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Epistemic Transmission and Originality in Greek-Karamanlidika Publications Related to *Makam* Music in 19th-Century Istanbul[1]

ABSTRACT
Ottoman Istanbul retained its position as the cultural center of the Greek community for centuries. During this period, Greeks interacted with multicultural societies in the city. Their musical culture and interests were also influenced by social interactions. As a result, they recorded some Ottoman musical pieces in various manuscripts from the 16th to the 20th centuries. In the 19th century Greek musicians, mainly cantors, started to publish a series of works on Ottoman repertoire and theory. First, *Euterpi* (1830) was published in Istanbul. Then a number of publications emerged prior to 1909, at which point *O Rithmographos*, the last theoretical work of the time, was published. At that time, both the reform of the Orthodox Church (1814) under the influence of modernism and the spread of the printing press facilitated the distribution of such books. In order to write *makam* music with an efficient technique, they drew upon some theoretical principles from European, Ottoman and church music alike. Since these theoretical adaptations were the result of both technical needs and cultural tendencies, the Greeks cultivated an epistemic originality in terms of *makam* theory and its history. Moreover, this was the reason that a symbiotic knowledge emerged, drawing upon the aforementioned sources. This study aims to demonstrate both the symbiosis and the originality by examining the musical knowledge embedded in Greek-Karamanlidika publications. The sources will be evaluated in terms of notation, terminology, theory (*makam* and *usûl*), repertoire and historical understanding of the *makam* tradition. The aim of the study is to carry out musicological research on those publications in light of the multicultural character of 19th-century Istanbul.

KEYWORDS
Greek-Karamanlidika Publications
Makam Music
Epistemic Transmission
Originality

[1] This paper re-evaluates some of the data obtained for the PhD thesis of the first author. A brief summary of the study was presented at the IMS2022 Congress in Athens by the first author. See https://pcoconvin.eventsair.com/ims22/program.

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Introduction

In an attempt to understand musical relations in the Ottoman Empire, studies have always drawn attention to historical centers where musicians have come together from different cultural backgrounds (Poulos, 2019). However, in order to engage in historical research, no less fruitful approach is to examine notated sources and theoretical works, even though these are limited in the literature of Ottoman-Turkish music. In this context, it is undeniable that Greek-Karamanlidika sources are historically the oldest and the most diverse to date. That was also the main reason that we started to conduct research on 19th-century Greek-Karamanlidika publications. After the initial analysis, we observed that there is an epistemic symbiosis and originality in the content of these publications. Nevertheless, it is clear that the outcomes did not just result from a multicultural society, but that there are also ideological and historical issues to be addressed. First of all, Greeks were influenced since the late 18th century by the ideas of the Enlightenment, and were inclined to study Western sources. Erol and Olley draw attention to this topic from different perspectives and they reveal how Ottoman Greeks conceived music theory and drew upon Ancient Greek terminology in their publications (Erol, 2009; Olley, 2017: 116-134). Likewise, Romanou mentions that Chrysanthos wrote *Mega Theoretikon* (the 'Great Book of Theory' of Greek Orthodox music) under the influence of Ancient Greek and European sources (2010: 18-25). As a consequence, "Chrysanthos aimed to introduce Western music science to Greek musicians" because of ideological and technical needs (Romanou, 2010: 19). For this reason, he even wrote the chapter titles of the Great Book in line with European sources. This was also a result of the influence on historiography of debates on national identity in the 19th century. Albeit controversially, the Greeks believed that the genesis of Eastern and Western music alike was the music of Ancient Greece. Thus, this idea might have brought cultural legitimacy to their publications related to *makam* music. As a result, Greek musicians made references to Byzantine[2], Ancient Greek, European and Ottoman sources and those

[2] Greek ecclesiastical music flourished basically in Istanbul which has been the most important city of Orthodox culture since the Byzantine period. For this reason, the term 'Byzantine music' is sometimes preferred instead of 'Greek ecclesiastical music' in current studies. See Kalaitzidis & Apostolopoulos, 2015.

references were considered a legitimate tool to write about Ottoman-Turkish music. Moreover, in preparing a series of works, they also developed their own terminology and theoretical perspective. In this respect, before evaluating Greek-Karamanlidika texts, we should make a close scrutiny of the sources.

The Definition of Greek-Karamanlidika Musical Sources in Ottoman Historiography

As present-day cultural studies remind us, it is obvious that to claim homogeneity is to participate in an ideological or political discourse (Bhabha, 1994). Likewise, the episteme constituting written sources cannot be seen as homogeneous in a historical context. Indeed, there is a considerable variety of written sources regardless of their historical chronology and genre in Ottoman music. Many musicians contributed to the production of *makam* musical sources written in Armenian, Greek, Turkish, Arabic and Persian, and they achieved epistemic originality by using multicultural elements in theoretical writings. In the same way, Greek-Karamanlidika sources are generally titled as either Ottoman, or Rum and Greek musical sources in the literature of *makam* music. From the perspective of researchers, those definitions attract attention not only to the language of the books but also to the cultural codes of the publications' content in general. But these definitions are still not adequate as a description of the content, as the sources include a variety of cultural codes and each has its own characteristics[3]. The influence of European culture brought by Greek intellectuals, the local culture of the Rum community and the Islamic tradition also shaped this writing culture technically and musically. Therefore, it is possible to speak about an original multiculturality referring to a Greek writing-publishing culture in general (see. Şahin and Güray, 2021).

Greek-Karamanlidika Musical Publications in 19th-Century Istanbul

Istanbul has been the center of Greek Orthodox culture since the Byzantine period. Istanbulite Greeks, one of the oldest communities in the city, are considered mediators of the Orthodox tradition in classical historiography, but current

[3] The 19th-century publications are complex cultural formations consisting of Turkish (in Greek alphabet known as Karamanlidika) and Greek texts. This is why the authors prefer to define publications as 'Greek-Karamanlidika' instead of only Greek or Karamanlidika.

academic studies demonstrate that they also ensured the written transmission of Ottoman music (Kalaitzidis and Apostolopoulos, 2015; Kalaitzidis, 2012). Firstly, it should be known that Greeks had quite a traditional and archaic musical system in terms of notation. While the use of notation had not become widespread in Turkish sources yet, Ottoman Greeks were using Byzantine notation to write Ottoman-Turkish music known as *Arabopersiki* or *Exoteriki* in these sources[4]. They also made significant studies in music theory. The first systematic texts of *makam* music started with Panagiotis Chalatzoglou's theoretical work in the 18th century (see Table 1). Nonetheless, Greek musicians started to write Ottoman pieces in the 16th century. More importantly, the oldest examples of those pieces can be dated back to the same era[5]. Below, we can see two examples of secular pieces available in Istanbul-based manuscripts from the period known as Post-Byzantine (see Figures 1 and 2). Many of them were transcribed by church musicians, including Petros Peloponnesios and Grigorios Protopsaltis. These manuscripts have also been unearthed in recent studies (Kalaitzidis, 2012).

[4] Before the 19th century, Ottoman music had been called either Arab-Persian (*Arabopersiki*) or external (*Exoteriki*) (Kalaitzidis, 2012: 181). While external (*Exoteriki*) also describes Greek secular music, *Arabopersiki* must have directly described *makam* music in historical perspective. However, Ottoman (*Othomaniki*), Asian (*Asiathiki*) and Turkish (*Tourkiki*) were also other terms to define *makam* music in the 19th century. Since the last quarter of the 19th century, Greek musicians must have been aware of the necessity to stress the differences of Ottoman music from the Persian and Arab traditions. Especially Kyriazidis refers to the distinctive characteristics of Arab and Turkish music in terms of form and style (1909: 36).

[5] One of the oldest secular pieces described as *Persian tasnif* is thought to belong to Abdulkadir Maraghi. Yet there is no certain information in the earliest sources. It is only known that the transcription dates back to the 16th century (Kalaitzidis, 2012: 38, 343).

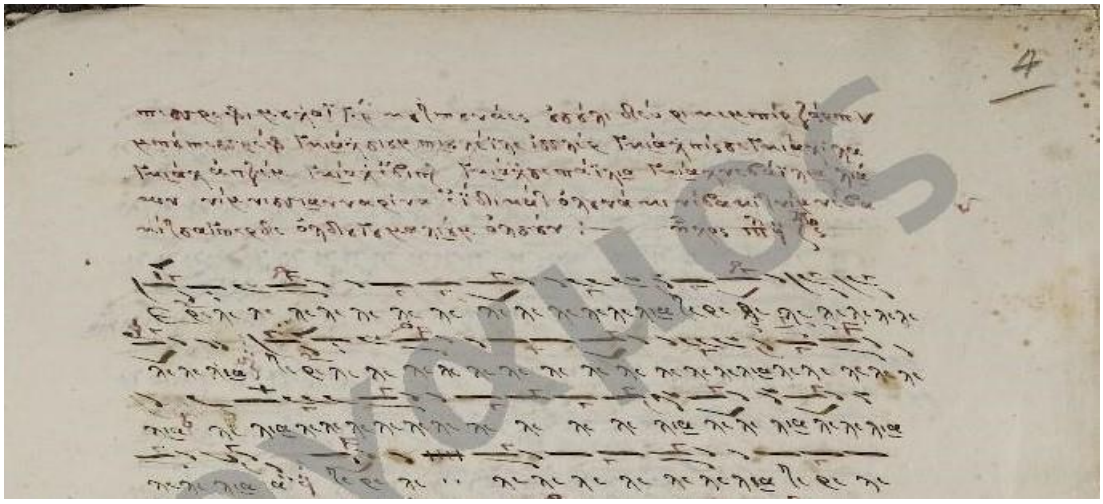

Figure 1. *Peşref Muhaiyi* [*Muhayyer*] echos pl. a' Terilelele (19th c.)[6]

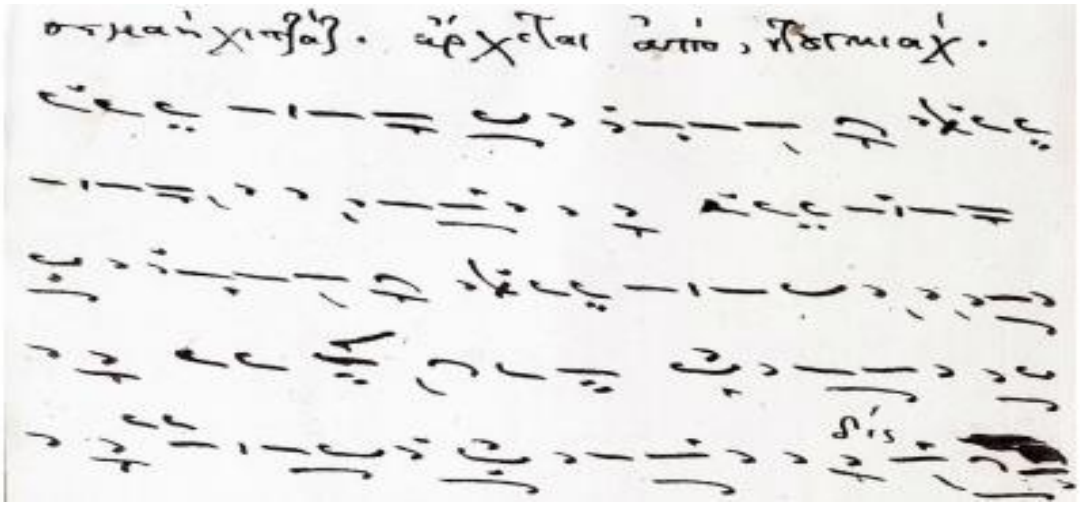

Figure 2. *Hicaz Saz Semâî*-18th c. (Apostolopoulos and Kalaitzidis, 2019: 134)[7]

Besides these manuscripts, other publishing activities related to *makam* music began in 19th-century Istanbul[8] (Table 1). Various books such as *Euterpi (1830),* the first publication containing Turkish songs, *Methodiki Didaskalia (1881),* the theoretical work explaining *makam*s and *usûl*s, pioneered the systematization of transcribing Ottoman-Turkish music in Greek sources. Indeed, it is noticeable that

[6] Transcriber: Gregorios Protopsaltes, Original Title: *Pesrefia* [*Πεσρέφ μουχαϊγί ήχος πλ. α' Τεριλελελε*], 19th c., Document Number: 2/59A, Folio Number: 3b-4a, p. 5. https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoa/dl/frontend/el/browse/109426#fields

[7] Original Source: "Plate 4. LKP (dossier) 60, 21r (18th c.): *Hicâz* [*Saz*] *Semâî*, echos plagal II. Scribe: Petros Peloponnesios" (Apostolopoulos and Kalaitzidis, 2019: 134).

[8] Despite a few of the 19th-century Greek-Karamanlidika sources published in Athens, we can say that this writing-publishing culture flourished in Istanbul. Almost all the musicians and theoreticians who were interested in *makam* music and published some works were generally educated in this city. Therefore, we use the term "Istanbul based-publications" in this study.

the expansion of the printing press and the musical reforms of the Orthodox church (1814) are the basic reasons contributing to publishing activities. With the *Tanzimat*, which legislated for equal social and cultural rights in Ottoman society, the cultural activities of the Greeks also increased in public areas (Romanou & Barbaki, 2011). Thus, the Greeks had dominated publishing activities before the Turks started using the printing press extensively (Pektaş, 2015). Consequently, Turkish songs and *makam* theory became a part of Greek publishing culture earlier than Turkish publishing culture during the 19th century. Furthermore, even though the books were published only for education-training purposes or as collections of popular repertoire, it is reasonable to ask whether there might have been other historical reasons related to ideological, hierarchical, or economic issues in the musical circles of the Greek Orthodox community (See Behar, 2008: 250-251). In particular, Kalaitzidis describes such publications as an outcome of the aesthetic tastes of upper-class Greeks and cantors (2012:166-167).

Table 1. Greek-Karamanlidika Music Publications in the 19th Century

Repertoire Collections	***Ευτέρπη/Euterpi*,** 1830, Theodoros Papa-paraschou Phokaeus/Stavrakis Vyzantios, Istanbul
	***Πανδώρα/Pandora*,** 1843/1846, Theodoros Papa-paraschou Phokaeus, Istanbul
	***Αρμονία/Armonia*,** 1848, Sotirios Vlachopoulos, Istanbul
	***(Μουσικὸν) Απάνθισμα ή Μεδζμουαΐ Μακαμάτ/(Music) Anthology or Mecmua-i Makamat*,** 1856/1872, Ioannis Zographos (Geyveli), Istanbul
	***Καλλίφωνος Σειρήν/Kalliphonos Seirin*,** 1859/1888, Panagiotis Georgiadis Kiltzanidis, Istanbul
	***Λεσβία Σαπφώ/Lesvia Sappho*,** 1870, Nikolaos Vlachakis/Stavrakis A. Anagnostis, Athens
	***Ηδύφθογγος Αηδών/Idiphthongos Aidon*,** 1870, D. Kanoni Voulgaris, Istanbul
	***Συλλογή Έθνικών Ασμάτων/The Collection of National Songs*,** 1880, Antonios Sigalas, Athens
	***Μουσικὸν Ημερολόγιον του Βισέκτου έτους 1896/ The Music Calendar of the Intercalary Year 1896* (Unfinished Handwritten Work),** 1896, Constantinos A. Psachos, Istanbul (First edition, 2016, Athens)
	***Ασίας Λύρα/Asian Lyre*,** 1908, Constantinos A. Psachos, Athens
	***Ο Ρυθμογράφος/The Rhythmographer*,** 1909, Agathangelos Kyriazidis, Istanbul
Theoretical Publications	***Ερμηνεία της Εξωτερικής Μουσικής/Explanation of External (Secular) Music*,** 1843, Stephanos Domestikos/Constantinos Protopsaltis, Istanbul
	***Μεθοδική Διδασκαλία/Methodical Teaching*,** 1881, Panagiotis Georgiadis Kiltzanidis, Istanbul
	***Σύγκρισις της Αραβοπερσικής μουσικής πρός την ημετέραν εκκλησιαστικήν/Comparison of Arab-Persian Music with Our Ecclesiastical Music*,** 1728, Panagiotis Chalatzoglou (Ekklisiastiki Alitheia, 1900, Istanbul)[9]
	***Εισαγωγή Μουσικής/Introduction to Music* (Manuscript),** 1749, Kyrillos Marmarinos[10]
	***Μουσική Τεχνολογία/Technology of Music* (Manuscript),** 1790-1840, Apostolos Constas[11]
	***Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής/Great Theory of Music*,** 1832, Chrysanthos of Madytos, Trieste
	***Κρηπίς/Kripis*,** 1875, Stephanos Lambadarios, Istanbul[12]

[9] It was later published in *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* by Iakovos Nafpliotis. See Panagiotis Chalatzoglou, "Σύγκρισις της Αραβοπερσικής μουσικής προς την ημέτεραν εκκλησιαστικήν ύπο Παναγιώτου Χαλάτζογλου", *Parartima Ekklisiasthikis Alitheias 2*, (June 1900), Istanbul: Patriarchal Printing Press, pp. 68-75.

[10] The theoretical texts form the third part of the manuscript under the title "The most elementary teaching about external music" [Στοιχειωδεστέρα διδασκαλία περί της έξω μουσικής] (Popescu Judetz and Sirli, 2000: 18).

[11] Apostolos Constas taught Byzantine music in comparison with *makam* theory, unlike other theoreticians who teach Ottoman music in comparison with the theory of Byzantine music. That is the reason his work is on the list. See Pappas, 2007.

[12] This theoretical book includes an additional part depicting comparative explanations of *makam*s with their analogous Byzantine echoi (Stephanos Lambadarios, 1875: 50-82).

Musicians and the Greek Community

Greek-Karamanlidika publications were mainly pioneered by cantors, many of whom were educated in the Greek Orthodox churches of Istanbul and knew *makam* music. In fact, the number of cantors transcribing the repertoire of Ottoman-Turkish music might have extended beyond the Greek musicians educated in the Ottoman palace. Many cantors like Panagiotis Chalatzoglou, Kyrillos Marmarinos, Petros Peloponnnesios, Chrysanthos, Grigorios, Theodoros Papa-paraschou (Phokaeus), Ioannis Zographos (Geyveli), Apostolos Constas, Panagiotis Kiltzanidis, Efstratios Papadopoulos, Giorgos Violakis and Constantinos Psachos learnt *makam* music in the *meşk* system of Ottoman musicians or Greek music circles. Many other cantors such as Thrasyvoulos Stanitsas and Leonidas Asteris also went on practicing the predominantly vocal repertoire of Turkish makam music in the 20th century.

Even though the musical reforms of the Orthodox church simplified notation, Greek musicians were more conservative when they wrote liturgical pieces of church music. To put it differently, they developed a more independent and creative style for Ottoman-Turkish pieces. To illustrate, Petros Peloponnesios is known as a remarkable figure who wrote many Turkish pieces, and even brought stylistic elements of Ottoman music to Orthodox church music (Papadopoulos, 1890: 318-324). Petros was also a prominent transcriber of the secular repertoire known as *Phanariotika* in the 18th century. According to Plemmenos, these 'Phanariot songs' were an aesthetic encounter of Ottoman music with Greek poetry (2010: 131-141; also see Kalaitzidis, 2012: 173, 247, 253). Moreover, this repertoire was demanded not only in Istanbul but also in Romania where the Phanariot Greeks had leading roles in Ottoman diplomacy (Kalaitzidis, 2012: 158). On the other hand, 19th-century publications must have been demanded by Greek musicians who were interested in *makam* music. In order to explain this phenomenon, Kalaitzidis introduces a more significant discourse, drawing attention to the fact that *makam* music and its sources became a special tool for education since *Euterpi (1830)*, which is the first collection of the century (2012: 167-170). As Kalaitzidis mentions, Greek musical associations (known as *syllogoi* in Greek) were active in the second half of the 19th century and they promoted the

learning of secular music and the use of notation. Besides, the musicians of the Orthodox church became significant contributors to the teaching of *makam* music in education. To illustrate, Phokaeus, who published *Euterpi* (1830) and P*andora* (1843/1846), stated that he used to give both ecclesiastical and external music lessons (Kalaitzidis, 2012: 167). In this context, musicians must have admitted that *makam* music, called 'fraternal art', was an educational tool in Byzantine music (Chatzopoulos, 2000: 20). Since they believed that Ottoman-Turkish and Greek music come from the same origin, church musicians might have been inclined to learn *makam* music in some detail.

Original Sources of Musical Knowledge in the Publications

Even though some theorists did not indicate their sources, it is observed that some prototypical works form the content of the books in general. Prior to elaborating on this, we should note that Greek-Karamanlidika publications can contain three types of information related to Ottoman music: theoretical writings, repertoire and informative or interpretive texts. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that some publications were not prepared directly for Ottoman music but for Byzantine music. Ottoman music constitutes only one part of the content in such publications (see Table 1). In particular, Chrysanthos, one of the 'three teachers' introducing the New Method of analytical notation in church music, wrote the chapter "List of Ottoman Rhythms", in which he describes basic *usûl*s (rhythms) in Ottoman music (1832: 79-80)[13].

As to theoretical writings, it is clear that the knowledge of *makam* music was initially adapted from the books known as *Edvar*. Afterwards, some writers continued to transmit the aforementioned knowledge identically from antecedent Greek sources. For example, *Ermineia tis Exoterikis Mousikis* is a reproduced adaptation of Marmarinos' manuscript (Popescu Judetz and Sirli, 2000: 19). Ioannis Zographos (Geyveli) also wrote a theoretical chapter about rhythms in Ottoman music. He quoted from Haşim Bey's theoretical work and re-wrote *usûl*s in his own manner. To summarize, the theoretical works of Cantemir (Tura, 2001),

[13] In another chapter of the work, after showing the different scales of Byzantine music using flats and sharps, he also gives their names in Ottoman-Turkish music (Chrysanthos, 1832: 119-121).

Hızır Ağa (Uslu, 2009), Hafid Efendi (Uslu, 2001), Panagiotis Chalatzoglu, Kyrillos Marmarinos (Popescu Judetz and Sirli, 2000), and Chrysanthos (1832) were the earliest prototypes of theoretical chapters in Greek-Karamanlidika publications (see. Güray, 2012: 108; Şahin, Güray and Aydın, 2018: 119-123). In the second half of the century, it is also possible to see the influences of Haşim Bey's theoretical work (Yalçın, 2016). From the last decade of the 19th century, Psachos must have also examined, at least to some extent, some theoretical works, *mecmua*s or repertoire collections including Notacı Hacı Emin Efendi's notated work series *Chants Turcs* and theoretical book *Nota Muallimi* (1885). He might even have quoted some passages from those publications, because this period is the first important era when notated pieces of Ottoman music started to be published (see Chaldaeaki, 2022).

Epistemic Transmission and Symbiosis in Publications

Besides historical evaluations signifying the prevalence and importance of the books, the main question is whether a distinctive and alternative musicological reading can be made based on Greek-Karamanlidika publications of 19th-century Istanbul. In other words, how might we interpret the current data and transmission of musical knowledge in the sources from a historical perspective? Taking into account this basic question, the content of the Greek-Karamanlidika publications will be evaluated in terms of the use of notation, terminology, theory (*makam* and *usûl*), and the historical interpretation of *makam* traditions and repertoire in what follows.

Notation

The use of notation in Ottoman-Turkish music was limited until the last quarter of the 19th century. During the 19th century, Hampartsum and staff notation began to be used increasingly (Ayangil, 2008). Nevertheless, Greek cantors had already been notating *makam* repertoire by using Byzantine notation, and this was a more detailed and analytical way of writing Ottoman pieces. Especially, the use of this notation seems quite sophisticated, because it contains many symbols and signs that originated in Byzantine music. As seen below (Figure 3), there is a song known as *Zülfündedir Benim Baht-ı Siyahım*, composed by Dede Efendi in the

Pandora collection (Phokaeus, 1846: 104). Here, the transcriber Phokaeus uses qualitative signs called *hypostaseis* in order to indicate vocal nuances, ornaments, and special melodic patterns (see Karazeris, 2018). To put it another way, they indicate essentially the way of singing in the church tradition, and these types of signs were available in other notational systems used for Ottoman *makam* music.

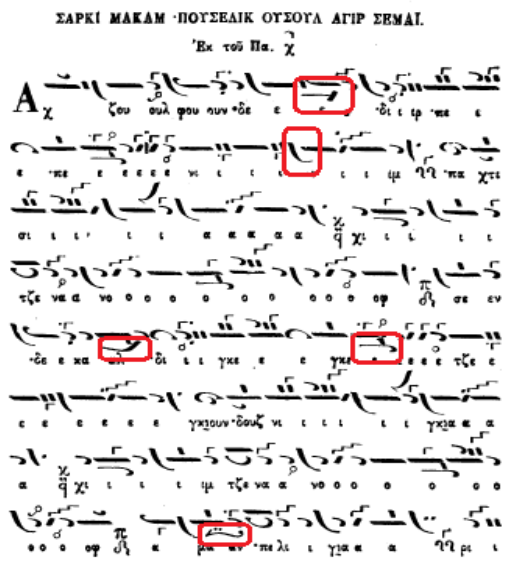

Figure 3. Hypostaseis in *Pandora* (Phokaeus, 1846: 104)

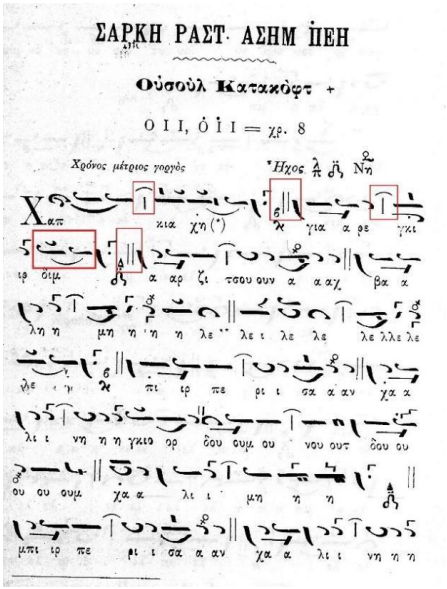

Figure 4. The use of notational symbols of European music (Psachos, 1908: 1)

The Music Reform of Greek Orthodox church was pioneered by the 'three teachers' in the 19th century: Chrysanthos of Madytos, Grigorios Protopsaltis, and Chourmouzios Chartophylax (Romanou, 1990). Due to the influence of the European musical sources, some terms and symbols of European music were brought into the books, and many innovations appeared after Chrysanthos' reform as writing techniques. We know that by the end of the century the use of notation had become systematized at the highest level. At this point, Constantinos Alexandrou Psachos, the contributor of the last Greek-Karamanlidika collection known as *Asias Lyra*, was the only theorist using many symbols including bar lines, repeat sings, ties (legato), puandorg (fermata), and trills. In the example (Figure 4), there is a song known as *Hab-gâh-ı Yâre Girdim Arz İçün Ahvalimi* composed by Asım Bey (Psachos, 1908: 1). It can be seen that Psachos uses two different types of bar lines separating each measure from the others. While single bar lines

indicate that every measure is divided into an appropriate beat structure complying with the *usûl düyek* as 3+5, double bar lines indicate the end of the complete cycle of *usûl*s. It can be noted that Psachos also uses tie (legato) symbols in the same piece.

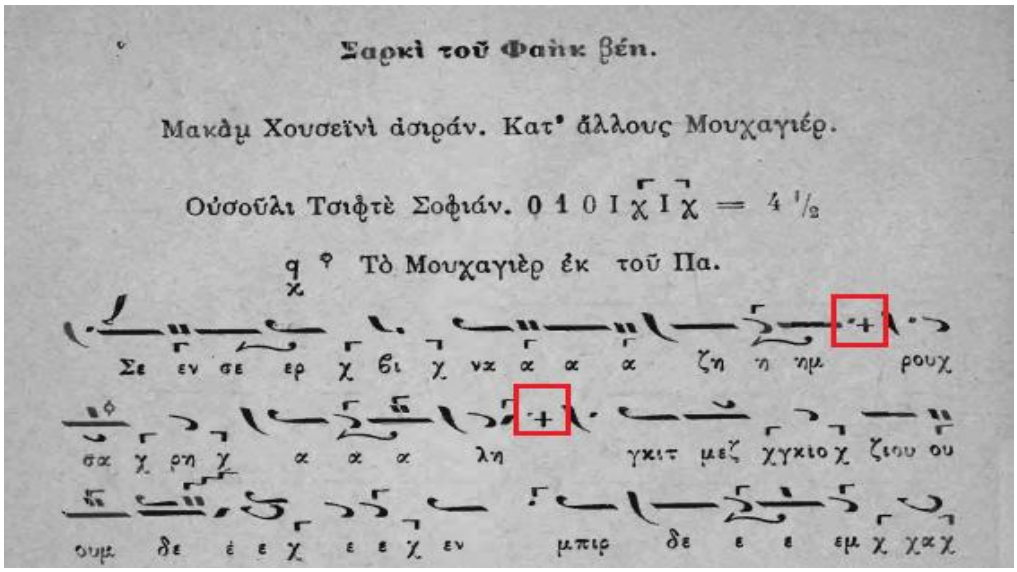

Figure 5. *Sen Serv-i Nâzın Ruhsâr-ı Âli,* Faik Bey, *Çifte Sofyan*[14]*, Hüseyni Aşiran (Başkalarına Göre Muhayyer) Şarkı* (Kyriazidis, 1909: 56)

Some musicians used more innovative symbols in order to notate the rhythmic patterns of Turkish songs. *Usûl*s might have seemed like complex and problematic issues to transcribers. For this reason, they might have tried new methods in order to write them accurately. An instance of this is *stavros*, which can be defined as a cross with a dot or two dots (*aplas*). This sign was first used by Phokaeus, and later by other transcribers such as Ioannis Zographos (Geyveli) and Agathangelos Kyriazidis in order to indicate the nine-beat rhythmic structures such as *Çifte Sofyan* and *Aksak*[15] (Phokaeus, 1842: 34; Zographos, 1872: 22-23; Kyriazidis, 1909: 34) (Figure 5). It should be stated that there are technically different uses of the symbol depicting the rhythmic structure of the songs depending on the perspective of particular theorists. Nevertheless, some theorists, such as Psachos, would later accept any technical effort as redundant and inaccurate in order to depict the nine eight rhythmic patterns in those publications (Psachos, 1906).

[14] It is *Aksak* in Turkish sources.
[15] Even if the symbol was theoretically a tool for *Çifte Sofyan*, it is seen that some of the pieces, for which the sign is used, are recorded *Aksak* in Turkish sources.

Philoxenis also mentioned that the use of this sign is controversial and unknown to many musicians (1859: 91-92). Even today, there are many imponderables when pieces are transcribed into staff notation. For this reason, detailed evaluations need to be made on transcriptions (see. Aydınlı, 2020), and within the scope of this study the symbol can be assumed only as a technical effort to identify 9/8 rhythms in the musical system of the Orthodox church[16].

Another innovation is *tuplet*. In fact, the *tuplet*s are notational indications which are used to transcribe different rhythmical groupings in the notation of European music. It is clear that Greek transcribers intended to write elaborate melodies of Ottoman-Turkish pieces by using various rhythmical groupings in anthologies. For this reason, different types of tuplets were used, with triplets and quadruplets the most favoured note groupings. In particular, Psachos used them excessively in his compositions known as *Uşşak Taksim* and *Hicazkar-kürdi Gazel* (Psachos, 2016; Psachos, 1908: 20). On the first page of *Uşşak Taksim*, Psachos is observed to have used note groupings, rhythmically dotted and undotted notes, and various 'limping' and asymmetrical rhythmic patterns from triplets to octuplets in the melodic movement (Figure 6).

[16] Being the most preferred rhythm in the Turkish repertoire, *Aksak* or *Çifte Sofyan* (9/8) is mainly used in songs (*şarkı)*. However, it is never used in Orthodox liturgical music.

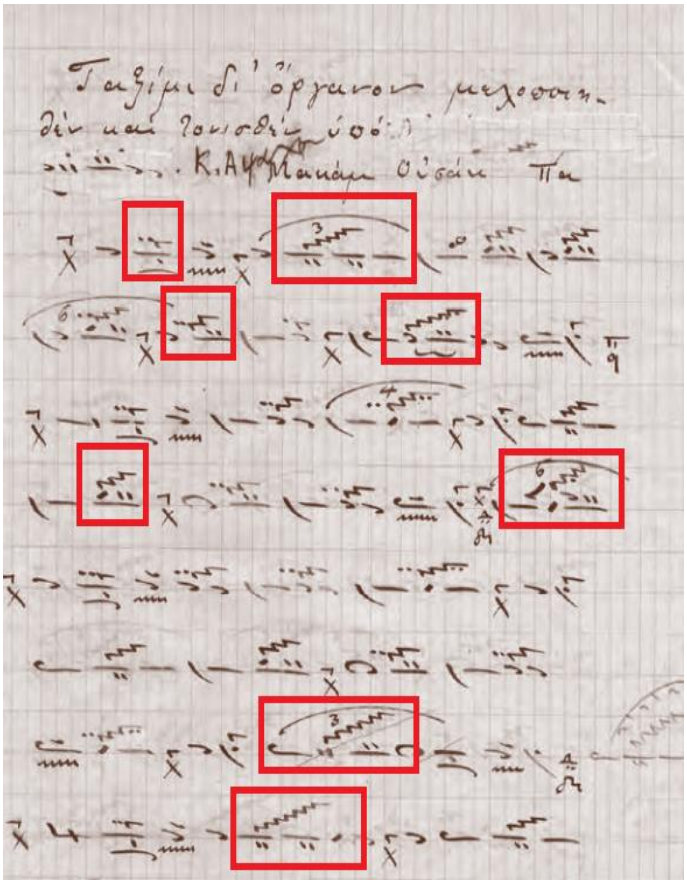

Figure 6. *Uşşak Taksim* (Psachos, 2016)

Terminology

Terminology is the most specific indicator of the epistemic symbiosis in the publications. Theorists used a variety of Ottoman musical terms like *bestedes (beste), sazia (saz),* and *aschirania (aşiran), eteron dügâh (başka dügâh)* in order to explain *makam* theory in detail. As a consequence of orthographic principles in Greek, they created a "hellenized" language in their musical terminology[17] (Popescu Judetz and Sirli, 2000: 19-20). In fact, theorists were inclined to combine Ottoman musical terminology with the Greek church's own terminology. For instance, they categorized *makam*s into subgroups like *makamia (makams), sochpedes (şubes),* and *nimia (nims)*, stating their equivalent names in Byzantine music. As Chalatzoglou and Marmarinos had mentioned before, Stephanos Domestikos and Constantinos Protopsaltis also called *makam*s "*kyrioi echoi*" and *nimia* (*nim*s) "*fthorai*" (1843: 3-4). Moreover, theorists linked many terms from

[17] The aforementioned "hellenized" forms of the words can also be found in the lyrics of the pieces in Greek anthologies.

Ancient Greek sources to this symbiotic conception. This approach sounds reasonable because their "argumentation is based upon the hypothesis that the foundation of modes lies in the Greek eight modes wherefrom the Persian-Turkish *makam*s have originated and gradually developed" (2000: 129). As seen in Table 2, *makam*s are considered as equivalents to Ancient Greek and Byzantine modes. Having made references to the Ancients (the masters) conveying Pythagoras' philosophy of harmony, *makam*s and *echoi* (Ottoman and Byzantine modes) were matched to Ancient Greek modes like *Dorian, Lydian* and *Mixolydian,* and they were also associated with the seven planets (See Table 2). However, *makam*-echos-mode classifications, terminology, modal structures have changed over time (Alygizakis, 1990; Skoulios, 2012; Plemmenos, 2021)[18]. Therefore, as Plemmenos notes, this was "the spiritual aspect" of theoretical writing and it was also in tune with the national ideology of the time. As far as we understand it, this approach was tolerated by the conservative circles of church tradition, and theorists continued to employ this theoretical knowledge until the 20th century (2014: 86).

Table 2. *Makam*-Echos-Mode Classification

Echos	Mode	Makam	Genus	Perde	Planet
Protos	Dorian/Phrygian	Saba, Dügah, Hüseyni, Uşşak	Diatonic	Dügah	Mercury
Deuteros	Lydian	Hüzzam	Chromatic	Segah	Venus
Tritos	Phrygian/ Hypomixolydian	Çargah	Enharmonic	Çargah	Sun
Tetartos	Mixolydian	Neva	Diatonic	Neva	Mars
Plagios Protos	Hypodorian	Hüseyni, Uşşak, Saba	Diatonic	Yegah	Jupiter
Plagios Deuteros	Hypolydian	Hicaz	Chromatic	Aşiran	
Plagios Tritos (Varys)	Hypophrygian	Bestenigar	Enharmonic	Irak	Saturn
Plagios Tetartos	Hypomixolydian / Dorian	Rast	Diatonic	Rast	Moon

[18] Therefore, the Table 2 presents only a general indication of how theorists classify *makam*s making references to ancient sources since Chalatzoglou's writing (Stephanos Lambadarios, 1875: 12; Popescu Judetz and Sirli, 2000: 55, Zographos, 1872: 10; Stephanos Domestikos & Constantinos Protopsaltis, 1843: 4; Kiltzanidis, 1881: 11; Philoxenis, 1859: 111-154; Pappas, 2007, 142-146; Vlachakis & Anagnostis, 1870: 338; Chrysanthos, 1832: 145-156).

Some specific terms also appear in the dictionary of Philoxenis, which was published in the second half of the 19th century. Overall, the dictionary can give reliable information about how the terms had already started to be systematized in Greek writing-publishing culture. To illustrate, Philoxenis explains the function of *ah!* (as an expression) in the repertoire of church music. But it is also a well-known element in the vocal repertoire of Arab-Turkish (*Arabotourkiki*) music and of non-liturgical Greek music (1868: 30). Futhermore, he gives extra information about repertoire collections including Ottoman pieces like *Euterpi* (Philoxenis, 1868: 97-98), and more details can be found about similarities and interaction between the two music cultures in the dictionary. Despite the nationalistic perspective of the writer, the definitions of the publication are significant instances of how Ottoman musical terms were acknowledged to a certain extent, even in secular practices.

Theory

Since the first theoretical texts of *makam* music, which were written by Chalatzoglou and Marmarinos in the 18th century, some principles were identically transmitted to 19th-century publications. Simply put, Greek theorists systematized *makam*s and *usûl*s with the understanding of the 18th century in general. On the other hand, their comparative method provides a unique *modus* which is not found in any other theoretical works of Ottoman music. In this sense, the first crucial point is that Greek theorists categorize *makam*s in eight *echoi* (*oktoechos*). Even though *echoi* are theorized by way of cycles (*devirs*) in the old theoretical sources of Byzantine music (see Psachos, 1978: 40), Greek theorists did not generally illustrate this analogous cyclic system, which was also used in the school of Ottoman music, for many centuries[19]. Instead of the cyclic method, *makam*s are depicted by way of a melodic movement (*seyir*) which designates the first degree (*başlangıç perdesi*) and finalis (*karar perdesi*). Melodic movements are explained verbally degree by degree (*perde perde*)[20]. (Table 3).

[19] Apostolos Constas is the only theorist illustrating *makams* and *echoi* with cycles (See Pappas, 2007).

[20] Marmarinos and Kiltzanidis also wrote specific melodies (*seyirler*) illustrating general characteristics of *makam*s (see Popescu Judetz and Sirli, 2000; Kiltzanidis, 1881).

Table 3. Explanation of *Makam Saba* in the 19th Century Publications

Panagiotis Kiltzanidis	*Saba* arises from *dügah* and sometimes starts from *nim saba* or *dügah*, sometimes even from *rast*; ascending to *muhayyer* with *nim seba* and *nim acem*, turns back with *nim acem* again, descends with *nim saba*. Again, it ends on *dügah* (Kiltzanidis, 1881: 59).
Stephanos Domestikos and Constantinos Protopsaltis	*Saba* begins from *dügah*, and ascending *perde perde* to *saba*, turns back and ends on *dügah* (1843: 21).
Dimitri Cantemir	Saba makam begins from dügah. Moving up to segah and çargah, it rests on çargah for a while; it touches and grabbles saba. When it comes down from there, it shows itself with three perdes and when it ends on dügah, it will have been fully performed (Tura, 2001: 73).
Kyrillos Marmarinos	*Saba* begins from *dügah*, and moving step by step (*perde perde*) to *saba*, turns back and ends on *dügah* (Popescu Judetz and Sirli, 2000: 101).
Constantinos Psachos	*Katachristikos sioupes* (irregular *şubes*)[21], arises from *dügah*. It is our plagal of the first echos from *Pa diphonos*, with the basic characteristic flat of Di (*Neva*) and Zo (*Eviç*) (1908: st/6).

Besides their characteristic melodies (*seyirler*), *makam*s are also theorized within the octave (*diapason*). In Figure 7, each perde of makam *Saba* from the first degree (*dügah*) to one octave higher is depicted on the chart. Furthermore, the chart includes *martyries* which are special signs representing degrees of *makam* (Skoulios, 2012: 16-17). In brief, this is a typical method explaning *echoi*, their systems, degrees and intervals in Byzantine music, and at this point the influence of Byzantine theory can be clearly seen in the explanations of *makams*.

[21] According to the definitions of Chalatzoglou and Kiltzanidis, it is one of two *şubes* in the classification and *katachristikos şubes* do not have their own *perde*s on the *tanbur* (Pappas, 1997: 19), "their tonal [structure] (*perde*) on the *tanbur* is intermingled" (Popescu& Sirli, 2000: 39).

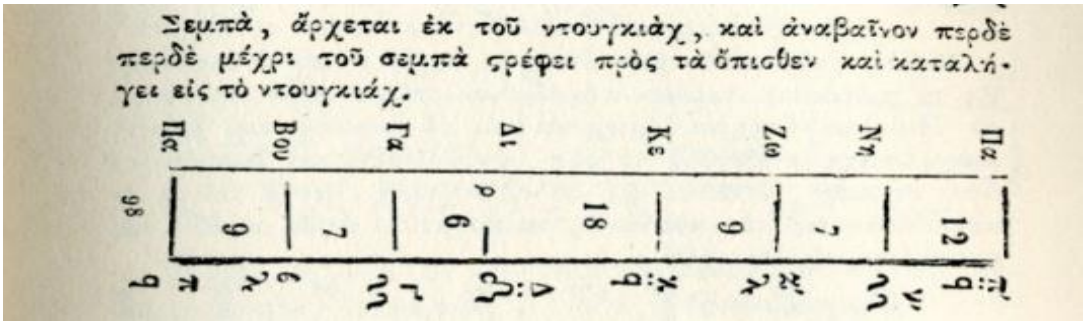

Figure 7. *Makam Saba* (Stephanos Domestikos & Constantinos Protopsaltis, 1843: 21)

As mentioned before, 19th-century Greek theorists re-worked texts that had originated in the writings of Chalatzoglou and Marmarinos. They explained *makam*s by stressing the degrees (*perde*s) on which the *seyir* begins and ends (see Table 3). Apart from this conventional transmission, Psachos, the pioneer of modern theory of Byzantine music, notably drew attention to specific features of each echos (Byzantine mode), including introductory melodies known as *apichima*, scale, tonic, finalis and dominant degrees (Psachos, 1980: 60). But prior to that, he had applied this perspective to his comparative study about *makam*s and *echoi* in his collection called *Asias Lyra* (1908), comprising Turkish songs. Psachos emphasized characteristic tetrachords, phtores (illustrating modulation)[22] and the important scale degrees of *makam*s. As seen in Table 3, he explains *makam Saba* in a manner that is distinctively different from other theorists. However, it is observed that Turkish theorists followed similar approaches to Greek theorists, with a tendency to use core elements or concepts from the theory of European music in the same period. They began to depict *makam*s by using concepts such as modal scale, tetrachord and pentachord (Yekta, 1986: 67-69; Öztürk, Beşiroğlu and Bayraktarkatal, 2014: 23-25).

In general, there seem to have been changes of theoretical perspective in relation to *makam*s and *echoi* since Chrysanthos' theoretical work was published (Plemmenos, 2021). Besides, there are many factors that can give rise to ambiguity in comparative analyses of *makams* and *echoi* due to theoretical-practical principles of Greek Orthodox music. Most probably, that is the reason that many *makam*s, such as *Segah, Hüzzam, Beyati, Hicazkar, Nihavend, Humayun*, were

[22] "Fthores are another important aspect of this system, which mainly serve to signify modulations by means of alterations of the scale, genus or systema of a composition" (Skoulios, 2012: 31).

categorized in different *echoi* according to the theorist's approach (Alygizakis, 1990; Skoulios, 2003: 440). A case in point is *makam Saba*. *Saba* is considered as the plagal of first echos (*echos plagios tou A' diphonos fthorikos or echos naos*) based on the diatonic scale moving chromatically from *Çargah* (Ga) (Mavroidis, 1999: 148-149, 248; Skoulios, 2003: 439). In the appendix of *Lesvia Sapfo*, giving reference to Chrysanthos, it is emphasized that there are different theoretical ideas on the comparative analysis of *makam*s and *echoi*. The writers mention that *Saba* is not the first echos, but can be the equivalent to the plagal of first echos according to other theorists (Vlachakis and Anagnostis, 1870: 338). On the other hand, Turkish theorists regard makam *Saba* as a chromatic genus in modern theory. Makam *Saba* is always defined with *Zirgüleli Hicaz* on *Çargah* and tetrachord *Saba* on *Dügah* (Arel, 1993: 219). Furthermore, it is thought to have an autonomous character and it is theorized with a specific tetrachord known as *Saba*, contrary to its parallel in Byzantine theory. In brief, considering dissimilarities of the understanding, it is possible to state that comparative analyses will also bring prospective discussions in music theory (see Skoulios, 2003, 2012).

As regards *usûl*s, this is known as the most problematic issue of repertoire collections in relation to transcription (Kalaitzidis, 2012). Yet it is remarkable that various theoretical elements were combined in order to give basic explanations of *usûl*s in the theoretical chapters of the publications. First, numbers and letters were used to indicate the beats of *usûl*s (see Figures 8 and 9). This is a method which can also be found in the manuscripts of Petros Peloponnesios (Kalaitzidis, 2012: 279-280). Secondly, the beats were also depicted by the syllabic patterns (*düm-tek*) used in Ottoman music (see Figures 8). As seen in Figure 8, the syllabic patterns under the number and letters are indications to comprehend strong and weak beats. They actually help us to comprehend how to beat rhythmic patterns with both hands. As can be noticed in Figures 8 and 9, the first example indicates the beats of *Sengin Semai* (6/4), while the second one indicates the beats of *Ağır Aksak* (9/4) by using the numbers, letters, and the syllabic patterns *düm-tek*.

The other interesting point is that *usûl*s are compared to rhythmic patterns originating from the poetic meters of Ancient Greek music[23]. Many theorists such as Chrysanthos, Ioannis Zographos (Geyveli), Constantinos Psachos, and Agathangelos Kyriazidis consider *usûl*s as identical with Greek poetic meters. For example, Chrysanthos argues that *usûl Sofyan* is identical with *Paeon (Παίωνα)* and *Semai* is identical with the combination of *Paeon (Παίωνα)* and *Spondeios (Σπονδείον*) (1832: 80). At this point, it is also remarkable that Rauf Yekta, who is regarded as the founder of Turkish musicology, highlights basic *usûl*s such as *Sofyan* (2/2), which have analogous rhythmic patterns in Ancient Greece (Yekta, 1986: 100). Nevertheless, it is known that some Greek theorists even tried to understand Ottoman-Turkish music from the perspective of European music at the beginning of the 20th century. For instance, Kyriazidis demonstrates *semai* (six-beat rhythm) as *mazurka* in the repertoire (1909: 52).

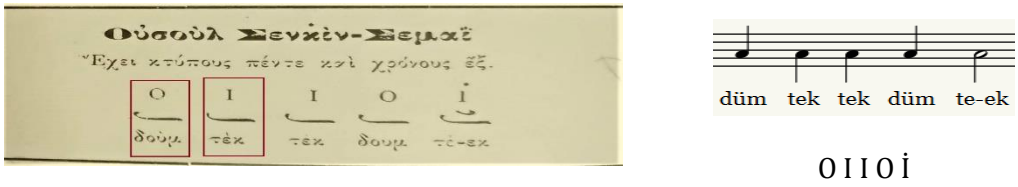

Figure 8. *Sengin Semai* (Psachos, 1908: Ib'/12)

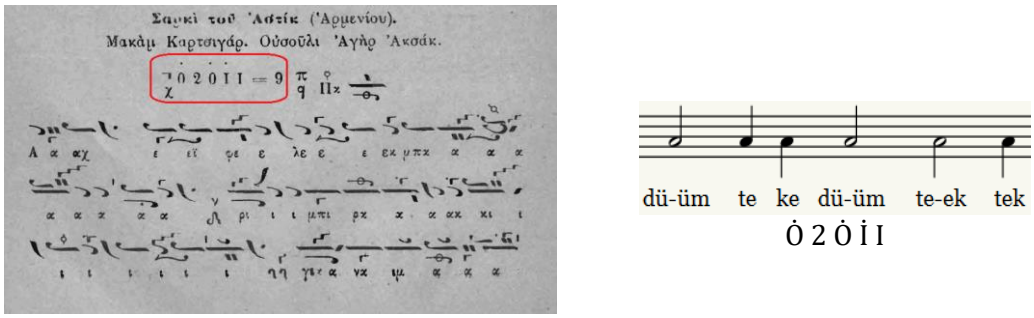

Figure 9. *Ağır Aksak* (Kyriazidis, 1909: 60)

Historiographical Tradition from Ancient Greek Texts to *Edvar*

The theory of *makam* music, which was historically based on Ancient Greek theory, was transmitted by means of the works of Islamic scholars including Al-Farabi and Safi al-Din al-Urmawi in the medieval period, and it was formed in

[23] See Charles Francis Abdy Williams (1911). *The Aristoxenian Theory of Musical Rhythm,* UK: Cambridge University Press.

Islamic culture over time. Initially, Ottoman theorists made references to these medieval texts. Since they remained distinct from the Persian-Arab tradition, they had their own theoretical perspective based on a knowledge of Anatolian music, notably since the 15th century. The systematic school pioneered by Safi al-Din al-Urmawi explained the musical system by means of numbers and ratios. The cyclic model was used to systematize modes and rhythms. However, this model had almost been abandoned in the 18th century. Theorists may have thought that it was no longer compatible with the musical practices of their times. In the same period, Turkish and Greek theorists used verbal descriptions in order to explain *makam*s and this method was used until the 20th century. But, as regards this understanding of Greek sources in their historical context, a 'question-answer' method comes to mind. It is a kind of dialogue used for critical thinking in Ancient Greek sources and it has been known as one of the most suitable methods for fundamental education since that time. The method encourages theorists to ask questions and then find answers in general. Moreover, this method must have influenced Greek theorists, because they used it as a tool in order to illuminate *makam* theory. As a consequence, Kyrillos Marmarinos, a student of Chalatzoglou, explained the basic concepts of *makam* theory by means of this method as follows:

> Wherein lies the basic theoretical foundation of secular music?
> Therein the so-named *tanbur* [instrument] by then [the Turks].
> How many [basic] tones (*perdede*s) has the *tanbur*?
> Together with the tone on the open string (ison), there are sixteen [tones].
> How many other fret positions (*perdede*s) are between them?
> Twenty-one fret positions (*perdede*s).
> What are bringing forth the so-called tones (*perdede*s)?
> [They produce] over ninety modes (echous). Tell me the names:
> *Yegâh*, *pes hisar*, *pes bayati*... (Popescu Judetz and Sirli, 2000: 87)

Even if theorists do not deliberately use it in their works, this method reflects a philosophical understanding which is widespread in Greek publications of the time. During the century, theorists continued to apply this approach in order to express the basic issues of *makam* theory (Stephanos Domestikos and Constantinos Protopsaltis, 1843: 1-8). Hence, it can be said that Greek theorists

developed an original historiography that did not exist in the *Edvar* tradition[24]. In other words, despite some fundamental similarities in Greek and Turkish sources, the ways by which their historical narratives were theorized remain distinct.

Repertoire

The writing culture of Greek musicians has shaped not only theoretical texts but also published repertoire. Musicians started to write Ottoman pieces by means of Byzantine notation earlier than Turkish musicians. Pieces were generally transcribed by cantors of the Orthodox Church and the lyrics of the songs were written in Turkish with the Greek alphabet (Karamanlidika). Since church music is basically a genre performed by the human voice, musicians carried their traditional practices to musical texts, though some new technical and aesthetic elements were also added to the collections. For example, meaningless syllables called *terennüm* were used in *peşrev, saz semaisi* and *aranağme*. The following song known as *Canım Dediğim Canıma Kastediyor Vallah*, composed by Şekerci Cemil Bey, is one of the pieces including *terennüm* in *aranağme* (Psahos, 1908: 13) (Figure 10). As known from historical sources, *terennüm* is an aesthetic element of vocal genres in Ottoman-Turkish music. But meaningless syllables, which are known as *teretismos (pl. teretismoi)* or *teretisma (pl. teretismata)*, are also a characteristic part of the musical form *kratēma (pl. kratēmata)* in traditional practices of Byzantine music, and they are used as a methodical element for solfege (*parallagi*) in Byzantine tradition (Touliatos, 1989: 239; Anastasiou, 2005: 70).

[24] The only examples are from the manuscripts of Safi al-Din al-Urmawi and Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi, who were the two theorists of *makam* tradition in the 13th century and in the first half of the 15th century. They put quite limited phrases illustrating the 'question-answer' method in their theoretical texts. However, it is known that the two theorists wrote their works through examining Greek sources. Moreover, Muallim İsmail Hakkı Bey, one of the most important composers and teachers of Ottoman-Turkish music in the first quarter of the 20th century, used this method to a limited extent, probably being inspired by European sources and the idea of musical modernism (Muallim İsmail Hakkı, n. d: 8).

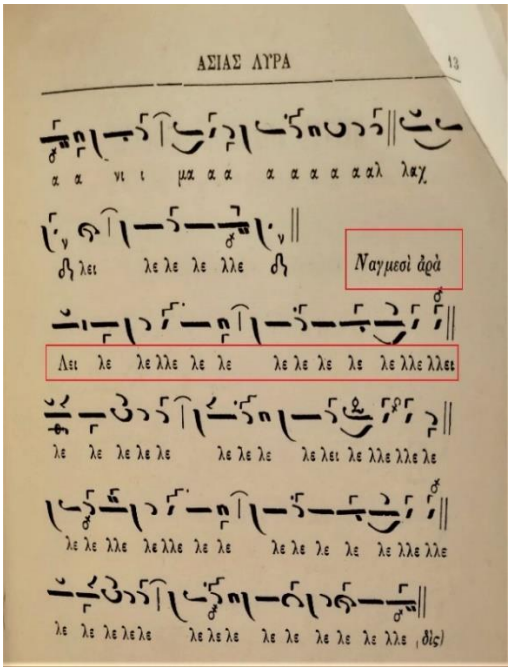

Figure 10. *Terennüm* in *Aranağme* (Psahos, 1908: 13)

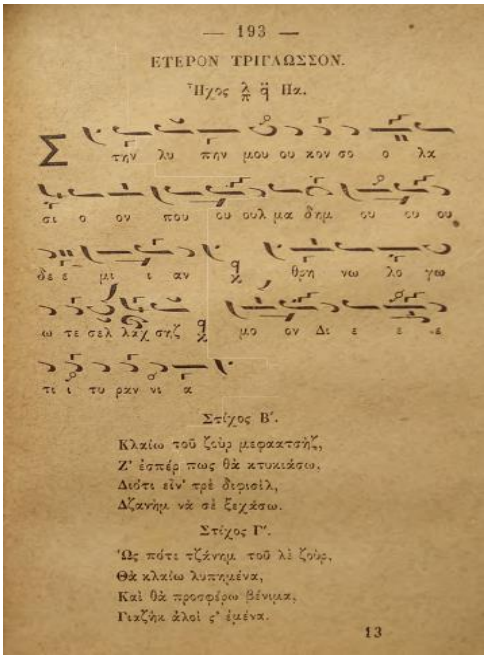

Figure 11. *Eteron Triglosson* (Kiltzanidis, 1888: 193)

Apart from the aesthetic originality of musical notation, it should be emphasized that the repertoire is also very rich and diverse. Some collections include many pieces in different forms and genres. For instance, *Syllogi Ethnikon Asmaton*, published by Sigalas, includes two noteworthy examples of Islamic prayers titled *Pray sung in Ramadan and Bairam* (1880: 24-30). Except for a small number of hymns or liturgical works, publications include secular pieces in general. There are also – though limited in number – songs in different languages, including Arabic, Italian, Persian and French. For example, Kyriazidis notated an Arabic song called *Mezep* in his work (1909: 70-72). Some bilingual songs and adaptations can also be found in the collections. At this point, one of the most striking pieces is the song titled *Eteron Triglosson* in *Kallifonos Seirin* (Kiltzanidis, 1888: 193). As seen in Figure 11, the song is a multilingual piece written in Turkish, Greek and French. To conclude here, the inclusion of such pieces in more than one genre, form and language should also be seen as a reflection of the cultural position and identity of the Greeks. That is, the Greeks must have taken an interest in different music cultures. As Kalaitzidis stated, they did not see religious and non-religious music as culturally separated from each other (2012: 16-22) and in this respect they brought quite an inclusive perspective to their writing-publishing culture.

Conclusion

Taking into account the outcomes of the research, it will be noticed that it is crucial to evaluate differences as well as similarities of musical episteme in written sources. Because notation, terminology and theory, the most essential mediators of music writing, are always influenced by the wider cultural thought of an era, these mediators should also be re-examined in relation to developmental tendencies in technical and systematic methods of notation more generally. At this point, there are highly distinctive instances which should be analyzed in Greek-Karamanlidika publications. Greek musicians were able to create an epistemic originality and synthesis by not only knowing Ottoman-Turkish music in terms of performance, but also interpreting former or current written sources of their times. As seen in the publications, the knowledge of Ancient Greek, European, Byzantine, and post-Byzantine sources were used as tools to teach makam theory or to notate the repertoire of Ottoman-Turkish music with an efficient and accurate technique. Therefore, we can note that the accumulation of the Greeks' musical knowledge gives rise to a case of epistemic originality and symbiosis in written culture. In our opinion, this epistemic originality arises not only from "a 'Greco-centric' stance but was rather a multi-faceted process identifying cultural and traditional loci and defining itself interactively" as Şahin and Güray also mentioned in order to clarify the perspective of music theory (2021: 177). Considering that church musicians especially had a great interest in *makam* music, the phenomenon of 'writing *makam* music' is also a multicultural issue for forthcoming studies.

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