facto* positive value that it attributed to the scientific study of music. This discourse was articulated through the language used in the statutes of the music associations and their

⁹⁰² Martin Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation*, vol. 1, (London, 1987).

practices, i.e., public lectures with experiments on the physics of sound, and the publication of articles containing calculations of the interval ratios of the musical scale by musicians who investigated the theory of music. I tried to show that in the 1880s and later, the Patriarchate, the highest authority concerning the instruction and execution of the ecclesiastical chant, subscribed to this scientific discourse and attempted to reform ecclesiastical music through the use of a compromising approach that mediated between the live tradition and modern methods.

Towards the National Music

One of the emphases of this thesis was that many of the challenges that the Greek Orthodox musicians met in the nineteenth century were general to the practitioners of the music traditions of the non-Western world. In this sense, I pointed out to a contradictory demand on the part of the European musicians who enhanced the view that the non-Western nations should adopt the progressive techniques of western music but keep the distinctive features of their own music. In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the music traditions which remained outside of the polyphonic development of western music comprehended their own state with terms of backwardness, decline or decay. These specific notions of temporality shaped the conceptualizations of the relation of non-Western music to Western music. However, this motif of decline signaled not only a sense of inferiority and decay but also a hope of regeneration. I tried to draw attention to a common language which crossed the ethnic boundaries in terms of the understanding of Western music and the way the musicians from different ethnic backgrounds resisted the West's invasive influence on the teaching and dissemination methods of traditional music. I also mentioned that the musical activities of the Ottoman mosque, church or

synagogue cantors cut across different genres and that most of them were also educated in Ottoman urban music. The increase in the music score publications and the development of the recording industry in the first decades of the twentieth century provided the musicians with wider opportunities of marketing their skills, as well as increasing the contact among the professional musicians from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The dervish lodges which had been crucial since the earlier centuries and the music societies that emerged in the nineteenth century brought together various musicians who could discuss musicological matters or perform music. A detailed analysis of the multiethnic musical field of Constantinople is an intriguing task. In this dissertation, this was not at the center of our quest. More specifically, I looked at how the Greek and Turkish musicology encountered each other at the end of the nineteenth century. The Turkish musicologist Rauf Yekta's (1871-1935) suggestion that Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical music was in the sphere of Ottoman/eastern music was severely rejected by the Greek musician Georgios Pahtikos (1869-1916) who argued for the distinctness of the contemporary Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical music as the descendant of ancient Greek music. Another musicological discourse saw the Ottoman/Turkish music as the inheritor of ancient Greek music through the mediation of the medieval Arabs.

Many of the assumptions and approaches that dominate today's musical scholarship date back to the musical discourses that emerged in the course of the nineteenth century. In the 1930s, the culture and art policies of the modern state in Turkey promoted through various means the creation of a modern and national music which considered Ottoman urban musical art as part of a past that it wanted to leave behind. Similarly in Greece, nationalist discourses operated in the academic, literary,

journalistic and musical fields in the twentieth century to produce classifications and appropriations that “nationalized” the musical past. R. P. Pennanen rightly made the point that it was totally puzzling how the so called café music (*‘cafe aman’*) which was a branch of Ottoman popular music could be placed in the same musical or cultural category as Piraeus *rebetika* which was a more local and syncretic style.⁹⁰³ Yet ironically enough, the creation of a modern Greek art music was achieved by the new generations of musicians who still had memories of Asia Minor, for instance Manolis Kalomiris who was born in Smyrna in 1883.

⁹⁰³ Risto Pekka Pennanen, “The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece,” *Ethnomusicology*, 48 (1), (2004), pp. 1-25.

B. Patriarchal circular issued on 2 January 1880

καθ' εαυτήν ἡ τοιαύτη, οἶαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιπολαίως κρίνοντες, τολμῶσι χαρακτηρίζειν, βαθυτέρα μελέτη καὶ ἐπιστημονικὴ ἔρευνα ἡδύνατο καταδειξαι τοῦτο. Ὅτι ὁμως καὶ οἱ γογγυσμοὶ καὶ αἱ μομφαὶ καὶ ἡ ἀπαρέσκεια ἐν γένει πρὸς τὴν Μουσικὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας οὐκ εἰσὶν ὅλως ἀσύστατοι, ἀναμφίλεκτον.

Τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ σπουδαιότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἡμῶν Μουσικῆς, ἀφ' ἐνός, τὰ αἷτια τῆς δικαίας ἐν πολλοῖς κατακραυγῆς κατ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπογοητεύσεως, ἀφ' ἑτέρου, καὶ ἐξ ἄλλου τ' ἀπαιτούμενα πρὸς ἄρσιν τῶν τοιούτων μέμψεων καὶ παραπόνων καὶ πρὸς βελτίωσιν καὶ ἀνύψωσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς ἀξίαν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν, πάντα ταῦτα δύναται τις ἰδεῖν συντόμως ἐκτιθέμενα ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ, ἣν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐδημοσίευσεν διὰ τῶν ἐφημερίδων τῆς Βασιλευούσης ὁμογενῆς κ. Δ. Πασπαλλῆς, ἀνὴρ εἰδήμων τῆς τε Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἡμῶν Μουσικῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν Εὐρωπαίων καὶ τῶν πατρῶων ζηλωτῆς.

Ἐκ τῆς μετὰ προσοχῆς καὶ ἐμβριθείας μελέτης τῆς διατριβῆς ταύτης καὶ πᾶς μὲν χριστιανὸς ἐν γένει, ἰδίᾳ ὁμως ὑμεῖς οἱ ἱεροψάλται δύνασθε ἐν εὐσυνειδησίᾳ κατανοῆσαι τὰ αἷτια τῆς ἐκπτώσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς, τὴν σπουδαιότητα τῶν συνεπειῶν, ἃς δύναται ἐπαγαγεῖν ἡ περὶ ταύτης ὀλιγοῖα καὶ ἀκηδία, καὶ τὴν μεγάλην εὐθύνην, ἣν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐξυπηρετοῦντες διὰ τῶν ἰδιοτροπιῶν αὐτῶν τὴν κατάπτωσιν αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ συνέπειαν ἀποτελεσματικῶς καὶ τελεσφόρως ἐργασθῆναι πρὸς ἐκκάθαρσιν, βελτίωσιν καὶ ἀνύψωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐμπρέπουσαν αὐτῇ θέσιν καὶ λαμπρότητα.

Καίτοι δὲ ἡ Μ. τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία καὶ περὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου τούτου ζητήματος σκέπτεται ἐμβριθῶς καὶ ἐν καιρῷ προνοήσκει σπουδαιότερον καὶ ἀποτελεσματικώτερον, οὐκ ἄπο σκοποῦ ὁμως ἡγήσατο ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δῶ ἡμῖν νύξιν καὶ συνιστῶσα τό γε νῦν τὴν μετὰ προσοχῆς μελέτην τῆς εἰρημένης διατριβῆς προτρέψῃται ὑμᾶς καὶ συστήσῃ θερμῶς, ὅπως, παραιτούμενοι παντὸς ξένου καὶ ὀνείου δυναμένου διαφθεῖραι καὶ ἀσχημίσαι τὸν ἅγιον καὶ χριστιανικὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἡμῶν Μουσικῆς χαρακτῆρα, φιλοτιμηθῇτε ἐργασθῆναι κοινῇ καὶ ἀποτελεσματικῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκαθαρίσεως καὶ ἀναδείξεως τοῦ πολυτίμου τούτου ἔθνικοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἡμῶν θησαυροῦ, περιαιροῦντες ὅσας κηλίδας ὁ χρόνος, αἱ περιστάσεις καὶ αἱ διαθέσεις ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπροῦ τούτου ἀδάμαντος, ἵνα ἀνακτήσῃται οὗτος τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ λαμπρότητα καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν.

Τὰς ἀτάκτους βοὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκβεθιασμένας κραυγὰς, τὰς αναρμόστους στροφὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐκλελυμένους σχηματισμοὺς τῆς φωνῆς ἔκπαλαι ἡ Ἐκκλησία κατέκρινε καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε κατηγορηματικῶς, ὡς ὅλως ἀηδῇ καὶ ἀνάρμοστα εἰς ναὸν Θεοῦ, προεῖλετο δὲ καὶ ἐμόρφωσεν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεῖαν πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιαζομένων, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ ἀνύψωσις τῆς διανοίας ἐκ τῶν γηίνων πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα; καὶ ἀνάλογον πρὸς τὰ θεῖα αὐτῆς ἄσματα, ἔχουσιν τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι, τὸ τερπνὸν ἐν τῇ εὐρυθμίᾳ καὶ τὸ πεμνὸν ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταπεινότητος, ἡρεμίας καὶ κατανύξεως καθαροῦ, εὐκρινεῖ, ἀπερίττω καὶ ἐμμελεῖ ψαλμωδίᾳ.

Ταῦτα καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο καλὸν ἐνυπάρχει ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ὡς γνῶμονα εαυτοῦ προστεσάμενος καὶ τῆς τροχιάς ταύτης οὐδόλως παρεκκλίνων,

ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἀείποτε ἐν τῷ νῷ ἔχων τὴν ἀποστολικὴν παραγγελίαν, ὅτι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρέπει γίνεσθαι εὐσχημόνως καὶ ἐν τάξει, «πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γενέσθω» (Κορινθ' ΙΔ', 40), ἔστω βέβαιος ὅτι κατὰ πολὺ βελτιωθήσεται ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἡμῶν μουσικὴ καὶ αἱ κατ' αὐτῆς μέμψεις βαθμηδὸν ἐκλείψουσιν.

Οὐκ ἄκαιρον δέ, συνωδὰ τῇ ἀποστολικῇ ταύτῃ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ναῷ ἐμπρεπούσης εὐσχημοσύνης καὶ τάξεως ἐντολῇ, ἐπιστῆσαι τὴν προσοχὴν ὑμῶν καὶ εἰς ἕτερά τινα ἀφορῶντα τὴν εὐπρέπειαν καὶ εὐταξίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγη δυστυχῶς καταβάλλεται προσοχὴ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια. Εἰς τὴν τήρησιν τῆς ἀπαιτουμένης ἐν τῷ ναῷ, ὡς οἴκῳ Θεοῦ, εὐσχημοσύνης καὶ τάξεως ἀναμφιβόλως συντελοῦσι μὲν τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἐκκλησιαζόμενοι διὰ τῆς εὐσχήμου, σεμνῆς, ἀθορύβου καὶ εὐλαβητικῆς αὐτῶν στάσεως καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν κατανύξει προσευχῆς, ἀλλὰ πρὸ πάντων ἀναντιρρήτως ὀφείλουσι φυλάττειν ταύτην τὰ ὄργανα εἴτε οἱ ἡγέται, οὕτως εἰπεῖν, τῆς κοινῆς προσευχῆς καὶ λατρείας, οἵτινες διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλουσι παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπόδειγμα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκκλησιαζομένοις. Ταύτην σπουδαίαν θέσιν κατέχετε ἐν τῷ ναῷ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ ἱεροψάλται· διὸ ὀφείλετε ἅπαντες ἀνεξαιρέτως μετὰ καὶ τῶν κανοναρχῶν ὑμῶν φέρειν μέλανα ἐπενδύτην ποδήρη, κάλυμμα δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπίσης ὁμοιόμορφον καὶ ὁμόχρουν ἐκ μέλανος βελούδου κατεσκευασμένον ἐν σχήματι εὐαρμόστῳ καὶ εὐπρεπεῖ. Ὅφειλετε ἵστασθαι ἐν τοῖς στασιδίοις ὑμῶν μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος καὶ εὐλαβείας, ψάλλειν ἐν κατανύξει καὶ ἰλαρότητι, ποιεῖν πάσας τὰς κινήσεις τοῦ σώματος εἰς προσευχὴν μετὰ θρησκευτικῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ σεμνότητος, εἴτε ἐν τοῖς στασιδίοις ὑμῶν ἱστάμενοι εἴτε κατερχόμενοι, ὅταν προσήκῃ ἀποδιδόναι τῷ προεξάρχοντι τῆς τελετῆς πατριάρχῃ ἢ ἀρχιερεῖ τὸν προσήκοντα σεβασμόν, προσέχειν ταῖς ἐκφωνήσεσι τοῦ ἱερουργοῦντος καὶ ἀντιφωνεῖν ἐναλλάξ καὶ ἀνελπιῶς τὰ διατεταγμένα καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, πάντα ποιεῖν ὅσα προσήκει κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐχολογίῳ διάταξιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Μ. τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ κρατοῦσαν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν, ἣν ὀφείλετε μαθεῖν καὶ σπουδάσαι παρὰ τῶν εἰδότην ταύτην, καὶ τοὺς κανονάρχας αὐτὴν διδάξαι, ὥστε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκκλησίαις διαφυλάττεσθαι μὲν τὸ εὐσχημον καὶ εὐτακτον, διατηρεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ ὁμοιόμορφον καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς ἐνότητος τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς ταυτότητος τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς λατρείας.

Ἐὰν οὕτω ποιῇτε, ὥσπερ εἰσηγούμεθα ὑμῖν καὶ ἐντελλόμεθα, πεπείσμεθα ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὁσημέραι ἐκπίπτον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἡμῶν μουσικῆς γόητρον ἀνορκωθήσεται καὶ ἡ παραμεληθεῖσα τάξις καὶ εὐπρέπεια ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποθατασταθήσεται, οὐ ἡ χάρις καὶ τὸ ἔλεος εἴη μεθ' ὑμῶν.

Ἐν τοῖς πατριαρχείοις, τῇ β' ἰανουαρίου αὐπ'

† Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣΥΓΚΕΛΛΟΥΣ
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ.

The Patriarchal circular issued on 2 January 1880 addressing the cantors of Constantinople. (Georgios I: Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History of the Ecclesiastical Music*, Athens, 1890, 420-22.) .

C. Patriarchal circular issued on 8 January 1880

Β'.

Τοῖς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἱεροψάλταις

Συνφθὰ τῇ προεκδοθείσῃ ἐγκυκλίῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἱεροψάλτας τῆς Βασιλευούσης περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ σεβασμίου τρόπου τοῦ ἵστασθαι ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ψάλλειν ἐν φωναῖς αἰσίαις, κατὰ τοὺς συνοδικοὺς κανόνας κτλ. παραγγέλλονται ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἀπολύτως χρήσιμα, ὡς ἀφορῶντα τὸ ὁμοίωμορον τῆς ἱερᾶς ψαλμωδίας πάντων τῶν ἱεροψαλτῶν, ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

Α'. Πάντων τῶν τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ δοξαστικῶν, στιχηρῶν, προσομοίων, καθισμάτων, ἀπολυτικίων, εἰρμῶν, κανόνων, καταβασίων, ἀργῶν τε καὶ συντόμων, τῶν ἐμπεριλαμβανομένων ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τῆς Παρακλητικῆς, τοῦ Τριψιδίου, τοῦ Πεντηχοσταρίου, καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα Μηναίοις, οἱ χοροστατοῦντες πρέπει νὰ ἐκστηθίζωσι τὰ μέλη καὶ ψάλλωσιν αὐτὰ κατὰ γράμμα, ὡς εὑρηνται τινισμένα ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς βιβλίοις, εἰ δυνατόν δέ, νὰ ἐκστηθίζωσι καὶ τὰ κείμενα τῶν δεσποτικῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἑορτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκάζωνται κύπτειν ἀτόπως καὶ φυλλομετρεῖν τὰς βίβλους καὶ αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς κανονάρχας διὰ τὰς ἐξ ἀμελείας αὐτῶν προκυπούσας χασμωδίας, τοῖς δὲ πρωτοπείροις ψάλταις παραγγέλλομεν ἐντόνως, ἵνα οὐδέποτε ψάλλωσι τι ἄνευ μουσικῆς βίβλου, ἕως οὗ ἡ πολυχρόνιος ἀσκησις καὶ πείρα καταστήσῃ αὐτοὺς τοιούτους, ὥστε νὰ ψάλλωσιν ἀπταιστως καὶ μετὰ θάρρους.

Β'. Τὸ μέλος τούτων θέλει διδάσκεσθαι καὶ ψάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἑρωθέντων ἑκπαλὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μουσικῶν βιβλίων, ἥτοι τοῦ συντόμου Ἀναστασιματαρίου Πέτρου τοῦ Βυζαντίου, τοῦ συντόμου Δοξασταρίου Πέτρου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου, τοῦ Εἰρμολογίου Π. τοῦ Βυζαντίου, καὶ τοῦ ἀργοῦ Δοξασταρίου Ἰακώβου πρωτοψάλτου, τὰ ἀμέσως ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας γραφῆς ἐξηγηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀειμνήστων διδασκάλων Γρηγορίου καὶ Χουρμουζίου, καὶ ἐκδοθέντα εἰς τύπον τὸ μὲν Ἀναστασιματάριον κατὰ πρῶτον ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ ὑπὸ Π. τοῦ Ἐφεσίου, καὶ Β' ὑπὸ Χουρμουζίου, τὸ δὲ σύντομον Δοξαστάριον κατὰ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Π. Ἐφεσίου, καὶ Β' ὑπὸ Θ. Φωκαέως, τὸ Εἰρμολόγιον δὲ κατὰ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Χουρμουζίου, καὶ Β' ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου πρωτοψάλτου, τὸ δὲ ἀργὸν Δοξαστάριον ἅπαζ ὑπὸ Θ. Φωκαέως· τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων μελοποιημάτων, τῶν ἐν διαφόροις ἐκδόσεσι περιφερομένων, ἀπαγορεύεται ἡ χρῆσις ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς στερουμένων τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ τοῦ εὐρύθμου, τῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν τῆς ἀρχαίας ἱερᾶς ψαλμωδίας, δύνανται δὲ ταῦτα νὰ χρησιμεύωσι πρὸς ἰδιαιτέραν μελέτην ἐκάστου.

Γ'. Ἐκ τοῦ παππαδικοῦ μέλους ψάλλονται χερουβικά μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν κυριακὴν τὰ τῆς ἐβδομάδος σύντομα, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πέτρου τοῦ Βυζαντίου, ἐν ἐκτάκτοις δὲ περιστάσεσι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Γρηγορίου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν πρωτοψαλτῶν, κοινωνικά δὲ τῶν κυριακῶν ψάλλονται τὰ τοῦ Δανιὴλ καὶ τοῦ Πέτρου, κοινωνικά δὲ τῶν ἑορτῶν τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ψάλλονται τὰ τοῦ Πέτρου, Δανιὴλ καὶ Γρηγορίου τῶν πρωτοψαλτῶν. Δοξολογία δὲ μεγάλα ψάλλονται αἱ τοῦ Π. τοῦ Πελοποννησίου, τοῦ Π. Βυζαντίου, Ἰακώβου, ἢ τοῦ Δα-

νήλ καὶ Γρηγορίου, αἱ δὲ σύντομοι δοξολογίαι Μανουήλ πρωτοψάλτου, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐκ τῶν δοκίμων ἀρχαίων ἐκδόσεων Χουρμουζίου, Θ. Φωκαέως καὶ τῆς Πανδέκτης Ἰωάννου πρωτοψάλτου.

Δ'. Ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπαγορεύονται ψάλλεσθαι διὰ λόγους οὓς οἶδεν ἡ Ἐκκλησία τὰ ἀνοιξαντάρια καὶ τὸ ὀκτάηχον Θεοτόκε παρθένε, ἅτινα μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἄγρυπνίαις χρησιμεύουσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτονίσθησαν, ψάλλεται δὲ μόνον τὸ Μακάριος ἀνὴρ τοῦ Μανουήλ, καὶ ἐν ὥρισμέναις τισὶ περιστάσεσι τὰ κεκραγάρια Ἰακώβου πρωτοψάλτου. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἱερᾷ λειτουργίᾳ ἀπαγορεύονται, ἅμα τῇ ἐξόδῳ τῶν Ἀγίων, αἱ μεγάλαι φωναί, καὶ τὰ κρατήματα, καὶ ἐπιβάλλεται τοῖς ψάλλταις ἵνα σιγῶσι, μέχρι τῆς εἰσόδου τῶν λειτουργῶν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Βῆμα, ἀπαγορεύονται πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα λειτουργικά, ἀνταποκρίνονται δὲ τῷ ἱερεῖ οἱ χοροὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκφωνήσεσιν αὐτοῦ διὰ ταπεινῆς καὶ ἡσύχου μοιῆδος κατὰ τὸ ἔθιμον τῆς Μ. Ἐκκλησίας, τὰ δὲ τυπικά οὐδέποτε πρέπει νὰ ἐγκαταλιμπάνωνται, ἐκτὸς τῶν μεγάλων ἑορτῶν, ἐν αἷς ψάλλονται τὰ ἀντίφωνα.

Ταῦτα ἐγκριθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὑποβάλλονται εἰς ἕκαστον ἱεροψάλτην, ἐφίσταται δὲ ἡ προσοχὴ αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ τις ἐξ ἐγωϊσμοῦ, ἢ αὐταρεσχείας παρεισάγῃ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς τελεταῖς ἀδόκιμα καὶ ἀνάρμοστα ἰδιαιτέρα μέλη, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐγκεκριμένων καὶ παραδεδεγμένων ἔκπαλαι παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Οὐδεὶς δὲ προϊστάμενος ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησίας, ἢ ἑφορος, ἢ πρόκριτος δύναται νὰ καταναγκάσῃ τὸν ἱεροψάλτην ἵνα ψάλλῃ τι ἀπ᾽ ἄδον τῇ παρούσῃ ἐγκυκλίῳ. Ὁ μὴ συμμορφωθὴσόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ταύτας παραγγελίας τιμωρηθήσεται παραδειγματικῶς.

Ἐν τοῖς πατριαρχείοις, τῇ 8 Ἰανουαρίου 1880.

† Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣΥΓΓΕΛΛΟΣ
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ

The second patriarchal circular issued on 8 January 1880 addressing the cantors of Constantinople.

(Georgios I: Papadopoulos, *Contributions to the History of the Ecclesiastical Music*, Athens, 1890, 423-24.)

[illegible]

A letter sent by musician Georgios Pahtikos to the chairman of the Association 'East' Margaritis Evangelidis on 3 January 1894.
(Archive of the Association 'East', Athens)

E. Georgios Pahtikos collecting folk songs in Bithynia



Georgios Pahtikos collecting folk songs in Bithynia.

Georgios Pahtikos, *260 Δημώδη Ελληνικά Ασματα*, Athens: Library Marasli, 1905.

F. Patriarch Joachim III at the Consecration of the Holy Curism



Patriarch Joachim III at the Consecration of the Holy Curism
(*Iakovos Nafpliotis*, Istanbul, Kalan Müzik, 2008, 66-67).

G. Graduates of the School of the Ecclesiastical Music Association
from the 1922- 23 academic year



Graduates of the School of the Ecclesiastical Music Association from the 1922-23 academic year. (*Iakovos Nafpliotis*, Istanbul, *Kalan Müzik*, 2008, 16-17)

H. LIST OF MUSICAL WORKS IN THE CD

- 1) 1er Hymne Delphique à Apollon (*Musique de la Grèce Antique*, Harmonia Mundi 1979)
- 2) Hymne Chrétienne d'Oxyrhynchus (Egypte). Hymn to Trinity from the 3rd/4th c. AD (*Musique de la Grèce Antique*, Harmonia Mundi 1979)
- 3) Ότι σωτήρα έτεκες ηχ βαρύς. *Kratima* from 'Hymn to Virgin Mary' of Petros Bereketis. (*Μνημεία Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής. 4 Θεοτόκε Παρθένε. Πέτρον Μπερεκέτη*, research by Manolis K. Hatzigiakoumis, Athens: Κέντρον Ερευνών και Εκδόσεων, 2001).
- 4) Hüseyini ağır semai composed by Zaharia Hanende (d. circa 1815) (*Hanende Zaharya. "En Chordais" Music Ensemble*, Istanbul: Kalan Müzik, 2005). Live recording at the Athens Concert Hall in 2000.
- 5) Την Παγκόσμιον Δόξαν (Hymn at the Glory of the *stiheira* of Vespers in the 1st *ihos*) composed by Zaharia Hanende (*Hanende Zaharya. "En Chordais" Music Ensemble*, Istanbul: Kalan Müzik, 2005).
- 6) Κράτημα, ήχος δ' λέγετος (*Kratima*, *ihos 4 legetos*) composed by Petros Peloponnesios (1740- 1778) (*Petros Peloponnesios*, Thessaloniki: Music Ensemble En Chordais, 2005).
- 7) Αναστάσεως ημέρα (78 RPM Orfeon-Odeon [1914- 1926]. *Byzantine Music. The Protopsaltis of the Holy Great Church of Christ Iakovos Nafpliotis*, research by Antonios E. Alygizakis, Istanbul: Kalan Müzik, 2008)
- 8) Αξιόν έστιν (εναρμόνιον) (78 RPM Orfeon-Odeon [1914- 1926]. *Byzantine Music. The Protopsaltis of the Holy Great Church of Christ Iakovos Nafpliotis*, research by Antonios E. Alygizakis, Istanbul: Kalan Müzik, 2008)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Archival Sources

Patriarchate: Patriarchal Correspondence

Codex A' 41-1870, A' 45-1874, A' 49- 1878, A' 52- 1881, A' 52- 1882, A' 53 - 1883, A' 56 -1886, A' 66- 1895, A' 67 - 1896, A' 70 -1898, A' 75-1902

Archive of the University of Athens:

Correspondence of the Greek Orthodox Community of *Stavrodromio* (Beyoğlu): Series Z 21-40

Correspondence of (*Megali tou Genous Sholi*) Great School of the Nation: Series E1 15- 20 Αντίγραφα επιστολών (copies of letters) (1895- 1901), Series II- 11.

Αρχείο του Μικρασιατικού Συλλόγου Ανατολής (Archive of the Asia Minor Association '*Anatoli*'): Correspondence of the Association

Φάκελος Γ' Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικομήδειας (File Γ' İstanbul-İzmit)
File Γ' 4- 1894, 47- 1900, 76- 1903, 98- 1904, 113- 1904, 123- 1905, 126- 1905, 133α - 1905, 137- 1905, 162- 1906, 164 -1906, 175α - 1906, 237- 1908.

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (Istanbul Prime Ministry Archive)

i) Dahiliye Nezareti Muhaberat-ı Umumiye İdaresi Kalemi (DH-MUI)
BOA, DH. MUI, 1327. Za.7
BOA, DH-MUI, 1327. N. 3

ii) Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi (DH. MKT)
BOA, DH. MKT, 258/3 ves. no. 11, 1312. M. 3

iii) Yıldız Perakende Evrakı
BOA, Y.PRK. AZJ, 31/54 (1312)
BOA, Y. PRK. AZJ, 53/48 1325. L. 23
BOA, Y.PRK. ZB, 3/64, 1304 M 22
BOA, Y.PRK. ZB, 334/94, 23 June 1325
BOA, Y.PRK. ZB, 477/58, 1323. T. 5

Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Athens)

1886, 29/2 καλλιτεχνικά, εορταί, τελεταί (art, celebrations, ceremonies)
1893, 29/2 καλλιτεχνικά, Φιλαρμονική Εταιρία (art, Philharmonic Society)

Lilian Voudouri Music Library (Athens)

Nilefs Kamarados Archive: Ταξινόμηση 10.1.1 "Chants Turc".

II. Published Primary Sources

Anatolikos Astir

Armonia (Constantinople)

Ekklesiastiki Alitheia

Appendix of *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia*. The Ecclesiastical Music Society (EMS)

Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος (Greek Literary Society) (EFSK)

Formiks

İkdam

Konstantinoupoli

Malumat

Mousiki

Neologos

Tahidromos

Afthonidis, Germanos. «Περί της Ελληνικής ιεράς μουσικής κατ' αντιπαράθεσιν προς την ευρωπαϊκὴν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐποψιν τῆς τέχνης (About the Greek sacred music in comparison with the European music from the aspect of art)» *Chronos*, Constantinople, 1872, pp.84- 99.

Anastasios, Nikolaos. “Το οἰκουμενικὸν πατριαρχεῖον καὶ ἡ ἐλληνικὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μουσικὴ (The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek ecclesiastical music)” [1881], Athens: Vlastos Varvafrigos, 1884.

Anthologia Graeca carminum christianorum, adornaverunt W. Christ et M. Paranikas, Leipzig, 1871.

Aristoklis, Th. M. *Κωνσταντίνου Α' του από Σιναΐου Αοιδίμου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως του Βιζαντίου Βιογραφία και σύγγραφοι αι Ελάσσονες Εκκλησιαστικά και Φιλολογικά, και τίνες Επιστολαί του Αυτού (Konstantinos I from Sinai the late Patriarch of Constantinople, His Biography, Ecclesiastical and Literary Writings and Letters)*, Constantinople: Proodos, 1866.

Bourgault-Ducoudray, L. A. *Trente Mélodies Populaires de Grèce & d'Orient*, Paris, 1876.

Bourgault-Ducoudray, L. A. *Etudes sur la Musique Ecclésiastique Grecque. Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient. Janvier-Mai 1875*, Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1877.

Bourgault-Ducoudray, L. A. *Souvenirs d'une Mission Musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, 2eme édition, Paris: Hachette, 1878[1876].

Carnoy Henry & Nikolaidis Jean. *Traditions Populaires de Constantinople et Ses Environs. Contributions au Folklore des Turcs, Chrétiens, Arméniens etc., Première Série*, Paris: Aux Bureaux de “la Tradition”, 1891.

Carnoy Henry & Nikolaidis Jean, *Folklore de Constantinople. Légendes et*

Traditions Locales, Paris: Aux Bureaux de “la Tradition”, 1893.

Christ, Wilhelm. “Über die Harmonik des Manuel Bryennius und das System der byzantinischen Musik,” *Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur der Byzantiner*, Munich, 1870.

Deschamps, Gaston. *Sur les routes d’Asie*, Paris, 1894.

Filoxenis, Kyriakos. *Θεωρητικόν Στοιχειώδες της Μουσικής (Basic Theory of Music)*, [Constantinople: S. Ignatiadis, 1859], Thessaloniki: P. Pournara, 1992.

Filoxenis, Kyriakos. *Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (Dictionary of the Greek Ecclesiastical Music)*, [Constantinople: Evangelinos Misailidis, 1868], Athens: Koultoura, 2005.

Focaefs, Theodore. *Κρητίς του Θεωρητικού και Πρακτικού της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (The Basis of Theory and Practice of the Ecclesiastical Music)*, Constantinople: publ. Patriarchal Press, 1842.

Focaefs, Theodore. *Ταμείον Ανθολογίας (Treasury of Anthology)*, vol.1, Constantinople: de Castrou, 1851.

Grigorios Metropolitan of Chios of Vizantios, *Προσλαλιά (Address)*, Chios: K. M. Prokidis, 1866.

Gritsanis, Panagiotis. *Περί της των Ιονίων Νήσων Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (About the Ecclesiastical Music of the Ionian Islands)*, Naples, 1867.

Gritsanis, Panagiotis. *Το Περί της Μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα (About the issue of the music of the Greek Church)*, Naples, 1870.

Haşim Bey, *Mecmua-ı Musiki*, Kayolzade Yahya Hariri Litoğrafya Matbaası, Istanbul, 1269 (1853).

Haviaras Ioannis and Randhartinger Benedict. *Επικήδειος Ακολουθία (Mortuary Mass)*, Vienna: Antoniou Benkou, 1848.

Haviaras I. and B. Randhartinger, *Ύμνοι της Θείας και Ιεράς Λειτουργίας Ιωάννου του Χρισοστόμου και Βασιλείου του Μεγάλου Ακολουθίας (Hymns for the divine and holy service of Ioannis of Hrisostomos and Prayer for Vasilios the Great)*, Vienna: Antoniou Benkou, 1848.

Helmholtz, Hermann von. *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik (On the Sensations of Tone)*, Braunschweig, 1863.

Hrisanthos of Madytos, *Εισαγωγή εις το θεωρητικόν και πρακτικόν της εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής (Introduction into the theory and the practice of ecclesiastical music)*, Paris: Rigniou, 1821.

Hrisanthos of Madytos, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής (Great Theory of Music)*, ed. by Panagiotis G. Pelopidis, Trieste: Michele Weis, 1832.

Hristidis, D. *Τα Σχολεία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (The schools of Constantinople)*, Constantinople, 1865.

Ioannidis, Adamantios. *Η Ελληνική μουσική υπό φιλολογικὴν, θρησκευτικὴν, συγκρητικὴν και οικονομικὴν ἐποψιν (The Greek music from a comparative philological, religious and economic perspective)*, Athens, 1873.

Īpsilantis, Athanasios Komninos. *Εκκλησιαστικόν και πολιτικόν των εις Δώδεκα Βιβλίον Η' Θ' και Γ' ητοι Τα Μετά την Άλωσιν (1453- 1789)(Ecclesiastics and politics from the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Volumes of After the Fall (1453- 1789)*, publ. by Germanos Afthonidis, Constantinople: I. A. Vretou, 1870.

Καλλιόπη, Ἦτοι Θεωρία συνοπτική προς διδασκαλίαν Περί Ποιήσεως εν γένει, περί Βουκολικής, Περί Εποποιΐας, περί Δραματικής, Περί Λυρικής (Kalliori. Brief Theory for the teaching of Poetry in general, Pastoral, Romance, Dramatic, Lyrical) υπό του εν Σύρω Γυμνασιάρχου Γ. Σερουΐου, εν Ερμούπολει εκ της τυπογραφίας Ν. Βαρβαρέσου 1845.

Καλλίφωνος Σειρήν ἦτοι συλλογή διαφόρων ασμάτων, Τουρκικόν, Ευρωπαϊκόν και Ελληνικόν Μελοποιηθέντων υπό Χ. Παναγιώτου Γεωργιάδου του Προυσαέως, (Kallifonos Seirin) Constantinople: S. Ignatiadou, 1859.

Κανονισμός της εν Κωνσταντινούπολη Ελληνικής Λέσχης Βυζάντιον (Statute of the Greek Club Vyzantion in Constantinople), Constantinople: Lazaridou, 1862.

Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Μουσικού Συλλόγου (Statute of the Music Society of Constantinople), Constantinople: Koromilas and P. Paspallis, 1863.

Κανονισμός της Νέας Γραικικής Λέσχης (Statute of the New Greek Club), Smyrna: Nikol. A. Damianou, 1866.

Κανονισμός της Πατριαρχικής Σχολής της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (Statute of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music), Constantinople: Anatolikos Astir, 1866.

Κανονισμός της Πατριαρχικής Σχολής της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (Statute of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music), Constantinople, 1868.

Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Συλλόγου των Μεσαιωνικών Σπουδών (Statute of the Society for Medieval Studies in Constantinople), Constantinople, 1874.

Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολη Ελληνικού Μουσικού Συλλόγου (Statute of the Greek Music Society in Constantinople), Constantinople: Thrakis, 1880.

- Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Εκκλησιαστικού Μουσικού Συλλόγου*(*Statute of the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople*), εν Κωνσταντινούπολει, εκ του Πατριαρχικού Τυπογραφείου, Constantinople, 1899.
- Kiltzanidis, P. G. (of Proussa), *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον* (*New Psalms of Resurrection Mass*), Constantinople: S. Ignatiadis, 1866.
- Kiltzanidis, P. G. (of Proussa), *Διατριβαί περί της Ελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής*(*Treatises about the Greek ecclesiastical music*), Constantinople: publ. house of Anatolikos Astir, 1879.
- Kiltzanidis, P. G. (of Proussa), *Μεθοδική Διδασκαλία Θεωρητική τε και Πρακτική προς Εκμάθησιν και Διάδοσιν του Γνησίου Εξωτερικού Μέλους*(*Systematic Teaching of Theory and Practice for the Learning and Dissemination of the Genuine External Melody*), [Constantinople, 1881], Thessaloniki: Vas. Rigopoulou, 1978.
- Koumanoudis, S. A. *Που σπεύδει η Τέχνη των Ελλήνων την Σήμερον*(*Where to the Art of the Greeks of Today*), Belgrade: Publ. Press of the Government, 1845.
- Koupitoris, Panagiotis. *Λόγος πανηγυρικός περί καθ'ημάς εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής* (*Panegyric speech about our ecclesiastical music*), Athens: Filokalia, 1876.
- Koupitoris, P. D. *Περί του Ρυθμού εν τη Υμνογραφία της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας* (*About Rhythm in the Hymnography of the Greek Church*), Athens, 1878.
- Krumbacher, Karl. *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής Λογοτεχνίας*(*The History of Byzantine Literature*), Marasli publications, Athens, 1897.
- Kyriakidis, Epaminondas, *Ιστορία του Σύγχρονου Ελληνισμού* (*The History of Contemporary Hellenism*) vol.2, Athens, 1892.
- Lambadarios, Stephanos. *Ανθολογία* (Anthology), Constantinople, 1863.
- Lambadarios, Stephanos. *Κρηπίς ητοι Νέα Στοιχειώδης Διδασκαλία του Θεωρητικού και Πρακτικού της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής*(*The Basis namely the New Basic Instruction of the Theory and Practice of the Ecclesiastical Music*), ed. by. D. Ioannis Protopsaltou, Constantinople: Patriarchal Publishing House, 1875.
- Lambadarios, Stephanos. *Μουσική Κυψέλη*(*Music Hive*), ed. by D. Ioannis Protopsaltis, Constantinople: publ. house I. Pallamari, 1882.
- Lavrangas, Dionysios. *Απομνημονεύματα* (*Memoirs*), Athens, n.d.
- Lelekos, M. S. *Δημοτική Ανθολογία* (*Demotic Anthology*), Athens, 1868.
- Lesvios, Georgios. *Εισαγωγή εις το Θεωρητικόν και Πρακτικόν της Μουσικής Τέχνης*

του Λεσβίου Συστήματος (*Introduction to the Theory and Practice of the Art of Music in the Lesbios system*), Athens: L. Papadopoulou & I. Leonidou, 1840.

Λογοδοσία Απαγγελθείσα κατά την τελετήν της επιδόσεως των απολυτήριων εις τους μαθητάς της Μουσικής Σχολής του Εκκλησιαστικού Συλλόγου τη 29 Ιουνίου 1901 εν τη Πατριαρχική Μεγάλη του Γένους Σχολή υπό του εκ των εφόρων Γεωργίου Ι. Παπαδόπουλου, Constantinople: Patriarchal Press, 1902.

Λόγος Περί Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής Συντέθεις υπό Ναθαναήλ Ιωάννου Ευβόεως εφημερίου της εν Μασσαλία Ελληνικής Ορθόδοξου Εκκλησίας (Speech about the Ecclesiastical Music composed by Nathanail Ioannis of Euboea priest of the Greek Orthodox Church in Marseille), Ermoupolis Syros, 1858.

Miletos Timotheos. “Η Περί της Μουσικής των Νεωτέρων Ελλήνων” *Pandora*, 1 December 1870 vol. 21, no. 497, pp. 382- 383.

Misailidis, Evangelinos. *Seyreyle Dünyayı (Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr-u Cefakes)*, publ. by Robert Anhegger & Vedat Günyol, Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, [1872]1986.

Νέα Μουσική Κυψέλη Κατά την Προφοράν και το Ύφος της του Χριστού Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας (*New Music Hive according to the Articulation and Style of the Great Church of Christ*), ed. by N. Mihalopoulos, Athens, 1898.

Pahtikos, Georgios. “Παιδευτικά, Η Μουσική εν τοις παρ’ ημίν σχολείοις (Education. The music in our schools),” *Εβδομαδιαία Επιθεώρησις Νεολόγου* (Weekly Review of Neologos) vol.2 no. 49, Constantinople, 1893.

Pahtikos, Georgios D. *Δυο χορικά εκ του «Φιλοκτήτου» του Σοφοκλέους* (Two choral parts from “*Philoctetes*” of Sophocles), Athens, 1893.

Pahtikos, Georgios D. *Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες εν Βιθυνία* (The Olympic Games in Bithynia), Athens: Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Αδελφών Η. Καλεργή, 1893.

Pahtikos, Georgios D. *Απόλλων ο Μουσηγέτης. Περιέχων Στοιχειώδεις Ώδικας Γνώσεις μετα Μονόφωνων, Δίφωνων, Τρίφωνων και Τετράφωνων Χορικών Ασμάτων προς Χρήσιν των Ελλ. Εκπαιδευτήριων Αμφοτερών των Φυλών* (Apollon the Head of Muses. Contains the basic singing knowledge of monophone, diphone, triphone and tetraphone choral songs for the use of Greek schools of both sexes), vol. 1, Athens: publ. house of Anesti Konstantinidiou, 1895.

Pahtikos, Georgios D. *Η Μελοποιΐα των Χορικών και των Κομμών ιφιγένειας της εν Ταύροις του Ευριπίδου* (The composition of the choral and lamentation parts of *Iphigenias in Tauris* of Euripides), Athens, 1901.

Pahtikos, Georgios. *260 Δημόδη Ελληνικά Άσματα από του στόματος του Ελληνικού*

Λαού της Μικράς Ασίας, Θράκης, Μακεδονίας, Ηπείρου και Αλβανίας, Ελλάδος, Κρήτης, νήσων του Αιγαίου, Κύπρου και των παραλίων της Προποντίδος συλλεγέντα και παρασημανθέντα (1888- 1904)(260 Greek Folk Songs from the Greek People of Asia Minor, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus and Albania, Greece, Crete, Aegean islands, Cyprus and coasts of Marmara collected and notated 1888-1904), Athens: Bibliothiki Marasli, 1905.

Pallatidis, Anastasios. *Υπόμνημα ιστορικών περί αρχής και προόδου και της σημερινής ακμής του εν Βιέννη Ελληνικού συνοικισμού, αυτοσχεδιασθέν αφορμή της νεώστι γενομένης μεταρρυθμίσεως της εκκλησιαστικής ημών μουσικής εις το τετράφωνον (Historical memorandum about the beginning and development of the present acme of the Greek settlement of Vienna, improvised for the new reform of our ecclesiastical music into tetraphony), [Vienna: Antoniou Benkou, 1845], Athens: Noti Karavia, n.d.*

Papadopoulos, G. I. *Σύμβολαι Είς την Ιστορίαν της Παρ' ημην Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (Contributions to the History of Our Ecclesiastical Music), Athens, 1890.*

Papadopoulos, G. I. *Η Σύγχρονος Ιεραρχία της Ορθοδόξου Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας, (The Modern Hierarchy of the East Orthodox Church), vol.1, Athens: typographeion Alex. Papageorgiou, 1895.*

Papadopoulos, G. I. *Ιστορική Επισκόπησης της Βυζαντινής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (Historical Survey of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music), Athens, 1904.*

Paspatis, D. *Υπόμνημα περί του Γραικικού Νοσοκομείου των Επτά Πύργων (Memorandum about the Greek Hospital of Yedi Kule), Constantinople, 1862.*

Pitra, J. B. *Hymnographie de l'église Grecque, Dissertation accompagnie des Offices du xvi Janvier, des xxiv et xxv Juin, en l'honneur de S. Pierre et des Apotres. Publiée par le Cardinal J. B. Pitra, du titre de S. Callixte. Rome: Imprimerie de la Civiltà Cattolica, 1867.*

Protopsaltis, Nikolaos (of Smyrna). *Doxastarion Triodiou kai Pentikostariou (Doxologies of Triodion and Pentekostarion), Constantinople: S. Ignatiadou, 1857.*

Psahos, Konstantinos. *Η παρασημαντική της βυζαντινής μουσικής, ήτοι, Ιστορική και τεχνική επισκόπησις της σημειογραφίας της βυζαντινής μουσικής από των πρώτων χρόνων μέχρι των καθ' ημάς, Athens: Sakellariou, 1917.*

Raptarhis, I. M. *Πικρά η αλήθεια: ή Η κατ' αντίθεσιν της οσημέραι εν τοις ιεροίς ναοίς αυξανομένης εξωτερικής πολυτελείας και μεγαλοπρεπείας, ελάττωσις του θείου εσωτερικού διακόσμου (The truth is bitter: the contrast of the increased external luxury and the magnificence of the holy churches to the decline of their internal divine décor), Constantinople: o Vizas, 1860.*

- Reinach, Theodore. “La Musique Grecque et L’Hymne a Apollon”, *Extrait de la Revue des Etudes Grecque*, Paris, Juin 1894.
- Renieris, Markos. “What is Greece? West or East?”, in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770- 1945) Texts and Commentaries vol. II* ed. by Balazs Trencsényi and Michal Kopecek, CEU Press, 2007.
- Roidis, Emmanuil. *Η Πάπισσα Ιωάννα*, prepared by Alkis Aggelou, Athens: Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας, [1866]1993.
- Ruelle, Charles-Émile. *Étude sur Aristoxène et son École*, Paris: C. Lahure, 1857.
- Sigalas, A. N. *Συλλογή Εθνικών Ασμάτων (Collection of National Songs)*, published with the contributions of the Greek Parliament and other art-lovers, Athens: H. N.Philadelfeos, 1880.
- Spanoudis, Konstantinos. *Ιστορिकाί Σελίδες. Ιωακείμ ο Γ’ (Historical Pages. Ioakeim III)*, Constantinople, 1902.
- Στοιχειώδης Διδασκαλία της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής εκπονηθείσα επι τη βάσει του Ψαλτηρίου (Basic Instruction of the Ecclesiastical Music)*, [Constantinople: Patriarchal Press, 1888], Athens: Kouloura, 1999.
- Thereianos, Evstratios. *Περί της Μουσικής των Ελλήνων και ιδίως της Εκκλησιαστικής (About the music of the Greeks and especially the ecclesiastical)*, Trieste: Austro-Hungarian Lloyd, 1875.
- Thibaut, J. B. « La musique byzantine et le chant liturgique des Grecs modernes,» *Echos d’Orient*, ii (1898).
- Uz, Kazım. *Musiki Istilâhatı (Musical Terms)*, Istanbul, [1310]1894.
- Vasiadis, K. Iroklis. *Λόγος εκφωνηθείς κατ’εντολήν του Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (Speech held upon the demand of the Literary Society)*, (Constantinople: Lazaridou, 1862).
- Vernardakis, Dimitrios. *Λόγος Αυτοσχέδιος περί της Καθ’ήμας Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (Impromptu speech about our ecclesiastical music)*, Trieste, 1876.
- Vincent, A. J. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits relatifs a la musique grecque*, vol.1, Paris, 1847.
- Violakis, Georgios. “Μελέτη Συγκριτική της νυν εν χρήσει μουσικής γραφής προς την του Πέτρου του Πελοποννησίου και προς την αρχαιότεραν γραφήν (Comparative study of the contemporary music notation in relation to that of Petros of Morea and to the older notation)” in *EMS* 1, 1900, pp.28- 53, reprinted Katerini: Tertios, 1991.

Vizantios, Skarlatos. *Κωνσταντινούπολις* (Constantinople) vol.1, Athens: Andreas Koromilas, 1851.

Vizantios, Skarlatos. (*Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις. A topographical, archaeological and historical description of this famous megalopolis and of its outskirts in Bosphorus from ancient times to the present, with various illustrations, topographical and chronological charts for the clarification of Byzantine history*), Athens, 1869.

Yekta, Rauf. “Musique orientale” (Péchrev dans le mode Ouchak; Péchrev dans le mode Paucélik), *La Revue Musicale*, Septieme année, no.8, 15 Avril 1907.

Yekta, Rauf. *Türk Musikisi (Turkish Music)*, İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1986[1921].

Yekta, Rauf. “*Hoca Abdülkadir-i Merâgî*,” İstanbul: Feridiye Matbaası, 1318[1901], republished in *Esatiz-i Elhan*, İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2000.

Zambelios, Spyridon. *Ἀσματα Δημοτικά της Ελλάδος (Demotic Songs of Greece)*, Corfu: Ermis, 1852.

Zografos, Ioannis (of Geyve). *Μουσικόν Ἀπάνθισμα (Music Anthology)*, vol.1, Constantinople: Ἰ Anatoli, 1872.

Zografos, Ioannis (of Geyve). *Μουσικόν Ἀπάνθισμα (Music Anthology)*, vol.2, Constantinople: Ἰ Anatoli, 1873.

III. Secondary Sources

Aksoy, Bülent. *Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Müzik (Ottoman Music through the Eyes of the European Travellers)*, Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2003.

Al- Azmeh, Aziz. *Rome, New Rome and Baghdad: Pathways of Late Antiquity*, Carl Heinrich Becker Lecture of Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Köln: Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, 2008.

Aleksov, Bojan. “Habsburg’s “Colonial Experiment” in Bosnia and Hercegovina revisited,” in *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 133, Schnittstellen Gesellschaft, Nation, Konflikt und Erinnerung in Südosteuropa, Festschrift für Holm Sundhaussen zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ulf Brunnbauer, A. Helmedach, S. Troebst, München, 2007, pp.201- 217.

Aligizakis, Antonis. *Θέματα εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής (Themes of ecclesiastical music)*, Salonica, 1978.

Aligizakis, Antonis. “The Patriarchal Style Hyphos of the Great Church of Constantinople,” in *The Protosaltis of the Holy Great Church of Christ, Iakovos Nafpliotis* [CD-text], Istanbul: Kalan Müzik, 2008, pp.71- 76.

Anagnostopoulou, Sia. *Μικρά Ασία, 19^{ος} αι.-1919, οι ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες*,

Από το Μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος (Asia Minor, The Greek-Orthodox Communities. From Rum Millet to the Hellenic Nation), Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1998.

Anagnostopoulou, Sia. «Église Oecuménique, Église Nationale. Le problème des Rapports entre Religion et Nation dans les Balkans, XIXème début XXème siècles. L'exemple Grec» in *The Passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation-states*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004, pp.57-73.

Anagnostopoulou, Sia. "The Terms Millet, Genos, Ethnos, Oikoumenikotita, Alytrotismos in Greek Historiography" in *The Passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation-states*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004.

Anagnostopoulou, Sia. "The 'nation' of the *Rum* sings of its Sultan: The many faces of Ottomanism", in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

Anastassiadou, Meropi. "Le "Beau Monde" Salonicien Vers 1900 Identité et Modes de Vie," in *Salonique, 1830- 1912: Une ville ottomane à l'âge des Réformes*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 359-381.

Anastassiadou, Meropi. "Sports d'élite et élites sportives à Salonique au tournant du siècle" in *Vivre dans l'Empire Ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)*, ed.by François Georgeon and Paul Dumont, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997, pp.145-160.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983.

Andrianopoulou, Konstantina. *Alexander Mavroyeni Bey: From the 19th century Reform era to the Young Turk Revolution through the life and ideology of a Neophanariot Ottoman Bureaucrat*, master's theses, Boğaziçi University, 2004.

Anestidis, S. Th. "Ιωακείμ ο Γ'. Αρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης (1878-1884, 1901-1912) (Joachim III. Archbishop of Constantinople and Ecumenical Patriarch)" *Δελτίο ΚΜΣ*, vol. 6, Athens, 1986- 1987, pp. 391- 411.

Arpaguş, Faysal. *Malumat Mecmuası'nın 1-500 Sayılarında Yer Alan Türk Musikisi ile İlgili Makaleler* (*The Articles on the Turkish Music Published in the 1-500 Issues of the Journal Malumat*), master's thesis, Marmara University, 2004.

Augustinos, Gerasimos. "Culture and Authenticity in a Small State: Historiography and National Development in Greece," *East European Quarterly* 23 (1989), pp.17- 31.

Augustinos, Gerasimos. *The Greeks of Asia Minor. Confession, community, and ethnicity in the 19th century*, Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1992.

- Avner, Ben-Amos. *Funerals, Politics, and Memory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Baker, K. M. "On the Problem of the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution," in *Inventing the French Revolution: essays on French political culture in the eighteenth century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp.12- 27.
- Balta, Evangelia. "Anadolulu Türkofon Hristiyan Ortodoksların "Ulusal Bilinç"lerini Araştırmaya Yarayan Bir Kaynak Olarak Karamanlıca Kitapların Önsözleri(The prologues of the karamanlidika books as sources for investigating the "national consciousness" of the Turcophone christian orthodox of Anatolia)", *Tarih ve Toplum* 12, 1990.
- Bardakçı, Murat. *Fener Beyleri'ne Türk Şarkıları(Turkish Songs to Phanar Lords)*, Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1993.
- Barth, Fredrick. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, Bergen: Bergen University, 1969.
- Baud-Bovy, Samuel "Bourgault-Ducoudray et la musique grecque ecclésiastique et profane," *Revue de Musicologie*, t.68, no:1/2, (1982), pp. 153- 63.
- Bayly, C. A. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780- 1914. Global Connections and Comparisons*, Malden: Blackwell, 2004.
- Behar, Cem. *Zaman, Mekan, Müzik*, Istanbul: Afa Yayıncılık, 1992.
- Behar, Cem. *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz*, Istanbul: YKY, 1998.
- Behar, Cem. "Türk Musikisinin Tarihinin Kaynaklarından Karamanlıca Yayınlar", *Müteferrika*, (Spring 1994), pp.39- 52.
- Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Bergeron, Katherine. *Decadent Enchantments. The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Bernal, Martin. *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation*, vol. 1, London, 1987.
- Beylérlian, A. "Krikor Odian (1834-1887): Un Haut Fonctionnaire Ottoman Homme des Mission Secrètes," *Revue du Monde Arménien* I (1994), pp.45-86.
- Bhabha, Homi. K. *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge, 1994.
- Bliss, S. L. *Folk song and the Construction of Greek National Music: Writings and*

Compositions of Georgios Lambelet, Manolis Kalomiris, and Yannis Constantinidis, Ph.d diss., University of Maryland, 2001.

Bohlman, P. V. "Composing the Cantorate: Westernizing Europe's Other Within" in *Western music and Its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music*, ed. by G. Born and D. Hesmondhalgh, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Bohlman, P. V. *The Music of European Nationalism. Cultural Identity and Modern History*, California: World Music Series, 2004.

Born Georgina and Hesmondhalgh David (eds.), *Western music and Its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1979.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*, ed.& intro. by Randal Johnson, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.

Braude, Benjamin. "Foundation myths of the millet system," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the functioning of a plural society*, ed. by B. Braude & B. Lewis, New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982, pp. 69- 88.

Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Burke, Peter. *What is Cultural History?*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.

Butt, John. *Playing with History. The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Carabott, Philip. "Politics, Orthodoxy and the Language Question in Greece: The Gospel Riots of November 1901," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3/1 (1993), pp.117- 38.

Centre Historique des Archives Nationales, Ministère de l'Instruction publique Service des Missions, Missions Scientifiques et littéraires en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Inventaire thematique by Nadia Coutsinas under the direction of Armelle Le Goff, Paris, 2006.

Cezar, Mustafa. *Sanatta Batı'ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 2nd ed., 2 vols, 1, Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı, 1995.

Cook, Nicholas. *The Schenker Project. Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Çelik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

- Çetintaş, Burak. “Matbû Güfte Mecmuaları Üzerine bir Deneme (An essay on the published lyric collections),” *Musikişinas* 9, (2007), pp. 41- 55.
- Davison, R. H. “Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century,” *The American Historical Review* 59 (4) (July 1954), pp. 844- 864.
- Davison, R. H. *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856- 1876*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Davison, R. H. “*Millets as Agents of Change in the 19th century Ottoman Empire*,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by. Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis, New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982.
- Deringil, Selim. “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1) (January 1993), pp.3-29.
- Deringil, Selim. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, London: I. B. Tauris, 1998.
- Deringil, Selim. “They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery: The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45 (2) (2003), pp.311-342.
- Dialla, Ada. «Ευαγγελικά και Πανσλαβισμός: Ο Παράδοξος Συσχετισμός; (Evangelika and Panslavism: a paradoxal connection?) », *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο Ευαγγελικά (1901) – Ορεστιακά (1903) Νεωτερικές πιέσεις και κοινωνικές αντιστάσεις*, 2003.
- Dimaras, K. Th. *Ελληνικός Ρομαντισμός (Greek Romanticism)*, Νεοελληνικά Μελετήματα 7, Athens: Hermes, 1982.
- Dimaras, K. Th. *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρριγοπουλος, Η εποχή του, η Ζωή του, το έργο του*, Athens, 1986.
- Dragoumis, Markos. *Ογδόντα Πέντε Δημοτικές Μελωδίες Από τα Κατάλοιπα του Νικόλαου Φαρδύ (Eighty five folk melodies from the leavings of Nikolaos Fardis)*, Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 1991.
- Dragoumis, Markos. “Μια ανέκδοτη συλλογή τραγουδιών του Πέτρου Φιλανθίδη(An unpublished song collection of Petros Filanthidis)” in *Η Παραδοσιακή μας Μουσική* vol.1, Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 2003, pp.29- 36.
- Dragoumis, Markos. «Η Συλλογή Παχτίκου και το πρόβλημα των μουσικών

καταγραφών της,(Pahtikos' collection and the problem of its music recordings)» in *Η Παραδοσιακή μας Μουσική* vol.1, Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 2003, pp.52- 60.

Drosinis, G. *Γεώργιος Νάζος και το Ωδείο Αθηνών*(*Georgios Nazos and the Conservatory of Athens*), Athens, 1938.

Dumont, Paul & Georgeon, François. « Un Bourgeois d'Istanbul au Début du XXe Siècle, » *Turcica* XVII (1985), pp. 127-182.

Dumont, Paul. «La période des Tanzîmât (1839-1878),» in *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman* ed. by. Robert Mantran, Paris: Fayard, 1989, pp.459- 522.

Dumont, Paul. “Le dernier Sursaut (1878- 1908),” in *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman* ed. by. Robert Mantran, Paris: Fayard, 1989, pp. 577-647.

Ehrlich, Cyril. *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, New York: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Eldem, Edhem. “Quelques lettres de Osman Hamdi Bey a son pere lors de son séjour en Irak (1869-1870)”, *Anatolia Moderna* I/1 (1991), pp. 115-136.

Eldem, Edhem. ““Istanbul 1903- 1918: A Quantitative Analysis of A Bourgeoisie,” *Boğaziçi Journal. Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies* 11, *Istanbul Past and Present Special Issue*, (1-2 1997), pp. 53-98.

Eldem, Edhem. “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” in *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir and İstanbul* ed. by E. Eldem, D. Goffman and B. Masters, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 135- 207.

Eldem, Edhem. “Υπογραφές ελλήνων πελατών της Αυτοκρατορικής Οθωμανικής Τράπεζας: ένας μίτος για τις πολιτιστικές επιλογές και συμπεριφορές;” in *Ελλάδα και Τουρκία: Πορείες Εκσυγχρονισμού. Οι Αμφίσημες Σχέσεις τους με την Ευρώπη 1850-1950*, (Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey, encounters with Europe 1850-1950) ed. by Ç. Keyder and A. Frangoudaki, Athens: Alexandreia, 2008, pp. 101-43.

Eldem, Edhem. “[A Quest for] The Bourgeoisie of Istanbul: Identities, Roles and Conflicts,”(forthcoming).

Ellis, Katharine. “Rameau in Late Nineteenth-Century Dijon: Memorial, Festival, Fiasco,” in *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939*, ed. by Barbara L. Kelly, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008, pp. 197-214.

Emery E. & Morowitz L. *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in fin-de-siècle France*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

- Erguner, Süleyman. *Rauf Yektâ Bey. Neyzen, Müzikolog, Bestekâr*(*Rauf Yekta Bey. Nay player, Musicologist, Composer*), Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003.
- Erol, Merih. “Türkçe Matbu Nota ve Solfej Kitabı: Hacı Emin Efendi ve “Nota Muallimi” (1885) (A Music Notation Book in Turkish: Hacı Emin Efendi and the ‘Instructor of Notation’ 1885)”, *Müteferrika*, (Summer 2003), pp.103-140.
- Erol, Merih. “19. Yüzyılda Basılan Karamanlıca Eserler” & “Evangelinos Misailidis” (The *Karamanlidika* works published in the 19th century and Evangelinos Misailidis) *Toplumsal Tarih*, (August 2004), pp. 66-71.
- Erol, Merih. “Musical Association of Constantinople”, in *Encyclopedia of the Hellenic World: Constantinople*, <http://constantinople.ehw.gr>.
- Erol, Merih. “Η Εθνικοποίηση της Μουσικής στην Ελληνορθόδοξη Κοινότητα της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα (Nationalization of music in the Greek orthodox community of Constantinople at the beginning of the 20th century),” unpublished paper.
- Ersoy, Ahmet. “A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* Album,” *Muqarnas* 20, (2003), pp. 187-207.
- Ersoy, Ahmet. “Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period,” *Muqarnas* 24, (2007), pp. 117- 141.
- Exertzoglou, Haris. “Το Προνομιακό Ζήτημα (The Privileges Question),” *Ta Historica* 16, (1992), pp.65- 84.
- Exertzoglou, Haris. “Μετά Μεγάλης Παρατάξεως. Συμβολικές πρακτικές και κοινοτική συγκρότηση στις αστικές ορθόδοξες κοινότητες της ύστερης οθωμανικής περιόδου (With pomp and circumstance: Symbolic practices and social formation in urban orthodox communities of the late Ottoman period),” *Ta Historica* 31, (1999), pp.349- 380.
- Exertzoglou, Haris. «Κοινωνική ιεραρχία, ιδεολογία και εθνική ταυτότητα: το νόημα της ίδρυσης της Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Αδελφότητας ‘Αγαπάτε αλλήλους’ (Social hierarchy, ideology and national identity: the meaning of the foundation of the Educational Brotherhood ‘Agapate Allilous’),” *Ta Historika* 12, vol. 22, (June 1995), pp.85- 118.
- Exertzoglou, Haris. *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο Αι*(*National identity in Constantinople in the 19th century*), Athens: Nefeli, 1996.
- Exertzoglou, Haris. “The Development of a Greek Ottoman Bourgeoisie: Investment Patterns in the Ottoman Empire, 1850-1914” in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century* ed. by Dimitri Gondicas & Charles Issawi, Princeton: Darwin Press, 1999, pp.89-115.

- Exertzoglou, Haris. "Shifting Boundaries: language, community and the "non-Greek speaking Greeks," *Historein*, vol.1, (1999), pp.75- 92.
- Exertzoglou, Haris. "Η συγκρότηση του δημοσίου χώρου στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο αι (The Formation of the Public Space in Constantinople in the 19th century)" in *Ο Έξω Ελληνισμός: Κωνσταντινούπολη και Σμύρνη*, n.p.: Sholi Moraiti, 2000, pp. 15- 36.
- Exertzoglou, Haris. "The cultural uses of consumption: Negotiating class, gender, and nation in the Ottoman urban centers during the 19th century," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 35 (2003), pp.77- 101.
- Faroghi, Suraiya and Adanır, Fikret. "Introduction" in *The Ottomans and the Balkans. A Discussion of Historiography* ed. by F. Adanır and S. Faroghi, Leiden: Brill, 2002, pp.1-55.
- Feldman, Walter. *Music of the Ottoman Court. Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*, Berlin, 1996.
- Filopoulos, Giannis. *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική (Introduction to the Greek Polyphonic Ecclesiastical Music)*, Athens: Nefeli, 1990.
- Filopoulos, Giannis. *Ρωσικές επιδράσεις στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική*, Athens: Nefeli, 1993.
- Findley, Carter. "The Acid Test of Ottomanism. The Acceptance of Non-muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* ed. by. Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis, New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982.
- Formozis, P. E. "Οι Χωροδιακές εκδόσεις της εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής σε Ευρωπαϊκή μουσική γραφή των Ιωάννου Χ. Ν. Χαβιαρά – B. Randhartinger και Ανθίμου Νικολαΐδου – Gottfried Preyer στις δύο ελληνικές εκκλησίες της Βιέννης(Choral versions of ecclesiastical music in European notation of Ioannis H.N. Haviaras- B. Randhartinger and Anthimos Nikolaidis - Gottfried Preyer in two Greek churches of Vienna)", *Stahis* 8/9 (1967), pp. 34- 81.
- Fortna, B. C. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the state, and education in the late Ottoman Empire*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Fortna, B. C. "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman "Secular" Schools," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, (2000), pp.369- 393.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge, 2002.
- Francfort, Didier. *Le Chant des Nations. Musiques et Cultures en Europe, 1870-1914*, Paris: Hachette littératures, 2004.

- Francfort, Didier. «Musiques populaires et musiques savantes: une distinction inopérante?» paper presented at the *Inaugural Conference of the International Society for Cultural History*, Ghent University, 2008.
- Frangakis-Syrett, Elena. "Implementation of the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Convention on Izmir's Trade: European and Minority Merchants", *New Perspectives on Turkey* 7, (Spring 1992), pp.91-112.
- Frazer, Charles. *The Orthodox Church and Independent Greece 1821- 1852*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Frazer, Charles. "Church and State in Greece," in *Greece in Transition Essays in the History of Modern Greece 1821-1974* ed. by John Koumoulides, London, 1977, pp. 128- 52.
- Frierson, E. B. "Unimagined Communities: Women and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire 1876- 1909", *Critical Matrix: The Princeton Journal of Women, Gender, and Culture*, vol. IX, no.2, (1995), pp.55- 90.
- Frith, Simon. "Music and Identity", in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed.by Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay, London: Sage Publications, 1996, pp. 108-127.
- Fuhrmann, Malte. "Cosmopolitan imperialists and the ottoman port cities: conflicting logics in the urban social fabric," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* vol. 67: *Du cosmopolitisme en Méditerranée*, (December 2003).
- Fulcher, J. F. *The Nation's Image. French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Fulcher, J. F. *French Cultural Politics and Music. From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Gazi, Effi. "National ideology, scientific disciplines and intellectual fields in Greece (1880- 1922)," *Südost-Forschungen* (58) (1999), pp.247- 265.
- Gazi, Effi. 'Scientific' National History. *The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850-1920)*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Gazi, Effi. *Ο Δεύτερος Βίος των Τριών Ιεραρχών. Μια Γενεαλογία του «Ελληνοχριστιανικού Πολιτισμού»*, (*The second life of Three Hierarchs. A Genealogy of "Hellenochristian civilisation"*), Athens: Nefeli, 2004.
- Gazi, Effi. "Reading the Ancients: Remnants of Byzantine Controversies in the Greek National Narrative," *Historiein* 6, (2006), pp. 144-49.
- Gedeon, Manouil. *Αποσημειώματα Χρονογράφου*(*Notes of the Chronicler*), Athens, 1932.
- Gedeon, M. I. *Η πνευματική κίνησις του Γένους κατά τον 18^ο και 19^ο αιώνα*(*The*

cultural movement of the genos in the 18th and 19th centuries), prep. by Alkis Angelos and Philippos İlios, Athens: Ermis, 1976.

Gekas, A. S. *The Commercial Bourgeoisie of the Ionian Islands under British rule 1815- 1864. Class formation in a semi-colonial society*, Ph.d diss., University of Essex, 2004.

Gekas, Athanasios. "Compradors to Cosmopolitans? The Historiographical Fortunes of Merchants in East Mediterranean Ports," *EUI Working Papers MWP* 2008/29, 2008.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, 1983.

Georgelin, Hervé. *La fin du Smyrne. Du cosmopolitisme aux nationalismes*, Paris: CNRS, 2005.

Georgelin, Hervé. «Boycottage des non-musulmans à Smyrne et dans le vilayet d'Aydin, d'après les archives diplomatiques,» *Revue du Monde Arménien Moderne et Contemporain*, 4, (1998), pp.7-22.

Georgeon, François and Dumont, Paul (eds.) *Vivre Dans l'Empire Ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIe- XXe siècles)*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997.

Georgeon, François. *Abdulhamid II. Le sultan calife (1876-1909)*, Paris: Fayard, 2003.

Giannakopoulos, G. A. *Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1861-1922). Η Ελληνική παιδεία και επιστήμη ως εθνική πολιτική στην Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (The Greek Literary Society of Constantinople (1861- 1922). Greek education and science as national politics in the Ottoman Empire*, Ph.d diss., Athens, 1998.

Goehr, Lydia. "Writing Music History" *History and Theory*, 31/2 (1992), pp.182-99.

Goffman, Daniel. "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (Fall 1994), pp. 138-158.

Gorog, Lisa de. *From Sibelius to Sallinen. Finnish Nationalism and the Music of Finland*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Gourgouris, Stathis. *Dream Nation. Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, Stanford University Press, 1996.

Göçek, F. M. *Rise of the Bougeoisie, Demise of Empire. Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Gökçen, İlhami. *Rauf Yekta'nın Fransızca Musiki Yazıları (Rauf Yekta's essays on music in French)*, Ankara: Ürün Yayınları, 2007.

- Greene, Molly (ed.) *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Gritsopoulos, T. Ath. "Afthonidai," *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία* (*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*), vol.3, Athens, 1963, pp. 510- 511.
- Gunn, Simon. "Globalising middle classes: Questions and Perspectives," paper presented at Bourgeois Seas Symposium, Florence 19- 20 September 2008.
- Gürçağlar, Ş. T. *The politics and poetics of translation in Turkey 1923- 1960*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008.
- Haldaiakis, A. G. *Η Ψαλτική Τέχνη στην Αίγινα (The Psalting Art in Aegina)*, Athens, 1995.
- Hall, Stuart. "Introduction: Who needs 'Identity'?" in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed.by Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay, London: Sage Publications, 1996.
- Hanioğlu, Şükrü. *The Young Turks in Opposition*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Harrison, C. E. "The Bourgeois after the Bourgeois Revolution. Recent Approaches to the Middle Class in European Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 31 (3) (March 2005), pp. 382- 392.
- Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Hatzigiakoumis, M. K. *Η Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική του Ελληνισμού μετά την Άλωση (The Ecclesiastical Music of Hellenism after the Fall of Constantinople)(1453- 1820)*, Athens: Κέντρον Ερευνών και Εκδόσεων, 1999.
- Hatzipantazis, Theodoros. *Της Ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί(To the Lovers of the Asian Muse)*, Athens, 1986.
- Hatzitheodoros G. "Introduction" in *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν της Βυζαντινής Μουσικής (Great Theory of Byzantine Music)*, Athens: K. Spanos, 1976.
- Hatzigiakoumis, M. K. *Η Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική του Ελληνισμού μετά την Άλωση (1453- 1820)(The Ecclesiastical Music of Hellenism after the Fall of Constantinople)*, Athens: Κέντρον Ερευνών και Εκδόσεων, 1999.
- Hatzigiakoumis, M. K. "Πέτρος Μπερεκέτης," in CD booklet *Μνημεία Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής. 5 &6 Ψάλλοντές σου τον τόκον Πέτρου Μπερεκέτη*, Athens: Κέντρον Ερευνών και Εκδόσεων, 2001.
- Hatziosif, Hristos. «(Εισαγωγή (Introduction))», in *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20^{ου}*

Αιώνα. Οι απαρχές 1900-1922 (prepared by Hr. Hatziiisif), τ. Α1, Athens: Vivliorama, 2000.

Hatzopoulos, Antonios. *Η Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική Παιδεία στην Εκκλησία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατά το 19^ο και 20^ο Αιώνα* (Ecclesiastical music education in the Church of Constantinople in the 19th and 20th centuries), Alexandroupoli, 2001.

Herzfeld, Michael. *Ours once more: folklore, ideology and the making of modern Greece*, New York: Pella, 1986.

Herzfeld, Michael. *Anthropology through the looking-glass. Critical Ethnography in the margins of Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Hitchins, Keith. *Orthodoxy and Nationality. Andreiu Şaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846 -1873*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Hobsbawm E. and Ranger T. (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hobsbawm, Eric. "La middle class anglaise", in *Les Bourgeoisies Européennes au XIX siècle*, Berlin, 1996.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Empire 1875- 1914*, Abacus, 1997.

Hohendahl, Peter. "Jürgen Habermas: "The Public Sphere" (1964)," *New German Critique* 3 (Autumn 1974), pp.45-48.

Holst, Gail. *Road to Rembetika: Music of A Greek Subculture. Songs of Love, Sorrow and Hashish*, Athens, 1975.

Horton, Peter. "Samuel Sebastian Wesley at Leeds: A Victorian Church Musician Reflects on His Craft," *Victorian Studies* 30, no.1 (Autumn 1986), pp. 99-111.

Hroch, Miroslav. *Social Preconditions of national revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Hroch, Miroslav. "From national movement to the fully formed nation: the nation-building process in Europe", *New Left Review* 198 (1993), pp.3-20.

Huebner, Steven. "D'Indy's Beethoven" in *French Music, Culture, and National Identity 1870-1939* ed. by Barbara L. Kelly, University of Rochester Press, 2008, pp. 95- 111.

Hutchinson, John. "Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration" in *Nationalism*

ed.by J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp.122-131.

Iggers, Georg. "Modern Historiography from an Intercultural Global Perspective", in *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* ed. by Gunilla-Friederike Budde, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006, pp. 83- 94.

Ilbert, Robert. "Alexandrie, cosmopolite?" in *Villes ottomanes à la Fin de l'Empire*, ed. by P. Dumont, F. Georgeon, R. Ilbert, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992, pp.171-185.

Ilbert, Robert & Yannakakis, Ilios. *Alexandrie 1860- 1960. Un modèle éphémère de convivialité: communautés et identité cosmopolite*, Paris: Autrement, 1992.

İnalçık, Halil. "The Application of the Tanzimat and Its Social Effects," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 5 (1973), pp.97-128.

Kalomiris, Manolis. *Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου (My Life and My Art)*, Athens, 1988.

Kamarados- Byzantios, G. D. *Βιογραφία Νηλέως Καμαράδου, μουσικοδιδασκάλου (Biography of Music teacher Nileus Kamarados)*, Athens, 1976.

Kanner, Efi. *Φτώχεια και Φιλανθρωπία στην ορθόδοξη κοινότητα της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1753-1912) (Poverty and Philanthropy in the orthodox community of Constantinople (1753-1912)*, Athens: Katarti, 2004.

Kaplan, Ramazan. *Klasikler Tartışması. Başlangıç Dönemi (The Classics Debate. The Initial Period)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 1998.

Karasaki, Lelia. "Λαϊκά Τραγούδια και Χόροι της Σμύρνης(Popular songs and dances of Smyrna)," *Mikrasiatika Hronika* 4, (1948).

Karpat, Kemal. *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, From Millets to Nations*, Princeton: Princeton University, 1973.

Karpat, Kemal. "The roots of the incongruity of nation and state in the post-Ottoman Era," in B. Braude and B. Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a plural society*, New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982, pp. 141-170.

Kasaba R., Keyder Ç., Tabak F., "Port-Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, 1800-1914", *Review*, V. XVI, 4, (Fall 1993), pp. 387-410.

Kasaba, Reşat. "Was there a comprador bourgeoisie in mid-nineteenth century western Anatolia?", *Review* XI, 2, (Spring 1988), pp. 215- 228.

Kasaba, Reşat. "Economic foundations of a civil society: Greeks in the trade of

Western Anatolia 1840-1876” in D. Gontikas & C. Issawi (eds.) *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, Princeton N.J.: Darwin Press, 1999, pp.77-88.

Kasianis, Elef. Th. *Ανδρέας Σπαθάρης. Ο Φαναριώτης Διδάσκαλος του Γένους και Ποιητής* (Andreas Spatharis. *The Phanariot Teacher of the Nation and Poet (1837-1901)*), Athens, 1976.

Kazamias, A. M. *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey*, London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1966.

Kechriotis, Vangelis. “Between professional duty and national fulfillment: the Smyrniot medical doctor Apostolos Psaltoff (1862-1923)” in *Elites urbaines et savoir scientifique dans la société Ottomane (XIX-XX siècles)* ed. by M. Anastassiadou, Paris: IFEA & Maisonneuve et Laroche, 2003, pp. 331- 348.

Kechriotis, V. C. *The Greeks of Izmir at the end of the Empire. A Non-Muslim Ottoman Community Between Autonomy and Patriotism*, Ph.d diss., University of Leiden, 2005.

Kechriotis, Vangelis. « Smyrne Hellène: Communautés dans le panthéon de l'histoire », in Marie-Carmen Smyrnellis (dir.), *Smyrne 1830-1930, De la fortune à l'oubli*, Paris: Autrement, 2006, pp. 63-77.

Kechriotis, Vangelis. “‘Allons enfants de la... ville’: National Celebrations, Political Mobilisation and Urban Space in Izmir at the Turn of the 20th Century” in *Ottoman Izmir: Studies in honour of Alexander H. de Groot* ed. by Maurits H. van den Boogert, Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2007, pp.123-137.

Kechriotis, V. C. “The Modernization of the Empire and the Community ‘Privileges’: Greek-orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies” in *The State and the Subaltern. Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran* ed. by Touraj Atabaki, London: L.B. Tauris, 2007, pp.53- 70.

Kechriotis, Vangelis. “Ρέκβιεμ για την Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (Requiem for the Ottoman Empire),” in *Η Συγκρότηση του Ελληνικού Κράτους*, Athens: Nefeli, 2008.

Kechriotis, Vangelis. “II. Meşrutiyet döneminde, İzmir’de hristiyanlar ve müslümanlar arasında günlük ilişkiler (Everyday relations between Christians and Muslims in Smyrna during the period of Second Constitution),” *Toplumsal Tarih* 184, (April 2009), pp.18- 27.

Kedourie, Elie. *Nationalism*, London: Hutchinson, 1960.

Kelly, B. L. “Introduction: The Roles of Music and Culture in National Identity Formation” in *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939*, ed. by Barbara L. Kelly, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008.

- Kerovpyan, Aram. "Armenia," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, London, 2000.
- Kırılı, Cengiz. "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no.60 (Fall 2001), pp. 125-140.
- Kiriakidis-Nestoros, Alkis. *Η Θεωρία της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας. Κριτική Ανάλυση (The Theory of the Greek Folklore Studies. Critical Analysis)*, Athens: Εταιρεία Σπουδών Νεοελληνικού Πολιτισμού και Γενικής Παιδείας, 1978.
- Kitroeff, Alexander. "Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography," *European History Quarterly* 19 (1989), pp.269- 304.
- Kitroeff, Alexander. "The transformation of homeland-diaspora relations: the Greek case in the 19th-20th centuries", in J. M. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora, from antiquity to modern times*, vol.2, Amsterdam: Gieben, 1991.
- Kitroeff, Alexander. *Wrestling with the Ancients. Modern Greek Identity and the Olympics*, New York: Greekworks, 2004.
- Kitromilides, Pashalis. *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός. Οι πολιτικές και κοινωνικές ιδέες*, Athens, 1999.
- Kleiberg, Stale. "Following Grieg: David Monrad Johansen's Musical Style in the Early Twenties, and His Concept of a National Music", in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800- 1945* ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy, Cork University Press, 2001.
- Knapas, Rainer. "Landscapes of Ideas" in *Nordic Dawn. Modernism's Awakening in Finland 1890-1920*, ed. by Stephan Kojas, Munich: Prestel, 2005, pp.34-50.
- Kocka, Jürgen (ed.). *Arbeiter und Bürger im 19. Jahrhundert*, München: Oldenburg, 1986, pp. 65-74.
- Kocka J. and Frevert U. (eds). *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 1, München (dtv) 1988.
- Kocka, Jürgen. "The Middle Classes in Europe," *The Journal of Modern History*, 67 (4) (December 1995), pp.783- 806.
- Kofos, Evangelos "Patriarch Joachim III (1878- 1884) and the Irredentist Policy of the Greek State", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol.4, (October 1986), pp.107- 20.
- Koglin, Daniel. "Marginality- A Key Concept to Understanding the Resurgence of

- Rebetiko in Turkey”, *Music & Politics* 2, no.1, (Winter 2008).
- Komitas Vardapet, “La Musique Religieuse Arménienne au XIXe Siècle Première Période 1839- 1874”, translated by Leon Ketcheyan (originally publ. in *Ararat* May 1897), in *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 20, (1986- 1987).
- Konortas, Paraskevas. “From Tā’ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox community,” in D. Gonticas & Ch. Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, Princeton, 1999, pp. 169-79.
- Kontos, Demosthenes. *Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and the Emergence of the Idea of a Greek Nation*, Ph.d diss., University of Cincinnati, 1986.
- Koralka, Jiri. “Tschechische Bildungsbürger und Bildungskleinbürger um 1900 (am Beispiel der Südböhmischen Stadt Tabor),“ in *Durch Arbeit, Besitz, Wissen und Gerechtigkeit*, ed. by Hannes Stekl, Peter Urbanitsch, Ernst Bruckmüller, Hans Heiss, Wien: Böhlau, 1992, pp. 210-21.
- Koulouri, Hristina. “Voluntary Associations and New Forms of Sociability: Greek Sport Clubs at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Greek Society in the Making 1863-1913* ed. by Philip Carabott, Kings College London, 1997, pp.145-160.
- Koulouri, Hristina. *Αθλητισμός και όψεις της αστικής κοινωνικότητας γυμναστικά και αθλητικά σωματεία. 1870- 1922*, Athens: Center of Modern Greek Research, 1997.
- Koumbourlis, Giannis. “Όταν οι ιστορικοί μιλούν για τον εαυτό τους: ο ρόλος του εθνικού ιστορικού στους πρωτοπόρους της ελληνικής εθνικής σχολής (When the historians talk about themselves: the role of the national historian in the vanguards of the Greek national school),” *Istoriografia tis Neoteris Elladas*, Athens, 2000.
- Köksal, Yonca. “Imperial center and local groups: Tanzimat reforms in the provinces of Edirne and Ankara”, *New Perspectives on Turkey* 27, (Fall 2002), pp. 107-138.
- Kushner, David. *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, London, 1977.
- Lekkas, D. E. «Η διατονική βάση της Βυζαντινής μουσικής: συστηματική δομική προσέγγιση», *Polyphonia* 8, (Spring 2006), pp. 7- 33.
- Leppert, Richard. “Music, domestic life and cultural chauvinism: images of British subjects at home in India”, in *Music and society, the politics of composition, performance and reception*, ed. by Richard Leppert & Susan McClary, Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp.63- 104.
- Liakos, Antonis. “Η νεοελληνική ιστοριογραφία το τελευταίο τέταρτο του είκοστου

αιώνα (The modern Greek historiography in the last quarter of the 20th century)", *Σύγχρονα Θέματα* 24: 76- 77 (January-July 2001), pp.72- 91.

Liakos, Antonis. "Historical Time and National Space in Modern Greece" in *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe. Past and Present* ed. by H. Tadayuki & F. Hiroshi, Sapporo: Slavic Research Center Hokkaido University, 2007, pp.205- 227.

Liakos, Antonis. *Πώς το παρελθόν γίνεται ιστορία;* (How does the past become history?), 2nd edition, Athens: Polis, 2007.

Liakos, Antonis. "Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space", in *Hellenisms. Culture, Identity and ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. by Katerina Zacharia, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, pp. 201- 236.

Liakos, Antonis. "The Canon of European History and the Conceptual Framework of National Historiographies," in Matthias Middall and Lluís Roura y Aulinas (eds.), *World, Global and European Histories as Challenges to National Representations of the Past*. Series Writing the Nation, vol. 4. Palgrave-MacMillan.

Locke, R. P. "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saens's "Samson et Dalila"," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (3) (November 1991), pp. 261- 302.

Louth, Andrew. *St John Damascene. Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, Oxford Early Christian Studies, 2002.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Makdisi, Usama. "Ottoman Orientalism," *The American Historical Review*, (June 2002), pp. 768-796.

Makridis, Vasileos. "Secularization and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Reign of King George I," in *Greek Society in the Making 1863-1913* ed. by Philip Carabott, London: Kings College, 1997.

Mamoni, Kyriaki. "Σωματειακή Οργάνωση του Ελληνισμού στη Μικρά Ασία (Associative Organization of Hellenism in Asia Minor)," *ΔΙΕΚΕ* 26, Athens, 1983, pp.63- 114.

Mango, Cyril. "The Phanariots and the Byzantine Tradition" in *Byzantium and Its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, London: Variorum, 1984, [first publ. in *The Struggle for Greek Independence* ed. R. Clogg, London, 1973].

Mango, Cyril. "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism" in *Byzantium and Its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, London, 1984.

- Mardin, Şerif. *The Genesis of the Young Ottoman Thought. A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, Princeton, 1962.
- Mardin, Şerif. *Jön Türklerin Siyasi fikirleri 1895- 1908*, İstanbul: İletişim yayınları, 1983.
- Matalas, Paraskevas. *Έθνος και Ορθοδοξία. Οι περιπέτειες μιας σχέσης. Από το «ελλαδικό» στο βουλγαρικό σχίσμα (Nation and Orthodoxy)*, Crete: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2002.
- Middleton, Richard. “Musical Belongings: Western Music and Its Low-Other” in *Western music and Its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music*, ed. by Georgina Born and D. Hesmondhalgh, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Milioris, N. E. “Ο Σύλλογος των Μικρασιάτων η «Ανατολή»”, *Mikrasiatika Hronika* 12, (1965), pp. 337- 367.
- Morgan, Prys. “From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period”, in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Motsenigos, Spyros. *Νεοελληνική Μουσική. Συμβολή εις την Ιστορίαν της (Modern Greek Music. Contribution to its history)*, Athens, 1958.
- Neumann, Christoph. “Bad Times and Better Self. Definitions of Identity and Strategies for Development in Late Ottoman Historiography (1850-1900),” in *The Ottomans and The Balkans* ed. by F. Adanır and S. Faroqhi, Leiden: Brill, 2002, pp.57-78.
- Neumann, Christoph. “Marjinal Modernitenin Çatışma Mekânı Olarak Altıncı Daire-i Belediye”, in *Altıncı Daire – İlk Belediye Beyoğlu’nda İdare, Toplum ve Kentlilik, 1857- 1913*, İstanbul: Bilgi University, 2004.
- Ortaylı, İlber. *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1983.
- Ozil, Ayşe. *Education in the Greek Orthodox Community of Pera in 19th century İstanbul*, Ph.d diss., Boğaziçi University, 2001.
- Özbek, Nadir. “Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime 1876- 1909,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 37 (2005), pp.59- 81.
- Öztuna, Yılmaz. *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi*, MEB Devlet Kitapları, 1969, pp.463-464.
- Papanikolaos, Dimitris. *Singing Poets: Literature and Popular Music in France and Greece*, London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2007.
- Papoulia, F. M. “Die “neue Geschichtsschreibung” in Griechenland,” *Jahrbücher für*

Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas 2 (2000).

Papoulidis, Konstantinos *To Ρωσικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1894- 1914), (The Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople)*, Salonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1987.

Pappas, N. G. “Concepts of Greekness: The Recorded Music of Anatolian Greeks after 1922”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 17 (1999), pp. 353-373.

Patrikiou-Stavridi, Rena. (ed.by) *Δημοτικισμός και κοινωνικό πρόβλημα (Demoticism and social question)*, Athens: Ermis, 1976.

Payton, J. R. “John of Damascus on Human Cognition: An Element in His Apologetic for Icons”, *Church History* 65 (1996), pp. 173-183.

Peckham, R. S. *National Histories, Natural States. Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2001.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. *L’Esprit du Christianisme Oriental 600-1700*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1994.

Pennanen, R. P. “The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece,” *Ethnomusicology* 48/1 (2004), pp. 1- 25.

Pesmazoglou, Stephanos. “Skarlatos Vyzantios’s *Konstantinoupolis*: Difference and Fusion,” in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

Petropoulou, Ioanna. “Changing Frames of Historiography: Cappadocian Stories,” *Historein* 4 (2003-4), pp. 206- 13.

Philliou, Christine. *Worlds, old and new: Phanariot Networks and the Re-making of Ottoman Governance, 1800-1850*, Ph.d diss., University of Princeton, 2004.

Pilbeam, Pamela. *The middle classes in Europe 1789- 1914: France, Germany, Italy and Russia*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990.

Plemmenos, Giannis. *Το μουσικό πορτρέτο του νεοελληνικού διαφωτισμού (The musical portrait of Modern Greek Enlightenment)*, Athens: Psifida, 2003.

Politis, Alexis. *Ανακάλυψη των Ελληνικών Δημοτικών Τραγουδιών (Discovery of Greek Folk Songs)*, Athens: Themelio, 1984.

Politis, Alexis. *Ρωμαντικά Χρονιά. Ιδεολογίες και Νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830- 1880 (Romantic Years. Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece of 1830- 1880)*, Athens: EMNE, 1993.

Popescu-Judet, Eugenia. *Prince Dimitrie Cantemir. Theorist and Composer of Turkish Music*, Istanbul: Pan Yayincılık, 1999.

- Popescu-Judet, Eugenia. *Tanburî Küçük Artın. A Musical Treatise of the Eighteenth Century*, Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2002.
- Renieri, Irini. "Household Formation in 19th Century Central Anatolia: The Case Study of a Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian Community" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34 (3) (August 2002), pp. 495-517.
- Romanou, Kaiti. "Η Μεταρρύθμιση του 1814", *Musicology* 1 (1985), pp.7- 22.
- Romanou, Kaiti. "Keyboards for the eight echoi," *Mousicologia* 7-8, (1989), pp.17- 46.
- Romanou, Kaiti. *Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησης 1901- 1912 (Wandering in the National Music 1901-1912)*, Athens: Kouloura, 1996.
- Romanou, Kaiti. "Η Μουσική 1871- 1909. Από την Παράδοση στο Αστικό Πρότυπο (Music 1871- 1909. From Tradition to the Urban Exemplar)" in *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού 1770- 2000*, vol. 5, Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2003.
- Romanou, Kaiti. "Οι Δυτικοί Φίλοι, Τα Δυτικά Φώτα και Η Ελληνική Μουσική(The western friends, the western light and the Greek Music)," in *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους (The Modern Greek Art Music)*, Athens: Kouloura, 2006.
- Romanou, Kaiti. *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους (The Modern Greek Art Music)*, Athens: Kouloura, 2006.
- Romanou, Kaiti. "Εκδόσεις συλλογών της μουσικής του ελληνικού λαού (1830-1930)," unpublished paper.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.
- Sandi-Zayek, Sibel. "Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth-Century Izmir," in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, ed. by N. Alsayyad, Westport: Praeger, 2001, pp. 42-66.
- Seirinidou, Vasiliki, «Κοσμοπολιτισμός, Μοναρχία και πολυεθνική πραγματικότητα. Η Βιέννη των Ελλήνων και του Ρήγα(Cosmopolitanism, Monarchy and multiethnic reality. Vienna of the Greeks and of Rigas)», *Mnimon* 21 (1999), pp.189- 200.
- Seroussi, Edwin. *Mizimrat Qedem. The Life and Music of R. Isaak Algazi from Turkey*, Jerusalem: Institute for Jewish Music, 1989.
- Sideri, Maria. *(Associations as bearers of Greek nationalist ideology at the end of*

19th and beginning of 20th century. The case of the Asia Minor Association 'East' and the formation of Greek national ideology in the communities of Asia Minor), Ph.d diss., University of Aegean, 2003.

Skopetea, Elli. *To «Πρότυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα (The Model Kingdom and the Great Idea. Aspects of the National Question in Greece)*, Athens: Themelio, 1988.

Skopetea, Elli. *Η Δύση της Ανατολής (Orient's West: Last Images of the Ottoman Empire)*, Athens: Gnossi, 1992.

Skopetea, Elli. "Οι Έλληνες και οι εχθροί τους (The Greeks and their enemies)," in *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20^{ου} αιώνα (History of Greece in the 20th Century)*, Athens: Vivliorama, 1999, pp.10-35.

Smith, A. D. *The Ethnic Revival*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Smith, A. D. "Ethnic myths and ethnic revivals", *European Journal of Sociology* 25 (1984).

Smith, A. D. *National Identity*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991.

Smith, A. D. "The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal," in *Myths and Nationhood*, ed.by Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin, New York: Routledge, 1997.

Smith, A. D. *The Nation in History. Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000.

Solomonidis, Hristos. *Μνήμη Σμύρνης (Commemoration of Smyrna)*, *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά (Asia Minor Chronicles)*, 11, 1964.

Solomonidis H. S. and Lorentis N. Em. *Πανιώνιος Γυμναστικός Σύλλογος (Sporting Club 'Panionios')*, Athens: Panionios GSS, 1967.

Somel, S. A. *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*, Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Stamatopoulos, Dimitrios. "Orthodoxy versus Nationalism: the Condemnation of the Ethnophyletism in the historical context of interest groups' conflicts and hegemonic strategies in the Greek-Orthodox Community of Istanbul, 1856-1876," unpublished paper.

Stamatopoulos, Dimitrios. *Μεταρρύθμιση και Εκκοσμίκευση. Προς μια ανασύνθεση της ιστορίας του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου τον 19^ο αιώνα (Reform and Secularization: Towards a Reconstruction of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate)*, Athens: Alexandria, 2003.

Stamatopoulos, Dimitrios. "Ecumenical Ideology in the Rum Millet (19th-20th c.)",

in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean* ed. by Vangelis Kechriotis and Lorans Baruh [forthcoming].

Stamatopoulos, Dimitrios. «Τα όρια της «μέσης οδού» Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και Γλωσσικό Ζήτημα στις αρχές του 20^{ου} αιώνα (The limits of “middle way”. Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Language Question at the beginning of the 20th century)», *Ευρωπαϊκή Εταιρία Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών*.

Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou, H. *Το Ελληνικό Θέατρο στην Κωνσταντινούπολη το 19^ο αιώνα* (*The Greek Theater in Constantinople in the 19th Century*), τ.Β' Παραστάσεις, Athens: Νέος Κύκλος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών, 1996.

Stanley, Sadie (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, vol.3, London, 1980, pp.110-11.

Stathis, Gregorios. “Πέτρος Λαμπαδάριος ο από Λακεδαίμονος (Petros the Lambadarios from Lakedaimon)” in *Λακωνικά Σπουδαί* (Laconic Studies) 7, Athens, 1983, pp. 108- 125.

Stavros, Giannis. «Τραγούδια που διδάχτηκαν στα ελληνικά σχολεία κατά τον 19^ο αιώνα (Songs which were taught in the Greek schools in the 19th century)», *Poliphonia* 7 (Autumn 2005).

Stavrou, Tatiana. *Ο εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*, Athens: Filopoulos, 1967.

St. John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images*, trans. David Anderson, Crestwood, NY, 1980.

Stokes, Martin. *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, 1992.

Stokes, Martin. “Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music” in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music. The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. by Martin Stokes, Oxford: Berg, 1994.

Stokes, Martin. “East, West, and Arabesk”, in *Western Music and Its Others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music*, ed. by G. Born and D. Hesmondhalgh, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Strasser, Michael. *Ars Gallica: the Société Nationale de Musique and its Role in French Musical Life, 1871-1891*, Ann Arbor: UMI, 2000.

Strasser, Michael. “The Société Nationale and its Adversaries: The musical politics of L’Invasion germanique in the 1870s”, *19th-century Music*, 24 (3), (Spring 2001), pp. 225-251.

Strauss, Johann. “The Greek Connection in 19th century Ottoman Intellectual

- History” in *Greece and the Balkans*, ed. by D. Tziovas, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, pp. 47-67.
- Tahmizian, N. « Les Anciens Manuscrits Musicaux Arméniens et les Questions Relatives a Leur Déchiffrement », *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* (7) 1970.
- Tahmizian, N. K. *The Life and Work of Dikran Tchouhadjian*, California: Drazark Press, 2001.
- Tekeli, İlhan. “Nineteenth century transformation of Istanbul metropolitan area,” *Villes Ottomanes a la Fin de l’Empire* ed.by Dumont & Georgeon, Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992, pp.33- 47.
- Terzopoulos, Konstantinos. *Ο Πρωτοψάλτης της Μεγάλης του Χριστού Εκκλησίας, Κωνσταντίνος Βυζάντιος και η Συμβολή του στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη (The First-cantor of the Great Church of Christ, Konstantinos Byzantios and his Contribution to the Art of Chanting)*, Athens, 2004.
- Terzopoulos, Konstantinos. “Observations on the exegetic notation through the prism of the ms exegesis of the protopsaltes of the Great Church, Konstantinos Vizantios: An Example”, *The 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus*, Hungary August 2004.
- Tromboukis, Konstantinos. *Η Ελληνική Ιατρική Στην Κωνσταντινούπολη 1856-1923(The Greek Medicine in Constantinople)*, Athens: Σύνδεσμος των εν Αθήναις Μεγαλοσχιτών, 2000.
- Tsoukalas, Constantine. “The Irony of Symbolic Reciprocities – The Greek Meaning of ‘Europe’ as a Historical Inversion of the European Meaning of ‘Greece’,” in *The Meaning of Europe. Variety and Contention within and among Nations*, ed. by. Mikael af Malmberg and Bo Strath, Oxford: Berg, 2002, pp. 27-51.
- Ünlü, Cemal. *Git zaman gel zaman. Fonograf-gramofon-taş plak*, İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2004.
- Van den Toorn, P. C. *Music, Politics, and the Academy*, University of California Press, 1995.
- Vartan Paşa, *Akabi hikayesi. İlk Türkçe roman (1851)* ed. by. Andreas Tietze, İstanbul, 1991.
- Wagner, W. G. “Ideology, identity, and the emergence of a middle class,” in *Between Tsar and People. Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. by Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow, James L. West, Princeton University Press, 1991, pp.149- 163.
- Watenpaugh, Keith. *Being modern in the Middle East. Revolution, nationalism,*

- colonialism, and the Arab middle class*, Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Weber, Eugen. *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Wellesz, Egon. *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, second edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
- Xanatalos, Diogenis. "The Greeks and the Turks on the eve of the Balkan wars", *Balkan Studies* 3, (1962), pp. 277-295.
- Zarifis, G. L. *Οι αναμνήσεις μου. Ένας κόσμος που έφυγε Κωνσταντινούπολη 1800-1920 (My memoirs. A world that vanished, Constantinople 1800-1920)*, Athens: Trohalia, 2002.
- Zelevos, Ioannis. *Rebetiko. Die Karriere einer Subkultur*, Köln: Romiosini, 2001.
- Zürcher, E. J. *The Unionist Factor. The role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*, Leiden, 1984.