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Music and National Identity in Modern Greece

1.1 Introduction

The nineteenth century was a decisive period for the people of the Balkans because they emerged out of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire to establish their own respective nations. However, Greece had a special position in this context. The writings of the Greek classical age sparked an interest among intellectual communities that dominated the political and academic discourse and cultural production throughout Europe. No ancient history of a Balkan people had reached such a high degree of fame and acceptance in the West as that of the ancient Greeks. Classical Greece became a prestigious subject of discussion among intellectual circles and also served as an inspiration for political self-representation. The European Enlightenment was based on the pillars of Greek philosophy and scholarship, and its heritage became the cradle of European civilization.⁶⁰

Although ancient Greek mythology had been influential in Europe since the seventeenth century, the quality of intellectual and artistic output changed in the nineteenth century. This was due to the immediate geographical and temporal proximity of the Greek uprisings. New ideas on the classical Greek heritage were soon formed by (Ottoman-) Greek intellectuals who lived in Europe. However, they also had to face the differences

⁶⁰ Richard Clogg, "The Greeks and Their Past," in *Historians as Nation-Builders: Central and South-East Europe*, ed. Dennis Deletant-Harry Hannak, (Basingstoke, 1988), 16.

between the two “Hellenisms,” which led Greek intellectuals to a first crisis of Greek national identity. On the other hand, intellectuals of the Greek Enlightenment recognized the potential to reshape modern Greek identity according to the ancient one. In many European nations, especially France, Germany, and England, an entire *philhellenic*⁶¹ movement emerged which dedicated itself to studying and propagating Hellenic and modern Greek culture. They also provided political support during the Greek War of Independence. The Greek Enlightenment thinkers contributed to the dissemination of knowledge among their nationals and served as mediators between their homeland and the European centers. The high prestige of classical Greek culture provoked hopes among the modern Greeks to prove themselves as descendants of their “ancient forefathers,” and that modern Greeks were about to wake up from their phase of “amnesia.”⁶² From this point on, the discussions around Greek culture and identity served to claim their legitimate position among the “civilized” European nations.⁶³

Greeks had a well-established network throughout Europe which helped to spread the new ideas of Enlightenment in the Greek diaspora. Wealthy Greek merchants who had established themselves in European countries played a decisive role in the dissemination of revolutionary ideas and preparation for the Greek Revolution. Another important factor was the printing houses in Vienna, Trieste and Venice, which served as the platform for lively exchanges of ideas and discussions. The journals became a powerful tool for disseminating political as well as cultural ideas. Vienna, in particular, had become an influential economic and cultural center with a Greek community that absorbed the new ideas of nationhood.⁶⁴ The first Greek newspaper was printed in 1784 in Vienna, followed by the *Ephēmeris* [Newspaper] founded in 1790 which translated literature of the Enlightenment

⁶¹ Philhellenism was an intellectual current in Western Europe that actively drew public awareness to the Greek cause to support the national aspirations of the modern Greeks. Except for the peasant class, this movement existed in all other social classes and saw in the Greek cause a European one (Speck and Noe 1994, 32–34). Philhellenism derives from the ancient Greek word *Philellēn* and was used in ancient Greece to refer to a foreign statesman who had a positive relationship with the Greeks. In the context of the Greek War of Independence, it referred to foreigners of a cultivated class with a special interest in ancient Greek thought who supported the political restoration of Greece. The most influential philhellene groups were in England, France, Germany, North America, and Italy (Speck and Noe 1994, 26–27). One of the most popular philhellenes was Lord George Gordon Byron (1788–1824), who actively took part in the upheavals and efforts in the struggle for Greek Independence. His name has been Hellenized as “Vyronas” to give him credit. Philhellenes contributed to establishing schools, organizing events to raise funds, sending food and weapons, and recruiting volunteers to support the Greek Revolution. The Greek Revolution triggered a wave of sympathy in Europe and became a popular subject in all realms of the fine arts and daily life. Particularly, after the massacres of the Ottomans on the population in Chios (1822) and Missolonghi (1826), the Greek Revolution found its way to European opera stages and literature (Apostolidis-Kusserow 1983, 145). Some of the works that staged the Greek Revolution in European theaters, among others, were Hector Berlioz’s *La Revolution Grecque* (1826), Gioachino Rossini’s *La Siège de Corinthe* (1826), and Louis Joseph Ferdinand Herold’s *Le Dernier Jour de Missolonghi* (1828) (Römanou 2006, 28).

⁶² Özkırmılı and Sophos, *Tormented by History*, 79.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁶⁴ Emanuel Turczynski, *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte Griechenlands im 19. Jahrhundert: Von der Hinwendung zu Europa bis zu den ersten Olympischen Spielen der Neuzeit*, Peleus: Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns 16 (Mannheim: Bibliopolis, 2003), 13.

into Greek. It was closed down in 1797 when Rēgas Pherraios⁶⁵ published, with the help of the printing house of the Pouliou brothers, his revolutionary ideas.⁶⁶ *Hermēs ho logios* [Hermes the Scholar] was founded on 1 January 1811 in Vienna and published a series of cultural and scientific articles for the intellectual strata of the community. It contributed to the dissemination of Enlightenment ideas and became the mouthpiece of Adamantios Korais.⁶⁷ The *Phanariot hospodar*⁶⁸ of Moldovia and Walachia financed this paper, providing significant funds each year. The same articles circulated uncensored under the *Ellēnikos tēlegraphos* [Greek Telegraph] in other provinces.⁶⁹ Another important factor that had a great impact on the preparation of the Greek national consciousness was secret societies. Often camouflaged as associations that were supporting Greek students or cultivators of language and literature, secret societies plotted the independence of Greece from the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁰ The most famous Greek secret society was the “Philikē Etaireia” [Friendly Society], which was structured according to the societies of Freemasons. Founded in 1814, they spread revolutionary ideas among the Christian Greek-speaking population in the Ottoman provinces. The “Philikē Etaireia,” together with other Balkan communities, planned an armed uprising against the Ottomans. Greeks of the diaspora and of the mainland, along with non-Greeks from the provinces, were recruited. The “Philikē

⁶⁵ Rēgas Pherraios (Velestinlis) planned an armed revolt against the Sultan, aiming to establish a Balkan Republic. He escaped from his hometown, Velesino, after having murdered a Turkish official, and went to Mount Athos. Thanks to a recommendation letter, he went to Istanbul, where he became the secretary of Alexander Ypsilantis (1725–1807), the Great *Dragoman* of the Sublime Porte. He worked in the Phanariot circles of Moldovia and Wallachia, became familiar with the higher clergy, and received intellectual currents from Russia and Austria. His most important contributions to Greek national thought are the *Manifest of Human Rights* and *The Constitution*, as well as numerous patriotic hymns and battle songs that call for a national uprising. His “Patriotic Hymn,” for example, which is based on the “Marseillaise,” calls the Greeks to arms. His battle song, “Thourios,” addresses not only the Greeks but also Bulgarians, Albanians, Armenians, Montenegrins, Serbs, and the lower clergy; and it calls for resistance against tyranny (see Chapter 1.4.4). His lyrics were translated into various languages and circulated among the different ethnic communities of the Balkans. His writings reached Budapest, Trieste, Izmir, Jassy, and Bucharest. He was betrayed and arrested on his way from Trieste to Venice (Apostolidis-Kusserow 1983, 121). The Austrians handed him over to the Ottomans, and Rēgas was sentenced to death together with seven other compatriots in Belgrade in June 1798 (Kitromilides, 2010, 12). Ioannēs Zambelios wrote a tragedy called *Rēgas* that was played on 25 March and was associated with the struggle for Greek Independence. By the beginning of the 1840s, the figure of Rēgas had already been established as the “first martyr” of the Greek cause (Roudometof and Robertson 2001, 103).

⁶⁶ Apostolidis-Kusserow, “Die griechische Nationalbewegung in ihren kulturellen Bestrebungen,” 82.

⁶⁷ Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) was from the island of Chios and spent parts of his life in Izmir. During his stay in Paris, he witnessed the French Revolution. He became one of the most important Greek spokesmen for the ideas of Enlightenment and contributed considerably to the Enlightenment movement in the Grecophone world. He played an important role in the “Greek language debate” and supported the dissemination of secularist ideas. He translated classical Greek and Roman works into modern Greek. For more detailed information, see Kitromilides 2010, 1–35; Vallianatos 1972.

⁶⁸ The Hospodarate was one of the most valuable offices that Phanariotes could have. This term, of Slavic origin, referred to a feudal ruler of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in today’s Romania.

⁶⁹ Apostolidis-Kusserow, “Die griechische Nationalbewegung in ihren kulturellen Bestrebungen,” 83.

⁷⁰ One of the most eminent societies was the “Philologikos Syllogos” [Philological Society] in Bucharest, founded in 1810, and the “Etairia tou Ellēnikou Lykeiou” [Society of the Greek Lyceum] in Jassy, which helped to disseminate the Greek language within the Ottoman Empire (Apostolidis-Kusserow 1983, 117).

Etaireia,” furthermore, sought help from both the European philhellenes and Russia—the latter being at war with the Ottomans at the time.⁷¹ As part of a benevolent merchant class, the Greek-speaking printing houses and private societies created a powerful network and infrastructure through which ideas of the European Enlightenment movement could reach the Greek-speaking provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

The European Enlightenment movement drew on a specific vocabulary to stress the contrast between enlightened, free, and civilized communities and the “counter-enlightened,”⁷² reactionary, “enslaved” ones. According to this thought, “unenlightened” societies followed religion and beliefs, whereas enlightened cultures based their actions on reason and science. Initially, modern Greek identity drew on the same concept to distinguish itself from the Romaic identity, which was representative of the Ottoman Greeks and those who lived in the provinces. In the nineteenth century, there were three terms to refer to modern Greeks. At the same time, they also reflected the underlying notions of Greek identity. Korais used the Latin word “Greek,”⁷³ which represented a European point of view, to designate Greek people. The denomination “Romaioi,” in contrast, referred to a citizen of the East Roman and Byzantine Empire and was still in use until the beginning of the twentieth century to refer to Greek Orthodox subjects in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁴ Whereas the term Romaic is also a way of self-designation, the term “Hellene” or “Ellēnas” was used more for an outward presentation of modern Hellenism. In Modern Greek, it is the official way to designate a Greek citizen, and, at the same time, it implies the link to ancient Greece, or Hellas, as well.⁷⁵ Likewise, these different terms reflect the complex location of Greek national identity between the West and the East. Markos Renierēs’ essay, *What is Greece? West or East?*,⁷⁶ aimed to give an answer to this dualism of Greek identity. He acknowledged that both eastern and western cultures were derived from Hellenic Civilization, and he held the eastern regime, namely Byzantium, responsible for having suppressed its Hellenic nature. His conclusion was that Greece belonged to the West in spite of the long period of “decline” under the Byzantines. The author was positive about Greek culture’s function as a model for Europe and the East and promised that “having been re-born, she [Greece] returns as a shining star to her ancient course and promises to become

⁷¹ Ibid., 124–34. The “Philikē Etaireia” is only one of today’s best-known underground organizations that prepared the ground for the Greek Revolution. There were many other secret societies such as the “The Greek Club” (1777), “Society of Friends” (1780), “Phoenix,” “Leōn,” “The Society of the Five,” and the “Society of the ‘Muse’s Friends” (Apostolidis-Kusserow 1983, 118–25).

⁷² Richard Clogg, “Elite and Popular Culture in Greece under Turkish Rule,” in *Hellenic Perspectives: Essays in the History of Greece*, ed. John T. A. Koumoulides (Lanham: University Press, 1980), 107.

⁷³ In the title of his *Asma polemistērion* [Battle Song] Korais uses the word “Graikōn” (Ēliou 1982).

⁷⁴ Turczynski, *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte Griechenlands im 19. Jahrhundert*, 14.

⁷⁵ Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, The Dan Danciger Publication Series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 19.

⁷⁶ “Ti einai hē Ellas; Anatolē ē dysis?” (Athens, 1842) was originally published anonymously in the work “Ho Ernastēs” (Kitroeff 2007, 307–14; Turczynski 2003, 283).

the leader of the West in the moral conquering and reforming of the East.⁷⁷ Greek identity is characterized by this ambivalence between East and West, which also led to the emergence of different interest groups and the national schism. The supporters of a Hellenic identity were Greeks of the Ionian Islands or those who studied at European universities or worked in European cities. Another group with important political influence were the Phanariots, who had leading positions in the Ottoman administration and initiated the first, albeit unsuccessful, uprisings.⁷⁸ After the assassination of the first Greek president, Iōannēs Kapodistrias, in 1831, the Neo-Hellenic ideology became representative of the Greek nation under King Otto of Wittelsbach (r. 1832–1862).⁷⁹ The dichotomy between the state administration and the nation became gradually irreconcilable. The state was administrated by a Bavarian, Catholic Christian, “foreign” family who introduced the Hellenic ideology into the modern Greek nation. A considerable part of Greece’s population, however, consisted of peasants, partly illiterate, who defined themselves through the Greek Orthodox religion. In the following years, the influence of the Greek Orthodox church in state politics continuously increased. The 25 March (Annunciation Day) became a national holiday in 1838 and suggested the close connection between Greek identity and Orthodoxy.⁸⁰

The presentation of the young Greek nation was prepared according to the politics of Neo-Hellenism. The Greek state shifted its capital from Nafplio to Athens in 1834. The Acropolis, which is still Greece’s national symbol, became the center of the city and symbolized the resurrection of the nation.⁸¹ Ancient Greek aesthetics became a fashion, visible in the emergent German neoclassicist architecture, where ancient and modern elements fused.⁸² Within a few years, Athens was restructured in neoclassical style, street- and

⁷⁷ Renierēs, translated according to Kitroeff (2007, 314).

⁷⁸ Victor Roudometof, “Invented Traditions, Symbolic Boundaries, and National Identity in Southeastern Europe: Greece and Serbia in Comparative Historical Perspective (1830–1880),” *East European Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (January 1999): 430.

⁷⁹ In 1833, Prince Otto of Bavaria, a minor at the time, was appointed as the first King of Greece in order to stabilize the newly founded nation, which was drifting into anarchy. He was King of Greece until 1862 when he had to step down (Apostolidis-Kusserow 1983, 153). During his reign, cultural politics highlighting Hellenic identity were emphasized. The state formed the national autocephalous Greek church on 23 July 1833, which the Patriarchate recognized only in 1850. In this way, Greece could have its own national church, that was not bound to the Ottoman state system as the Patriarchate in Istanbul was. Thus, the state could also control peasants who were more familiar with the Romaic rather than the Hellenic heritage and identity (Roudometof and Robertson, 2001, 103, 105).

⁸⁰ Roudometof, “Invented Traditions, Symbolic Boundaries, and National Identity in Southeastern Europe,” 432.

⁸¹ Sofia Voutsaki, “Archaeology and Construction of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Greece,” in *Constructions of Greek Past: Identity and Historical Consciousness from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Hero Hokwerda (Gronningen, 2003), 239.

⁸² Turczynski, *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte Griechenlands im 19. Jahrhundert*, 488; Adamantios Th. Skordos, “Antike versus Byzanz: Klassizismus und Rekonstruktion beim Ausbau Athens zur Hauptstadt des modernen Griechenlands,” in *Geschichte bauen: architektonische Rekonstruktion und Nationenbildung vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute*, ed. Arnold Bartetzky and Madlen Benthin, *Visuelle Geschichtskultur* 17 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), 39–62.

square names were Hellenized. Streets and boulevards—especially in the 1870s—took names of figures from classical times or from the War of Independence.⁸³ Theater houses such as the “Neues Schauspielhaus” in Berlin or Dresden, were inspired from the idea of transforming the theater into a forum, as in ancient Greece.⁸⁴

Another important factor was the emergence of a Greek national historiography in the middle of the nineteenth century, which functioned as a reply to Fallmerayer’s “Slavic thesis” and questioned his idea of (racial) continuity between the ancient and modern Greeks.⁸⁵ In this context, Kōnstantinos Paparrēgopoulos’ and Spyridōn Zambelios’⁸⁶ contributions were vital. Zambelios is one of the first figures who managed to fill in the “empty” spaces between ancient and modern Greek history. His most influential works were the folk song anthology *Folk Songs of Greece*⁸⁷ (1852) and *Byzantine Studies*⁸⁸ (1857). Before the first page of his folk song anthology, there is an illustration depicting the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Palaiologos, leading a crowd of *klephts*⁸⁹ and priests armed with swords and holy icons into the war for liberty. The illustration’s title, “Kōnstantinos ho Palaiologos for God and Country,”⁹⁰ transfers the role of medieval Greece to the struggle for freedom in modern times. The folk songs, which do not have any music notation, were presented as an expression of resistance and as evidence of cultural continuity from Byzantine times. The Emperor Constantine is also often represented as a marble figure, who one day would come back to life and herald the resurrection of Byzantium.⁹¹ Zambelios’ study centered on sources about neo-Hellenic nationality from the eighth to the tenth centuries. He integrated the medieval period into Hellenic historiography and traced the cultural formation of modern Greeks back to the Middle Ages. In the long preface to *Historical Study of Medieval Hellenism*, he argued that the “Hellenic spirit” had sur-

⁸³ Voutsaki, “Archaeology and Construction of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Greece,” 239–40.

⁸⁴ Krisztina Lajosi, “Shaping the Voice of the People in Nineteenth-Century Operas,” in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe during the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and David M. Hopkin (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 35.

⁸⁵ Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer showed Slavonic migration during the Middle Ages and Albanian expansion as an important piece of evidence proving that “there was not even one Hellenic blood drop left in the veins of the Christian population of today’s Greece” [Denn auch nicht ein Tropfen ächten und ungemischten Hellenenblutes fließet in den Adern der christlichen Bevölkerung des heutigen Griechenlands] (1830, iv). According to Fallmerayer, Slavs and Albanians were Hellenized, however Greek continuity was interrupted (Herzfeld 1982, 76; Roudometof 1998, 437; Voutsaki 2003, 238).

⁸⁶ Spyridōn Zambelios (1813/15–1881), born in Lefkas, was the son of the Greek poet and Neo-Classical tragedy writer Iōannēs Zambelios. For his academic formation, he was sent to European cities and spent parts of his life in Italy. He was friends with the Greek national poet Dionysios Solōmos (Herzfeld 1982, 39–40).

⁸⁷ Spyridōn Zambelios, *Asmata dēmōtika tēs Ellados* (Corfu: Typographeion Ermēs, 1852).

⁸⁸ Spyridōn Zambelios, *Vyzantinai meletai peri pēgōn neoellēnikēs ethnotētos: Apo Ē’. achri I’. ekatontaetēridos m. Ch.* (Athens: Typois Ch. Nikolaidou Philadelphēōs, 1857).

⁸⁹ Klephts were partisans who initiated the Greek Revolution. See also Chapter 1.4.6

⁹⁰ “Kōnstantinos ho Palaiologos yper patriδος kai pisteōs.”

⁹¹ Ioannis Zelepos, *Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität, 1870–1912: Staat und private Akteure vor dem Hintergrund der “Megali Idea,” Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 113* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2002), 47.

vived during all the years of foreign domination, and that Greeks “had retained all their ancient genius and had remained fundamentally unchanged in spirit.”⁹² The Hellenic spirit was conserved through folk traditions and church rituals. He justified the lack of historical evidence by arguing that the foreign oppressors, the Romans, controlled the court chronicles and that this consequently led to the lack of Greek historical documentation.⁹³ He evaluated the Ottoman occupation positively, because the Byzantine intelligentsia migrated to Europe, which gave rise to scientific progress and initiated the European Enlightenment.⁹⁴ He stressed the Greek characteristic of unity through ancient and medieval times and underlined its importance for modern times as well.⁹⁵ Kōnstantinos Paparrēgopoulos⁹⁶ made another pivotal contribution that contested Fallmerayer’s thesis and supported Greek identity.⁹⁷ His monumental Greek historiography is the beginning of a more influential movement that included the Byzantine period in national history. The synthesis of “Hellenic-Christian” culture shaped a new understanding of the territorial dimensions Greeks lived in. At the same time, his study suggested superiority over the “West.” Like Zambelios, he underlined the role of the Greek churches and monasteries, which had protected national culture from foreign influence.⁹⁸ Whereas the Greek illuminati at the beginning of the nineteenth century envisioned a secular Greek nation, the religious dimensions started playing a vital role in Paparrēgopoulos’ work. His most influential work was *History of the Greek Nation from the Most Ancient Times Until the Present*,⁹⁹ published in five volumes between 1860 and 1874. He claimed unbroken continuity throughout five successive stages of Hellenisms during 4,000 years: Ancient, Macedonian,¹⁰⁰ Chris-

⁹² Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 40.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Clogg, “The Greeks and Their Past,” 26.

⁹⁵ Effi Gazi, *Scientific National History: The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850–1920)*, European University Studies Ser. 3, History and Allied Studies 871 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000), 70.

⁹⁶ Kōnstantinos Paparrēgopoulos was born in Istanbul in 1815 into a family of Peloponnesian origin. He was raised in Odessa and moved to the new Greek state in 1830 (Gazi 2000, 69). According to Turczynski (1983, 19), Paparrēgopoulos did not have a degree from any university. In 1850, the German philhellene and professor of the Munich University Friedrich Thiersch gave Paparrēgopoulos a Ph.D. degree “in absentia” for a monograph that Paparrēgopoulos had submitted. This helped Paparrēgopoulos to get the chair of national history at the University of Athens in 1851. See also Roudometof and Robertson 2001, 109.

⁹⁷ Paparrēgopoulos called Fallmerayer a “slanderer” of the nation and declared him the nation’s archenemy (Turczynski 2003, 332).

⁹⁸ Ibid., 19.

⁹⁹ “Istoria tou Ellēnikou ethnous apo tōn archaiotatōn chronōn mechri tēs sēmeron.” He taught the first version in 1853.

¹⁰⁰ In the times before Paparrēgopoulos, the Macedonians were seen as occupants, which led to the decline of the Hellenic world. Korais, for example, perceived Macedonian ascendancy in the Greek world and the medieval Byzantine era as a period of decline. However, Paparrēgopoulos considered the Macedonians to be Greeks and included them in Greek historiography. The story of the Macedonians under King Alexander the Great, who united ancient Greek states and disseminated ancient Greek civilization in the East, was transposed to the times when Greeks shaped their new vision of the “Great Idea” (Roudometof and Robertson 2001, 108).

tian, Medieval, and Modern.¹⁰¹ The first period focused on the period until 145 B.C., followed by the Roman occupation. The second centered on Byzantium until the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which was followed by the Ottoman occupation. The third period dealt with the Greek War of Independence in 1821, which he showed only as the beginning of the liberation movement, since many Greek settlements in the Near East were still under Ottoman rule. He highlighted the unifying mission of Byzantium, addressing his readership using the pluralis majestatis.¹⁰² In this way, he drew on Iōannēs Kōlettēs'¹⁰³ "Great Idea"¹⁰⁴ that aimed to unify all territories with Greek settlements that once belonged to the Byzantine Empire.¹⁰⁵ He offered a coherent story of the Greek nation that would contest Fallmerayer's thesis and defend Greece's privileged position by underlining

[...] continuity in the time by tracing the immortal Greek spirit from Classical civilization through Byzantine glory to the present, [...] unity in space by encompassing the two antithetic foci, Constantinople and Athens, in one account, and finally, cohesion within the state and legitimation of the monarchy by reference to its Byzantine antecedents.¹⁰⁶

His history also had the support of state and national societies and was translated into French in 1878. This version of Greek history, which is still partly valid and unchallenged in today's Greek national history, gave rise to a new dimension of Greek nationalism that distanced itself from west European Enlightenment and concentrated on a "Hellenocentric" understanding of European history. The "Great Idea" became a doctrine and remained the driving force in Greek foreign politics until the 1920s. Whereas in the first half of the nineteenth century Greece tried to meet the ideal image of "Hellenicity" that was shaped by European philhellenes, there was also a notable shift in the self-perception of Greek identity in the second half of the century. One reason for this was the first fissures in phil-

¹⁰¹ Kitroeff, "Constantinos Paparrigopoulos: History of the Hellenic Nation," in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945)* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007), 74.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁰³ Iōannēs Kōlettēs (1774–1847) was an influential Greek Vlach politician from Epirus during the era of nation-building in Greece. He actively took part in the political upheavals of 1821 and served as the first Greek governor of the first Greek president, Iōannēs Kapodistrias, and as ambassador in Paris under Bavarian King Otto. While he was Prime Minister from 1843 to 1847, he wrote "Tēs Megalēs Idēas" [Of this Great Idea]. He was successful in uniting different interest groups that existed at his time, especially the native Greeks (autochthones) and immigrated Greeks (heterochthones), e.g., the Phanariots from the Ottoman Empire. For further reading, see Kitroeff 2007, 246; Turczynski 2003, 128.

¹⁰⁴ On 14 January 1844, in his speech to the National Assembly, Iōannēs Kōlettēs formulated the "Great Idea" [Megalē Idea], referring to the oath of the fighters to Greek Independence. Among many missions, such as to disseminate Western education, the "Megalē Idea" aimed to reconquer Istanbul and unify all Greek settlements into one political entity. This initiative is also often referred to as "Metakēnōsis" (Zelepos 2002, 52–54). At a later stage, the "Great Idea" equaled the resurrection of the East Roman Empire. It aimed to include all territories that were associated with Hellenic history and race, with "two prime cores of Hellenism: Athens, the capital of the Hellenic Kingdom, and the 'City' [Constantinople], the vision of all Hellenes" (Kōlettēs quoted according to Kitroeff 2007, 248).

¹⁰⁵ Clogg, "The Greeks and Their Past," 25; Gazi, *Scientific National History*, 69.

¹⁰⁶ Voutsaki, "Archaeology and Construction of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Greece," 243.

hellenism that showed that Greeks could not fully rely on the support of European intellectuals. Greek scholars started formulating their own theses, which accentuated different aspects of Greek history. Zambelios, for example, claimed that writing history should not be left to the prejudice of other nations: “The past? Alas! We let the foreigners present it to us in the light of their own beliefs and according to their systems and interests.”¹⁰⁷ With the introduction of the medieval Byzantine period into the national narrative, Greek scholars started reevaluating their past from a more introspective point of view. At the same time, the reconciliation of the two opposing groups, namely Neo-Hellenists and Greek Orthodox, seemed possible.

For Greece, history, denomination, and language¹⁰⁸ became an integral part of legitimizing territorial claims. Whereas the authors of the Greek Enlightenment understood the nation as a process that had to be constructed by spreading education and knowledge, the nation during the period of “romantic nationalism” was an “eternal static entity” that had to be restored.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the gradual disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the resulting destabilization of the Balkan region motivated Greek irredentism that sought to restore, in a not-too-distant future, the territorial extent defined in the ideological framework of the “Great Idea.” That the “Great Idea” was not just a theory but actually connected to real territorial claims became evident during the Crimean War (1853–1856) waged between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. It caused a wave of euphoria among some circles of Greek society that anticipated the impending disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the realization of the “Great Idea.”¹¹⁰ Greeks saw a natural ally in Russia, also a Christian Orthodox state, hoping it would support Greek interests. Greek irredentism was, however, soon challenged by other emergent nation-states in the Balkans.

Greek national identity was reinforced by the rising interest of foreign scholars in Hellenic culture. Archaeology and the revival of the Olympic Games had positive repercussions on an international scale, which led to a sense of solidarity with the Greeks.¹¹¹ The Greek people could present themselves as the true and rightful descendants of their ancient forefathers.¹¹² The international impact of the Olympics and the dream of restoring the former splendor of ancient Greece revived endeavors to free regions with

¹⁰⁷ “To parelthon? –Phev! Aphinomen tous ksenous na mas to paristanōsin ypo to prisma tōn prolēpseōn kai kata tēn phoran tōn systēmatōn kai sympherontōn avtōn” (Zambelios 1852, 7).

¹⁰⁸ Philology was an important tool to prove cultural continuity, define the cultural collective, and claim territories where a common language was used. Philologists concentrated on people of neighboring territories and the common features they had in their use of language to legitimize eventual territorial claims (Turczynski 2003, 481). Due to the lack of a reliable cartography showing the different ethnic and confessional communities, there was no way to control and examine those claims (Ibid., 474).

¹⁰⁹ Roudometof, “Invented Traditions, Symbolic Boundaries, and National Identity in Southeastern Europe,” 437.

¹¹⁰ Kitroeff, “Ioannis Kolettis: Of This Great Idea,” 246, 309; John S. Koliopoulos, “Shepherds, Brigands, and Irregulars in Nineteenth Century Greece,” *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 8/4 (1981): 12.

¹¹¹ Turczynski, *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte Griechenlands im 19. Jahrhundert*, 483–517.

¹¹² Gazi, *Scientific National History*, 128; Turczynski, *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte Griechenlands im 19. Jahrhundert*, 510.

Greek-speaking populations that were outside of the Greek Kingdom. The reinvigoration of Greek national self-awareness led to a strong feeling of superiority but distorted the perception of reality. Writing under the pseudonym Vardas Fokas, the Greek poet Kōstēs Palamas (1859–1943) declared in his 1897 article “National Rebirth” that the reborn nation did not fear the battle, and that in spite of all deficits, economic troubles, mistakes, and strokes of fate, it took up arms in resistance. He claimed that behind the small but strong Greek military there were thousands of citizens and friends who were waiting to don the uniform and, side by side with both free and “enslaved Greeks,” to answer the call to war for all or nothing.¹¹³ After the Greek defeat by the Ottomans in 1897, Palamas revised his perspective, criticizing the fact that instead of a lively exchange of ideas, the Greeks worshipped statues whose holiness no-one was allowed to question. Furthermore, he pointed to Greek *archaiomania*, the obsession with the ancient world, without profound knowledge but with the superficial conjuring of the ancient ancestors.¹¹⁴ Two other persons that shed light on the impact of the “national trauma” were Iōn Dragoumēs (1878–1920) and Athanasios Souliōtēs-Nikolaïdēs (1878–1945). Both fought in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 and both developed a critical stance towards European culture in the aftermath. In his book *Samothrakē* (1909), Dragoumēs insinuated that the ideas of European and modern civilization had led to “terrible” confusion and that the process of westernization had blurred the boundaries of clear Greek ideals.¹¹⁵ In a similar way, Souliōtēs-Nikolaïdēs criticized the self-destructive actions of Eastern peoples in the name of nationalism in spite of the fact that the nations of the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor resembled each other. In accordance with his concept that was referred to as the “Oriental Ideal,” where the nation and the state did not necessarily have to be within the same borders, he supported the creation of an Oriental federative system with the capital in Istanbul and a kingdom consisting of Thrace and the land surrounding the Sea of Marmara.¹¹⁶

These examples show that the Greek quest for national identity was not predefined, but was a process that resulted from many events and ideologies that were in competition with each other. In the 1870s, the Bulgarian Exarchate threatened the privileged position of the Greeks, which led to competition for superiority and territorial claims by Macedonia and Thrace. Furthermore, Russia’s declining influence and her support of Pan-Slavism dashed Greece’s hopes for Russian backing, and, as a result, Greeks started to cooperate with the Ottomans.¹¹⁷ This conflict of interests between Greeks and Bulgarians gave rise to a new policy of rapprochement to achieve national goals that were supported by a movement that is often referred to as “Helleno-Ottomanism.” Different to the “Balkan-Christian Idea,” where religion served as an umbrella that included all Christian people of the

¹¹³ Zelepos, *Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität, 1870–1912*, 166.

¹¹⁴ Translated from Zelepos 2002, 169.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹¹⁶ Souliōtēs-Nikolaïdēs suggested alternatively to create, together with the Ottomans, a Balkan federation, where the Greeks shared administrative power (Zelepos 2002, 231).

¹¹⁷ Roudometof and Robertson, *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy*, 79.

Balkans, “Helleno-Ottomanism” had a more trans-religious character aiming to protect Greek interests under Ottoman rule. The intention was to attain a higher position within the Ottoman state system in order to push Greek interests forward.¹¹⁸ The wave of reforms in the Ottoman Empire led to the proclamation of the First Constitution in 1876, which guaranteed civic rights to all Ottoman subjects, including the Ottoman-Christians. In 1872, the Treaty of Friendship between Greece and the Ottoman Empire had been already signed and Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) received the highest decoration of honor from Greece as a symbolic gesture.¹¹⁹ These changes gave the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire positive prospects of coexistence, which are reflected in personal statements. For example, the Ottoman-Greek banker Geōrgios Zariphēs wrote in his letter to the British ambassador, Lord Salisbury, that Greece should join the Ottoman Empire on a basis similar to that of other states under the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹²⁰ During this period, Greeks defamed people of rival Balkan nations for their Slavic descent in order to stress Hellenic superiority. This became evident, for example, in Vlasēs Gavriēlidēs’ treatise *Greece and the Pan-Slavism*¹²¹ (1869), where he presented Russia as a common enemy of Ottomans and Greeks. But others, such as Anastasios N. Goudas (1816–1882) in his *Today’s Situation of the East and Especially of Greece*¹²² (1861) and *The Past, Present and the Future of the East*¹²³ (1876), favored coexistence with Pan-Slavism rather than living under the Ottomans, whom he portrayed as a common enemy of both.¹²⁴ To add one more facet that reflects the plurality of national visions and ideas, it is necessary to mention the Greek scholar Anastasios I. Pykaïos. In his work *Hellenism and Christianity*¹²⁵ (1874), he referred to all hereditary enemies of the Greeks, starting with the Pope (as the embodiment of the Francs and west Europeans), the “pagan” Bulgarians, and the Muslims as opponents. In contrast, he presented the Albanians as friends due to their contribution to the Greek cause.¹²⁶ Thus, it becomes evident that “Helleno-Ottomanism” was only one of the existing models that competed with other Greek national ideologies, but it was not the one that dominated in the end.

¹¹⁸ Zelepos, *Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität, 1870–1912*, 88–89. For further reading on “Helleno-Ottomanism”, see also Anagnostopoulou 2012, 79–105.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 90–91.

¹²² Anastasios N. Goudas, *Hē sēmerinē katastasis tēs Anatolēs kai idiōs tēs Ellados* (Zakynthos: Hē Avgē, 1861).

¹²³ Anastasios N. Goudas, *To parelthon, to paron kai to mellon tēs Anatolēs* (Athens: Ermou, 1876).

¹²⁴ Zelepos, *Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität, 1870–1912*, 93.

¹²⁵ Anastasios Pykaïos, *Ellēnismos kai Christianismos* (New Corinth: Theodōpoulos, 1874).

¹²⁶ Zelepos, *Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität, 1870–1912*, 94.

1.2 Influence of the European Enlightenment in Greek Music

Ideas of the European Enlightenment had reached the Greek-speaking communities towards the end of the eighteenth century. The first discussions that dealt with reorganizing Greek culture first appeared in the field of philology.¹²⁷ The vision of reforming the national culture according to scholarly rules gradually reached all cultural realms, and thus also the realm of music. Maybe one of the most important areas where ideas of the Enlightenment surfaced in music was musical literacy. Although Greeks had been using music notation for many centuries, thinkers of the Enlightenment realized the lack of a standardized and accurate notation system that was based on scholarly rules. The “defects of notation” motivated enlightened musicians to revise their notational system and suggest reforms or changes according to models that existed in the West.¹²⁸ In the Greek context, there had already been several attempts to reform music notation, such as by Hierōnymos of Cyprus¹²⁹ and Agapios Palliermos of Chios.¹³⁰ Palliermos was trained in Italian music, and between the years 1790–1815 he convinced Patriarch Gregory V (1745–1821) to introduce the pentagram notation in the music school of the Patriarchate in Istanbul. However, he faced resistance from the local musicians, and went from Istanbul to Izmir and other places where he taught a music notation that was based on alphabetic letters.¹³¹ These reforms did not have a large-scale impact. The main corpus of the Greek musical heritage was still not taught according to standardized methods but was transmitted orally¹³² or based on a notation which served as a mnemonic device. Therefore, systematization and

¹²⁷ For a detailed account of Greek national identity and Greek language, see Vyzantios 2007; Mackridge 2010; Gazi 2000, 57–74; Apostolidis-Kusserow 1983, 84–109; Kitromilides 2010.

¹²⁸ John Plemmenos, “Musical Encounters at the Greek Courts of Jassy and Bucharest in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment*, ed. Dimitris Tziouvas (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 77.

¹²⁹ There is not much biographic information about Hierōnymos. He was a student of Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590) and learned music theory and composition in Padua (Schartau 1990, 13–14). He is known as a copyist and a trader of manuscripts. He himself wrote a treatise on musical notation. His approach to European music is from the perspective of a musician who was familiar with Greek Orthodox music. In his *Institutioni harmoniche* (1558) Zarlino referred to Greek notation which worked according to the principles of Hierōnymos’ theoretical work. Therefore, it is likely that Hierōnymos’ treatise was written before 1558 (Schartau 1990, 21). See also Oliver Strunk 1974, and Irving 2018. One manuscript survives at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai with four-part easter chant.

¹³⁰ Gregorio Stathis, “I sistemi alfabetici di scrittura musicale per scrivere la musica bizantina nel periodo 1790–1850,” *Klērnomia: periodikon dēmosievma tou Patriarchikou idrymatos paterikōn meletōn* 4, no. 2 (1972): 367–68; Plemmenos, “Musical Encounters at the Greek Courts of Jassy and Bucharest in the Eighteenth Century,” 69–103; Chrysanthos ek Madytōn, *Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs*, ed. Panagiōtēs G. Pelopidēs Peloponnēsios (Trieste: Ek tēs typographias Michaēl Vais (Michele Weis), 1832), 40; Geōrgios I. Papadopoulos, *Symvolai eis tēn istorian tēs par ēmin ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs* (Athens: Typographeion kai vivliopōleion Koussoulinou & Athanasiadou, 1890), 316; Kaitē Rōmanou, “Hē metarrythmisē tou 1814,” *Mousikologia* 10, no. 10 (January 1985): 7–22; Alexander Lingas, “Canonising Byzantine Chant as Greek Art Music,” in *Music, Language and Identity in Greece: Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King’s College London. Publications 21 (London; New York: Routledge, 2020), 34–54.

¹³¹ Rōmanou, “Hē metarrythmisē tou 1814,” 8–9. For more detailed information, see Stathis 1972.

¹³² Rōmanou, “Hē metarrythmisē tou 1814,” 9.

standardization of Greek Orthodox church music theory based on scholarly principles became an urgent issue that was triggered in the light of Western Enlightenment.

From the various attempts to reform Greek music notation, Chrysanthos of Madytos' treatise *The Great Theory of Music*¹³³ (1832), published in Trieste, became the most influential musical work of the Greek Enlightenment.¹³⁴ In contemporary journals, such as the already mentioned *Hermes the Scholar*, Chrysanthos was praised as a supporter of Enlightenment,¹³⁵ and his reforms were discussed in the same journal issues as those of Korais'.¹³⁶ Chrysanthos' work, which introduced the "New Method," was designed to standardize music notation and teaching methodology in order to train music students more efficiently. Whereas it previously took ten years to learn how to read and perform with the "Old Method," the "New Method" took only two years.¹³⁷ His method spread easily beyond the borders of Greece.¹³⁸ Chrysanthos' work also became accepted by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Cyril VII. The "New Method" was already in use as early as 1815 at the Patriarchal Music School in Istanbul. It was employed to instruct and disseminate the reformed notation of Greek Orthodox church music.¹³⁹ The Patriarchate had initially rejected the reforms. However, Chrysanthos still managed to break with older forms of music instruction, and he introduced a notation system that eventually became accepted, even in the more conservative circles of the Greek Orthodox church. Romanou showed in her article how the Patriarchate first defamed Chrysanthos for introducing and teaching the "New Method."¹⁴⁰ Consequently, he was exiled to his home city, where he started designing a

¹³³ Chrysanthos ek Madytōn, *Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs*. Rōmanou remarks that the manuscript of this work dates back to 1816 (Romanou 2010, 19).

¹³⁴ Chrysanthos was born in 1770 in Madytos (today Gallipoli in Turkey) and was a student of Petros Vyzantios, who taught him Orthodox Church music. He collaborated with the Belgian musicologist François-Joseph Fétis (Romanou 2010, 16). His language skills in Greek, Latin, Turkish, and French helped him to receive writings from Europe as well as collaborate with European musicians for his own music treatise (Romanou 2010, 13). He wrote songs in Turkish and French, studied Greek music intensively, and played the *ney*, which is traditionally considered the instrument of the dervishes (see Papadopoulos 1890, 333). *The Great Theory of Music* was an elaborated version of a previous treatise that dated back to 1814 (Papadopoulos 1890, 332–35; Rōmanou 2006, 36–37). As a musician who was familiar with both European and Eastern music, he was able to bridge the gap between the two cultures. In 1827, Geōrgios ho Lesvios invented another notation system, which came to be known as the "Lesbian System." Although there were several works published in this notation, the notation system of Chrysanthos remained the predominant one.

¹³⁵ Katy Romanou and Maria Barbaki, "Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece: Its Institutions and Their Contribution to Urban Musical Life," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 8, no. 1 (June 2011): 60.

¹³⁶ Katy Romanou, "The Greek Community of Odessa and Its Role in the 'Westernisation' of Music Education in Athens" (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, 2013), 74. The second comprehensive text is a survey for students of the final exams, published by a graduate from Jassy (Romanou 2013, 75).

¹³⁷ The "Old Method" was a term coined after the introduction of the "New Method" and included all music systems used in Greek Orthodox church music before 1814 (Rōmanou 1985, 9). This also reflects the spirit of "progress" and "modernity." Panagiōtēs Agathokleous claimed that it took 10–15 years to master the "Old Method," whereas it took three years to learn the "New Method" (Agathokleous 1855, 3).

¹³⁸ Rōmanou, *Entechnē ellēnikē mousikē stous neōterous chronous*, 36.

¹³⁹ Romanou and Barbaki, "Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece," 60.

¹⁴⁰ Rōmanou, "Hē metarrythmisē tou 1814," 11.

plan that would standardize the teaching methodology by means of a written music theory that could be printed and disseminated. An anecdote relates how Chrysanthos' "New Method" became accepted. The Metropolitan of Hērakleia Meletios¹⁴¹ visited Chrysanthos' home and listened to masons singing at the entrance while they were working. He was moved by the complex melodies and skillful singing. When they told the Metropolitan that Chrysanthos of Madytos had taught them this technique, Chrysanthos was called back to Istanbul to defend his method.¹⁴² Chrysanthos and the other two teachers decided to print a definitive version of the "New Method." They were also appointed as directors of the Third Patriarchal Music School, with Chrysanthos being responsible for the theoretical part, while the other two teachers were responsible for practical instruction.¹⁴³ Although the "New Method" was published in 1832, there was a more concise treatise that was already available in 1821, with the title *Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Music Written for the Use of Those Who Study It According to the New Method*.¹⁴⁴ The Three Teachers sent their young student, Athanasios Thamyres, to Paris in 1819 to find a publishing house for their treatise. A Smyrniote Greek music aficionado, Kōnstantinos Agathophrōn Nikolopoulos,¹⁴⁵ and the famous Belgian musicologist, François-Joseph Fétis, apparently supported Thamyres in his duty. Thamyres wrote the preface to the "New Method" where, influenced by the spirit of the Enlightenment, he enthusiastically supported the effort of the Three Teachers, putting their work on par with the achievements of Korais, Rousseau, and other important classical Greek thinkers. In a similar defiant tone, he criticized the old teachers, whom he called ignorant and whom he blamed for having "tortured the children of Greece."¹⁴⁶ Only a few copies circulated before it was taken out of print. Thamyres did not go back to Istanbul but stayed in Paris until his death in 1828.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Rōmanou remarked in her article that the Metropolitan of Hērakleia had the privilege to ordain the Patriarch of Istanbul (Rōmanou 1985, 11).

¹⁴² Ibid., 11; Geōrgios I. Papadopoulos, *Istoriḱē episkopēsis tēs Vyzantinēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs: apo tōn apostolikōn chronōn mechri tōn kath' ēmas (1–1900 m. Ch.)* (Athens: Typois Praksitelous, 1904), 135.

¹⁴³ Several biographies were silent on the fact that Chrysanthos had lived in exile—both the preface to the "Great Theory" by Pelopidēs and Chrysanthos' own writings. Only later publications, such as Geōrgios Papadopoulos', mention the detour Chrysanthos had to experience before he could realize his objective (Rōmanou 1985, 11).

¹⁴⁴ "Eisagōgē eis to theōrētikon kai praktikon tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs syntachtheisa, pros chrēsīn tōn spoudazontōn avtēn kata tēn nean methodon." Translation of the title from Greek according to Rōmanou. This volume was published in Paris and in Istanbul. For further reading on this volume, see Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, 16–17; François-Joseph Fétis, "Chrysante de Madyte," in *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils, 1867), 297; Rōmanou, "Hē metarrythmisē tou 1814," 7.

¹⁴⁵ Kōnstantinos Agathophrōn Nikolopoulos (1786–1841) was born in the region of Urla in Izmir and, after a stay in Vienna, went to Paris in 1806. He was one of the early modern Greek composers, and he had good relations with his teacher François-Joseph Fétis, working in his library. Nikolopoulos composed a series of patriotic songs in the spirit of the French Revolution (Xanthoudakis 2011, 42; Kōnstantzos 2009, 82).

¹⁴⁶ Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, 16; Rōmanou, "Hē metarrythmisē tou 1814," 17.

¹⁴⁷ Fétis, "Chrysante de Madyte," 297.

Whereas the *Great Theory of Music* was, on the one hand, a theoretical work, it was accompanied by a reissue of Greek Orthodox church music in the notation of the “New Method.” Grēgorios, the First Cantor and one of the Three Teachers, together with Chrysanthos and Chourmouzos the Archivist, had already transcribed the *Doxastikon*¹⁴⁸ of Petros Peloponnēsios (ca. 1730–1778) in the reformed notation. This re-edition of old pieces aimed to prove the progressiveness of the “New Method.” It was able to reproduce the old repertoire efficiently in printed form. In a similar way, it showed that the “New Method” was also suitable for secular music. This led to the first printed edition of Ottoman music in 1830, with the title *Evterpē*. The invention of a musical notation that could also be printed, was closely linked to the idea of cultural and national progress, as will be dealt with in more detail in the course of this study. In the preface to the *Great Theory of Music*, Panagiōtēs G. Pelopidēs¹⁴⁹ praised the Three Teachers’ patriotic contribution to the resuscitation of the nation.¹⁵⁰ He highlighted the novelties of the “New Method.” For example, he emphasized that it even made it possible to precisely sing melodies which the singer was not familiar with, and at the same time, it indicated the rhythm more accurately. The break with the “Old Method,” which was discredited for the lack of a methodology-based written theory, is characteristic of Greek Enlightenment thought. Therefore, as a written method that would transmit the music through a written theoretical treatise, the *Great Theory of Music* represented a new system that stood vis-à-vis the old one. Pelopidēs complained about the old teachers: “These men, deprived of a didactic book on their art, are unable to progress beyond the point they reached through oral tradition.”¹⁵¹ It was a clash between two opposing poles that was expressed in the dispute between old and new, the “non-enlightened” and the “enlightened,” between “backwardness” and “progress,” and between oral and written culture.

Chrysanthos’ *Great Theory of Music* consists mainly of two parts: a theoretical and a historiographical one. The second part is a music history which divides the history of music into three periods, and this section can be considered the first modern Greek music history. The first period refers to the mythic past until the Great Flood and Solomon. The second period centers on the Greek mythic past, starting with Apollo as the first inventor of music among the Gods and Amphion as the first human musician. The third period starts with John of Damascus,¹⁵² who is referred to as “the earliest teacher and the origi-

¹⁴⁸ The *Doxastikon* forms part of the *troparia*, a term that includes several genres of old hymns in Byzantine liturgy. To distinguish the different categories, the *troparia* often have a second designation, which is analogous with the textual content of the hymn. The *Doxastikon* is a *troparion* to be sung with the *doxology*. See Christian Troelsgård, Art. “*Troparion*” (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/978151592630.article.28455>.

¹⁴⁹ Panagiōtēs G. Pelopidēs was a student of the Three Teachers and received a graduation certificate in 1818 (Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 30). He also composed many songs to support the Greek Revolution (Kardamis 2020, 63–75).

¹⁵⁰ Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, 29.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁵² His full name was Iōannēs Sergiou Mansour, born in 676 in Damascus.

nator of our ecclesiastical music.”¹⁵³ Chrysanthos often made reference to ancient Greek philosophers such as Aristoxenos, the earliest Greek author who wrote on music, as well as Euclid and Quintilianos, by referring to their sources and highlighting their contributions to music. Chrysanthos’ work can be considered the first modern Greek musical work to mention a fourteenth-century musical source: Manuel Bryennios, who had reflected on the relationship between Byzantine and ancient Greek music and recognized similarities in their modal quality.¹⁵⁴ By listing European scholars, who, in the past, had dealt with and were inspired by ancient Greek music, Chrysanthos also suggested that Greek music theory had served as a model for European music history.¹⁵⁵ As Lingas has observed, Chrysanthos’ work can be read as “[...] an attempt from a contemporary Greek perspective by setting the repertoires, notation and modes of the New Method within a neo-Hellenic framework indebted to Enlightenment thought.”¹⁵⁶

Rōmanou and Ksanthoudakēs remarked that Chrysanthos’ work was influenced by French, English, Italian, and German music theories.¹⁵⁷ Chrysanthos and many other Greek scholars and thinkers who were inspired by the ideas of the European Enlightenment had developed their own thoughts and ideas, which they introduced in their respective nations. In the field of Greek music, the term “method” had not been used before and was introduced only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The idea of designing a “method” intended to standardize and level out the differences in the various approaches of learning or teaching also existed in European countries. Chrysanthos’ idea was to design a methodology that facilitated breaking down a complex learning process and “democratizing” the processes of teaching and learning, which were also two key elements of Enlightenment thought.

Ksanthoudakēs’ meticulous study showed how Chrysanthos translated and adopted passages from well-known music theories from French, as well as those translated from other European languages into French.¹⁵⁸ It is also plausible to claim that this practice was not only restricted to the definition of musical terminology and music history but also the methodology of music instruction. The greater part of music methodologies of that time was inspired by the Pestalozzian approach,¹⁵⁹ which in the first third of the nineteenth century was also applied in the field of music. Music pedagogy in this context focused

¹⁵³ Pelopidēs in Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 28.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 232.

¹⁵⁶ Lingas, “Canonising Byzantine Chant as Greek Art Music,” 34.

¹⁵⁷ Rōmanou, *Entechnē ellēnikē mousikē stous neōterous chronous*, 40–41; Charēs Ksanthoudakēs, “To ‘Mega Theōrētikon’ tou Chrysanthou kai oi gallikes pēges tou,” *Ho Erastēs* 26 (December 30, 2008): 141–74, <https://doi.org/10.12681/er.69>.

¹⁵⁸ Ksanthoudakēs, “To ‘Mega Theōrētikon’ tou Chrysanthou kai oi gallikes pēges tou.”

¹⁵⁹ For Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (12.01.1746–17.02.1827), education through singing was one of the main pillars of the musical education of children (Sowa 1973, 34). Influenced by ideas of humanism, his ideas underlined the impact that music had on the nature, soul, and character of the human body (Sowa 1973, 36). The singing method based on Pestalozzi’s principles gained popularity in the German-speaking world during the

especially on singing, which in Greek Orthodox music is the only way of musical expression since musical instruments are not allowed in the church. Therefore, well-known early nineteenth-century European singing methodologies that were generally used may have been the key inspiration for their eastern neighbors, who, inspired by the trends of their times, adapted those to their native music. Just a glance at the numerous singing methodologies in the German-speaking world already reveals that the first twenty years of the nineteenth century could have paved the way for a “new method” that would satisfy an increasing demand for music education in their times.¹⁶⁰ Probably the most influential methodology was that of Michael Traugott Pfeiffer and Hans Georg Nägeli, the latter putting Pestalozzi’s methodology into writing and applying his method to music for the first time.¹⁶¹ Thanks to their work, the Pestalozzian approach to music was also applied in many other nations. Pestalozzi’s spiritual attitude toward music education is derived from the ancient Greek ethos, which considered the positive effect music had on the education of children’s souls and characters. The Greek model is further reinforced by a quote from Nägeli, who stated “[...] Then we finally get to the point when the refined domestic life of pious Christians regains the public life of the Greeks, thus weaving the blossom of the arts with the blossom of religion into an unfading wreath.”¹⁶²

The innovative ideas of the Pestalozzian approach were a rational and structured methodology that would facilitate and standardize the learning process of the many complex elements of music and singing. These different elements were divided into smaller subcategories that were dealt with separately and with a more incremental implementation, from an easier to a more advanced level. This introduction to elementary music was structured in many chapters, starting with the elementary teaching of rhythm, melody, and dynamics, and the interconnection of all of them. In addition to the elementary teaching, there is also one chapter on notating music, which in the later methodologies is not mentioned anymore. In the Pestalozzian approach, once the elementary introduction is completed, it continues with connecting the singing of a melody with syllables, starting with vowels on tetrachords. The teaching of the scale is based on intervallic, or diastematic, singing. Unlike methodologies of the later nineteenth century, those that strictly follow Pestalozzi’s ideas start firstly with elementary theory and basic exercises, and then, secondly, apply the knowledge to singing simple songs that are easy to memorize. Nägeli and Pfeiffer’s holistic approach to music education has many elements in common with

first half of the nineteenth century, when mass public education was about to start. The song collections in the German language had an impact not only in various European countries but also in North America (Efland 1984, 21–25).

¹⁶⁰ For a comprehensive list of nineteenth-century music and singing methods that were based on the Pestalozzian method, see Gruhn 1993, 64–79.

¹⁶¹ Michael Traugott Pfeiffer and Hans Georg Nägeli, *Gesangsbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* (Zurich, 1810).

¹⁶² “Dann kommen wir endlich dahin, zu dem veredelten häuslichen Leben frommer Christen das öffentliche Leben der Griechen wieder zu gewinnen, und so die Blüte der Kunst mit der Blüte der Religion in einen unverwelklichen Kranz zu flechten.” Quoted according to Gruhn 1993, 47. My translation.

Chrysanthos' ideas. First, it is derived from a humanistic motivation that aims to facilitate education in the fine arts for all, not just a limited social group. Pestalozzi, for example, taught in orphanages, and his ideas were also used in the later methodologies for "Volkschulen" [elementary schools]. Another striking similarity with Chrysanthos' methodology is the splitting of all music elements into a rational, methodological order, which makes it possible to teach the complex theoretical and practical content to young people step by step. In the Greek context, it is also remarkable that the approach to singing is based on diastematic exercises, which are one of the key elements of Chrysanthine notation. Another feature that may have seemed familiar from a Greek perspective was the fact that the music examples were all monophonic. Only in the course of the nineteenth century did the educational music books start including polyphonic or harmonized songs, both in Greece and in Europe. One important difference that must be mentioned is that the music methods that were inspired by the Pestalozzian approach were mostly made for practical use that do not provide an essay on (national) music history. However, the fundamental idea, similar to Chrysanthos' method, was to teach singing and notation in standardized fashion in a relatively short time period to a great number of students. In this way, this method had multipliers that would help disseminate it. Because they reduced the time required for music education, Chrysanthos' method spread swiftly. His ideas and methodology were taught at new schools, young people were sent abroad to broaden their views, the number of music teachers increased, the musical heritage of Classical Greece was highlighted, and the study of European culture was promoted.¹⁶³ Additionally, Chrysanthos' humanistic attitude led him to go beyond the borders of Classical Greek, Byzantine Greek and European music.

Chrysanthos' contribution shaped generations of musicians who learned the "New Method" and used it within the realms of secular and church music. However, it would be misleading to assume that Chrysanthos' music book was the beginning and the end of music reforms in the Greek-speaking world. The rising awareness of the reforms of Greek music affected the entire music debate in Greek-speaking communities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The emergence of the new Greek nation led to the redefinition and reshaping of modern Greek culture that was able to represent the spirit of the young nation. The previously mentioned dichotomy between the two Greek identities, the Hellenic and Romaic, also initiated a quarrel in the field of music that went on for more than a century. The urge for reforms derived from the comparison of European vis-à-vis Greek music. It was often presupposed in the debates that Greek music was in a stage of decadence, whereas Western music had reached a high level of esthetical and musical perfection. Most of the contributors who published books or articles in journals agreed that Greek music had to be reformed, but opinions diverged on the question of how the reforms should be realized. It was believed that both European and Greek music were derived from ancient Greek music theory but had taken different paths in their development. The stark contrast between a progressive European music that was "healthy," and a stagnant Eastern

¹⁶³ Romanou and Barbaki, "Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece," 63.

music that was “sick,” was a reflection that was immediately connected to the question of Greek national identity. Modern Greek identity had to justify and legitimize itself in the face of a highly idealized image of ancient Greek culture that European intellectuals had created. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the national historiography had already taken shape and also served as a compass for all other debates on Greek culture. Since national historiographies follow a determined narrative, it is possible to trace the same narrative in the musical discourse, which will be presented in the next chapter.

1.3 The Greek Music Debate

1.3.1 Greek Music and Cultural Continuity

Greeks appreciated European scholarship that was dedicated to the study of the ancient Greek works. Evtaksias, for example, referred to the writings on the “music of our ancient forefathers,” Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotele, among others, whose works and thoughts had been studied by European scholars, such as Ludwig Bellermann,¹⁶⁴ August Böckh,¹⁶⁵ Rudolf Westphal,¹⁶⁶ François-Auguste Gevaert,¹⁶⁷ and Albert Thierfelder,¹⁶⁸ who all admired the scholarship and methodology of the ancient Greeks.¹⁶⁹ The prestige that

¹⁶⁴ Ludwig Bellermann (1836–1915) was a German philologist and schoolteacher and originated from a family of academics. He studied classical philology at the Heidelberg University and graduated in Berlin as student of August Böckh. Later, he worked as an ancient Greek, Latin, and German teacher at the public school “Zum Grauen Kloster” in Berlin. Additionally, he edited classical works, especially those of Sophocles (König 2003, 129–30).

¹⁶⁵ August Böckh [also Boeckh] was born in 1785 in Karlsruhe and died in 1867 in Berlin. He was a classical philologist at Heidelberg University and received a professorship in 1811 in Berlin. He published numerous books and editions on ancient Greek tragedy, focusing especially on questions that were related to verse and meter. Vetter Walther Egert Pöhlmann, “Böckh, August,” in *MGG Online* (Bärenreiter, Metzler, RILM, 2016), <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/19749>.

¹⁶⁶ Rudolf Westphal was born in 1826 in Obernkirchen and died in 1892 in Stadthagen. He was a philologist and music researcher who studied theology and classical philology at Marburg University. After various positions as a teacher, he obtained a chair for Greek philology and comparative linguistics in Moscow. From 1861 until his death, he published books and articles that dealt mainly with rhythm and meter in Greek antiquity; he also completed one publication on ancient Greek music, *Die Musik des griechischen Alterthumes* (1883) [Music of Greek Antiquity] (Holtmeier and Flindell 2007).

¹⁶⁷ François-Auguste Gevaert was born in 1828 in Huyse and died in 1908 in Brussels. He was a composer, musicologist, and pedagogue. Apart from his activities as a musician and composer, he also published a series of treatises, one being a two-volume work about ancient Greek music with the title *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité* (1875/1881) [History and Theory of the Music of Antiquity] (Dufour 2016).

¹⁶⁸ Albert Thierfelder was born in 1846 in Thuringia and died in 1924 in Rostock. He was a musician, music instructor, and composer. He published two books on Greek music, one which was *Altgriechische Musik* (1906) [Ancient Greek Music] and the other, on ancient Greek meter, *Metrik—die Versmaße der griechischen und römischen Dichter* (1919) [Metrics—the Verse Meters of the Greek and Roman Poets] (Jansa 1911, 736).

¹⁶⁹ Athanasios Evtaksias, *Hē ethnikē ēmōn mousikē* (Athens: Estia, 1907), 5. He also mentioned the names “Paul” and “Botka,” who could not be identified.

Greek music enjoyed among European scholars is important because it served the conservative groups who aimed to protect and restore their music as a counter-argument against their opponents.

The discussions around the origin of Greek music are some of the essential moments in the narrative of Greek music history. The arguments that are brought forth in these discussions follow the narrative of cultural continuity, which had been claimed since Paparrēgopoulos' national history. At the same time, they take a stance against those that would question continuity in Greek culture. The need to defend the thesis of national continuity had become a mission since the German politician and historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer challenged in his dissertation Hellenic identity and hence, Greek cultural continuity.

The Greek Orthodox church in particular was and still is considered the preserver and protector par excellence of the Greek cultural heritage, and so it had an important role within the narrative of cultural and national continuity.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, in the debates around music, Greek church music had an outstanding position as the carrier of old traditions. Within the Greek music debates, there were two main groups. One group consisted of foreign scholars and Greeks who claimed that Greek music had developed on the basis of Judaic music and had been maintained with some deviations during the Byzantine period. This group affirmed, however, that the old melodies did not survive after the fall of Constantinople. The second group, consisting of mainly Greek scholars, claimed that the ancient hymns were maintained and cultivated throughout the Byzantine period and were still in use without having undergone any major changes.¹⁷¹ The nineteenth century is also the period when the first attempts were made to define the pillars of Greek music history. Chrysanthos had considered John of Damascus to be the father of Greek Orthodox church music, which underwent some "improvements," but did not lose the character of the ancient *melē*. In this way, Chrysanthos represented the spirit of the latter group when he concluded in his *Great Theory of Music* that Greek music was "neither old nor new" but "one and the same, perfected in the course of time."¹⁷² Even if Tzetzēs¹⁷³ discred-

¹⁷⁰ Tzetzēs claimed that the Greek church was the only institution that conserved and continued Greek literature, church music, and *melopoeia*: "Einerseits nämlich war die griechische Kirche die einzige Erbin zu jener Zeit und Fortsetzerin der griechischen Literatur, andererseits, beobachtete sie ein streng conservatives Verfahren in jeder Beziehung, und namentlich in Betreff der Kirchenmusik und Melopöie." [On the one hand, the Greek church at that time was the only heir continuing Greek literature, and on the other hand, she practiced a strictly conservative procedure in all matters, namely concerning church music and melopoeia] (Tzetzēs 1874, 6). In a similar way, the Music Commission of the Ecumenical Patriarchate claimed in 1883 that the ancient character had survived the period of foreign domination: "Pantachou tēs Anatolēs opou eisin orthodoxoi anatolikai ekklēsiāi hē ischos tēs paradoseōs dietērēsen agnēn kai adiaiphthoron tēn ousian tou ierou melous" [Everywhere in the East, where the Eastern Orthodox church does exist, the power of the tradition has kept the nature of the church melody pure and uncorrupted] (Aphthōnidēs 1888, 144, col. 2).

¹⁷¹ Giannēs Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklēsiastikē mousikē*, Nephelē-Mousikē (Athens: Ekdoseis Nephelē, 1990), 52.

¹⁷² Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, 247. Translation according to Rōmanou.

¹⁷³ Iōannēs Tzetzēs (Johannes Tzetzes) was a musicologist and theoretician of Greek church music. He was originally from Epirus but spent his life in Athens. He published his treatise, *Über die altgriechische Mu-*

ited Chrysanthos' contributions and reforms, he agreed that elements of the ancient mele had survived thanks to the strict laws of Greek church music that prohibited changes.¹⁷⁴ Showing unbroken continuity from the past to the present was not only important for designing a national music history, but it also served as an argument for discussions with opposing groups who questioned the pure origins of Greek music and who therefore preferred to abandon it.

Those who acknowledged the major gap between ancient, Byzantine, and modern Greece claimed that national music was persistent and able to survive through time regardless of the vicissitudes in the history of the nation. In an article about the Greek church arts, the author dedicated a small passage to church music where, of all possible types of music, he drew on Ottoman music to prove that the national element in music was able to survive. In an anecdote, the author explained that one day Sultan Mahmud¹⁷⁵ had invited an "infidel" Hungarian musician in order to present to him, as the monarch of the believers, some of the recently composed songs that were based on national and Turkish melodies. The Hungarian musician was utterly surprised when he heard melodies that he was familiar with from his homeland. This led him to search and find more Hungarian melodies in the Turkic ones. The author of the article concluded that the musical similarities derived from historical links because both Turks and Hungarians once had common ancestors, as they were descendants of the Mongolian race.¹⁷⁶ The fact that those ancient melodies survived from both peoples' common origins to the present legitimized the author's thesis that musical elements of ancient Greek music had survived in Greek church music as well. Therefore, he maintained that musical form and melodic rules were intermingled with "barbaric" elements, which the author suggested removing.¹⁷⁷

sik in der griechischen Kirche (1874) [On the Ancient Greek Music in the Greek Church] and another treatise in Athens titled *Peri tēs kata ton mesaiōna mousikēs tēs ellēnikēs ekklēsiās* (1882) [On the Music in the Middle Ages in the Greek Church]. He tried to overcome the thesis of Cardinal Pitra, who stated that the "purity of the Greek music in the final years of the Byzantine state underwent changes under the influence of Persians, Arabs, and Turks" (Pitra 1867, 64–65). He replied that the music that was used in the Greek churches was not mixed with Turkish, Persian, Arabic, or other music but only Byzantine church music (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 6:74–75). In order to support his scientifically doubtful thesis, he claimed to have been successfully deciphering notations from the Middle Ages (those from the tenth century until the fall of Constantinople), without, however, showing the underlying key to his transcriptions. He concluded that Greek Orthodox church music had abandoned chromatic and enharmonic genres and held only to diatonic by following European harmony throughout the time. Tzetzēs' theory was supported by many famous musicians from the Ionian Islands but was also harshly criticized by other Greek musicians, such as K. Sakkellaridēs, Mis. Misaēlidēs, G. Phōtiades, S. Klēmēs, and others. Papadopoulos, supported by the prelate, Kōnst. Valiadēs, asserted that the church's music was probably influenced by other musical genres but was still based on ancient Greek music. For brief bibliographical information on Iōannēs Tzetzēs cf. also Papadopoulos 1890, 464.

¹⁷⁴ Tzetzēs, *Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche*, 73.

¹⁷⁵ This probably refers to Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839).

¹⁷⁶ It is necessary to remark that the author was aware of the race theories that existed in Hungary and later enjoyed great popularity in the Ottoman Empire. Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913) was one of the pioneers in this field. Cf. Chapter 2.1.

¹⁷⁷ Geōrgios I. Papadopoulos, "Peri tēs kath' ēmas ekklēsiastikēs technēs kai idiaiterōs peri ellēnikē agiographias (Peri mousikēs)," *Pandōra* Κα' [21], no. 485 (June 4, 1870): 95.

Cultural continuity in music is also frequently suggested in the context of organology. Dēmētrios Vernardakēs,¹⁷⁸ for example, highlighted the close relationship between the long-necked string instrument, the *tanbûr*, that was used by church musicians. He pointed to the cultural affinity with the ancient Greeks that was evident in the similar words for the instrument: *tanbûr* and the *pandur*, as it was called in ancient times.¹⁷⁹ In a similar way, he also pointed to the parallels between the ancient *aulos* and the *ney*, the latter being an indispensable instrument in the dervish ceremonies.¹⁸⁰ The already-mentioned Evtaksias attributed the origin of the *tanbûr* to the “ancient forefathers” who had invented and defined the instrument, which was called *kanōn*, *pandoura*, or *tampour* by the Turks.¹⁸¹ The fact that this instrument was still in use in the East suggested that cultural elements that were derived from the ancient Greek civilization were still existent in the twentieth century.

Supporters of church music believed that the Orthodox church had played a crucial role in conserving Greek cultural heritage. Keïvelēs,¹⁸² for example, stated that the Greek people systematized and cultivated their spiritual music, and so conserved “the precious heritage” throughout “the ages of darkness.”¹⁸³ Before the 1870s, it is also possible to find alternative arguments about the origins of Greek music. Agathokleous,¹⁸⁴ who paid tribute to Chrysanthos’ work, concluded in his *Theory of Church Music* (1855) that Greek church music was derived neither from classical Greek nor from European music but completely

¹⁷⁸ Dēmētrios Vernardakēs (1834–1907) was a scholar, historian, and playwright from Mytilene. In 1875, he wrote *Logos avtoschedios peri tēs kath’ ēmas ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs* [Improvised Discourse on Our Church Music], which was announced in 4. 9. 1875, the day of the foundation of the Greek Music Society in Athens. It was published for the first time in the journal *Nea ēmera* (1876) [New Day] in Trieste. In his treatise, Vernardakēs stated that European music was poor and one-sided, and Greek music very rich and diverse (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:359).

¹⁷⁹ Dēmētrios Vernardakēs, *Logos avtoschedios peri tēs kath’ ēmas ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs*, ed. Ekklēsiastikou mousikou syllogou en Athēnais (Trieste: Typois tou Avstroougrikou Loyd, 1876), 17.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁸¹ Evtaksias, *Hē ethnikē ēmōn mousikē*, 16.

¹⁸² G. I. Papadopoulos described Iōannēs G. Zōgraphos Keïvelēs as a renowned musician with a remarkable voice and highlighted his expertise in Ottoman rhythms. According to Papadopoulos, his *Mousikon apanthisma* [Music Anthology] was inspired by similar anthologies compiled by Theodōros Phōkaeōs (d. 1848) with the titles *Hē Pandōra* (1843, 1846) and *Evertēpē* (1830) (Papadopoulos 1890, 340, 356).

¹⁸³ Iōannēs G. Zōgraphos Nikaeōs Keïvelēs, *Mousikon apanthisma (Medzmouai makamat)*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Hē Anatolē Evaggelinou Misaēlidou, 1872), η’ [viii].

¹⁸⁴ Panagiōtēs Agathokleous (d. ca. 1889) was a church cantor, music instructor, and theoretician of the nineteenth century. He came from Ainos in eastern Thrace and was raised on Chios. For many years, he worked as a teacher at the Greek School of Argous and as church cantor at the Metropolitan Church of Agios Petros, with many known students. In Athens, he published his work *Theōrētiko tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs* (1855) [Theory of Church Music], in which he intended to clarify some of the topics of Chrysanthos’ treatise. In 1870, he introduced *tetraphony* into the church of Evaggelismos of Patras. This was apparently prior to the introduction of four-part singing in the Greek church in Athens by Katakouzēnos. This is evident from the two reports, which the archbishop Patrōn and Ēleias Kyrillos wrote for the Holy Synod between 5 and 25 February 1870. Agathokleous was also a member of the musical commission of the third Olympic exposition but died shortly before 1889 (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:35).

from “Asian music.”¹⁸⁵ This assertion would not be possible to sustain twenty years later due to the rising nationalist influence on the topic.

Whereas the mythological past of ancient Greek music presented the origins of (Greek) music, Christianity served as a link that adopted Greek language and music and conserved it. Kēltzanidēs¹⁸⁶ called this matrimony of Hellenism and Christianity “Christian Hellenism,” which, according to him, was denominated “Byzantium” at a later stage. He claimed that Christianity inherited language and music from the ancient Greeks and that they were destined for “divine worship.”¹⁸⁷ He gave a synopsis of the history of Greek church music, highlighting the milestones and the continuous lineage from ancient to modern times. With Christianity becoming the official religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, ancient Greek music was renamed “Christian music,” and later “Byzantine music,” which was divided into religious music (*esōterikē mousikē*) and secular music (*eksoterikē mousikē*).¹⁸⁸ John of Damascus was born in 676 in Damascus and was trained by Cosmas the Monk, who lived in Calabria during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Leon III (r. 717–741). Klētzanidēs emphasized that even after his death between the years 750–760, Greek music was uninterruptedly cultivated and enriched throughout the centuries by both musicians and by Byzantine emperors such as Theophilos (r. 829–842), Leo VI the Wise (r. 886–912), and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus¹⁸⁹ (r. 913–959). The cultivation of music continued until the end of the reign of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos (r. 1449–1453), during whose reign the famous Byzantine musician Manuēl Chrysaphēs (d. 1463) lived.¹⁹⁰ Kēltzanidēs underlined that even after the fall of Byzantium, the music of John of Damascus and other Byzantine teachers was still taught and developed through published or unpublished writings.¹⁹¹ The Holy Mount Athos and the Patriarchate Church were other two important centers where music was practiced and transmitted. Chrysanthos had also appreciated the contributions of the monastery at

¹⁸⁵ “Hē Ekklēsiastikē Mousikē den einai katagōgēs tēs archaias Ellēnikēs Mousikēs, oute tēs nyn Evrōpaikēs, all’ einai olōs katagōgēs Asiatikēs, [...]” (Agathokleous 1855, ιβ’ [xii]).

¹⁸⁶ Chatzē-Panagiōtēs Kēltzanidēs was born around 1815 in Bursa, where he started his career as a church cantor, and died in 1896. Besides his profession as a cantor, he was also a music teacher. From 1848 onwards, he sang in various churches in Istanbul until 1882. His song anthology *Kalliphōnos seirēn* included Ottoman songs which were published in two editions in 1856 and 1888. Other publications were the *Ekklēsiastikon mousikon apanthisma* (1861), *Anastasimatarion* (1861), where he transcribed the old melodies by Antōnios the Lampadarios into the New Method, *Ieratiko mousiko egkolpio* (1875), “Cherouvika” by Daniēl the First Cantor, and the *Anastasimatarion* by Kōnstantinos the First Cantor from the Old to the New Method (1863). For more information on his activities and publications, see Kalogeropoulos 1998, 3:163.

¹⁸⁷ Panagiōtēs Kēltzanidēs, *Methodikē didaskalia theōrētikē te kai praktikē* (Istanbul: n.p., 1881), δ’ [iv].

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ The surname “Porphyrogennētos,” literally “the purple born,” refers to the Purple Chamber of the Imperial Palace in Constantinople, where he was born.

¹⁹⁰ Kēltzanidēs, *Methodikē didaskalia theōrētikē te kai praktikē*, δ’ [iv].

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, δ’–ε’ [iv–v].

the Holy Mount Athos to the conservation of the psalmodies through their ritual use in ceremonies.¹⁹²

Arguments underlining continuity in Greek music served to highlight the pure and authentic origins of Greek music. Geōrgios Pachtikos¹⁹³ concluded from his research in the year 1888 that ancient Greek music had survived the years of foreign rule. He highlighted that the modern Greeks had maintained their “musical treasure” that they had received from their ancestors. In his study, he aimed to prove that ancient Greek music was not dead, as many believed, but lived on in the songs of the Greeks insofar as they subsisted through the “long dark ages.” The Greeks and church music had maintained numerous elements of the “precious” ancient period and folk songs that evoked the glorious past.¹⁹⁴

For those who questioned the pure origins of Greek music, Milēsios gave an answer in a journal article.¹⁹⁵ He stressed that there was no time when the Greeks did not possess songs. The Greek Orthodox church had saved the hymns and transmitted them orally in earlier periods until, in modern times, they were printed and disseminated. The church had saved both religious and secular music since they were notated and performed in the same way. Milēsios could not think of any other origin of Greek music than ancient Greece, because he was convinced that the language and people had descended from them.¹⁹⁶ In a similar way, Keīvelēs, in his preface to his song anthology, stated that Greeks always cultivated and systematized their music by conserving the “precious” heritage which they had received from their ancestors throughout the years of “darkness.”¹⁹⁷ For him, Greeks had used music both during their heyday, to express their happiness, and during the periods of decadence, when they were related to tales, as in the folk songs.¹⁹⁸

According to the Hellenic-Christian historical thesis, Byzantium had maintained the vitality of ancient Greek music since the Middle Ages. Pachtikos claimed, for example, that

¹⁹² Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, 239.

¹⁹³ Geōrgios Pachtikos was born in 1869 in Bithynia, north-west Turkey, and died in 1916 in Istanbul. He is considered the first, scholarly Greek ethnomusicologist. Having completed his musical training in Athens, he spent most of his life in Istanbul, where he published numerous articles in music journals and gave lectures on Greek music. His *260 dēmōdē ellēnika asmata apo tou stomatos tou ellēnikou laou* (1905) [260 Greek Folk Songs from the Mouth of the Greek People of Asia Minor, the Islands, and Europe] is one of his most seminal contributions. He was a polyglot and, besides ancient Greek, also knew Turkish, French, and German (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 5:32–33).

¹⁹⁴ Geōrgios D. Pachtikos, *260 dēmōdē ellēnika asmata apo tou stomatos tou ellēnikou laou* (Athens: Vivliopoleion Mpek kai Mpart, 1905), ις' [xvi].

¹⁹⁵ Timotheos ho Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” *Pandōra KA'* [21], no. 497 (December 1, 1870): 381–90; Timotheos ho Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” *Pandōra KA'* [21], no. 499 (January 1, 1871): 429–36.

¹⁹⁶ Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” December 1, 1870, 384–85.

¹⁹⁷ Keīvelēs, *Mousikon apanthisma (Medzmouai makamat)*, 1:η' [viii].

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:3.

the folk song was in full bloom during the medieval Greek period.¹⁹⁹ Based on the content of some songs, he claimed to be able to date them back to the sixth and seventh centuries. He emphasized that many of the songs sung by the young Greeks, in particular, reached back to the Hellenic and Middle Ages.²⁰⁰ Pachtikos further argued that the Greeks did not only save the melodies of their ancestors but created new ones based on the melodies and rhythms which stood “in accordance with the genius and spirit of the old ones.”²⁰¹ The “imagined” link between the “spirit,” which had been highlighted already in Zambelios’ folk song collection, and the “genius” of the young generation, with those that had lived 2,000 years earlier, is the moment when cultural continuity is best expressed.

1.3.2 Appropriation of Music Culture

In the second half of the nineteenth century, ancient Greek music, which had been treated as a cultural element that both Greece and Europe shared, was gradually appropriated and presented as exclusively Greek music. Dēmētrios Vernardakēs’ study gives some examples of this kind of cultural appropriation. After his research in Germany and Athens, he found out, to his surprise, that there was no relationship between ancient Greek and European music, but rather there was one that existed between ancient Greek and Greek Orthodox church music.²⁰² He based his thoughts on Byzantine terminology, which, as he claimed, was easier to understand for modern Greeks than for non-Greeks. In contrast, foreigners would misinterpret the terminology. Although they elaborated extensively on this topic and knew old Greek musical notation, they approached the ancient sources incorrectly because they took the relationship between ancient Greek and European music for granted.

Two years before, the Greek scholar Tzetzēs, who had studied in Germany, published his treatise *On the Ancient Greek Music in the Greek Church*,²⁰³ where he discredited the works of foreign scholars and reproached them for being tendentious, unscholarly, and superficial.²⁰⁴ He claimed that only the Greek church music conserved elements of “truly” ancient Greek origin, which the Roman church lacked.²⁰⁵ He emphasized that the Greek

¹⁹⁹ Pachtikos, *260 dēmōdē ellēnika asmata apo tou stomatos tou ellēnikou laou*, ιβ’ [xii].

²⁰⁰ Ibid., κδ’ [xxiv].

²⁰¹ Ibid., κε’ [xxv].

²⁰² Vernardakēs, *Logos avtoschedios peri tēs kath’ ēmas ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs*, 11–12.

²⁰³ Tzetzēs, *Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche*.

²⁰⁴ Tzetzēs refers to Kiesewetter, Dr. Wilhelm Christ, and Dr. Schafhäutl, who used the writings of Greek singers of recent times. Tzetzēs’ criticism was that those singers were taught according to the “New Method,” and not the old, traditional one, and therefore were not reliable as a source (Tzetzēs 1874, 8–9). Furthermore, Tzetzēs reproached them, as Dr. Christ had already commented, that the conserved elements could not be recognized by the “Nichtgriechen” [Non-Greeks]. Therefore, for Tzetzēs, the occidental scholars failed to write a correct Greek music history (Tzetzēs 1874, 8).

²⁰⁵ “Die römische Kirche habe keine Spuren von Elementen der alt-griechischen [Musik]. Die griechische Kirche jedoch schon [...] In der griechischen nämlich sind uns manche Dinge echt alt-griechischen Ursprungs erhalten, wovon wir in der römischen gar keine Spuren finden” (Tzetzēs 1874, 10).

Orthodox Christians, contrary to common belief, benefited from ancient Greek pagan culture, and apart from some polemic stances against pagan philosophy, they did not hold any enmity for them.²⁰⁶ Until the fall of Constantinople, the ancient melodies were cultivated and used alongside other “pagan” disciplines, such as elocution and meter. This kind of cultural appropriation is a very crucial step that challenges the existing power relations in the debates. It does so by aspiring to the position of the key stakeholder and gaining authority over the debate on cultural continuity itself. Whereas, until the 1870s, Greek intellectuals aimed for recognition by the European stakeholders of Greece as a member of the “civilized” nations, the nationalist movement towards the end of the nineteenth century claimed ancient Greek culture as their own. In the various texts on Greek music and culture, it becomes evident that Greeks did not need recognition anymore and saw their ancient culture as the ancestor of the arts of the West and of the East. It was claimed that Greece served as a model and teacher from which Western and Eastern music had originated. Iōannēs Kōlettēs had highlighted the Greek nation’s mission from a Hellenocentric point of view: “By its geographical position Greece is the center of Europe, having on its right the East and on the left the West[;] it is destined to enlighten the East through its rebirth as it illuminated the West through its fall.”²⁰⁷

Classical Greek culture did not lose its function as a model for the European arts for many centuries. In the latter nineteenth century, its prestige among European intellectuals was also appreciated among Greek intellectuals. To underline the high value of their culture, Greeks often referred to the statements of prestigious artists. For example, Pachtikos, in his preface, referred to Richard Wagner’s²⁰⁸ statement to underline the great significance Greek music had for renowned European composers.²⁰⁹ Pachtikos claimed that the ancient Greek writings on music had influenced the “Titan of the new arts, the great and genius German composer” and quoted Wagner, who stated that “it is impossible to penetrate into the new art without first going back to the arts of the Greeks. The new [art] as a chain link has its sources from this [the ancient].”²¹⁰ It is likely that he was referring to Wagner’s essay *Die Kunst und die Revolution* [Art and Revolution] where Wagner had originally stated:

In some reflections about our art, we cannot go a step forward without seeing the coherence of the same with the arts of the Greeks. In fact, our modern art is only a link in the chain of

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 12. Here, Tzetzēs responded to the thesis that Christian Greeks prosecuted pagan Greeks.

²⁰⁷ Quotation and translation according to Roudometof (1998, 440).

²⁰⁸ For a detailed reception of Richard Wagner in Greece, see Kourmpāna 2017.

²⁰⁹ Especially the Greek composer Manōlēs Kalomoirēs, who became one of the founders of the Greek National School, supported German and criticized Italian music (Romanou and Kompotiati 2013, 109–10). Wagner was an honorary member of the Greek Music Association that existed from 1880–1884. When Wagner died, the association sent a letter and a laurel wreath to his family that were presented at his funeral (Romanou and Barbaki 2011, 68).

²¹⁰ “Adynaton na emvathynōmen eis tēn neōteran technēn chōris proteron n’anadramōmen pros tēn tōn Ellēnōn. Hē neōtera, ōs alyssodetos krikos echei tas pēgas avtēs eks ekeinēs” (Pachtikos 1905, μ’–μϛ’ [xl–xli]).

the developing art in whole of Europe, which takes its point of departure from the [ancient] Greeks.²¹¹

From a Greek perspective, the important message was not the process and the developing stages of the arts, but solely the fact that it had its origins in Greek culture. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth, Wagner's statement and music had become renowned and respected in Greece, on the one hand, because of the ongoing esthetic discussions between Italian and German opera, and, on the other hand, because Wagner was lauded by the Athenian music-loving public as a great composer. However, Wagner often served as an authority on questions of music esthetics in the early twentieth as well as the nineteenth century. Vernardakēs also referred to Wagner, among other German composers, highlighting his great ability in harmonic progression.²¹² Wagner's statements about and appreciation of ancient Greek music were one more argument that defended the high prestige Greek music enjoyed against those who criticized it. By the 1870s, the theory that European music had developed from Greek music had become popular in the Greek-speaking world.²¹³ The attempts to appropriate and claim Greek music were not only limited to the European-Greek context but worked in the same way even in the opposite direction, beyond Greece to the East.

The afore-mentioned Keīvelēs even went one step further, arguing that the Greek people served, and still serve, as “teachers of music,” not only to Europeans but also to the “Asians.”²¹⁴ Keīvelēs highlighted the contributions of the Greeks to music from which Eastern cultures benefited:

The Greek people were, and are still, used as teachers of music, and this is not only witnessed by the Europeans, but also by Asians, who adopted most of the Greek music to their own music, and considered this science [of music] as God-given, and as the very first element of education, chanting, and singing both in times of joy and sadness.²¹⁵

According to Keīvelēs, Ottoman musicians acknowledged in their writings that the most perfect musicians were Plato (Eflatun), Pythagoras (Pisagora), Asclepius (Lokman Hekim),

²¹¹ “Wir können bei einigem Nachdenken in unserer Kunst keinen Schritt thun, ohne auf den Zusammenhang derselben mit der Kunst der Griechen zu treffen. In Wahrheit ist unsere moderne Kunst nur ein Glied in der Kette der Kunstentwicklung des gesammten Europa, und diese nimmt ihren Ausgang von den Griechen” (Wagner 1849, 5). For further research on Wagner and his relationship to ancient Greek musical topoi, see Geary 2014.

²¹² Vernardakēs, *Logos avtoschedios peri tēs kath' ēmas ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs*, 25–26.

²¹³ Cf., for example, Thereianos 1875, 19.

²¹⁴ By “Asian,” Keīvelēs referred to the music of the Middle East.

²¹⁵ “To Ellēnikon ethnos, dynametha, eipein echrēsimevse kai chrēsimevei ōs didaskalos tēs mousikēs, kai martyres ou monon avtoi oi Evrōpaiοi, alla kai avtoi oi Asianοi, paradechthentes ta kyriōtera tēs mousikēs tōn para tōn Ellēnōn, theōrountōn tēn epistēmēn tavitēn ōs theion ti dōron, kai ōs prōtiston tēs anatrophēs stoiceion, psallontōn kai adontōn pantote en te tē chara kai tē thlipsei” (Keīvelēs 1872, 1:ς' [vii]).

and many others who emerged during the time of Alexander the Great (Iskender Sulkarnein).²¹⁶ At this point, it is important to keep in mind that claiming the origins of Middle Eastern music served to improve the bad reputation it had among European scholars. Greek music, and in particular Greek church music, was considered by many European scholars to be a type of music that derived from a Turkic or “Arabo-Persian” culture. Therefore, claiming Middle Eastern music—which included Turkish, Persian, and Arabic music—as music of Greek origin helped to present it as a legitimate and prestigious cultural heritage worth defending against those who disapproved of it as “barbaric.” However, there were other claims that presented a more nationalist view and aimed to defend Greek music. Therefore, the thesis that, in fact, Turks had adopted the culture of the local native populations was often stated. Vernardakēs wrote, for example:

[...] [It is] not the one who does not have that borrows, nor the one who has, but only the barbaric and uncivilized, both conqueror and more powerful in material, borrows everything that he does not have from the civilized. And if he did not, then it would be something unique in history, if a hyperborean and barbaric race, who, deprived of the tartaric steppes and lacking the elements of human speech, was forced to borrow five tenths from Arabs and three tenths from Persians, in order to form its infantile language, while dominating Asia Minor, the ancient homeland of the Greek Civilization and, above all, of the Greek music. It would be unique to lend to the invaded people something that this race did not already have: music—and a music so wonderful that it coincided with the ancient Greek one, as well as with the ecclesiastical!²¹⁷

From this point of view, “barbarians,” which refers here to the Turks, had adopted their music from the Greeks of Asia Minor and therefore cultivated a music that was genuinely and “purely” Greek.²¹⁸ Vernardakēs upheld his argument that the Turks conserved everything that they had received from the Greeks, who, “gifted by nature, elevated music to the summit of artistic perfection.”²¹⁹ Touched and impressed by the music and dance of the whirling dervishes, he drew analogies between the *ney* and the ancient *aulos* that produced Phrygian and Lydian melodies, which one would take for a myth if not experi-

²¹⁶ Keivelēs himself provided the Turkish names, which are given here in brackets (Keivelēs 1872, 1:η’ [viii]). However, he does not mention the Turkish sources for his claim.

²¹⁷ “[...] den daneizei ho mē echōn, oude daneizetai ho echōn, alla tanapalin ho varvaros kai apolitevtos, kai kataktētēs kai ischiooterōs ylikōs an eine, daneizetai para tou politismenou, o,ti den echei. Ei de mē, tha ēto monadikon tōonti en tē istoria phainomenon, phylē ypervoreios kai varvaros, ētis katavasa ek tōn tatarikōn steppōn estereito kai avta ta stoicheia tou anthrōpinou logou, dio kai ēnagkasthē na daneisthē pente dekata ek tēs aravikēs kai tria dekata ek tēs Persikēs, dia na schēmatīsē tēn nēpiōdē glōssan tēs, kyrievousa tēn mikran Asian, tēn panarchaian patrida tou ellēnikou politismou, kai pro pantōn tēs ellēnikēs mousikēs, na daneisē eis tous kataktēthentas laous, o,ti den eiche, mousikēn, kai mousikēn outō thavmasiōs sympiptousan pros te tēn archaian ellēnikēn kai pros tēn ekklesiastikēn!” (Vernardakēs 1876, 28).

²¹⁸ Ibid., 28.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 29.

enced directly.²²⁰ Keïvelēs saw the continuity of Greek music within the sultan’s palaces. The musicians, who meticulously studied the exact rhythm, did not only possess knowledge about Ottoman music but studied “with curiosity” Greek church melodies as well.²²¹

1.3.3 “Decline” of Greek Music

But the glorious ancient times of music have passed and cannot be turned back. With the death of Hellas, the fame and virtue of this music came to an end. The numerous musical instruments fell silent; the magic of singing lost its former splendor.²²²

The national history narrates how the “Golden Ages” of the nation entered into a period of cultural decline in order to merge it into the next phase of national resurrection.²²³ At the same time, this narrative explains how vital elements of national culture survived the times of foreign occupation and assimilation. Generally, the narrative of national decline holds an alien occupier responsible, one that for centuries controlled and dominated the “legitimate inhabitants” of the occupied territories through oppression. According to the narrative of decline, the oppressed were normally not allowed to practice their customs, which led to the loss of their “pure” culture, which became intermingled with the culture of the oppressors. This seemingly irreversible cultural loss could not be fully restored, even when the nation freed itself and regained the right of self-determination. In the Greek case, the narrative of cultural and musical decline had to find a plausible chain of argument to explain the process of “corrupted culture.” Corrupted culture was seen as a result of the intermingling of the genuine culture with an alien one, which had to be removed. The consulted primary literature suggests different methodologies to overcome “cultural impurity.” Maybe the most radical narrative was the one that attempted to completely abandon the “impure” native culture and replace it with a foreign but prestigious and progressive one: European culture. The second narrative aimed to purify the native culture of foreign elements through meticulous research. It aimed to detect what was their “own” and what was not, so that the “original” culture could gradually be restored. The third narrative appropriated the supposedly foreign elements. It claimed that those elements were actually not foreign but national, since the occupiers actually underwent a process of assimilation by the culture of the native people. The boundaries of these three narratives were not static but permeable, and they combined arguments and views.

During the nineteenth century, Greece formulated the narrative of musical decline as an analogy to the national historical narrative. It served as the preliminary justification

²²⁰ Ibid., 27.

²²¹ Keïvelēs, *Mousikon apanthisma (Medzmouaï makamat)*, 1:1’ [x].

²²² “Alla parêlthon anepistreptei oi endoksoi ekeinoi mousikoi tēs archaiotētōs chronoi. Meta tēs parakmēs tēs Ellados esvesthē kai ho astēr tēs mousikēs avtēs doksēs. Ta polyarithma mousika organa esigēsān kai hē magos ōdē apōlese tēn proteran avtēs aiglēn” (Pachtikos 1905, 1γ’ [xiii]).

²²³ Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, 65–69.

to suggest reforms, regardless of the respective interest group. All parties agreed on one point: that the current state of Greek music was not able to present the “modern Greek” spirit and therefore had to be changed. This was seen not only as an intellectual mission but also as a national one.

Milēsios contrasted the state of European and Greek music with a metaphor of two neighboring gardens. One was blooming, and the other had become overgrown. The neat and flourishing garden represented European music, whereas the abandoned, neglected one, full of weeds, represented the situation of Greek music.²²⁴ In this illustrative introduction, the author represented the old garden as the original, out of which the new one had spread and reached splendor. This comparison not only stressed the bad state of Greek music, but was intended to stimulate others to clean and restore it to its former “healthy” state. Forty-five years later, in 1905, Pachtikos used a similar metaphor, representing Greek music as a forgotten treasure at the bottom of the sea that needed to be cleared of all the seaweeds and shells that were covering it. He underlined that it was the duty of the Greeks to clean and present this treasure’s beautiful body that had been exposed to diseases over years and to restore its “ancient beauty” and magnitude.²²⁵ In most articles, the narrative of decline is described in a similar fashion. Vernardakēs stated that the Greeks were considered one of the most artistic peoples by nature in the whole world. He argued that in the course of time, the music had fallen into a state of decline, together with other realms of the arts and sciences.²²⁶ Milēsios claimed that throughout the long years of “barbarism,” the music had lost its ancient beauty. Turks and other “barbarians” influenced the music and added foreign elements, changing its form and nature.²²⁷ Evstathios Thereianos²²⁸ argued that Greek church music fell into a state of stagnation and took up foreign melodies and Turkish words, which unmade its miraculous sound.²²⁹ Music of “civilized” and “enlightened” societies, such as that of the ancient Greeks, were based on theoretical principles that followed rules based on scholarly methods, which modern Greek music supposedly lacked. Therefore, Thereianos held foreign influence responsible for the fall of Greek music because it had led to a science without theory, system, or basis: a practice that was

²²⁴ Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” December 1, 1870, 382.

²²⁵ Pachtikos, *260 dēmōdē ellēnika asmata apo tou stomatos tou ellēnikou laou, o’-Oa’* [vxx–vxxi].

²²⁶ Vernardakēs, *Logos avtoschedios peri tēs kath’ ēmas ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs*, 22.

²²⁷ Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” January 1, 1871, 386, col. 2.

²²⁸ Evstathios Thereianos (d. 1881) was archdeacon and First Cantor at the Metropolitan Church of Zakynthos during the nineteenth century. He was familiar with Greek church and European music. He emigrated to Trieste where he became parish priest at the Greek Orthodox church of Agios Nikolaos for thirty years until his death on 13. 2. 1881. He was an opponent of the harmonization of Greek church chant. One of his most important contributions was *Peri tēs mousikēs tōn Ellēnōn kai idiōs tēs ekklēsiastikēs* (1875) [On the Music of the Greeks and Especially of the Church]. Although Emile Ruelle had praised this treatise back then, today it is considered inaccurate. For further information, see Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:398–99; Papadopoulos 1890, 360.

²²⁹ Evstathios Thereianos, “Skepsis peri tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs,” *Pandōra Z’* [7], no. 162 (December 15, 1856): 415, col. 2.

based on habits.²³⁰ Thereianos compared European with Greek music, and concluded that European music had developed as a science with astonishing progress, which became evident in its perfect rhythmic organization and harmony.²³¹ Vernardakēs also held the foreign occupation responsible for the period of musical decline and compared the Greeks' destiny with that of the Hebrews under Egyptian rule. He claimed that foreign oppressors subjugated and tyrannized the Greek people, and therefore Greeks were not able to pursue their music practice freely. They had to care for their families and work hard to earn their daily living. The decline of Greek music was set in direct comparison with European music, which most of the Greek writers praised. Presupposing that European music had developed from the same ancient nucleus, a taste of bitterness and disappointment is evident in the Greek statements, given that their music did not enjoy the same fame and splendor. The destiny of Greek music went in two opposite directions. Thereianos asserted that in the East, after the fall of Constantinople, Greek church music was lost and became part of the melodies of the minarets, whereas in the West, the music merged with the European melodies.²³²

But even the reforms that were celebrated in the early nineteenth century became increasingly criticized. Initially praised as a considerably progressive step in the context of the Greek Enlightenment, Chrysanthos' contributions to modern Greek music, for example, now faced harsh criticism. Chrysanthos' "New Method" had reduced and redefined the apparatus of signs and symbols, which made it troublesome or even impossible to reconstruct the older neume notation. Critics doubted Chrysanthos' reforms and musical expertise, reproaching him for having irreversibly lost the chance to restore the old Orthodox ecclesiastical music tradition that had existed before the "New Method." Milēsios admitted that not all musicians agreed with the introduction of the "New Method," especially the elderly ones. He lamented that the elements of the old music had been lost in the hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt; and that superficial knowledge of music had led to the fall of the Greek music culture. Another reason for the decline was the lack of a solid didactical music treatise. Consequently, he concluded, the "New Method" contributed neither to a new music theory, nor to new modes or melodies. The Three Teachers had simplified the neumes and their didactical approach, but they had not addressed the problem of the system *per se*.²³³ Tzetzes even called Chrysanthos "a not very educated man"²³⁴ who was not able to fully understand the sources he had read.²³⁵ He claimed that the commission in Istanbul, which had decided on the music reforms in 1818, consisted of people without

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Milēsios, "Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn," January 1, 1871, 434.

²³⁴ "[...] einem sonst nicht besonders gebildeten Mann" (Tzetzes 1874, 6).

²³⁵ "Anegnō, all'ouk egnō" [this man (Chrysanthos) read but did not understand] (Tzetzes 1874, 134).

education who had invented a new notation system by reducing sixty-two signs to twenty. The new system did not have any relation to the old one and was simply redefined.²³⁶

1.3.4 The Idea of “Progress” in Greek Music

European music in nineteenth-century Greece represented an alternative movement that was opposed to secular and spiritual Greek traditional music. The westernization of the national music culture was a sensitive topic in conservative circles and led to heated debates. Westernization of Greek music meant modifying the modal character of the music, replacing it with the diatonic one via harmonization, and sometimes adopting Italian *bel canto*. The efforts to westernize and reform Greek music were intended to improve its reputation. This becomes manifest in, for example, the countless discussions on harmonizing Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical chant. The term *tetraphōnia* [four voices] referred to four-part singing but was also used as a synonym for “polyphony” in the sense of harmonized melodies. The discussions concerning if the melodies in Orthodox Greek music should or should not be harmonized lasted throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. The question of harmonizing Greek Orthodox chant not only reflects the plurality of different opinions but also allows us to catch a glimpse of the deep cultural abyss which Greek music had to bridge.

As mentioned earlier, many European scholars and travelers had a low opinion of modern Greek music. Even some European music aficionados were convinced that Greek music sounded bad and was “outdated” and “backward.”²³⁷ Although Milēsios was against the introduction of European music elements into Greek music, he gave a vivid account of the arguments that reformists would use to support westernization. He stated that “a group of people” was not at all interested in “our” national music [*ethnikē mousikē*], and after the declaration of Greek liberty, they preferred to benefit from Europe’s refinements by imitating them, including European customs, clothing, dances, instruments, education, and the way of chanting during celebrations and in the church. These people, Milēsios continued, preferred to “leave the ill-sounding, monotonous, nasal, and inharmonious, Asiatic Turkish music to the uneducated, the impolite rabble, and to the uncultured cantors who were trained according to the Turkish school.”²³⁸ This group, Milēsios concluded, neither

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

²³⁷ An early statement is from Maria Sigismund Frider, who wrote: “Il n’existe plus d’ailleurs de Musique parmi les Grécs [*sic*] modernes, tout comme ils n’ont plus de Peintres & de Sculpteurs. Les Scythes, qui les ont conquis, ont étouffés ce gout & ce talent. Les airs de leurs Chansons populaires sont gais & réjouissans [*sic*], mais sans mélodie & sans âme. Ce sont des Chœurs de jouissance, mais on n’y sent aucun sentiment ou passion.” [The modern Greeks have no music anymore, just as they have neither painters nor sculptors. The Scythians that conquered them suffocated their taste and talent. The tunes of their folk songs are joyful and entertaining but without melody or spirit. There are festive choirs but one does not feel any sentiment of passion.] (Frider 1773, 227). For the reception of contemporary Greek music by European travellers, see also Irving 2018, 25.

²³⁸ “Tēn dysēchon kai monotonon kai errinon kai mē armonikēn Asiatikēn kai Tourkikēn mousikēn as tēn aphīsōmen eis ton apaidevton kai agenē ochlon kai eis tous amatheis kai tourkomathēmenous psaltas.” Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” December 1, 1870, 385, col. 2.

tolerated nor recognized Greek music, but preferred to listen only to Italian music at home, in public, and in church.²³⁹ In this short but strong statement, Milēsios was already indicating the most controversial arguments of reformists who supported the westernization of Greek secular and church music. In another article published in 1892, the author considered the “national” Greek music to be “varvaros tourkoanatolitikē” [Barbaric Oriental Turkish] whose characteristics were “monotony and melancholy.”²⁴⁰ Many decades later, in 1919, it is possible to find similar comments on the Turkish influence on Greek music. N. Theodōros Synadinos²⁴¹ gave an account of musical life in Athens at the beginning of the 1830s. He summarized that Athens did not have any Italian, French, or German music, but only Greek and Turkish music. He saw the influence of the Turkish music mainly on the so-called *amanes*, which in the course of time had corrupted the “pure Greek music” and had found many Greek followers. He claimed that after the beautiful state of the “klephtic song,” its performance became “nasal” and with a “monotonous voice.”²⁴² Greek Orthodox church music was considered backwards and, in contrast to ancient Greek music, internationally invisible.²⁴³ One of the most essential topics was the provenance of Greek music and its Turkification during the Ottoman period, which, according to the reformists, led to the decay of Greek music. The reformists claimed that Greek music had taken foreign elements of Turkish (or “Arabo-Persian”) music, and that the original state of Greek music could not be restored. The bad image of Turkish or Greek music was not genuinely a Greek invention but derived from the orientalist approach that emerged in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. The terminology that was often used in a pejorative sense to refer to Greek traditional music was “Oriental,” “Turkish,” “Arabo-Persian,” and “Asiatic.” It was often described as “effeminate,” “monotonous” and “nasal.” Greek music was considered “sick,” and it was assumed that its national character could only be restored by implementing reforms. These kinds of debates coined terms which were used in the context of cultural progress such as “metarrythmisē” [reform], “kainotomia” [innovation] or “proodos” [progress], which stand in the light of the Enlightenment and the era of reforms.

This tendency becomes especially evident in the reform attempts by Greeks who were associated with European cultural centers such as Vienna. The influence of the harmonized melodies in the Catholic churches probably had a considerable influence on the Greek

²³⁹ The use of the term “Italian music” was not restricted to Italian music or language but was used synonymously for diatonic music in general.

²⁴⁰ This article was written by A. N. Petsalēs and published in the *Akropolē* in 17 August 1892 (Baroutas 1992, 79n111). It is noteworthy that in the 1890s, the “Turkish” popular songs, which were often referred to as *amanes*, were popular on the music market. “Oriental music” fell out of favor and made the answer to the question of a Greek national music urgent (Philopoulos 1990, 120).

²⁴¹ N. Theodōros Synadinos was born in 1880 in Tripoli and died in 1959 in Athens (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 5:656–57).

²⁴² “Kai aiphnēs meta to telos ōraiou tinos ‘klephtikou tragoudiou’ ypsouto errinos kai plērēs monotonias phōnē, adousa Tourkikon amanen” (Synadinos 1919, 5–6).

²⁴³ Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklesiastikē mousikē*, 69.

Orthodox cantors who aimed to “elevate” their liturgical music to the same level.²⁴⁴ The best-known Greek cantors, who intended to innovate Greek music culture in the name of progress, were Iōannēs Chaviaras²⁴⁵ and Anthimos Nikolaïdēs.²⁴⁶ Chaviaras collaborated with Benedict Randhartinger²⁴⁷ in Vienna from 1844 onwards. Both rearranged and harmonized the liturgical chants, which were premiered at the Holy Trinity at Easter 1844.²⁴⁸ In the preface to the third edition of the first volume, *Ymnoi tēs Theias kai ieras leitourgias* (1859) [Hymns of the Sacred and Church Liturgy], Chaviaras stated his motivation for the rearrangement of the liturgy as follows:

The nineteenth century distinguishes itself in the history of human achievements because of the great and unbelievable progress of the human spirit. As contemporaries, we admire this century’s greatness and benefit. [...] The reform of Greek church music is also considered an offspring of the same progress.²⁴⁹

In his foreword, Chaviaras gave a brief overview of Greeks who had already tried to reform Greek music. He was aware of the bad reputation Greek music had at that time and

²⁴⁴ Ap. Vallēndra, “Hē ekklesiastikē mousikē tēs ellēnikēs orthodoxou ekklēsiās kata tēn televtaian 150 etian,” *Ekklēsia* 49 (1972): 92; Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklesiastikē mousikē*, 23.

²⁴⁵ Iōannēs Chaviaras (ca. 1802–1875) was a connoisseur of Greek church and European music. In 1842, he became First Cantor of the Greek Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity in Vienna. He is considered one of the earliest Greek musicians to harmonize Greek Orthodox church chant. Together with Benedict Randhartinger, he rearranged and harmonized the church melodies. The arrangements were also printed and received in the Greek mainland and beyond, and they triggered both enthusiasm and criticism in the Greek-speaking music scene (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 6:445–46; Papadopoulos 1890, 352–53).

²⁴⁶ Anthimos Nikolaïdēs (d. 1865) is considered, together with Chaviaras, to be one of the earliest Greek musicians to harmonize Greek Orthodox church chant. He studied Greek Orthodox church music in Istanbul and European music in Vienna with August Swoboda (1787–1856). Similar to Chaviaras, Nikolaïdēs also worked with Gottfried Preyer and became director of the church choir at the St. George’s Church in Vienna. He was active as a music teacher and went to Odessa and Athens to teach church music. Although his works were also published, Chaviaras’ arrangements of church melodies became more frequently performed in public, whereas Nikolaïdēs’ works were forgotten. For a more detailed account, consult Phormozē 1967, 33–81; Philopoulos 1990, 36.

²⁴⁷ Benedict Randhartinger (1802–1893) was born in Ruprechtshofen in southern Austria. His stepfather taught him singing, piano, and violin. From 1812–1819 he was a student at the theological seminary of Vienna, where he attended lessons with A. Salieri. Randhartinger had contact with many musicians in the Austrian music scene and became one of the most popular composers in Vienna as well as director of music at the court. At the university, he studied law and later philosophy. Together with the Greek musician Chaviaras, he rearranged the music of the Greek Orthodox liturgy by harmonization. He died in Vienna. Cf. Philopoulos 1990, 28–41; Jaklitsch Wanek 2004, 97–113; Phormozē 1967, 33–81.

²⁴⁸ Towards the end of the same year, the first volume was printed exclusively in the Greek alphabet. The second edition was printed in 1848, and the third edition in 1859. The later editions are in Greek and Latin alphabet, so that they could also be sung by those who could not read Greek (Philopoulos 1990, 28).

²⁴⁹ “Ho 19 aiōn yparksei episēmos eis tēn istorian tōn anthrōpinōn prakseōn dia tas megalas kai apistevous proodous tou anthrōpinou pnevmatos, ōn kai ēmeis avtoi oi sygchronoi thavmazomen to megaleion kai tēn ōpheleian. [...] Teknon tēs proodou tavtēs logizetai kai hē metarythmisis tēs ellēnikēs ekklesiastikēs mousikēs [...]” (quoted in Philopoulos 1990, 22). My translation.

the fact that “non-Greeks” treated it with mockery. Chaviaras hoped that his reforms and arrangements would improve its reputation and lead to more international acceptance.²⁵⁰

In a similar way, the community of the St. George Church in Vienna, where the cantor Nikolaïdēs, with Preyer,²⁵¹ rearranged liturgical chant, addressed a letter to the Ecumenical Patriarchate stating their reason for introducing tetraphonic singing at the church.²⁵² In the first book, he arranged liturgical music for four male voices. Similar to Chaviaras and Randhartinger, Nikolaïdēs transcribed the “old melodies” into European notation and harmonized them.²⁵³ After its premiere in 1844 in Vienna, the first volume was published in April 1845.²⁵⁴ Although Nikolaïdēs’ and Chaviaras’ attempts met with initial success, Chaviaras’ arrangements prevailed and were in use in other places in Europe, such as in Marseille, Trieste,²⁵⁵ London, and Liverpool. His arrangements were also used under Nikolaos Kanakēs²⁵⁶ at the Church of Saint Irene of Athens; and under Panagiōtēs Gritsanēs²⁵⁷ when he was called to Alexandria in 1873.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 28.

²⁵¹ Gottfried von Preyer (1808–1901) was born in Hausbrunn in southern Austria. At a young age, he was instructed in violin and organ and was trained by the priest and musician Bohunowsky. In 1823, he went to Vienna, where he was taught composition by Simon Sechter. In 1844, he became dean of the music conservatory in Vienna, and in the same year he was appointed *Kapellmeister* at the Saint Stephan church. His composition included songs, masses, oratorios, and symphonic works, among others (Wurzbach 1872, 23:283–88; Phormozē 1967, 33–81).

²⁵² Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklesiastikē mousikē*, 23–24.

²⁵³ Ibid., 32.

²⁵⁴ Nikolaïdēs had planned to publish five volumes, out of which three were eventually printed. Similar to Chaviaras’ edition, Nikolaïdēs’ third volume was printed in the Latin alphabet as well (Philopoulos 1990, 33).

²⁵⁵ The attempts to harmonize liturgical masses in Trieste were unsuccessful, since the parish preferred traditional Orthodox masses.

²⁵⁶ Nikolaos Kanakēs (1857–1939) was a music instructor at the Odeion Athens and cantor at the Greek Orthodox church. He was familiar with both Greek church and European music and was known as a supporter of Sakellaridēs’ attempts to reform Greek church music (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 5:5–6).

²⁵⁷ Panagiōtēs Gritsanēs (1835–1898) was born in Zakynthos. He was a nineteenth-century music instructor and mainly active in Alexandria. He received his first musical training from his father Geōrgios Gritsanēs, the First Cantors Theodōros Kothrēs (or Kourkoumellēs), and P. Vorre, both in Greek Orthodox church chant and European music. He became cantor at the St. Dionysios of Zakynthos from 1855 to 1865. Afterwards, he went with the archimandrite N. Katramēs to Naples in Italy. There he studied European music for eight years but also assisted classes in philosophy and esthetics during the years 1865 to 1873 until his graduation. In 1868, he published the journal *Ethniko ēmerologio*, where he dealt with the way singing was practiced in the Ionian Islands. The journal was also issued in Paris by Marinos Vretos. In 1870, he published in the journal *Laoi* a treatise with thirty-two pages about the question of Orthodox church chant titled “To peri tēs mousikēs tēs ellēnikēs ekklesiās zētēma” [About the Musical Question of the Greek Church], which was praised by Aleksandros Ragkavēs. In 1873, Gritsanēs was invited by the Greek community of Alexandria to harmonize church chant in the church Evaggelismos, which led to heated debates. Gritsanēs’ system stopped being applied in 1879 for economic reasons, resulting in the abolishment of the choir. He remained a music instructor at the Alexandrian Greek schools. In the fire of Alexandria in 1881, Gritsanēs lost his library that had conserved rare manuscripts. In 1882, he contradicted Tzetzes’ arguments about the Greek-Byzantine origins of Greek church music that had been published in the religious journal *Siōn*. In 1888, he published *Stoicheia tēs phōnētikēs mousikēs pros chrēsīn tēs en tois scholeiois spoudazousēs neolaia*s [Elements of Vocal Music for the Youth Studying at Schools] in Athens (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:545–46).

The attempts to modernize Greek liturgical music by harmonizing Greek melodies were perceived in a positive as well as in negative way. Thereianos, for example, praised the achievements of the two “compatriots” in Vienna who, according to him, opened the way to musical progress and “with the support of two prestigious German music teachers harmonized songs that are used in the mass.”²⁵⁸ A more critical stance was taken in an article by Papadopoulos²⁵⁹ sixteen years later, when he highlighted the “unsuccessful” musical approach of Randhartinger and Preyer to legitimize the foundation of a national conservatory. He claimed that only in this way would it be “[...] possible to gain a national church music, as it was proven by the not very successful arrangements of our church songs by the two foreign German composers Ragchartiger [Randhartinger] and Brayer [Preyer] and the two Greek cantors who collaborate with them.”²⁶⁰ The Patriarchate, in contrast, was indignant about the new trends of harmonizing the melodies of Greek Orthodox masses and argued in 1846 that the performers were in favor of the “fashionable tetraphonic” music that would damage the church’s decency.²⁶¹ The use of harmonized melodies concerned various realms, including confessional, national, and patriotic ones. On 1 April 1847, the parish priest of St. George’s formulated a response in which he legitimized the reasons for reforming Greek Orthodox church music. He stressed that harmonizing church chant would not harm but elevate church music to a higher level by freeing it from foreign influence and by standing in accordance with old traditions:

Your holiness Master, not only did we not introduce alien and foreign music into our sacred church, but we also rid it from them. Nowadays, as everyone knows, art and science both progress, and all the customs and traditions of the people follow a common current. And what in earlier times had been praised as pleasing, is nowadays considered blameworthy and unpleasant. In this big city in which we dwell, there is art and harmonized music everywhere, in churches and theaters, in cafes, and on the streets. And the residents, both young and old, natives and foreigners, those who live here permanently or short-term, listen continuously to it, consciously or unconsciously. And those who have been living here for generations are not the only ones who have grown accustomed to the said [harmonized] music, losing plea-

²⁵⁸ Thereianos, “Skepseis peri tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs,” 414.

²⁵⁹ Geōrgios Papadopoulos was born in 1862 in Istanbul and died in 1938 in Athens. His research focused especially on the history of Greek Orthodox music, which led him to publish his seminal works *Symvolai eis tēn historian tēs par ēmin ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs* (1890) [Contributions to the History of Our Church Music] and *Istoriē episkopēsis tēs Vyzantinēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs* (1904) [Historical Survey of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music]. His works are full of dense information on Greek-speaking musicians, musical institutions, and biographies. In 1938, he launched a project, together with the contributions of other scholars, to compile the *Leksikon tēs Vyzantinēs mousikēs* (1995) [Dictionary of Byzantine Music], which was published only after his death in Athens. He was a member and president of the Greek Music Society and the society “Orpheus” (Romanou 2001).

²⁶⁰ “Oti de outō monon dynametha asphalōs n’apoktēsōmen ethnikēn ekklēsiastikēn mousikēn, apodeikneyi pros toutois kai ē ouchi lian epitychēs melopoiēsis ekklēsiastikōn ēmōn asmatōn ypo dyō eksochōn Germanōn melopoiōn, tou Ragchartiger kai tou Braÿer, kai toi dyō Ellēnōn psaltōn sympraksantōn avtois.” Papadopoulos, “Peri tēs kath’ ēmas ekklēsiastikēs technēs kai idiaiterōs peri ellēnikē agiographias (Peri mousikēs),” 96, col. 2.

²⁶¹ Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklēsiastikē mousikē*, 34.

sure in their one music. Even those who have recently arrived, once they reach the Danubian shores, take off their old persona and put on the new one; they also become the same as the others in order to be as adapted as possible. Having seen our own church empty of congregation because they do not enjoy the music, and thus, in order to attract people to the church for the fulfillment of their duties, we were forced to request from our First Cantor Anthimon [Nikolaïdēs], very well-known here ... [and] an expert in the Old and New Method of our church music and familiar with the European one, to free our music from the foreign and strange sound of the alien, which is unfit for the reverence of our holy church chanting, and to settle it into a more proper style. So he took on this work and freed it [the music] entirely from foreign [elements] and foreign singing; and he also based it on the old style and melody in the same way the bards Cosmas and Damascus, the holy fathers of the church, had put together our church songs and praised God with this music. [This was obtained] by singing with three more voices, holding the same tone, [and] accompanying the first harmonically. By working together with one of the best European musicians [...]. [Nikolaïdēs] did not do anything else, but only what our holy church orders and stands for, while conserving harmony and propriety freed from foreign and strange sounds, which concerned only the liturgy and other songs ... Proper for understanding this is the memory of the events of the year 1815 related to the exegeses of our church music by Chrysanthos, Chourmouziōs, and Grēgorios the Lampadarios.²⁶²

From this letter, it becomes clear that the Greek-speaking diaspora in Europe had to face criticism regarding their traditional church music, which was adapted and assimilated by combining their traditional music culture with the local one. The incorrect assumption that the Greeks had already harmonized in ancient and Byzantine times was used to legitimize harmonization of Greek Orthodox church music. Tzetzēs, for example, stated that important Greek churches in some regions had used polyphonic singing until the fall of Constantinople; and that Europe had inherited the “*harmonische Polyphonie*” [harmonic polyphony]²⁶³ from the Greek church.²⁶⁴

1.3.5 Impact of French Orientalism

Perhaps the most influential international scholar on the question of how to reform Greek music was the French composer and musicologist Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray.²⁶⁵ The French defeat in the Franco-Prussian war (1870–1871) and the aftermath of the “Dreyfus

²⁶² Quoted from Phormozē 1967, 25; Philopoulos 1990, 35–36. I would like to thank Evangelia Chaldæaki for revising my translation from Greek into English.

²⁶³ In Greek often referred to as “*armonikē symphōnia*.”

²⁶⁴ Tzetzēs, *Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche*, 104.

²⁶⁵ Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray was born in Nantes on 2 February 1840. As a student of Ambroise Thomas, he graduated from the Paris Conservatory in 1860. His cantata “*Louise de Mezières*” won the Prix de Rome in 1862. During his stay in Rome from 1862 to 1866, he met Jules Massenet, Ernest Guiraud, and Émile

Affair” had triggered a national identity crisis in France.²⁶⁶ To face this crisis, French identity had to be redefined and readjusted to overcome the weakness of the Second Republic (1848–1851) and to shape a Third Republic which would highlight the glories and achievements of the French Revolution. The discussion about French identity affected all levels of cultural production, including music. As a music educator, Bourgault-Ducoudray aimed to create a sense of “unity” by organizing choral singing and composing patriotic songs for schools. Together with his colleagues, Bourgault-Ducoudray contributed to the revival of the French folk song and to the canonization of the French musical heritage.²⁶⁷ France highlighted its kinship with classical Greek and Roman civilizations to prove superiority over the Germans.²⁶⁸ It was also during this same period that Bourgault-Ducoudray approached Greek music from this Eurocentric viewpoint and sought to find the common roots in ancient and modern Greek music. In this period, race theories were circulating, and some French intellectuals considered themselves predecessors of the Aryan people. For Bourgault-Ducoudray, the Greeks also belonged to the Aryan “family” and Indo-European group.²⁶⁹

Inspired by the idea of finding ancient Greek modes in modern Greek folk and church music, Bourgault-Ducoudray travelled to various places in Greece and Greek-speaking areas in Asia Minor. In his writings, he used the term *musique orientale* [Oriental music] to refer to the music of Greece, Turkey, and the Middle East in general, which was monophonic, modal music. The term “Oriental music” was, however, not a neutral term. It was used in opposition to Western or European music. During this period, “Oriental music” was associated with “stagnant” or “backward” music cultures that needed reform. Bourgault-Ducoudray’s prejudices against Middle Eastern music had existed already in the times of the European Enlightenment and had established themselves as a general belief in Western thinking. He dated the decline of Hellenic music back to the Roman conquest and stated that it could never revive all the finesse it once had possessed.²⁷⁰ With this state-

Paladilhe. Back in Paris in 1866, he founded the “Société Bourgault-Ducoudray” and, in 1870, an amateur choir that performed baroque music. In 1871, he was a founding member of the “Société National de Musique,” together with renowned musicians such as César Franck, Ernest Guiraud, and Camille Saint-Saëns, who considerably contributed to the musical landscape of late nineteenth-century France. On health grounds, he resigned from the National Music Society and decided to shift his research focus to Greek folk songs. After a first trip to Greece in 1874, he applied for funding for field research at the Ministry of Education and Culture. He visited Greece once more, from January to April 1875. From September to October 1881, he undertook a two-month field research trip to Brittany. From 1878 to 1908, he was professor of music history at the Paris Conservatory and published an anthology of Scottish, Irish, and Welsh songs. He died on 4 July 1910 in Vernouillet (Kakaroglou 2013, 33–37).

²⁶⁶ Pasler, “Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France,” 460.

²⁶⁷ Annegret Fauser, “Gendering the Nations: The Ideologies of French Discourse on Music (1870–1914),” 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), 86.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁶⁹ Pasler, “Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France,” 472.

²⁷⁰ Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque; mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient janvier-mai 1875* (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1877), 2.

ment, Bourgault-Ducoudray followed a common narrative of cultural decline and took for granted the idea that “Oriental music” was in a stage of stagnation.²⁷¹

His orientalist approach also becomes evident in his remarks on Greek and Turkish music during his field research. His account of two ceremonies at the dervish convent in Istanbul reveal the mindset with which Bourgault-Ducoudray already approached “Oriental music.” Whereas Bourgault-Ducoudray was fascinated by instrumental music, he seemed to have a more critical stance on some vocal performances. He wrote about *des derviches hurleurs* [the howling dervishes] at the convent of Üsküdar and expressed his positive impression about the sound of the Arabic prayer at the convent in Pera: “There is nothing more noble, virile, or musical in the performance of the prayers in Arabic language.”²⁷² However, he had many criticisms of Greek Orthodox church chant, especially of the *ison*.²⁷³ This becomes evident in his description of the boys’ choir in Izmir, where in his words, the “deviant” performance of the *ison* apparently made the already “alien music” even more so. He was disappointed that Greek Orthodox cantors were not ready to use other types of accompaniment apart of the *ison*,²⁷⁴ and finally confessed his aversion to the *ison* to his acquaintance Aphthonidēs²⁷⁵ in Istanbul.²⁷⁶ Bourgault-Ducoudray’s dislike of some elements of “Oriental music” is also expressed in his description of the evening scenery of the Golden Horn—a district of Istanbul—which gave him consolation for the “wrong” pitches and “barbaric intonations” that he had to listen to all day and that harmed his sense of hearing.²⁷⁷

His panacea to pull “Oriental music” cultures out of a state of stagnation were reforms. These reforms consisted mainly of the introduction of “polyphony,” as he himself

²⁷¹ Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d’une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient* (Paris: J. Baur, Libraire-Éditeur, 1876), 17; Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque*, 64.

²⁷² “Rien de noble, de viril et de musical comme le récit des prières en langue arabe” Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d’une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, 23.

²⁷³ The *ison* in its traditional sense is a drone that keeps the ground pitch of the mode. It is sung by “isokrates” [drone keepers] (Skoulios 2012, 23).

²⁷⁴ “[...] mais il faudrait les entendre interpréter par d’autres exécutants et accompagner autrement que par l’odieux *ison*” (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1878, 26).

²⁷⁵ Geōrgios Germanos Aphthonidēs was born 1823 in Istanbul and was a musician and scholar of the nineteenth century. He took part in the Crimean War and served as a volunteer in the Russian military. He later became a monk. He worked at the offices of the monasteries of the Ecumenic Patriarchate in Romania in 1853; he was secretary at the monastery at Sina in 1860, abbot at a monastery in Wallachia in 1862, and director of the church of the Greek community in London from 1869–1874. In 1874, he went blind and returned to Halki. There he spent his days voluntarily teaching Greek, French, and musical instruments such as viola, guitar, and flute to the children of famous families. His solid knowledge of Byzantine and European music allowed him to express his opinion on musical topics. In 1866, he became director of the Fifth Patriarchic Musical School. He died 1895 on Halki (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:290; Papadopoulos 1890, 449).

²⁷⁶ “Là [in the Saint-Dimitri Church in Izmir], point d’*ison* beuglé par des enfants criards, pas de ces déraillements qui substituent aux lois d’une musique déjà étranger une fantaisie plus étrange encore” (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1878, 16).

²⁷⁷ “En contemplant ce spectacle unique au monde, je me consolais des fausses notes et des intonations barbares que m’avaient écorché les oreilles” (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1878, 26).

stated: “The Orientals, whose music has been immobile and in a long [period of] stagnation until now, would understand the fertile and regenerative element, which she [the music] must find in modern polyphony.”²⁷⁸ Bourgault-Ducoudray believed and hoped that the plethora of modes used in Greek folk songs and church music could enrich the modal system of Western art music, which had exhausted itself through the excessive use of major and minor keys. In this way, both sides could benefit from each other: Greek music would benefit from polyphony, and European composers would benefit from the modal structures of Greek or “Oriental music.” In order to make “Oriental music” accessible and acceptable for European scholars, it had to undergo reforms.²⁷⁹ Bourgault-Ducoudray’s “mutual benefits argument” approach has to be situated in a period when French musicians had already developed a self-perception where the use of harmony was considered “the conquest of the white race.”²⁸⁰

Bourgault-Ducoudray was already aware of the Greek attempts to reform their music, and he praised their endeavor to reinforce the link between ancient and modern Greek music to “unify” the “Hellenic spirit.”²⁸¹ He did not belong to the conservative reformists, who aimed to restore old Byzantine chant but formed part of a more progressive group that aimed to reform Greek music in accordance with its “national character.”²⁸² For Bourgault-Ducoudray, this was best represented in the eight modes of Greek church music, which could reach an even more elaborated stage by harmonizing the melody. Polyphony, he claimed, was the “modern element par excellence,” whereas the Greek modes represented the “national and traditional element.”²⁸³ He believed that the harmonization of Greek music could represent Greece’s national musical heritage in a modern fashion; and, in this way, harmonization could solve the quarrels between the two main reformist movements in the Greek-speaking world of music: one aimed to abandon Greek music and introduce European music, and the other aimed to restore the old tradition. He was against the strict separation of Greek and Western music, and he supported harmoniza-

²⁷⁸ “Les Orientaux, dont la musique a été immobilisée jusqu’ici dans une longue stagnation, comprendraient quel élément fécond et régénérateur elle doit trouver dans la polyphonie moderne” (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1878, 17).

²⁷⁹ “Ces derniers, nous l’avons dit, ne sont point incompatibles avec la *polyphonie* moderne; au contraire, de leur mariage avec elle doit naître un avenir fécond pour l’art oriental, et une extension de ressources pour l’art européen” (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 71–72). Author’s emphasis. [The latter told us there are incompatible points with modern polyphony; quite the contrary. From their marriage with it [polyphony] a fertile future for Oriental arts will be born, and an extension of the resources of European arts].

²⁸⁰ Pasler, “Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France,” 468; Panos Vlagopoulos, “The Harmonisation of Greek Folk Songs and Greek ‘National Music,’” in *Music, Language and Identity in Greece: Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Polina Tambakaki et al., Centre for Hellenic Studies, King’s College London. Publications 19 (London; New York: Routledge, 2020), 54.

²⁸¹ Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d’une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, 1.

²⁸² “La Grèce a besoin d’une musique *vivante* [...] La Grèce réclame [...] une musique d’accord avec son sentiment, qui concilie à la fois ses aspirations comme nation moderne et ce qu’il y a d’encore vivant dans sa tradition nationale” (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 66).

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 66.

tion in Greek music.²⁸⁴ In his vision, harmonizing Greek music, transcribing the repertoire into staff notation, and studying Greece's folk songs would create one national music rather than two conflicting ones. Putting all these reforms into practice would construct the necessary materials that would serve as "authentic Greek" music, but at the same time it would be both national and European.²⁸⁵

For Bourgault-Ducoudray, the main obstacle to introducing polyphony or harmonizing Greek melodies was quartertone intervals. He underlined the different usages of whole tones and halftones in ancient Greek music and quartertones in modern Greek music. He claimed that the quartertones had originated from Asian influence, since the Greeks "have been in contact, viz. in conflict, with the Semitic races."²⁸⁶ He regretted that Greece would lose touch with the intellectual currents in Europe because of the use of an interval system that was alien to the musical sentiment of other European nations.²⁸⁷ Bourgault-Ducoudray's aversion to quartertone intervals derived from their supposedly random use and inaccurate repeatability. He said, for example, that he was not able to find any singers who would be able to sing a scale in one mode that contained quartertones both upwards and downwards in exactly the same way.²⁸⁸ In a pamphlet from 1885, the Greek Musical Commission had already defined the exact pitches in terms of fractions.²⁸⁹ But Bourgault-Ducoudray complained that the results of the mathematical calculations were not really applicable and were unpractical for performers.²⁹⁰ Additionally, Misaël Misaēlidēs (1822–1906), his acquaintance in Izmir, assured him that most of the chanters were "uneducated" and unfamiliar with the music treatises. For Bourgault-Ducoudray, the quartertone intervals, however, were not only problematic in vocal music but also in instrumental music.

²⁸⁴ "Ne serait-il pas d'un intérêt mieux entendu, au lieu de construire une nouvelle barrière entre la musique occidentale et la musique orientale, d'unir les deux éléments qui vivent actuellement en Orient dans un célibat stérile?" (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 72).

²⁸⁵ "Quand ce travail musical aura été fait, la Grèce possédera des matériaux qui lui permettront d'édifier un art à la fois savant et *original*, européen et *national*" (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 75). Author's emphasis.

²⁸⁶ "[...] s'est trouvée en contact, c'est-à-dire en lutte, avec les races sémitiques" (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 4). It was believed that the microtonal differences were a residue of "Asian" music cultures that had problems with producing semitones. The rich coloraturas that also existed in Arabic music represented a culture in a period of "musical degradation" (Pasler 2006, 467). It was a general belief among Western scholars that Byzantine music was originally diatonic, and that micro intervals and rich coloraturas were introduced during the Muslim dominion (Wellesz 2000). For Greek scholars, however, micro intervals belonged to the harmonic genus.

²⁸⁷ "Il nous répugne de penser que la Grèce soit poussée l'inclination naturelle de son génie à adopter, pour les intervalles de sa musique, un principe complètement étranger au sentiment musical des autres nations de l'Europe, et qui la condamne à s'isoler intellectuellement du grand courant européen" (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 68–69).

²⁸⁸ "Nous n'avons jamais pu obtenir d'un seul d'entre eux qu'il produisît en descendant une gamme les mêmes intervalles qu'en la montant" (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 70).

²⁸⁹ Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music in Ottoman Istanbul*, 123–27.

²⁹⁰ Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque*, 71.

Bourgault-Ducoudray compared the chanting styles in “European” (Athens) and “Asian” (Istanbul) churches and concluded that in Asia Minor the chromatic genus was preferred. He explained this phenomenon by referring to the influence of secular or popular songs that were printed in several song anthologies in Istanbul.²⁹¹ He made a similar observation about secular musical instruments, such as the bouzouki that allowed the playing of whole and halftones, whereas only the upper parts of the neck would allow quartertones for “melodies that were foreign, Turkish, or Arabic.”²⁹² Therefore, Bourgault-Ducoudray supported the use of European instruments because they allowed only whole- and half-step intervals, and he condemned oriental instruments such as the tanbûr as unsuitable.²⁹³ Apart from the instruments, Bourgault-Ducoudray was also in favor of using staff notation instead of Greek neume notation. This is also why he welcomed the decision of the music commission nominated by the Greek Literary Society of Istanbul²⁹⁴ to transcribe the Greek Orthodox chants into European notation. Bourgault-Ducoudray believed that the diastematic notation introduced by Chrysanthos was too complex and was difficult to learn. Furthermore, he pointed out that neume notation was unknown in Europe, and no scholarly translation of Chrysanthos’ treatise existed in any European language.²⁹⁵ This would hinder the teaching and dissemination of Greek music in European countries. Consequently, he suggested writing down Greek music in staff notation so that Western musicians could access, study, and use the materials for their compositions. The foundation of L’École Française in Athens created an institution to attract musicians who would study the music of Greece and the Middle East, and thus acquire a solid knowledge of “Oriental music.”²⁹⁶ Additionally, Bourgault-Ducoudray explicitly mentioned the need to write down Greek folk songs in notation. As a musical genre that was part of oral trans-

²⁹¹ He named some of the secular song anthologies of Ottoman music in Greek letters, such as *Evterpē*, *Pandōra*, and *Mousikon apanthisma* (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 62–63). For further reading on these volumes, see e.g. Bardakçi 1993; Behar 2005; Kappler 2002.

²⁹² “[...] mélodies étrangères, turques où arabes” (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 69). It should be noted at this point that the bouzouki that Bourgault-Ducoudray referred to was slightly different from today’s. Whereas in the early twentieth century, the frets were movable; in the second half of the century, another type with fixed frets dominated. It is not possible to perform quartertones even in the higher register of today’s bouzouki.

²⁹³ Bourgault-Ducoudray mentioned that the tanbûr was the official instrument of the Greek Orthodox church (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1878, 25). It may be necessary to mention at this point that the tanbûr had become the instrument par excellence for teaching music and visualizing the pitches on its neck. Therefore, it is possible to find a picture of the tanbûr indicating the position of the pitch names in many theoretical music treatises in Ottoman and Ottoman-Greek sources.

²⁹⁴ In his travel account, Bourgault-Ducoudray mentioned the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople. Financed by private sponsorship, it held weekly lectures on various topics, including Byzantine churches and Greek music, which Bourgault-Ducoudray attended (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1878, 22).

²⁹⁵ His statement that Greek music was hardly known to the Europeans and that there were hardly any sources that explained Greek music is remarkable. François-Joseph Fétis dealt in his *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique* (1837) with Greek music. Guillaume André Villoteau also wrote on Greek music, not to mention many more English and German publications.

²⁹⁶ Bourgault-Ducoudray also underlined the pioneering character of this institute that would connect music and archaeology and stress the leading position of France among the competing nations, Germany and Belgium (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 75–76).

mission, it was threatened with losing its “ancient” and “young” Hellenic “perfume” due to the increasing influence of European music.²⁹⁷

The impact of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s ideas of forging a national Greek music in accordance with the esthetics of European music was remarkable. His contacts, which included influential key stakeholders in Istanbul, Athens, and Izmir, facilitated the circulation of his ideas.²⁹⁸ Parts of his *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque* were republished in the journal *Mousikē* [Music] and *Ekklesiastikē alētheia* [Ecclesiastic Truth].²⁹⁹ In particular, his recognition of the ties between ancient and modern Greek music, which in a wider context, had become an important topic, made him a speaker for and supporter of this thesis at an international level. Bourgault-Ducoudray’s ideas also partly bore fruit when the Russian composer Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov (1865–1936) apparently used his Greek folk song collection as inspiration for his symphonic works.³⁰⁰ Bourgault-Ducoudray’s ideas on polyphony in Greek folk song and church music also had many supporters within the Greek-speaking world. One of the most important Greek musicians and musicologists, Geōrgios Pachtikos,³⁰¹ who published the first folk song collection with ethnomusicological methodology, was in favor of harmonizing Greek music. He justified his position, as did many others, by claiming that harmony was already existent in ancient Greek music.³⁰² The harmonization of Greek music (armonikē symphōnia) was, for him, an unavoidable step in the times of “harmonic dominion” and, if done properly, would elevate the character of the melodies rather than distort it.³⁰³ The amalgamation of Greek music and harmonization would increase its prestige for European listeners, who would learn to appreciate Greek folk songs. If harmony was applied to Greek music, neume notation would be insufficient and would have to be changed to staff notation.³⁰⁴ Therefore,

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁹⁸ Romanou and Barbaki, “Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece,” 68.

²⁹⁹ Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklesiastikē mousikē*, 106. *Mousikē* was a journal that circulated in Istanbul between the years 1912–1915.

³⁰⁰ Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov’s overtures, op. 3, no. 1, G minor (1882), and his op. 6, no. 2 (1883) were supposedly based on Greek themes (Schwarz 2001). The Turkish scholar Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal noted that Bourgault-Ducoudray’s song collection in Greek and Italian contributed to propagating Greek music in the West (Gazimihal 1937, 108). In the Greek-speaking world, the reception was different. Synadinos, for example, referred to Glazunov ironically, remarking that it was not possible to find anything Greek in his work. He added that the “heavy Slavic spirit” had suffocated everything that was Greek (Synadinos 1919, κθ’ [ixx]). Kakaroglou remarked that from the 1880s onwards, Russian music became part of his curriculum when he taught the music of Modest Mussorgsky and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov to his students (Kakaroglou 2013, 36).

³⁰¹ Pachtikos was influenced by Kurt Wachsmut, who published the study *The Ancient Greeks in the Modern* (1864). He concluded that the spirit of the old Greeks had survived in the new and tried to adopt and apply the same theory to the realm of music, as he stated in his introduction (Pachtikos 1905, 9). Pachtikos was active in the Ecclesiastical Music Society of Constantinople and was a member of the music committee. For further information, see also Papadopoulos 1890, 182–83, 332–37, 376, 434, 452, and 538.

³⁰² Pachtikos, *260 dēmōdē ellēnika asmata apo tou stomatos tou ellēnikou laou*, vζ’–vθ’ [lvii–lix].

³⁰³ He referred to Bourgault-Ducoudray’s thesis (Pachtikos 1905, vθ’ [lix]).

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, ξβ’ [lxii]. It is, however, important to recognize that neume notation could also be used for four-part singing. Cf., for example, p. 97 of this study.

Pachtikos suggested carrying out the reforms with the help of Greek and foreign musicians financed by wealthy Greeks.

Ēlias Tantalidēs³⁰⁵ song anthology *Songs to European Melodies*³⁰⁶ could be seen as the first result of this mission. In addition to melodies from English, German, and Italian song collections, it contains Greek spiritual and folk songs. The scores are all in staff notation and were partly harmonized by Bourgault-Ducoudray.³⁰⁷ In the preface to the edition, Tantalidēs praised Bourgault-Ducoudray’s contributions to Greek national music and his efforts to collect numerous church and folk melodies in Athens, Izmir, and Istanbul that were taught in Parisian societies. Tantalidēs supported the study of European music, Bourgault-Ducoudray’s views on the origins of Greek music, and his ideas on the amalgamation of Eastern modes and Western polyphony. Therefore, he inserted a whole passage from Bourgault-Ducoudray’s treatise, which bundled his most important arguments together, and made it available for the Greek-speaking public.³⁰⁸

One of the reactions to this work was published in a newspaper article in the *Ekklesiastikē alētheia*. Dēmētrios Paspallēs³⁰⁹ drew on Bourgault-Ducoudray’s arguments and contextualized them in the ongoing discussion about the improvement of Greek Orthodox church music.³¹⁰ Paspallēs referred to Charles Émile Ruelle’s paper from a conference in 1869, which was eventually published on 3 January 1878.³¹¹ The content of the original passage that Paspallēs provided included the most important milestones of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s reforms.³¹² These had also been discussed by the commission of the

³⁰⁵ Bourgault-Ducoudray met Tantalidēs during his stay in Istanbul. Tantalidēs was a poet and a professor at a college on Halki. In a footnote, Bourgault-Ducoudray described him as a cultivated person with a remarkable musical memory. He claimed that Tantalidēs knew all the melodies of the Greek liturgy, with all its complex and irregular intervals (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1878, 19). Tantalidēs also dictated some melodies to Bourgault-Ducoudray during his field research (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877, 12).

³⁰⁶ Ēlias Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian* (Athens: Typois Ch. Nikolaïdou Philadelphēōs, 1876).

³⁰⁷ Cf. Tantalidēs 1876, 2, 4, 6, 8, 19 and 25. All the pieces are religious songs.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 11–12. It could not be determined from which exact work this passage has been quoted. From the description and content, it is possible to conclude that the supplied text must have derived from Bourgault-Ducoudray’s *Souvenirs d’une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient* (1876). The exact quote, however, could not be found.

³⁰⁹ Dēmētrios Paspallēs was a nineteenth-century Istanbulite banker who was familiar with church and European music. He wrote and published articles under the aegis of the Ecclesiastical Music Society in Istanbul in 1863 and published articles on Greek Orthodox church music in local journals. He was a member of the music commission and was one of those who favored the substitution of the neume notation with staff notation (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 5:4). Paspallēs spoke of a “guilt mentality,” referring to when cantors of the old school opposed the replacement of the neume notation by staff notation (Erol 2015, 208–11). The Ottoman-Italian composer Callisto Guatelli dedicated an edition of new and old Ottoman songs, which he had rearranged for piano, to Paspallēs. This shows the close relationship between the two, but also that Ottoman composers of *alafraŋga* music were influenced by the ideas of Bourgault-Ducoudray. See Chapter 2.2.3 “Restoration of Ottoman Music.”

³¹⁰ Dēmētrios Paspallēs, “To zētēma tēs ekklesiastikēs mousikēs,” *Ekklesiastikē alētheia*, March 5, 1888, 174–78.

³¹¹ Charles Émile Ruelle (1833–1912) was Bourgault-Ducoudray’s consultant in questions of notating music and approaching the parallels between ancient Greek and Byzantine music.

³¹² These included: the transcription of the entirety of the church melodies of the Greek Orthodox liturgy in staff notation; one text on the general history and theory of Greek church music and prospects for its future,

Greek Philological Society, which had dissolved, according to Paspallēs, due to “envy, fanaticism, and lack of education as well as because of inexperience.”³¹³ Paspallēs harshly remarked that whereas Ruelle aimed to help “our” church music back to its former splendor, “we” stubbornly continued the “thēlyprepē asiatismōn” [feminine Asianism] following the misleading national sense of honor in the “Asian character of our church melodies.”³¹⁴ He criticized the lack of scholarly methodology and terminology in Greek Orthodox music and compared it with the contributions to church music by European musicians such as Palestrina, Berlioz, Cherubini, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven; and he sharply commented that “we dwarfs did not even know about their existence.”³¹⁵ Another point of his criticism referred to the “arbitrary, out-of-tune yelling” of the unexperienced church cantors.³¹⁶ Paspallēs mentioned the remarks that Bourgault-Ducoudray made during his stay about the education of the cantors. Bourgault-Ducoudray had asked why two experienced cantors sang differently: the first would sing according to his traditional education, the second according to music notation. He raised a similar question concerning the psalm “Ton nymphōna sou vlepo” [I behold your bridal chamber], which, in Saint George’s Church in Istanbul-Galata started in a minor key, whereas the singer at the Patriarchate sang it in a major key on the same day.³¹⁷ The lack of systematically standardized melodies or performances that could be repeated exactly the same way was an argument that was often used by the supporters of the progressive fraction.³¹⁸ The same stance is also evident in Nikolaos Paganas’³¹⁹ statement that Greek music was “incomplete, unclear, and enigmatic. The ones who were fascinated [about ancient Greek music] will turn away frustrated and dedicate themselves to European theory, which is organ-

plus Émile Burnouf’s summarizing translation of Chrysanthos’ treatise, which he had already prepared for Bourgault-Ducoudray during his first stay; the reconstruction of the old music, which would be used as a base for a new prototype of music language for “oriental people,” which was polyphony (Paspallēs 1888, 175–76).

³¹³ “Alla pnevma phthonou, pnevma phanatismou kai pro pantōn idioteleias, symparomartousēs kai tēs atheias kai apeirokalias epephere tēn dialysin tēs Epitropēs ekeinēs, kai to zētēma enetaphē palin eis to skotos ē mallon parepempthhē eis tas ellēnikas kalendas” (Ibid., 176, col. 2).

³¹⁴ “[...] kai ethnikēs philotimias charaktērismous asiaticous en tois ekklēsiastikois melesin ēmōn [...]” Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 178, col. 1.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ The necessity of a standardized system of music notation has been an issue in the Greek-speaking world for many centuries. The tradition of reading neume notation was practiced; however, it was not fully understood anymore and led apparently to many misunderstandings since the seventeenth century. The “arbitrary” singing was also criticized by Greek musicians and intellectuals (Rōmanou 1985, 8).

³¹⁹ Nikolaos Paganas was born in 1845 in Plomari and died in 1907 in Istanbul. He was a musician from Lesbos and was active during the nineteenth century. He learned music as an autodidact but was also trained by Ignatio Kalathellēs and reached a high level of musical expertise in both performance and theory. He played many instruments such as the lute, flute, piano, and lyre, among others. He also published instructional works such as the *Grammatikēn tēs mousikēs glōssēs* (1893) [Grammar of Music Language], *Mousikēn paidagōgeian* (1897) [Music Pedagogy], and *Mousikon kosmon* (1901) [World of Music]. In Istanbul, he also published articles and essays on music and contributed to contemporary music debates. For more publications and contributions, see Kalođeropoulos 1998, 4:506; Papadopoulos 1890, 462–63.

ized and clear as well as systematic in writing down melodies.”³²⁰ The need for a scholarly music theory was not only based on the motivation to equal European contemporaries; it also sought to teach cantors and avoid the “arbitrary” singing in Greek church music. Paspallēs therefore pleaded for the abolition of the “barbarophone” and “arbitrary” singing in churches, and the introduction of a controlled, standardized way of properly performing music. Moreover, he claimed that cantors violating this rule should pay penalties.³²¹ In spite of the various attempts to reform and systematize Orthodox Greek church music, the problem of “arbitrary” singing seemed to continue until the twentieth century. Kōnstantinos Psachos,³²² who took a leading role in the discussion on Greek church music in 1908, complained about the “arbitrary” performances, and he contributed to the systematization of Greek church music and standardization of the intervals.³²³

Although Bourgault-Ducoudray was considered one of the most important international researchers of Greek music of his time, his analysis, conclusions, and reformative ideas for “Oriental music” also faced criticism from Greek and Turkish musicians and musicologists. For example, Geōrgios Lampelet (1875–1945), one of the leading thinkers on Greek national music, pointed to the risk of foreign musicians mixing up or misinterpreting modes. Specifically, he referred to Bourgault-Ducoudray and reproached him for having confused the hypodorian and major scales, which changed the character of the melody through incorrect harmonization. He understood why foreign composers made mistakes, which was due to their lack of knowledge about Greek music, but he rebuked Greek composers who made the same errors for not reflecting on this topic.³²⁴ Lampelet’s statement

³²⁰ “[...] all’ evriskō avto ateles, asaphes kai schedon ainigmatōdes, chanei olēn tēn pros avtēn agapēn kai aphosioutai olōs eis tēn evropaikēn mousikēn theōrian, ēn evriskei orthēn kai saphē, tēn de graphēn tēs melōdias systēmato poēmēnēn kai alanthaston oti de touto outōs echei pollous echomen tous prosepimartyrountas” (Paganas 1893, 80, col. 1).

³²¹ Paspallēs, “To zētēma tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs,” 178, col. 2.

³²² Kōnstantinos Aleksandros Psachos (1869?–1949) was one of the most important contributors to the study of Byzantine music and folk song in Greece. He was also a composer, teacher, cantor, and theoretician. Being an expert on Byzantine music, he took an important stance in the discussions around the Greek Orthodox church music, especially from 1908 onwards. The lack of a standardized way of teaching music was still an important topic and Psachos aimed to systematize the teaching and practice of Greek church music. He had a conservative stance on Greek music and vehemently criticized cantors and musicians who introduced “foreign” elements, such as harmonized melodies, into church chant (Philopoulos 1990, 54). He also did early field studies in Asia Minor and published the song anthology *Asias lyra* (1908), which is a compilation of Ottoman songs. His views on the history of Greek music followed a national reading of music history, similar to other nations at that time. He claimed that Greek music had a remarkable impact on the music of other civilizations, such as Persians and Arabs at the time of Alexander the Great. He also had a critical stance on the usage of music terminology in other languages. Musical terms in Turkish that had been in practice since the 1820s became a topic of discussion, whereas European musical terms were implicitly accepted (Romanou 1996, 50–60). See also Kalogeropoulos 1998, 6:647–50; Chatzētheodōros 1978, 11–62.

³²³ Romanou, *Ethnikēs mousikēs periēgēsis, 1901–1912: ellēnika mousika periodika ōs pēgē erevnas tēs istorias tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs*, 1:51. Psachos published an article in the *Neue Musikzeitung*, where he defined the pitches of the organ that was constructed to perform “Byzantine” music (Psachos 1926, 95–96).

³²⁴ Geōrgios Lampelet, “Ho ethnikismos eis tēn technēn kai hē ellēnikē dēmōdēs mousikē,” in *Epiphylides. Epistēmai-Technai-Istoria*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1928), 26.

is one example of Bourgault-Ducoudray's expertise on Greek music being discredited. Although the latter's ideas became less influential from the twentieth century onwards, his influence continued as a vestige by serving as an example of European musicologists appreciating and recognizing Greek music. Also, many other Greek composers of the National School criticized Bourgault-Ducoudray's approach in the early twentieth century, since the ideological approach to forging a new national music had found other models—ones that would use folk songs as the inspirational basis for the compositional process rather than simply imitate and harmonize them.³²⁵

Thanks to his academic background, Bourgault-Ducoudray was able to draw international attention to “Oriental music.” He collaborated with the Greek singer M. Aramis,³²⁶ who performed Greek folk songs for the French public that Bourgault-Ducoudray had harmonized and arranged for piano and voice. Since the upper social classes generally despised Greek folk songs, they could not be presented in their genuine form; they had to undergo a process of transformation. Thus, Bourgault-Ducoudray served as a sort of “translator” and mediator, who, based on his collected melodies, arranged folk songs according to the latest musical esthetics. In this process of transformation, the folk songs lost their characteristic modes and microtonal intervals. Furthermore, the addition of harmony to a music that was traditionally monophonic further distorted its character. Aramis described this process in a “song-as-child” metaphor, where the folk song (the child) underwent a “simple washing and combing” to reach the state of national music that would be presented to the public.³²⁷

Bourgault-Ducoudray praised the melodic and rhythmic abundance of “Oriental music” and the superiority of the modes that allowed innumerable melodic combinations. Various musicologists and musicians in the Near East made use of Bourgault-Ducoudray's positive remarks on “Oriental music” to underline its positive character, even if they did not pay any attention to his detailed reformist ideas. Lampelet, for example, quoted Bourgault-Ducoudray in a passage about Greek and Anatolian folk songs where he had highlighted the musical abundance. However, Lampelet rebuked Bourgault-Ducoudray for having used in his *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce et d'Orient* (1876) only a few “purely” Greek melodies, whereas the number of Smyrnaean melodies was greater. Lampelet remarked that although those melodies had some Greek characteristics, they were of more

³²⁵ Vlagopoulos, “The Harmonisation of Greek Folk Songs and Greek ‘National Music,’” 118; Panos Vlagopoulos, “‘The Patrimony of Our Race’: Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray and the Emergence of the Discourse on Greek National Music,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 34, no. 1 (2016): 49–77, <https://doi.org/10.1353/mgs.2016.0010>.

³²⁶ Aramis was the pseudonym of Aravantinos Periklēs (1854/9–1932). He studied in Athens and became familiar with Greek folk songs. He completed his musical training in both Naples and Milan and dedicated himself to the study of folk songs from various regions. In Paris, he opened a singing school and gave concerts, which made him a famous singer in many European centers. He also made acquaintance with Spyros Samaras. Although the Greek authorities supported him in his musical enterprises, his approach to harmonizing Greek folk songs was harshly criticized by Greek musicians (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:208–9).

³²⁷ Vlagopoulos, “‘The Patrimony of Our Race,’” 62.

Turkish and generally of “Eastern” origin.³²⁸ Athanasios Evtaksias,³²⁹ a member of the National Music Society, underlined in his writing *Our National Music* the importance of restoring ancient Greek elements in music, but he fundamentally opposed the introduction of staff notation and harmonization, which were the key elements in Bourgault-Ducoudray’s approach. Bourgault-Ducoudray is mentioned in his work, however, in a positive light, where his knowledge and expertise on the Greek folk song is stressed. He highlighted Bourgault-Ducoudray’s words that Greece was musically “abundant and unexploited.”³³⁰

On the eastern side of the Aegean, Isaac De Salomon Algazi,³³¹ a composer of “Oriental music” as he is called in his song anthology published around 1925,³³² quoted, in the preface, various excerpts of famous French-speaking thinkers, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), Louis-Casimir Colomb (1834–1890), Jules Combarieu (1859–1916), Albert Lavignac (1846–1916), and Bourgault-Ducoudray. Even if these excerpts are decontextualized, they all, in one way or another, acknowledged the abundance of modes in “Oriental music.” The motivation behind these quotes was to show that after all the criticism that European intellectuals heaped upon “Oriental music,” not only had they finally started to appreciate and respect Middle Eastern music, but they had also started to consider it a culture that was worth learning from. The statements of famous, authoritative French thinkers are, for Algazi, a compensation for the negative judgement that had been expressed. Algazi introduced the quotes with the following words:

Here is the opinion of some old and new European musical celebrities about the question of harmony and modes. Here is also the most authoritative apologetic defense of Oriental music,

³²⁸ Geōrgios Lampelet, “Hē ethnīkē mousikē: hē laikē,” *Hē Panathēnaia B’* [2], no. 27 (November 15, 1901): 87. Hatherly, on the contrary, had questioned the Turkish character of these melodies in 1892 and described them as “genuinely” Greek. This shows the vague and subjective perception of national modes and melodies. On Hatherly, see also Chapter 2.2.1.

³²⁹ Athanasios Evtaksias (1849–1931) was a politician and economist who, in 1929, was voted in as minister for a second term. He was director of the “Epitropon tēs gerousias” [Commission of Elders]. His special interest centered around the Greek Music Question. In 1907, he published in the journal *Parnasso* a lecture called “Our national music,” which was later also published as a book. In the debate between Byzantine psalmody and tetraphony he often changed his position. In 1902, he published in the journal *Astrapē* a study on the traditional Greek Orthodox church music. A couple of years later, in 1907, he favored tetraphony, which he himself had previously called “dirty” (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:270).

³³⁰ Evtaksias, *Hē ethnīkē ēmōn mousikē*, 20.

³³¹ The Ottoman-Jewish singer Isaac De Salomon Algazi (1882–1964) emigrated from Izmir to Istanbul after the Greco-Turkish War and the destruction of the city. He started a musical career and sang for many record labels such as the Blumenthal Brothers. He was one of the most renowned vocalists of his time, thanks to his wide-ranging repertoire, which included liturgical, folk, and traditional Ottoman music. He could also perform in three languages, namely Ladino, Turkish, and Hebrew. During the initial years of the Turkish Republic, he composed national songs such as the “Türk hava kuvvetleri marşı” [March of the Air Force]. His fame came to an end, probably due to the rapid and deep cultural changes that were carried out within the framework of the Kemalist politics. His style and education did not meet the requirements of the new, emerging musical markets. For more information, see Jackson 2013, 54–58, 63–66; Seroussi 2014.

³³² Isaac De Salomon Algazi, *Mélodies hébraïques composées par monsieur Isaac de Salomon Algazi à base du mode besténihiar de la musique orientale* (Istanbul: n.p., n.d.). The volume is in French, Turkish, and Hebrew.

which was treated badly through pure snobbishness. Here is also why we Orientals already possess a music that is melodic and melismatic by nature.³³³

Algazi rejected Bourgault-Ducoudray's idea of applying harmonized accompaniment, since, according to Algazi, "Oriental music" was "essentially homophone and monodic. Our music neither permits nor tolerates other accompaniment except for the succession in unison and the resonance of the octave."³³⁴

To conclude this chapter, Bourgault-Ducoudray's ideas will be considered from the perspective of an influential Ottoman musicologist. More than thirty years after Bourgault-Ducoudray's writings, Rauf Yekta³³⁵ expressed his criticism. Yekta's intention becomes clearer when his criticism of European music treatises on "Oriental music" is looked at in more detail. Yekta shared his opinion on "Oriental music" from the point of view of a Turkish musicologist who knew both European as well as Middle Eastern music. He referred to Bourgault-Ducoudray's thesis in his introduction to his article, "La musique Turque."³³⁶ He appreciated Bourgault-Ducoudray as one of the European musicians who had aimed to find a common element in Western and Oriental music, and who had approached both reciprocally. He regretted, however, that Bourgault-Ducoudray's vision did not lead to any practicable solutions. Yekta mentioned Bourgault-Ducoudray's futile effort to connect the information he had about ancient Greek music with the first-hand information that he had received from Greek cantors during his stay in Istanbul. For Yekta, Bourgault-Ducoudray's conclusions, which he had gained from his Greek acquaintance, were "far from reality," and his ideas about the link between the ancient Greek modes and those of "Oriental music" were erroneous.³³⁷ Yekta does not directly accuse Bourgault-Ducoudray of having followed the theories and practices of the Greek cantors, who had based their church music on theoretical principles that did "not have any scientific value

³³³ "Voilà l'opinion de quelques célèbres sommités musicales européennes, anciennes et modernes, sur la question d'harmonie et des modes: voilà aussi la plus autorisée défense apologétique de la musique orientale, si malmenée par pur snobisme; voilà pourquoi aussi, nous orientaux, qui possédons déjà une musique si naturellement mélodieuse et mélismatique" (Algazi n.d., 2).

³³⁴ "[...] essentiellement homophone et monodique, notre musique n'admet et ne tolère d'autre accompagnement que la succession d'unissons et la résonnance à l'octave les uns des autres" (Ibid). It should be noted that the quotes, which Algazi used in his preface, were apparently decontextualized on purpose or even changed in order to legitimate his own statements and points of view.

³³⁵ For the contributions of Rauf Yekta (1871–1935), see Part Two of this volume.

³³⁶ Rauf Yekta, "La Musique Turque," in *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire*, ed. Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurence, vol. I—Histoire de la musique (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1922), 2845–3064. Rauf Yekta had written his article already in 1913, which, however, was not published until 1922, after World War I and the Greco-Turkish War (Yekta 1986, 7).

³³⁷ "[...] le distingué professeur a eu, paraît-il, beaucoup de difficultés à établir une concordance entre les renseignements qu'il a obtenus lui-même des chanteurs de l'Orient, et les principes qui se trouvent dans les anciens traités grecs sur la théorie de la musique, il en est résulté de sa part plusieurs hypothèses qui sont loin de la vérité." "[...] the distinguished professor apparently had many difficulties establishing a match between the information that he himself had obtained from the singers of the Orient and the principles that one finds about the ancient Greek traits in the theory of music. Many of his hypotheses turned out to be far away from truth" (Yekta 1922, 2945–46).

and were based on mere utopic inventions of certain theoreticians.”³³⁸ Yekta stated that Bourgault-Ducoudray’s theses were mostly wrong. However, he underlined Bourgault-Ducoudray’s positive remarks on “Oriental music” and the enriching influence it could have on European music and composers.³³⁹ Referring to the conference where Bourgault-Ducoudray presented his concept to the French public, Yekta criticized European musicians’ lack of interest in “Oriental music” and hoped to change this attitude by contributing his article.³⁴⁰ The mindset in which Yekta composed his article is different from that of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s, who had published his work almost forty-five years earlier. It is remarkable, however, that Bourgault-Ducoudray’s constructive ideas and his understanding of Greek music, which Tantalidēs still had praised in his book, were discredited at the beginning of the twentieth century. His attempts to draw international attention to “Oriental music” were mostly received in Greek and Ottoman-Turkish articles: Lampelet, Evtaksias, Algazi, and Yekta made use of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s positive remarks to show that “Oriental music” deserved appreciation and was very much in demand in France as a solution to their “musical crisis.” However, the “mutual benefits argument” turned, in the eyes of these authors, to a “European benefits argument” since “Oriental music” did not need European music to survive, while European music apparently did.

1.3.6 Approaches to “Restoring” Greek Music

According to opinion in conservative circles, the original state of Greek music had to be restored after Greek music had undergone the process of purification. Milēsios claimed that the elements that had survived from ancient music were not considered in the modern treatises. Therefore, it was necessary to study the music theory and methodology that had existed before the introduction of the “New Method” as soon as possible, since the “Old Method” threatened to die out.³⁴¹ Because there were hardly any of the old teachers

³³⁸ “Les Néo-Grecs, surtout, veulent faire reposer la musique de leurs églises sur des principes théoriques tout à fait curieux, principes qui n’ont aucune valeur scientifique et qui restent les inventions chimériques de certains théoriciens” (Yekta 1922, 2946, col. 1).

³³⁹ “Aussi, quoique ses déclarations soient erronées à plusieurs points de vue, son idée est très juste lorsqu’il dit que si la musique orientale était étudiée par les musiciens occidentaux, la musique européenne ‘épuisée’ par l’emploi excessif des deux seuls modes ‘majeur’ et ‘mineur’, en profiterait beaucoup et que cette étude ouvrirait de nouveaux horizons aux compositeurs européens” (Yekta 1922, 2946, col. 1).

³⁴⁰ Yekta referred to the “Conférence sur la modalité dans la musique grecque” [Conference on the Modality of Greek Music] held on 7 July 1878 at the Palais du Trocadéro in Paris. He complained about Charles Gounod’s lack of interest in the subject. Once Bourgault-Ducoudray’s lecture was over, Gounod, as the director of the conference, expressed his thanks to the contributors of the paper, but did not refer to Bourgault-Ducoudray specifically, nor to any other questions concerning the content of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s talk. In a similar way, Yekta critically mentioned Camille Saint-Saëns’ attempt to use Middle Eastern rhythms and modes in his work, which, from the point of view of an “Oriental” musician, remained superficial and rudimentary. Yekta’s rebuke was that in spite of this fact, he was considered the founder of “orientalism” in music (Yekta 1922, 2946, col. 2). For a scholarly discussion of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s arguments in this conference, see also Kakaroglou 2013, 75–79.

³⁴¹ Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” January 1, 1871, 431, col. 1.

left who could teach the “Old Method,” Milēsios was motivated to study the melodies of the old masters, such as John of Damascus, to understand their relationship with ancient Greek music.

Milēsios also suggested the thorough study of medieval “Italian” [European] music before harmonizing the Greek church melodies. He considered the study of “Italian” music in the period of Ambrosius and Gregorius indispensable because of the assumed close relationship of Ambrosian and Gregorian chant with Greek music.³⁴² From this study, Milēsios hoped to get a better understanding of music theories that were misunderstood and interpreted incorrectly. Thus, he also sought to rectify the shortcomings of European music history. In addition, he proposed the study of the old folk songs, which had not been “corrupted” through Western influence,³⁴³ to draw conclusions regarding the rhythmic disposition of melodies and lyrics and their relationship with ancient songs.³⁴⁴

The performance of harmonized melodies in the Greek Orthodox church not only caused irritation in the musical discussions; it also became the topic of various anecdotes. One anecdote recounted an incident when a supporter of tetrachordal singing spoke in favor of harmonized singing and one of the listeners shouted, “Down with polyphony, down with the cantatas! Long live the Byzantine!”³⁴⁵ A similar incident was witnessed in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Athens when an irascible voice interrupted the choir’s singing, shouting, “Shame on you, shame on you who want innovations!”³⁴⁶ Milēsios criticized the fact that the reformers insisted on introducing everything that was foreign, regardless of whether it was from “pontifical Italy, Orthodox Russia, or Protestant Germany.”³⁴⁷ After his long explanations of the differences between “Italian” [European] and Greek music, Milēsios dealt with the feasibility of the harmonization of Greek ecclesiastical songs. For the performance of harmonized church songs, it was necessary to hire a greater number of musicians, which only a few churches could afford.³⁴⁸ His second argument considered the number of educated musicians and the long period of time it would take to transcribe even just the melodies of the most important religious ceremonies, not to mention the material support that would be needed to finance the printing. Milēsios doubted that many churches would have the financial resources to acquire the scores. For

³⁴² Ibid. In a similar way, Western musicologists were interested in Byzantine music to learn about the first stages of music and Christianity (Wellesz 2000).

³⁴³ Milēsios explicitly hints at the study of the “old melodies” instead of the “Frankish of today.” “Hē eksetasis tou melous tōn dēmotikōn asmatōn, (ennoeitai tōn archaioterōn kai ouchi tōn phraggizontōn)” (Milēsios 1871, 434, col. 2).

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 434. col. 2.

³⁴⁵ Translated from Romanou, *Ethnikēs mousikēs periēgēsis, 1901–1912: ellēnika mousika periodika ōs pēgē erev-nas tēs istorias tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs*, 1:40.

³⁴⁶ Translated from Mparoutas, *Hē mousikē zōē stēn Athēna to 19^o aiōna: synavlies, resital, melodrama, laiko tragoudi, mousikokritikē*, 50.

³⁴⁷ Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” December 1, 1870, 387, col. 1.

³⁴⁸ Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” January 1, 1871, 431, col. 2.

him, it was not a realistic aim to perform the whole service with rearranged, harmonized melodies. Therefore, he asked for an end to the debates about “national music” just for the sake of calling it “clean, pure, refined, and European.”³⁴⁹

Paganas criticized Stamatiadēs³⁵⁰ and claimed that the introduction of tetraphony into Greek Orthodox chant was counterproductive. The rules of harmonization would work with European music and allowed various ways of musical expression that affected human emotions. Greek Orthodox church music, in contrast, helped to increase religious sentiment and keep the spirit of the listener humble.³⁵¹ The strict division between these “modern” and “traditional” styles had strong connotations with respect to national identity. For many Greeks, harmonized melodies belonged to the world of “entertainment music,” hence they were considered imported, foreign, and unnational, whereas monophony was considered “national” despite the criticism of the reformists. Milēsios, for example, found it inaccurate to call Greek music monotonous just because it was based on certain monophonic principles. He defined the main characteristics of monotonous music as consisting of the same pitch or having only a restricted repertoire of songs etc.³⁵² He emphasized that these assumptions were, however, wrong, since Greek music enjoyed a wide choice of modes that could be combined with artistic modulations in a way that even impressed teachers of “Italian” music.³⁵³

1.3.7 The Question of Musical Notation

The discussions around introducing staff notation into Greek music developed in the context of creating a new scholarly methodology to write down Greek music. The reform of the Greek neume notation was seen by some Greeks as an indispensable step on the way to designing a scholarly Greek music theory. In 1856, Thereianos had already stated that Greek church melodies could be transcribed into staff notation and could become revitalized once harmonization was applied to Greek music.³⁵⁴ Paspallēs, who thought that the “New Method” was an unfinished work, underlined the necessity of introducing a “new,

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 432, col. 1.

³⁵⁰ Stamatiēs Stamatiadēs was a pseudonym of Elisaios Gianidēs (1865–1942). Gianidēs was a mathematician, philologist, musician, and scholar and contributed actively to the cultural debates of his time. He studied in Greece and France, and later worked in Athens, Istanbul, and Thessaloniki. His studies centered around the possibility of harmonizing Greek Orthodox church chant. He put his ideas into practice and organized a choir that gave performances of harmonized church music. His writings and ideas were published in various journals, such as the *Ekklesiastikē alētheia* and *Phormiks*. He believed he had found a theoretical solution to the question of harmonizing Greek Orthodox church chants and used the Philological Society in Istanbul as a platform to discuss and disseminate his ideas. In Istanbul, his ideas were supported until the death of Patriarch Joachim III in 1912. After the Greco-Turkish War, he went back to Greece, where he worked as an instructor, first in Thessaloniki, later in Athens (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:168–71).

³⁵¹ Paganas, “Peri ekklesiastikēs mousikēs,” 79.

³⁵² Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” January 1, 1871, 432, col. 2.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Thereianos, “Skepseis peri tēs ekklesiastikēs mousikēs,” 416, col. 1.

systematized, methodological notation for the melodies.”³⁵⁵ With the support of foreign musicologists, the Music Society of Athens transcribed melodies from Greek neume notation to staff notation. This process culminated in the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, which started publishing editions of Byzantine music after the conference in Copenhagen in 1931.³⁵⁶

The group that opposed the change in notation systems argued that using staff notation would not contribute positively to Greek music. In an article published in *Estia*, Stamatiadēs wrote that Greek Orthodox church music used finer pitch intervals, which could not be presented in Western music. The performance of these fine nuances would be left to the imagination of the performer and was therefore not feasible.³⁵⁷ It is possible to observe similar tendencies in the report of the Music Commission of 1881,³⁵⁸ published in 1888 in the *Ekklesiastikē alētheia*. The article held Western influence responsible for the threat of replacing Greek church music with the “new polyphony.” “Foreign legislators and speculators” represented it as a result of an archaeological-historical research who wanted “to teach us the correct pronunciation of our language without denying the natural changes that were introduced in the course of time.”³⁵⁹ The article further stated that the dominance of European melodies based on predefined pitch intervals were different from those of “Oriental music” and had a negative impact on the native culture. The performance of “Oriental music” on half-tone-based European instruments would fundamentally change its character and was “alien to its tradition.”³⁶⁰

The verdict of Bourgault-Ducoudray and other Western scholars about “Oriental music” was soon reflected back on European music, which was presented more as an obstacle to the quest to forging a national music.³⁶¹ The difference from Western music (or music of the “Franks” as it was also called), which had developed from a different religious denomination, was also expressed in terminology such as “kath’ ēmas mousikē” [our music], “ethnikē mousikē” [national music] or “Vyzantinē mousikē” [Byzantine music] to distinguish it clearly from European music.³⁶² Another argument that was brought forth was the historical contribution of Greek music to Greek Independence. Greek music was

³⁵⁵ Paspallēs, “To zētēma tēs ekklesiastikēs mousikēs,” 177–78.

³⁵⁶ Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklesiastikē mousikē*, 62.

³⁵⁷ Romanou, *Ethnikēs mousikēs periēgēsis, 1901–1912: ellēnika mousika periodika ōs pēgē erevnas tēs istorias tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs*, 1:47.

³⁵⁸ The Music Commission consisted of the following members: Germanos Aphthonidēs (director), Geōrgios Violakēs (First Cantor), Evstratios G. Papadopoulos, Iōasaph Monachos, P. G. Kēltzanidēs, Andr. Spatharēs, G. Prōgakēs (secretary).

³⁵⁹ Germanos Aphthonidēs, “Hē kath’ ēmas ekklesiastikē mousikē,” *Ekklesiastikē alētheia* 6, no. 17 (March 9, 1888): 137, col. 2.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 2.

³⁶¹ Kalomoirēs, for example, stated that Italian music “has always been the most important obstacle to the development of every national music” (quoted in Romanou and Kompotiati 2013, 110).

³⁶² Romanou remarked that the term “national music” was also used as an opposite term to “European music,” which had started influencing the native Greek culture (Rōmanou 2006, 106).

used to reinforce national sentiment by connecting it with the birth of the modern Greek nation. Referring to the “years of slavery,” Milēsios stated, for example, that Greek melodies lamented the destinies of the *Armatoles* and Klephts and lifted up their moods. In the same way, the battle songs lit the fire of the nation, which led to liberty for the Greek people.³⁶³ Milēsios statement shows that in the 1870s, the songs of the Greek Revolution were seen as part of the Greek musical culture. As the next chapter will show, many songs of the Greek Revolution, as well as Klephtic songs, also drew on European melodies.

Solutions that were proposed by more conservative thinkers and defenders of the Greek musical heritage came from a protectionist stance and aimed to collect, systematize, protect, and teach the latest findings. In order to do so, however, it was necessary to have a properly educated group of music researchers who would be able to carry out this important task. This question of suitable researchers became a topic of repeated discussion. Milēsios criticized the educational system, for example, and reproached the instructors for having a very poor educational background. He concluded that these instructors were not able to teach something that they themselves had never learned.³⁶⁴ As a solution, he suggested selecting only the most apt and gifted music instructors—those with good voices and experience in church chant who were interested in maintaining and improving the traditions.³⁶⁵ Paspallēs even went one step further and suggested establishing a music school that would be under the supervision of the Music Commission in order to protect the church music heritage from further loss and corruption.³⁶⁶ A similar approach became evident in Papadopoulos’ ideas. He considered the institutionalization of music research as the key to solving the question of Greek national music. He proposed the foundation of an “Odeion,” a music conservatory that would help to realize and systematize Greek music at a scholarly level.³⁶⁷ All these ideas indeed bore fruit because, from the 1870s on, musical life in Greece became gradually institutionalized. The first ideas to establish the Athenian Conservatory started in 1871, and the first classes were taught in 1873.³⁶⁸

³⁶³ Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” December 1, 1870, 386, col. 1.

³⁶⁴ Milēsios, “Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn,” January 1, 1871, 436, col. 1.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁶ Paspallēs, “To zētēma tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs,” 178, col. 2.

³⁶⁷ Papadopoulos, “Peri tēs kath’ ēmas ekklēsiastikēs technēs kai idiaiterōs peri ellēnikē agiographias (Peri mousikēs),” 96, col. 1.

³⁶⁸ For a detailed account of the Athens Conservatory cf. Kourmpa 2020.

1.4 Case Studies

1.4.1 Introduction

Greek Song Anthologies for School Education

The aim of this chapter is to look at how music helped shape a national identity through the dissemination of national ideas and virtues in Greek school song anthologies, while also keeping in mind the question of the models they probably followed. In school education at state schools, singing was an essential part of music education. The songs encompassed various topics, of which the most important were religious, patriotic, educational, and moralizing songs. In the framework of this study, the focus will be on the patriotic songs that dealt with national symbols and sentiment, leading figures, heroes, and historical events.

Song anthologies for school education emerged to satisfy the increasing demand for teaching materials which music education in state schools had been lacking. The creation and application of school song anthologies were derived from the idea of a pristine musical ethos. Music was considered a useful device to shape the character of the young human soul and contribute to the development and civilization of society. It was part of a holistic education of the human character. The rising number of school song anthologies, especially in the latter nineteenth century, has to be understood in the context of increasing urbanization and population growth in the cities. Numerous Grecophone journals had already pointed to the cultural decay that industrialization entailed in the masses, which, among other things, led to a corruption of folk culture. Folk songs of the “unspoiled” rural people, which had conserved the authentic character of the nation, served to “civilize” the masses in the urban centers.³⁶⁹ The growing urban population created, however, challenges to the educational system and led to a demand for teaching materials, such as to the compiling of Greek school song anthologies. Song anthologies from the German-speaking world had already started to function as a model for Greek music instructors and school song editors.³⁷⁰ Athanasios Maltos, one of the editors of the school song anthologies, criticized the lack of poems and songs that would support the Greek national character and the lack of an apt Greek vocabulary to describe musical phenomena. He preferred to look at European—especially German—song anthologies and singing methods in order to com-

³⁶⁹ Cf. Chapter 1 “Popular Culture as Folk Culture” in Storey (2003, 1–13).

³⁷⁰ Many Greeks had studied at German universities and transferred the know-how back to their own nation. Veloudis affirmed, for example, that many of the Greek scholars that shaped Greek national literature, like N. Politēs, K. Chatzopoulos, and K. Triantaphillopoulos, had all studied in Germany (Veloudis 1983, 1:246–47). Likewise, the close cooperation with German scholars like the Byzantinist Karl Krumbacher, or the Greek translation of the history of the war between Germany and France of 1870/71, which was dedicated to Wilhelm I, showed the good relationship Greece had with Prussia. Therefore, it is not surprising that Greek intellectuals adopted German models during the institutionalization of music education.

pile his own.³⁷¹ The educational reforms had, however, already started many years before with the emergence of the Greek state.

During the reign of King Otto of Greece from 1833 until his dethronement in 1862, a school system had been established that was based on German models. In the German-speaking world, school music education meant mainly “singing,” as Gruhn explained.³⁷² In Greece, the subject “ōdikē” [singing] was introduced into elementary schools in 1834.³⁷³ After the enthronement of King George I of Greece, the educational system was further developed, and, especially between the years 1878 and 1881, the training for teachers was reformed and the teaching methodology in schools improved. All the restructuring of the educational system led to a new demand for pedagogical books, including pedagogical song anthologies.³⁷⁴ The anthology *Asmata paidagōgika pros chrēsin tōn nēpiagōgei kai tōn dēmotikōn scholeiōn* [Pedagogic Songs for Use in Nursery and State Schools] from 1869 is considered the first Greek school song anthology that was designed for use at elementary schools. It is in staff notation and was published by the “Philekpaidevtikē Etaireia” [“Friends of Education” Society].³⁷⁵

The Athenian society “Friends of Education” was founded on 25 July 1836 with Iōannēs Kokkōnēs³⁷⁶ as its first director. Its members were drawn from various strata of Greek society, from participants in the Greek Revolution to politicians, officials, and clerics.³⁷⁷ There were at least two more music anthologies that the society supported. One was *Asmata eis evropaiikēn melōdian* [Songs to European Melodies] by Ēlias Tantalidēs,³⁷⁸ published in 1876. The other one appeared four years later, with a series of four hundred songs in ten fascicles with the title *Nea asmata paidagōgika* [New Pedagogic Songs] compiled by Julious

³⁷¹ Anastasios Maltos, *Terpsichorē ētoi syllogē chorikōn asmatōn pros chrēsin tōn scholeiōn*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf u. Haertel, 1884), iv–vi. Maltos referred to the “great German reformer Luther” who described the “miraculous” effect of music on the human psyche (*ibid.*, iii).

³⁷² Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, 45.

³⁷³ Zōē Dionysiou, “Paidagōgikes kai ideologikes opseis mias syllogēs tragoudiōn tou 19^{ou} aiōna: ta nea paidagōgika asmata tou Iouliou Ennigg (1880–1890),” *Mousikopaidagōgika* 14 (2016): 60.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

³⁷⁵ Stavrou, “Hē ellēnikē paradosiakē mousikē stēn prōtovathmia ekpaidevsē: istorikē anaskopēsē – sēmerinē pragmatikotēta,” 134. This school song anthology was unfortunately not available for this study.

³⁷⁶ Iōannēs Kokkōnēs (1795–1864) is considered the founder of modern Greek education and authored numerous pedagogical books. For an introduction to his life and contributions, see Tzēkas 1996.

³⁷⁷ The aim of the society was the promotion of the education of Greek society. In 1837, it founded its first school. It contributed considerably to the dissemination of education and the Greek language and to the formation of national identity. It gave scholarships and financed the publication of educational books. For sixty-three years, this society seems to have been the only one that supported Greek women and gave them access to education (Dionysiou 2016, 61–70).

³⁷⁸ Ēlias Tantalidēs was born in 1818 in Istanbul and died in 1876 on Halki. Although he became blind, he did not only become famous for his poems but also for his scholarly and musicological contributions, as well as his function as co-director of the Fifth Patriarchal Musical School (1868–1872). He had a position as a teacher at the theological school of Halki and was honored with the title “Great spokesman of the Great Christian Church” (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 6:14).

Ennig,³⁷⁹ a German music teacher who had studied in Berlin and was therefore probably familiar with the contemporary German teaching methods of his time. In Athens, he actively participated as an advisor to commissions, as a teacher at the conservatory, and as a member of music and theater societies. There were numerous song anthologies designed for educational purposes.³⁸⁰ The titles of many anthologies, such as *Terpsichorē* (1884) or *Melpomenē* (1887), often make reference to ancient Greek mythological figures or instruments. This underlines the Greek *archaiolatrea*, the adoration of ancient Greece, and the relationship with European “neo-humanism,” which used similar names for periodicals and societies in order to emphasize its affinity with the ancient Greek ethos. During the nineteenth century, the ideological orientation of the anthologies underwent a development as a result of a paradigm change in music education in the whole of Europe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Enlightenment had been the key element for a holistic education.³⁸¹ After the wave of revolutions in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century, school education was seen as national education. It became a concern of the state, which aimed to shape obedient subjects who would stick to national ideals and respect authorities.³⁸² In Europe, the song repertoire consisted mainly of folk songs or national songs that aimed to create a national collective. In the case of Greece, which had a vast Greek-speaking diaspora, this tendency can be seen as an initial contribution to the formation of a more or less standardized school song repertoire for all Greek-speaking children.

The influence of the German school song was also prevalent in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Manōlēs Kalomoirēs, one of the most influential Greek composers of the twentieth-century National School, pointed out the importance of the German model in his brief treatise on school music education. He wrote that it was necessary to compile a school song anthology that was composed of selected folk songs with harmonized accompaniments. In this way, the Greek folk song would have the same place in school music as the “Volkslied” in Germany.³⁸³ Since a mere imitation of the music was not suf-

³⁷⁹ Julius Ennig (or Ioulios Enigg) (1810–1895) was born in the city of Bahn (Prussia-Pomerania) and studied in Berlin. As a music teacher in Greece, he had a great influence on the development of modern Greek music and he was one of the first people to teach European music in Greece. In 1833, he arrived in Greece as a soldier in the service of King Otto of Bavaria and served until 1838. He was employed as a teacher from 1843–1855 and as steward from 1855–1867; together with Aleksandros Katakouzēnos, he taught elementary music theory (Kourmpana 2020, 76). Sixteen years later, he became a singing and gym teacher in various institutions in Athens. In 1871, he joined in the founding of the “Evterpē” and also taught at the Athenian Conservatory, “Ōdeion Athēnōn,” from 1872–1879. In 1879, Ennig resigned from his post when the council of the Odeion invited Federico Stevens from Paris, who was appointed as the new director. Ennig became a member of the “Music and Drama Society” of the Odeion, the Hellenic Music Society, and “Society Orpheōs” in Istanbul. He published several treatises and articles about music and handbooks on music and singing. One of his most popular songs for choir was “Vatrachoi.” In 1880, he published the song anthology *Nea asmata paidagōgika* [New Pedagogic Songs] (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:199–200).

³⁸⁰ Cf. Appendix B, Table 1.

³⁸¹ See Chapter 1.2.

³⁸² Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, 133.

³⁸³ Manōlēs Kalomoirēs, *Mousikē sto scholeio* ([Athens]: n.p., 1913), 9. Kalomoirēs’ statement is remarkable because, in 1902, Patriarch Joachim III expressed that Greek folk songs being used in school education were unsuitable (Stavrou 2004, 140).

ficient, he suggested developing a system of music pedagogy on a scholarly and national basis. Besides compulsory singing in kindergartens and high schools, he emphasized the importance of well-trained music teachers. Another important issue for Kalomoirēs was the musical content of school music. He suggested that the song anthologies should ideally contain songs of three categories: children's songs by Greek composers, folk songs for children, and songs of other nations that would be translated into Greek.³⁸⁴ He explicitly mentioned Chōraphas' and Maltos' school song anthologies as good examples. The fact that Kalomoirēs pointed to Maltos' school song anthology published in 1884 and 1885 shows that he was in line with the tradition of Greek school songs. The new feature that he introduced was the emphasis on Greek folk songs. The early twentieth century sparked a special interest in Greek folk songs, and the first folk song collections with notation were published during this period. For Kalomoirēs, as an important representative of the Greek National School, folk songs were the most valuable raw material that he and his contemporaries would use for new compositions.

Statistical information

The number of Greek school song anthologies rose significantly from 1869 onwards. The years 1880–1915, in particular, were the most productive period during which school song anthologies were published.³⁸⁵ One of the main characteristics of the later school song anthologies was musical notation. The earlier anthologies, such as the volume *Evchai deēseis kai asmata adomena eis ta dēmotika scholeia tēs Ellados* (1846) [Invocations and Songs Sung at the Elementary Schools of Greece], contained only the song lyrics. Those that were printed after 1870 include all musical notation, such as staff notation, Chrysanthine notation, or even both. The large number of school song anthologies that were circulating, as well as the abundant use of musical notations, show their high technical standard and the great financial resources that were spent on them. The well-established printing network is also reflected in the various places where the volumes were printed. They extended from Leipzig in Germany to Odessa in Crimea, Athens, and Istanbul. The use of notation in late nineteenth-century Greece was not only a question of practicality and technical possibilities, but also had political implications. As had been shown in the chapter on the Greek music debate, Chrysanthine notation had become an integral component of Greek cultural identity. The discussions around whether to replace Chrysanthine notation by staff notation in the context of modernization and reforms were highly politicized. Therefore, some of the editors, such as Sakellaridēs (1882) and Artemidēs (1905), published their volumes in both notations, whereas others like Tantalidēs (1876, 1880) chose only staff notation and Keivēlēs (1873) only Chrysanthine notation. Hence, the choice of notation could be seen as a political and cultural statement. Although Chrysanthine notation

³⁸⁴ Kalomoirēs, *Mousikē sto scholeio*, 8.

³⁸⁵ All Greek school song anthologies that have been used for this study are listed chronologically in Appendix B, Table 1.

Table 1 Greek school song anthologies with music notation listed according to the percentage of patriotic songs.

Ranking	Publisher	Year	Patriotic songs in %
1	Artemidēs	1905	62%
	Sakellaridēs	1898	
2	Sakellaridēs	1892	53%
3	Kalomoirēs	1914	50%
4	Chōraphas	1912	41%
5	Remanta	n.d.	33%
	Argyropoulos	1915	
6	Sakinēs	1884	27%
7	Maltos	1885	28%
8	Argyropoulos	1937	25%
9	Argyropoulos	1925	20%
10	Tantalidēs	1880	19%
	n.p.	1876?	
11	n.p.	1846	14%
12	Ennig	(var. dates)*	13%
13	Agapētos	1882	9%
14	Maltos	1884	7%
15	n.p.	1872	6%
16	Tantalidēs	1876	5%
17	Maltos	1887	4%

* Ennig and Katakouzēnos edited multiple volumes with the title *Nea asmata paidagōgika* [New Pedagogical Songs], which were printed between the years 1880–1890. For this study, however, only the first four volumes, from the years 1880, 1883, and 1890, could be considered.

The data do not show any correlation between the publishing date and the number of patriotic songs in the anthologies published before 1890. The school song anthologies that were printed in the 1870s and 1880s had patriotic songs, but the proportion was relatively small. It is therefore not possible to claim that the number of patriotic songs increased with each passing year. There is, however, a correlation between the publishing date and the number of patriotic songs in the school song anthologies that appeared in the years 1890 to 1915. The reason for this may be the rising militarization of society and the increase in military confrontations with Turkey and in the Balkans.³⁸⁶ Therefore, it is not surprising to find the anthologies with the highest percentage of patriotic songs to be those by Sakellaridēs (1898) and Artemidēs (1905), which expressed a high level of nationalist sentiment. The five highest-ranked anthologies cover exactly the period between 1892 and 1915, when most of the military confrontations occurred in a series. These proportions were never topped again in the following years. Patriotic songs formed an integral component in school song anthologies, and they existed in the earliest school song anthology, which was printed without notation in 1846. The humanistic attitude that was propagated in the early school song anthologies aimed to teach elementary music theory and to provide students with the necessary tools to understand and write their own melodies or to sing at sight. During the same period, a great number of song anthologies appeared, thus contributing to music education and to the circulation of songs from European countries such as Germany, England, and France, among others. In this way, the latest models of song anthologies and music education in European countries also influenced music pedagogy in Greece. Tantalidēs' and Maltos'³⁸⁷ song anthologies are representative of the adaptation of a concept of music education that in the 1870s had already been established in Germany and France. Both drew on a great number of melodies from European song anthologies, especially melodies by famous German, Austrian, and English composers. In Greece, the foreign poems and texts were replaced by poems by renowned Greek musicians such as Aleksandros Katakouzēnos (1824–1892), and poets such as Iōannēs K. Polemēs (1862–1924) and Aleksandros Rizos Ragkavēs (1809–1892),³⁸⁸ just to mention a few.

³⁸⁶ Towards the end of the 1880s, a series of armed conflicts occurred in Greece. It started with numerous uprisings in Crete, which sought to join mainland Greece. The tensions led in 1897 to the Greco-Turkish War, which was followed by the Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913. When World War I broke out in 1914, Greece was neutral but continued armed operations in the Balkans before it joined World War I in 1917 on the side of the Allies. World War I was followed by the Asia Minor expedition, which led to an open war between Greece and the Turkish National Movement in the years 1919–1922.

³⁸⁷ Anastasios N. Maltos was born in 1851 in Megarovo and died in 1927 in Athens. He was a philologist and also had solid knowledge in music and education. He studied philology in Germany and Switzerland. In 1879, he received his Ph.D. in Zurich. From 1880 until 1919, he directed the Greek lyceum in Odessa. He was in touch with Grēgorio Maraslē, whom he supported in establishing the Library Maraslē. In 1908, he translated H. A. Koeslin's *History of Music*. Maltos published studies such as *On the Symposium of the Ancient Greeks* (1880), as well as school song anthologies such as *Melpomenē* (1887) and *Terpsichorē* (1884), among others. He also taught music at the Maraslian Pedagogic Academia (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 3:566). He was also one of the co-authors and assistants of Ennig, who published the pedagogical songs for school education.

³⁸⁸ See, for example, the two volumes of *Mousikē anthodesmē* (1876?) [The Musical Bouquet], which include many pieces by Bellini, Haydn, Schubert, Weber, and other anonymous German folk songs.

However, this humanistic attitude was given up towards the end of the nineteenth century in many nations and seemingly also in Greece.³⁸⁹ The later school song anthologies also included patriotic songs that drew on Greek folk song melodies. In Artemidēs' anthology, the majority of the composers were of Greek origin. Apart from his own compositions, Artemidēs made use of melodies by Christopoulos,³⁹⁰ I. Kaisarēs,³⁹¹ Sakellaridēs, Sp. Kaisarēs,³⁹² Katakouzēnos,³⁹³ Argyropoulos,³⁹⁴ Samaras,³⁹⁵ Ksyndas,³⁹⁶ Mangel,³⁹⁷ Kokkos,³⁹⁸

³⁸⁹ Cf. Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, 114.

³⁹⁰ Kōnstantinos Christopoulos (d. after 1910) was the First Cantor, choir director, composer, and music instructor. Aside from his activities as a church musician, he stood out for his contributions as a music teacher. In 1910, he took a position in the Department for Byzantine Music at the newly founded Piraeus Conservatory. In 1891, he published the *Mousiko anthologio* [Music Anthology] (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 6:613).

³⁹¹ Iōsēph Kaisarēs (1845–1923) was an Ionian military band musician who composed numerous songs, marches, and instrumental works (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:502–3).

³⁹² Spyridōn Kaisarēs (1857–1946) was an Ionian military band musician and brother of Iōsēph Kaisarēs. Although he was mainly active in military band music, he also worked as an instructor at the Athens Conservatory. Besides his instrumental works, he also composed operettas that drew on national topics (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:503–4).

³⁹³ Alexandros Katakouzēnos was born around 1824 in Trieste. His musical training started at the age of sixteen with his teacher Dēmētrēs Digenēs in Athens. He also studied in Paris and then in Vienna to complete his academic career. At the age of seventeen, he directed the choir of the Greek-Orthodox church in Vienna and composed harmonized church music. In 1861, he was invited to Odessa to direct the choir of the Church of the Holy Trinity, where he stayed until 1870. Hereafter, he went to Athens as director of the choir of the court church, St. George's. He also dedicated himself to teaching church chants to children, with songs that he himself had composed. He founded a school for singing where he trained his students. He worked at the Athens Conservatory (Motzenigos 1958, 313). His children's songs seemingly drew on Italian melodies (Synadinos 1919, κ' [xx]). He died in Athens in 1892 (Philopoulos 1990, 94).

³⁹⁴ Athanasios Argyropoulos (1884–1939) was a known school music teacher and composer of many school songs that drew on elements of the folk song. After his musical training at the Athens Conservatory, he dedicated himself to Greek school music and published books on music instruction at public schools shortly before the outbreak of World War I. Until his death, he published, among others, *Hē mousikē tōn paidagōgikōn scholeiōn* (1914) [The Music of the Pedagogical Schools], *Orpheus* (1923), *Aēdonia* (1927) [Nightingales], *Keladēmata* (1928) [Chipperings], *Apollōn* (1930), *Mousikē agōgē* (1931) [Music Agogics], *Asmata monophōna, diphōna, triphōna* (1937) [Songs for One, Two, and Three Voices] (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:226–27).

³⁹⁵ Spyridōn Philiskos Samaras, born on Corfu in 1861, was one of the most outstanding Greek composers of his lifetime. His works achieved fame beyond national borders. He became known for the *Olympic Hymn* and for his operas such as *Flora Mirabilis* and *Rea*, which were performed on many Italian stages. As a supporter of "Verismo," he also used Greek folk songs in his works. He learned music with Spyridōn Ksyndas and later with the Smyrniote musician Augustus Lombardi (1845–1913). Later, he was also taught at the Athenian Conservatory as well as in Paris by Delibes. In 1911, he went back to Greece, where his works in the Italian style faced harsh criticism by other Greek national composers such as Kalomoirēs. Samaras died in Athens in 1917 (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 5:334–37; Xanthoudakis 2011, 53). For further reading on Augustus Lombardi, see Baydar (2010, 48–56).

³⁹⁶ Spyridōn Ksyndas (1814/1817–1896) was a Greek music instructor and composer (see also p. 140).

³⁹⁷ N. Maggel was the son of the Bavarian band master Michael Maggel (1800–1887). His name became famous when he was given the silver prize at the Olympic Games of 1875 for having composed the melody to Paraschos' poem "To orphano" [The Orphan] (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 3:163).

³⁹⁸ Dēmētrios Kokkos (1856–1891) was a Greek poet who was more famous for his stage works than for music. Although he was no professional composer, he understood well the impact music could have on his works. He knew how to use music efficiently in his operettas (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 3:5; Lampelet 1928, 23).

Rodios,³⁹⁹ and Maltos. The preface to his song anthology reveals the author's anti-Western stance. He claimed that Greek children should hear and sing "pure Greek melodies," and he highlighted their strong ties with remnants from their ancient Greek ancestors that had survived both in church music and in folk melodies. He reinforced this statement by making frequent reference to important sculptors of classical Greece or quotes from ancient Greek theoreticians. He criticized the supporters of Western music, which he called "devastating pseudo civilization."⁴⁰⁰ Among the pieces that aimed to reinforce national sentiment, there were heroic songs as well as historical songs that alluded to important figures and events of the Byzantine period.

What for music teachers seemed to have been normal and according to the latest standards in the 1870s changed in retrospective view. Dēmētrēs Glēnos (1882–1943) criticized the children's songs that were taught in schools because of state regimentation.⁴⁰¹ Greek poems were set to tunes that French and German children were taught, and Greek children were invited to "taste this tasteless salad."⁴⁰² He vehemently criticized the fact that the early school song anthologies included melodies of all nations except for Greece, and those that were identified as Greek had actually derived from a Bavarian or Italian context. His arguments already reflected a new mindset that corresponded to the 1920s, when the Greek folk songs that were rooted in the traditions of the people and nation started to play an eminent role. Therefore, it is not surprising that Glēnos recognized children's songs as not only serving the refinement of the soul but also as a necessary part of life or, in Glēnos' words, as "a weapon for the battle of life."⁴⁰³ From his point of view, music was strongly bound to the nation's people, in whom it was deeply rooted. He dismissed the concept of the old "westernized" school song anthologies and concluded that it would take a lot of attention and effort to teach children songs that would contradict their "psychological predisposition" and "racial character."⁴⁰⁴

The Pedagogical Philosophy in Music Teaching: Tantalidēs' School Song Anthology

In 1876, Ēlias Tantalidēs' published *Songs to European Melodies*⁴⁰⁵ in Athens with the financial support of Antōnio Nikolopoulos. His volume is dedicated to Queen Olga of Russia, the wife of Emperor King George I and a supporter of European music in Greece. Additionally, it was supported by the Athenian society, "Friends of Education," whom Tantalidēs gave

³⁹⁹ Dēmētrios Rodios (1862–1958) was a well-known musician of his time. He started writing songs at the age of twelve. Later, he studied at the Athens Conservatory under Katakouzēnos. His popular songs gained fame among the public. He is considered to be one of the founders of the Greek art songs and Athenian "Kantadas" (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 5:267–68).

⁴⁰⁰ "olethriou psevdopolitismou" (Artemidēs 1905, 5).

⁴⁰¹ Dēmētrēs Glēnos, "To paidagōgiko tragoudi," in *To ellēniko tragoudi: pente dialekseis*, ed. Theodōros N. Synadinos (Athens: Ekdotika Katastēmata "Akropoleōs," 1922), 54–93.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 63.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ "[...] pou einai antitheta pros tēs psychikes tōn ropes kai ton phylektikon tōn charaktēra." *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evrōpaikēn melōdian*.

credit to in his preface along with the aforementioned Julious Ennig, who worked at the Athenian Conservatory.⁴⁰⁶ In its second edition, the same anthology was published in 1878, but as a text anthology without notation specifying in some cases the tunes to which they should be sung.⁴⁰⁷ In 1880, the same author published *Songs for the Use of Greek Children*—another song anthology for educational purposes.⁴⁰⁸ In the preface to the anthology of 1876, Tantalidēs stated the aims of his volume and the motivation that had led him to compile school song anthologies. He claimed that music education through singing had a long tradition whose model was also adopted by European nations.⁴⁰⁹ Tantalidēs emphasized the role of Greek continuity in the tradition of music by claiming that Terpander’s⁴¹⁰ spirit was still slumbering in the Greek nation.⁴¹¹ He formulated the aims of this volume as a pedagogical contribution, as it was conceptualized for use in nurseries and schools both in Greece and in the Greek diaspora. His frequent references to ancient Greek figures and ethos show that his ideas stand in the tradition of neo-humanist thought, similar to European models in the first half of the nineteenth century. He also considered his volume to be a contribution to “saving” and “developing” ecclesiastical and secular national music, which in a gradually industrializing society had become an important topic. His other aim was derived more from a Greek national point of view. He intended to draw international attention to Greek music in order to spark interest in the study of church and folk melodies.⁴¹² In this context, he referred to Bourgault-Ducoudray’s ideas.⁴¹³ He mentioned the ongoing debate about the origins of Greek music and the measures through which Greek music could be “saved” from assimilation. The latter topic had become important since many believed at that time that the intensive cultural exchange among European nations would lead to the loss of Greece’s national culture. Tantalidēs considered his 1876 anthology *Songs to European Melodies* to be in the tradition of modern Greek composers. He mentioned Rēgas Pherraios as perhaps the most famous figure to whom many of the patriotic songs were attributed—songs that were widely known before and after the Greek Revolution. Additionally, he mentioned thirteen other national poets and composers, most of whom hailed from the Ionian school on the island of Corfu and were associated with milestones in Greek literature and music.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 6, 14.

⁴⁰⁷ Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*.

⁴⁰⁸ Tantalidēs, *Asmata pros chrēsīn tōn ellēnopaīdōn*, Vivliothēkē tou pros diadosin tōn ellēnikōn grammatōn syllogou 43 (Athens: Ek tou Typographeiou Ch. N. Philadelphēōs, 1880).

⁴⁰⁹ Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, 5.

⁴¹⁰ Known as the first non-mythological Greek musician and lyra player from the seventh century B.C.

⁴¹¹ Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, 6.

⁴¹² Ibid., 9.

⁴¹³ See Chapter 1.3.5.

⁴¹⁴ The Ionian Islands, especially Corfu, adopted mainly the European, namely Italian, art music culture. Tantalidēs’ clear reference to the Ionian composers underlines the European orientation of his song anthology.

As shown earlier in Chapter 1.3, the future of Greek music was fervently debated in the second half of the nineteenth century among different interest groups. Tantalidēs' song anthology was related to this debate; it was probably criticized in more conservative circles for its "European" orientation and therefore for being "unnational." In his preface, Tantalidēs defended his concept against possible criticisms, such as the argument that it had introduced European, foreign melodies and jeopardized the Greek national music heritage by teaching Greek children an alien musical language. The author himself admitted that his "humble" anthology was mostly compiled from various song collections,⁴¹⁵ that only a few of the songs were based on Greek melodies, and that most of them had a piano accompaniment. Tantalidēs underlined that the Greek church and folk songs had to be studied and developed with the help of European scholarship, alluding especially to the eminent figure of Bourgault-Ducoudray.

Tantalidēs' song anthology with piano accompaniment is divided into three sections: Section One "songs for children" (thirty-three songs) and Section Two "songs for school" (nineteen songs), which are monophonic; and Section Three, without being specified, contains twenty-seven songs with melodies in two voices. Many of the melodies are well-known tunes from European composers such as Jacques Offenbach, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Franz Schubert. Their melodies were underlaid with poems by renowned, national Greek poets, such as Dionysios Solomos, Iōannēs K. Polemēs, and Aleksandros Ragkavēs, among others. However, a few other composers' names, such as Hans Georg Nægeli,⁴¹⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm Kücken,⁴¹⁷ Philip Friedrich Silcher,⁴¹⁸ and Ludwig Christian Erk,⁴¹⁹ among others, give further information on the anthology's methodological and music-philosophical orientation. Names such as Silcher

⁴¹⁵ Among those, he mentioned Kingsbury's *Happy Hours* (1865), Erk's *Liederschatz*, *Echos d'Allemagne*, Russian songs, and others. In addition, he referred to popular tunes taken from Italian operas as well as from Greek and Ionian songs (Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, 7–8).

⁴¹⁶ Hans Georg Nægeli (1773–1836) was a Swiss music publisher, instructor, editor, and composer. In 1805, when he worked as a singing teacher at the "Singinstitut," he was influenced by the pedagogical ideas of Pestalozzi. In the following years, he worked as a mentor for choirs and published articles on music. Among his most substantial publications is the *Gesangsbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* (1810) (Stahelin [2004] 2016; Marretta-Schär and Thiemel 2001).

⁴¹⁷ Friedrich Wilhelm Kücken (1810–1882) was a German composer who received his musical training in several major cities, such as Berlin, Vienna, and Paris. He is known for his simple but popular melodies which brought him fame as a composer (Scobel [2003] 2016).

⁴¹⁸ Philipp Friedrich Silcher (1789–1860) was a music instructor, church musician, and collector of folk songs. He was influenced by the thoughts and methods of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and H. G. Nægeli, whose views on the folk songs and education he shared. He also contributed to institutionalizing music and singing in the "Akademische Liedertafel" (1829) and "Oratorienverein" [Oratorio Society]. Folk songs formed an important part of his educational ethos (Brusniak [2006] 2016).

⁴¹⁹ Ludwig Erk (1807–1883) was a German folk song collector and editor, choral director, and composer. He contributed considerably as a progressive music instructor, choral director, folksong editor, and founder of the novel school song anthology. Influenced by the ideas of the Swiss pedagogue Pestalozzi, he supported the revival of folk songs in German public schools and choral societies. Among his most relevant publications in this field are the *Deutscher Liederhort* (1856) and other instructional books, such as *Methodischer Leitfaden für den Gesangsunterricht in Volksschulen* (1834) [Methodological Manual for Singing Classes at Elementary Schools] (Jones and Musgrave 2001; Gundlach and Salmen [2001] 2016).

and Erk, in particular, are associated with the creation of the folk song corpus in the German-speaking world. They also were music instructors in the tradition of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.⁴²⁰ Tantalidēs refers explicitly, for example, to Ludwig Erk’s song anthology *Liederschatz* [Treasure of Songs], which he used, among other sources, to compile his volume.

Erk was not only a folk song collector but was also an educator who published a great number of books about singing, which followed the guidelines of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. Erk’s pedagogical mission was to support the esthetical formation of young people by the words of the poet and the melody of the composer. Nägeli, a disciple of Pestalozzi, is another important name in this context. Together with Michael Traugott Pfeiffer,⁴²¹ he wrote down Pestalozzi’s method in the form of a practical guide.⁴²² In the preface, the power of music to affect the character and social interaction of a child is emphasized. Tantalidēs had framed his work in similar words, saying that, according to ancient Greek ethos, singing and the learning of songs were important elements in education. In other words, for him, singing formed part of the education and was a component which had already existed in Greek culture previously, and which European nations had subsequently adopted.⁴²³ In the context of Erk, however, the song anthologies of the nineteenth century stood more in the context of a growing national awareness that had been initiated by the thoughts of Gottfried Herder about the “folk song” one century earlier.⁴²⁴ The industrial revolution that also entailed mass public education created a demand for educational music books.⁴²⁵ At the same time, the growing number of men’s choirs that sang the arranged folk and national songs had an important function in the perception of national identity. Erk’s song anthology *Liederschatz*, which Tantalidēs referred to, contains, for example, patriotic and soldiers’ songs in addition to folk songs. Obviously, the melodies that Tantalidēs adopted had to have Greek words to be fully understood and unfold their desired effect.

The categories in which the songs were subdivided followed models of European school songs and remained unchanged until the twentieth century. The three main categories are: religious songs (*thrēskeia*), songs about love for nature and ethical messages (*physiolatria/zōē*), and patriotic songs (*patriōtika/ērōika*). Religious songs are hymns to

⁴²⁰ For more information on Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, see also pp. 54–55 of the current study.

⁴²¹ Michael Traugott Pfeiffer (1771–1849) was a music instructor and musician of Bavarian origin. He is considered the first to apply the principles of the Pestalozzian methodology to school music. Influenced by Pestalozzi’s theories, Pfeiffer left the civil service and opened a private music school. Together with Nägeli, he published the results of his work in the volume *Die Pestalozzische Gesangsbildungslehre nach Pfeiffers Erfindung* (1809) [The Pestalozzian Singing Method According to Pfeiffer’s Invention] and *Gesangsbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* (1810) [Singing Method According to the Pestalozzian Principles] (Rainbow 2001).

⁴²² Pfeiffer and Nägeli, *Gesangsbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen*.

⁴²³ Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, 5–6.

⁴²⁴ Ernst Schade, *Was das Volk zu singen weiss: Ludwig Erk; Leben und Werk eines Liedersammlers*, (Dreieich: Drey-Eichen, 1992), 37.

⁴²⁵ Gellner (1990, 42) describes the characteristic consequences of early industrialization as “population explosion, rapid urbanization, labor migration, and also the economic and political penetration of previously more or less inward-turned communities by a global economy and a centralizing polity.”

God and Christ and generally have more spiritual and theological notions—often connected to religious feasts—than the other song genres. The second group of songs is often considered one entity, but theoretically it could be divided into two. Songs about love for nature praise nature’s beauty, and reinforce the special relationship between the narrator and his habitat. Topics such as the four seasons, beautiful sceneries, animals, sunrise, and hiking are proportionally the biggest groups in this genre. Many melodies were borrowed from German folk songs and adapted to the Greek language, as in the spring song “Ἐλθε παλιν ανοίξισ” [Spring Has Come Again], which is based on the melody “Alle Vöglein sind schon da” [All Birdies Are Back Again].⁴²⁶ It is also possible to find melodies from popular German classical music as well as from other folk song collectors, such as the melody “Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen” [A Girl or a Little Wife]⁴²⁷ from W. A. Mozart’s opera *Die Zauberflöte* [*The Magic Flute*], “Die Lorelei” compiled by Silcher,⁴²⁸ or “Hänschen klein” [Little Hans], among many others. The other subcategory of the second group are songs that have a clear moralistic or ethical message for children. These songs often deal with important social and cultural values, such as respect for parents or elders, family life, friendship, school life, and diligence, or topics that belong to children’s lives, such as games, festivities, etc. In other words, these are songs that are important for developing children’s moral and social values. For this study, the most relevant category is the third group: those that convey a clear patriotic message. The following case studies will show how songs propagated national ideology in schools.

School Songs with Patriotic Topics

Songs with lyrics that refer to national symbols, events, and virtues belong to the corpus of national or patriotic songs. National songs may take the shape of hymns that praise a nation, its symbols, heroes and martyrs, old and new emperors, and important national events in a nation’s history. In the realm of national songs, battle or soldiers’ songs form a subcategory that has the function of animating people to fight against an opponent. National songs are functional since they are composed or arranged to draw on specific images that trigger national feelings in an individual. At the same time, they also have the power to shape an entire national collective of people that associate the same ideas, moments, feelings, or images with them. These images make reference to important national elements that may allude to national figures, historical events, national objects, symbols, or virtues. A close look at these elements allows conclusions to be drawn about, firstly, which of the elements had national meaning for the collective, and, secondly, how national elements were transmitted through lyrics and music. The power of patriotic songs, which may be abused for ideological ends, had been known and used before. The German-speak-

⁴²⁶ Navpliōtēs 1894, 126; Sakellaridēs 1882, 37; Maltos 1884, 1:83; Maltos 1887, 1:2.

⁴²⁷ Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, pt. B, 2.

⁴²⁸ Anastasios Maltos, *Terpsichorē ētoi syllogē chorikōn asmatōn pros chrēsin tōn scholeiōn*, vol. 2 (Odessa: Typois Chrysogelou kai S-as, 1885), 125.

ing musicologist and musician Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749–1816) wrote in his music encyclopedia (1802):

Experiences of recent times have confirmed what a chant/song may cause under these circumstances in a nation, and it is known from the history of the French Revolution; Who could [simply] ignore the impact that the marches “Ça ira” or the “Marseillaise” had in this nation.⁴²⁹

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, national songs became an established genre in European song anthologies, and therefore it is not surprising to find them in Greek song anthologies as well.

1.4.2 “Ho nearos stratiōtēs” [The Young Soldier]

In the Greek context, the borders between patriotic and educational songs may sometimes appear blurred. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the message that is conveyed by the song. One good example of this case is the song “Ho nearos stratiōtēs” [The Young Soldier], which was printed in numerous school song anthologies, especially during the 1880s.⁴³⁰ The poem, written by Angelos Vlachos,⁴³¹ is a farewell song, where the first-person narrator—a young soldier—asks his mother’s blessings on the eve of joining a military confrontation and dying for a better future. The song has four stanzas that highlight his emotional ties with the family as well as with his national duties.

The melody of this song is not of Greek origin but was borrowed from the German song “Deutsches Weihelied” [German Blessing Song]. The music was composed by Albert Methfessel⁴³² and the poem by Matthias Claudius (1740–1815). One version of Methfessel’s melody could be found in the song anthology *Allgemeines Commers- und Liederbuch* (1823) [General Commersium and Song Book],⁴³³ but it is likely that it had already been composed

⁴²⁹ “Was unter diesen Umständen ein Gesang bey einer Nation wirken kann, hat sich durch neuere Erfahrungen bestätigt, und ist aus der Geschichte der französischen Staatesumwälzung bekannt; denn wer sollte wohl die Wirkungen verkennen, die unter dieser Nation ihr ‘Ça ira’ oder ihr ‘Marseiller’ Marsch so oft hervorgebracht hat!” Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann dem Jüngern, 1802), col. 1008.

⁴³⁰ In Greek “Ho nearos stratiōtēs.” Available in Tantalidēs 1880, 53; Sakellaridēs 1882, 28–30; Maltos 1885, 2:192–93; Ek Madytinios 1897, 3:33–34. For the score and lyrics, see Appendix A, Case Studies 1.1 and 1.3.

⁴³¹ Angelos Vlachos (1838–1920) was a poet who was politically very active. He became ambassador, foreign minister, and minister of education. He published poem anthologies and translated the works of other European poets into Greek (Merry 2004, 460).

⁴³² Albert Gottlieb Methfessel (1785–1869) was a German songwriter, music instructor, music director, and musician. He was politically active, especially in the first decades of the nineteenth century, against the Napoleonic occupation. He composed soldiers’ songs for volunteers who joined the liberation war. This brought him fame as a composer and singer of patriotic songs (Larsen [2004] 2016).

⁴³³ Albert Methfessel, ed., *Allgemeines Commers- und Liederbuch enthaltend ältere und neue Burschenlieder, Trinklieder, Vaterlandsgesänge, Volks- und Kriegslieder mit mehrstimmigen Melodien und beigefügter Klavierbegleitung*, 3rd ed. (Rudolstadt: Hof- Buch und Kunsthandlung, 1823), 156–57. For this study, it was only possible to look at the third edition from 1823. It is likely that the song “Deutsches Weihelied” was also pub-

earlier. Methfessel's anthology contains many songs with various topics, among them student, patriotic, battle, and soldiers' songs with piano accompaniment. Methfessel's political and national engagement brought him fame as a composer of patriotic songs. His patriotic songs became especially popular during the student protests in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. His musical arrangement of the "German Blessing Song" with the incipit "Stimmt an mit hellem, hohem Klang" [Strike up with clear high sound] became popular in the year 1818,⁴³⁴ when his songs were included in many student songbooks and circulated around the university cities. Soldiers' songs, political martyrdom, and the willingness to sacrifice one's own life for the homeland were common topics of patriotic German student songs back then.⁴³⁵ From a musical point of view, the versions in the Greek song anthologies were, similar to Methfessel's songs, also set for three- or four-part singing. Tandalidēs' edition is the closest one to the version in Methfessel's volume. He adopted the key of B-flat major as well as the harmonized three-part arrangement. Maltos and Sakellaridēs transposed the melody into A major and slightly rearranged it. In all the above-mentioned Greek editions, the lyrics are almost the same, apart from some orthographic variations. Although the content and meaning of the Greek and German songs vary, both convey a clear patriotic message in their own way. Whereas the German poem is a hymn to the German nation, the Greek version is a soldier's farewell song.

Although the scene depicted in Vlacho's poem is melancholic, the character of the melody is serene yet energetic. It is in a major key, starts with an upbeat, and emphasizes the first beat of each measure by a longer rhythmic duration, mostly with a dotted quarter and eighth note (♩.) or half note and quarter note (♩). The song's solemn character is supported by the symmetrical structure and the use of broken triads on the one hand, and the even ratio between note and text syllables as well as the melodic progression on the other. The song's symmetry is further reinforced by the lyrics. Vlacho's poem matches Methfessel's melody well, because it makes use of the same rhyme scheme as Matthias Claudius' version, which is "abab."

"Ho nearos stratiōtēs"	rhyme	"Deutsches Weihelied"	rhyme
Dos mou mētera mian evchē	a	Stimmt an mit hellem, hohem Klang	a
K'ela na se philēsō	b	Stim[m]t an das Lied der Lieder,	b
Misevō avrio tachy	a	Des Vaterlandes Hochgesang	a
Kai paō na polemēsō	b	Das Waldthal hall'es wieder.	b

lished in earlier editions. The lyrics to this song were composed by the poet Matthias Claudius (1740–1815) and had probably been written much earlier, around the year 1772. An excerpt from Methfessel's volume is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 1.2.

⁴³⁴ Kurt Stephenson, Alexander Scharff, and Wolfgang Klötzer, eds., *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte der deutschen Einheitsbewegung im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, vol. 5 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965), 40, 68–69.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5:77.

In this way, the endings of each hemistich correspond with the endings of the four melodic units.⁴³⁶ The last melodic unit brings the piece to a conclusion by means of the subdominant, dominant, and tonic progression, but also through longer note values.

Interestingly, Vlachos' poem was also set to another melody with slight deviations, and it was published in Chrysanthine notation in the school song anthology *Poimenikos avlos* (1897) [Shepherd's Aulos].⁴³⁷ Apart from the different melody, whose composer is not indicated, the patriotic content of the song was also removed. The song's title was also changed from "Ho nearos stratiōtēs" [The Young Soldier] to "Ho nearos mathētēs" [The Young Student]; in the latter, the soldier going to war was replaced by a zealous young student who is keen on learning. The melody was changed, and all martial allusions were eliminated and replaced by words that belong to the world of the young school student.⁴³⁸ Hence, in v1, "go to fight" was replaced by "run to school"; in v2, "one heart" and "all one fatherland" became "one heart" that "strives for books"; in v3, "bring it, father, the sword" was changed to "bring me, mother, the papers" etc. The changes in the lyrics were probably not because of the editor's personal preferences, but they may have also had political implications. The *Shepherd's Aulos* has three volumes. The first volume is a comprehensive introduction to Chrysanthine notation and elementary music theory. The second volume is a collection of church songs, whereas the third volume is a collection of songs designed for school music. The editor Kosmas ek Madytinios (1860–1901), who was also bishop of Nikopoleos and Preveza, was trained on Halki and became famous for his vocal and musical abilities.⁴³⁹ He surely had an interest in his work being used, aside from in Greece, in the Greek diaspora, and, above all, in the Ottoman lands. Although the *Shepherd's Aulos* was printed in Athens, the title page indicates that the volume was published in accordance with the Ministry of Public Education of the date "25 Ramazan [1]313," which is, according to the Islamic hijri calendar, 10 March 1896. Another striking feature is that other school song anthologies printed in Greece in the same time period had a much higher number of patriotic songs, whereas the number of patriotic songs in the *Shepherd's Aulos* is nil.⁴⁴⁰ The assumption of a political motive becomes even more evident when the content of the third volume is considered. It contains three hymns dedicated to Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1908).⁴⁴¹ It is very likely that the anthology would not have been approved by the Ottoman administration if it had included songs that questioned Ottoman political authority or in-

⁴³⁶ Cf. arrows in Appendix A, Case Study 1.1.

⁴³⁷ Ek Madytinios, *Poimenikos avlos periechōn mousika erga*, 3:33–34. An excerpt of the original score is given in Appendix A, Case Study 1.4.

⁴³⁸ A transcription of both the melody and the lyrics is provided in Appendix A, Case Studies 1.5 and 1.6.

⁴³⁹ Besides his music theory and song anthology that he conceptualized for music classes, he was also co-author of many articles. In 1901, he was arrested by the Ottoman authorities and brought to Ioannina where he was tortured. He died on Corfu on a ship that was supposed to bring him to Italy for medical treatment. For a more detailed biography, see Ksynadas 2013, 12–15; Kalogeropoulos 1998, 3:261.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Appendix B, Table 1. The same applies to *Mousikon apanthisma* (1873). See Table 1 in Chapter 1.4.1.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Ek Madytinios, *Poimenikos avlos periechōn mousika erga*, 3:52, 54, 56–57.

cited Greek patriotism—*a fortiori* during a period when political tensions led to the Greco-Turkish War in 1897.

1.4.3 “Ymnos vasilikos” [Emperor’s Hymn]

During the era of nation-state building, hymns that praised the nation became one of the most significant tools to represent the emperor—and the nation itself—through music. Although the hymn derived from a much older, religious context, it was employed to praise nations and persons that were connected with positive attributes. When speaking of hymns in the context of national representation, it is important to distinguish between the various types of hymns. In this context, two types of hymns play an important role. The first are hymns which are eulogies dedicated to emperors or other leading figures who represent the nation and are considered representatives of God on earth. This hymn worships the emperor/empress and praises his/her virtues and contributions, as in the hymn “God Save the Queen” or the Austrian hymn “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser” [God Save Francis the Emperor], which have a solemn and ceremonial ductus. Its musical character is reminiscent of choral church chant that progresses mostly in small intervals at a moderate tempo. Its character is ceremonial, as it is mostly composed for state occasions to represent a nation or empire.

The second type of hymn can be seen from a musical point of view as the counterpart to the first one. It is derived from patriotic singing, as is the case with the “Marseillaise” or “Rule Britannia.” The aim of this type of patriotic or revolutionary hymn is to animate, to facilitate marching, and to invigorate patriotic sentiment. The first battle hymns entered Greece in the latter eighteenth century through the Ionian Islands, especially on Corfu, where the French battle songs spread via commercial contacts during the French rule (1797–1799). The French battle hymns, such as the “Marseillaise,” “Ça ira,” and the “Carmagnole,” among others, were adopted and underlaid with similar patriotic lyrics in Greek.⁴⁴² Compared to the solemn character of the previous type, the marching hymns have larger interval leaps and rhythmic motifs that suit the marching rhythm. They are in a swifter tempo and often start with an upbeat of a fourth interval leap.

The following case study will give a more precise idea of which melodies the early Greek school song anthologies drew on. The song in question is titled “Vasilikos Ymnos” [Emperor’s Hymn],⁴⁴³ and the melody was probably adopted from the “Österreichisches Nationallied” [Austrian National Song].⁴⁴⁴ It is also possible that Tantalidēs used “Das Lied der Deutschen” [The Song of the Germans], which Erk had included in his school song

⁴⁴² Kardamis, “Odes, Anthems and Battle Songs”; Kardamēs, “Mousikoi apoēchoi tēs Gallikēs Epanastasēs sta Eptanēsa,” *The Gleaner* 26 (December 30, 2008): 79, <https://doi.org/10.12681/er.67>.

⁴⁴³ An excerpt from Tandalidēs (1876) can be found in Appendix A, Case Study 2.1. An edited and transcribed version is provided in Appendix A, Case Studies 2.2 and 2.3. For the German lyrics, see Appendix A, Case Study 2.4.

⁴⁴⁴ Ludwig Erk, *Erk’s Deutscher Liederschatz*, ed. C. F. Peters, vol. 1 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, n.d.), 144.

anthology in the original volume of 1856.⁴⁴⁵ It might seem surprising that this melody, which had different meanings and vicissitudes in the German-speaking world, appeared in a Greek school song anthology of the 1870s.⁴⁴⁶ The same version of the song can also be found in *Mousa*⁴⁴⁷ (1882), another school song anthology compiled by Iōannēs Sakellaridēs and Julious Ennig. Tantalidēs provided the hymn’s melody in two versions, one in E-flat major (1876) and one in F major (1880). Both versions are clearly based on Haydn’s melody, underlaid with the lyrics of Aleksandros Ragkavēs or Angelos Vlachos.

What had been titled “Austrian National Song” in Erk’s anthology is Joseph Haydn’s melody to Laurenz Leopold Hashka’s⁴⁴⁸ hymn “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser, unsern guten Kaiser Franz!” [God Save Francis the Emperor, Our Good Emperor Francis!]. Haydn dedicated his composition to the birthday of the last Holy Roman Emperor, Francis II (r. 1792–1806), on 12 February 1797. The song remained the Austrian hymn until the empire’s breakdown in 1918. After 1797, the melody was used in many other musical works. It also formed part of the corpus that was relevant for the construction of a German national identity. Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798–1874) wrote the poem “Das Lied der Deutschen” [The Song of the Germans] in 1841, which he instructed should be sung to Haydn’s “Kaiserhymne.” Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s version was derived from the “Vormärz” revolution and the Rhine Crisis (1840) and was especially popular among the German student movement that aimed to fight French expansion and sought a unified Germany. It is probably for this reason that Erk had included this version of the song in his school song anthology of 1856. The song developed its large-scale national dimension only in the twentieth century.⁴⁴⁹ In the last third of the nineteenth century, it had become common practice to adopt popular melodies from other nations, underlaying them with lyrics of the local language. This was, for example, also the case in the volume *Échos d’Allemagne*, where famous German tunes were underlaid with French lyrics.⁴⁵⁰ From this point of view, Tantalidēs’ decision to adopt Haydn’s melody and rearrange it with a hymn by a Greek poet seems to be paradigmatic for the trend of his time.

The poem in the edition of 1876 was written by Aleksandros Ragkavēs⁴⁵¹ and was set to the melody of Haydn’s hymn to the Austrian emperor. The German and Greek versions

⁴⁴⁵ Ludwig Erk, *Deutscher Liederschatz: Zunächst für Seminaristen und die höheren Klassen der Gymnasien und Realschulen*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Th. Chr. Fr. Enslin, 1859), 33.

⁴⁴⁶ For more detailed information on Haydn’s melody and its political implications throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Riethmüller 1987, 241; Hermand 2002, 251–61.

⁴⁴⁷ Sakellaridēs, *Mousa*, 15–16.

⁴⁴⁸ Lorenz Leopold Haschka was an Austrian poet (1749–1827). He received a professorship at the Theresianum. His hymn to the emperor, “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,” brought him fame (Wurzbach 1862, 8:20–23).

⁴⁴⁹ See Hermand 2002, 251–58.

⁴⁵⁰ *Échos d’Allemagne* ([Paris]: Durand, Schoenewerk, 1876).

⁴⁵¹ Ragkavēs, Aleksandros Rizos (1809–1892) was born in Istanbul. He spent his youth in Bucharest and later went to Odessa. In 1825, he received a scholarship to go to Munich. He left Munich for Athens as a lieutenant of artillery. From that moment on, he occupied various positions of influence and prestige: minister of educa-

show parallels and differences.⁴⁵² This piece is primarily a paean to the monarch. Hashka's version makes direct reference to the emperor by name, whereas Ragkavēs' lyrics praise the emperor's qualities but make no personal reference to an emperor. It could be a paean to any emperor. The feature that makes this hymn characteristically Greek is the language in which it was composed. Ragkavēs used an archaic Greek (*katharevousa*), which is a "purified" Greek with many words and grammatical elements adopted from the ancient Greek language. The universal character of this piece is therefore supported by this archaic character, which corresponded with the aesthetics of the Greek Enlightenment.

As becomes clear in stz. 1 of the Greek version, the emperor is an enlightened leader who is loved by his subjects and who are celebrating his return. This is also the only stanza that appears in the text underlay, whereas the remaining stanzas are attached below the notation. Stz. 2 describes him as a merciful ruler who is benevolent to his people. As a savior of the nation destined by God, he is "father" and protector. Stz. 3 highlights his ethical qualities as wise, just, and the carrier of paternal culture. Stz. 4 expresses the wish for the emperor's future glory. Each stanza closes with the exclamation "Zētō, zēt'ho vasilevs" [Long live the Emperor], which conveys a message that is strikingly similar to its German equivalent. In the German version, the emperor is characterized as wise, glorious, and victorious. He is just and benevolent, caring for his people, a defender against oppression and violence, and a fighter for freedom. He corresponds with many of the characteristics of an "enlightened" ruler. Apart from all the positive attributes, the striking difference is Emperor Francis' clear relationship to the Austrian context, which in the Greek case is missing. Both versions present, musically, God and the emperor on the same level at the end of the song. The juxtaposition of God and the emperor is a phenomenon that is often used in hymns, since the emperor is part of the divinely ordained sovereignty. The same juxtaposition is also present, for example, in "God Save the Queen," where the Queen is part of God's order. This hierarchy may also be seen in the God-given hierarchy that seems to be reflected in mm. 10–15 of the melody. "God" is emphasized by an ascending fourth, which is also the highest pitch of the whole piece. The dotted quarter note is an additional way to strike the weight of this word. The next dotted quarter note, which has a similar but lesser weight, is on the emperor's name, "Franz." It is a third lower and may reflect the hierarchy of Francis being a representative of God on earth. In a similar way, the first word, "God," and last word, "Franz," of the sequence encompass an octave and may be read as the divine order on earth: God in heaven, the emperor on earth. This religious connotation is missing in Ragkavēs' version, and it is probably not possible to observe similar symbolism between music and lyrics. Ragkavēs' poem always closes with "Long live the emperor" instead of "God save the emperor."

Whereas Tantalidēs maintained, in the last example, the character of an emperor's hymn, in the next example, he used the same melody to express the love for the homeland.

tion, professorship of archaeology, eventually Greek ambassador in Berlin, and finally foreign minister (Velloudis 1983, 1:219).

⁴⁵² Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 2.3 and 2.4.

Tantalidēs set other patriotic lyrics that were written by Angelos Vlachos to Haydn’s melody. It was printed in his anthology *Asmata pros chrēsīn tōn ellēnopaīdōn* (1880) [Songs for the Use of Greek Children].⁴⁵³ Whereas the previous song was an emperor’s hymn, this song is a farewell hymn to the nation with the title “Hē agapē pros tēn patriḗa” [Love for the Homeland]. In this case, the first-person narrator expresses the love for the homeland, which he or she apparently has to leave. He promises to be true and loyal while being separated. The special relationship between the narrator and his or her feelings toward the homeland is best represented in the metaphor of paternal love. The relationship is equated to the intimate relationship between a mother and her child. Whereas in the last section of the “Emperor’s Hymn,” the highest pitch was on “Long live, rejoice together, long live the Emperor,” this time the emphasis is on “Your child I will stay.” The same passage in stz. 2, v4 highlights the “memory” of the homeland that the narrator maintains as a source of joy. All of the three versions mentioned highlight, in their own way, the most important message in the finishing section of the piece (Example 1). Tantalidēs’ (1876) and Erk’s wish long life to the emperor, while Tantalidēs’ (1880) highlights the important relationship between the narrator (as a child) and the nation (as a mother).

a) Zē - tō kra - ksa - te sym -
 b) Te - knon sou - pan - tou tha
 c) Gott er - hal - te Franz den

phō - nōs, zē - tō, zē - t' ho va - si - levs.
 mei - nō kai sy - mē - tēr - mou pan - tou
 Kai - ser un - sern - gu - ten Kai - ser Franz

Example 1 Ending section of the “Emperor’s Hymn” based on Tantalidēs (1876). The first lyrics (a) follow the version in Tantalidēs (1876); the second lyrics (b) were taken from Tantalidēs (1880); the third lyrics (c) were adopted from the German version based on Erk’s edition.

⁴⁵³ Tantalidēs, *Asmata pros chrēsīn tōn ellēnopaīdōn*, 43. Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 2.5–2.7.

Similar to the “Emperor’s Hymn,” which was set to a different tune, one more version of “Love for the homeland” could be found. The same poem was set to a melody by Heinrich Wohlfahrt (1797–1883), which was printed in two song anthologies. Maltos used Wohlfahrt’s melody twice with the same lyrics. The first version was printed in *Terpsichorē*⁴⁵⁴ and the second two years later in *Melpomenē*.⁴⁵⁵ These examples prove that existing melodies from the German-speaking world were used to set poems by famous Greek poets to music. From the repertoire of the songs and from the statements that were made by editors such as Maltos and Tantalidēs, it became evident that they drew on existing song anthologies in Europe. The selected tunes show some relationship between the poem’s message and the ductus of the melody. However, there was apparently no intention to create a static, standardized repertoire of school songs with selected poems that were adapted to specific tunes. Thus, the same tune served as the musical basis for different poems. Other striking examples of well-known hymn melodies were Henry Carey’s “God Save the Queen”⁴⁵⁶ dedicated to King George I of Greece (r. 1863–1913), or the anonymous but well-known Württembergian hymn, “Preisend mit viel schönen Reden,” dedicated to Abdulhamid II.⁴⁵⁷ It may be surprising that a hymn to Abdulhamid II was included in some anthologies, but it could be considered a requirement in order to distribute and disseminate the anthology to the Greek-speaking population within the Ottoman Empire as well.

1.4.4 “Ōs pote pallēkaria” [Until when, young men]

Perhaps the most important topic for modern Greek national identity, which is also reflected in numerous patriotic songs, is the battle for freedom from slavery. The Greek national anthem “Hymn to Liberty,” composed by Nikolaos Mantzaros (1795–1872) and the poet Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857), deals, as the title already suggests, with the long battle for freedom and self-determination.⁴⁵⁸ Many of the songs of modern Greece that call for revolution draw on similar topics. They often deal with the inhuman living conditions of the “enslaved” Greeks who became victims of a powerful “inimical” force. Revolutionary calls, whose slogans are reminiscent of those of the French Revolution, have the power to mobilize masses and animate people to fight for their rights and future. The songs of the

⁴⁵⁴ Maltos, *Terpsichorē*, 1884, 1:54.

⁴⁵⁵ Maltos, *Melpomenē*, 1:20. The beginning of the song was printed in Appendix A, Case Study 2.8. Whereas the version in *Terpsichorē* (1884) provided the basic melody together with the lyrics, the version in *Melpomenē* (1887) has piano accompaniment.

⁴⁵⁶ The melody of “God Save the Queen” was apparently the official royal anthem of King Otto with lyrics in *katharevousa* (Kardamis 2020, 69–70). The melody had apparently many more versions on which other lyrics were sung. Kurt Stephenson claimed, that the melody of “God Save the Queen” by Henry Cary was second in regard to popularity among German students in the early nineteenth century (Stephenson, Scharff, and Klötzer 1965, 5:54).

⁴⁵⁷ Maltos, *Terpsichorē*, 1884, 1:124–25.

⁴⁵⁸ For a comprehensive study on this topic, see Mindler 2010.

Greek Revolution often call on compatriots to throw off the “yoke” and die a martyr for freedom, rather than remain slaves.

“Freedom,” as it is presented in the national narrative, comes, however, at a cost. For national historiography heroes and martyrs are indispensable. Their legendary tales relate how they fought, with almost divine powers, a superior enemy and saved their own people from subjugation. This narrative about the victorious past is often reflected in the present times to emphasize the continuous line of national heroes from the past to the present. However, heroes that are praised in songs, poems, and commemorative rituals are a product of political and social agency.⁴⁵⁹ Heroes and their virtues are usually shaped by constructed monuments and memorials that commemorate their achievements. Songs about heroes as an expression of nationalism belong to the indispensable repertoire of national symbolism. Their contributions and achievements in military campaigns have the power to sanctify ancestral homelands.⁴⁶⁰ Therefore, it is not surprising to also find modern Greek heroes in Greek heroic songs; these heroes are presented as following in the footsteps of their ancient predecessors in order to highlight the continuous spirit of Greek heroism.

The following case study deals with one of the most popular national songs that remembers the pioneers of Greek Independence. The song “*Ōs pote pallēkaria*” [Until when, young men] is attributed to Rēgas of Velestino from Thessaly (1757–1798).⁴⁶¹ He is also referred to as Rēgas of “Pherraios,” the ancient name of Velestino, which, however, Rēgas himself seemingly never used.⁴⁶² Together with Adamantios Korais (1748–1833), Rēgas is one of the best-known figures of the Greek Enlightenment. He pioneered and shaped modern Greek thoughts and ideals. His writings show the vision of a new political order in the form of a Balkan Republic independent of the Ottoman Empire. His contributions as an intellectual, along with his patriotic hymn often referred to as “*Thourios*,” were propagated and received by a broad public between France and Romania. It is assumed that he had already composed the lyrics of the “*Thourios*” in Bucharest before he went to Vienna in 1796.⁴⁶³ This song could be found in many handwritten as well as printed sources in the first third of the nineteenth century. Intellectuals such as Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837) and Lord George Gordon Byron (1788–1824) praised the visions Rēgas fought and died for. Rēgas’ “*Thourios*” is included in an early printed source edited by Manouēl Vernardo of Crete. It is a patriotic song anthology that was published in 1821, the year of the outbreak of the Greek Revolution. The place of publication is remarkable. The title page indicated the utopian place of “*Kosmopolei*” [the people’s city; the city of the world], which

⁴⁵⁹ See Introduction of the present study.

⁴⁶⁰ See Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 67–76.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 3.

⁴⁶² Roderick Beaton, *An Introduction to Modern Greek Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 28n2.

⁴⁶³ Apostolos V. Daskalakēs, *Ta ethnegertika tragoudia tou Rēga Velestinlē* (Athens: Ekdoseis E. G. Vagionakē, 1977), 19, 24–25.

humorously expressed the anthology's political, humanistic orientation.⁴⁶⁴ Another characteristic writing of this time with a similar political mindset is the so-called "Hellenic Nomarchy," which is also a play on words. It combines the words "nomos" [law] and "archy" [rule] creating a neologism and antonym to the term "monarchy."⁴⁶⁵ The ideas of the anonymous author are analogous to those of Rēgas, to whom the work is dedicated, and it was published almost a decade after Rēgas' execution.

Rēgas' battle hymn was printed for the first time, together with two other songs, in Rēgas' Political Constitution in 1797.⁴⁶⁶ Although the printed pamphlets with highly political and revolutionary content were confiscated by authorities in Vienna,⁴⁶⁷ the text of the battle hymn had already been known beforehand; it was disseminated by oral transmission or handwritten flyers and circulated among the Greek-speaking community of Vienna and Bucharest, as well as in other regions of Greece.⁴⁶⁸ After Rēgas' imprisonment and execution, his companion and comrade Christoforos Perraivos (1774–1863), upon his arrival on Corfu, reprinted the songs in 1798. During the years of 1797 and 1798, Corfu was occupied by the Bonapartist soldiers, where songs of the French Revolution were also sung. Perraivos' reprint of the song is considered the oldest printed copy and was probably also the closest to Rēgas' version.⁴⁶⁹

Rēgas' "Thourios" was apparently sung in secret gatherings that also included dancing,⁴⁷⁰ and it was transformed into a battle hymn in the following decades.⁴⁷¹ The "Sacred Band," a partisan military unit under the Phanariot Greek Alexander Ypsilantis (1792–

⁴⁶⁴ The volume was published clandestinely in Jassy, a city that belonged at that time to the Principality of Moldavia. For further reading and a facsimile of the cover page, see Camariano 1966, 9. Rēgas' battle hymn can be found with some variant stanzas on pp. 38–39 of the same volume.

⁴⁶⁵ Kitromilides considers the "Hellenic Nomarchy" to be one of the most important theoretical monuments of Greek republicanism, which was influenced by the French Revolution. It was published in Italy by an anonymous author who referred to himself as "Anonymous Hellene." In 266 densely-written pages with an anti-clerical stance, he criticized the existing corrupt structures that he saw as characteristic of monarchic rule; and therefore, he was an ardent supporter of a non-monarchical form of government. The author dedicated this work to Rēgas, whom he considered in the same spirit as ancient Greek heroes such as Leonidas, Themistocles, etc. The author was against traditional Christian monarchy and those who tried to reform or adapt it. In the same way, he harshly criticized the "tyrants" of the Greek society (meaning the higher clergy), who were in the service of the Ottomans. The "Hellenic Nomarchy" is a call for revolution that uses republican arguments to fight Turkish rule and highlights the virtues of the ancient Greeks (Kitromilides 2006, 50–60).

⁴⁶⁶ Rēgas' work has the title *Nea politikē dioikēsis tōn katioikōn tēs polymelēs tēs Mikras Asias tōn Mesogeiōn kai tēs Vlachomποgdanias* [New Political Constitution of the Inhabitants of Asia Minor, Mediterranean and Moldavia and Wallachia].

⁴⁶⁷ For the analysis of Rēgas' interrogation in the Viennese court, see Daskalakēs 1977, 13–16.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 24, 28; Leandros I. Vranousēs, "Ho 'Patriōtikos ymnos' tou Rēgas kai hē ellēnikē 'Karmaniola,'" in *Eis mnēmēn K. Amantou, 1874–1960* (Athens, 1960), 326.

⁴⁶⁹ Vranousēs, "Ho 'Patriōtikos ymnos' tou Rēgas kai hē ellēnikē 'Karmaniola,'" 326. The Corfu reprints were seemingly lost and were rediscovered in a private collection only in 1898, a hundred years after they had been printed. See *ibid.*, 313.

⁴⁷⁰ Daskalakēs, *Ta ethnēgertika tragoudia tou Rēga Velestinē*, 17.

⁴⁷¹ Geōrgios Kōnstantinos Kōnstantzos, *Devte paides tōn Ellēnōn: patriōtika asmata kai thouria gia tēn Ellēnikēn Epanastasē kai tous ethnīkous agōnes tou 19ou aiōna* (Athens: Archeio Ellēnikēs Mousikēs, 2015), 32.

1828), had suggested declaring Rēgas' "Thourios" to be the anthem of the "Philikē Etairia" [Friendly Society], which had initiated the Greek Revolution.⁴⁷² The philhellene François Pouqueville⁴⁷³ also became aware of the song's popularity among the Greek mountain-dwellers, who seemingly modified and adapted the hymn's lyrics to the latest events. He provided the lyrics in French translation.⁴⁷⁴ Pouqueville's compatriot Claude Fauriel⁴⁷⁵ acknowledged Rēgas' contributions to the Greek "national awakening." He appreciated his enthusiasm and ardent convictions about the nation and liberty, as well as his efforts to restore Greek morals and politics.⁴⁷⁶ He praised Rēgas' songs that were intended to awaken love for the nation, and he acknowledged the necessity for freedom from the "hardest and most unforgiving among the barbarians."⁴⁷⁷ In addition to introducing Rēgas Pherraios to a foreign audience, Fauriel also provided the song lyrics in French translation. While Fauriel underlined the high poetic value of the Greek folk songs, he admitted that Rēgas' patriotic hymn, rather than for its poetic quality, stood out for its genre, sentiment, and the ideas which it represented.⁴⁷⁸ In addition, Fauriel underlined the popularity of the song in its day. In an anecdote told by Fauriel, for example, his friend, while traveling in Greek Macedonia in 1817, had met a young man from Epirus who worked at a bakery. The young man showed the traveler a booklet of songs, which he himself could not read. Therefore, he asked the traveler to read it. When the traveler found Rēgas' hymns and started reciting them, the young man became extremely enthusiastic about the poems.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷² Ibid.; Daskalakēs, *Ta ethnegertika tragoudia tou Rēga Velestinlē*, 33.

⁴⁷³ François-Charles Hugues Laurent Pouqueville (1770–1838) was a French intellectual who became known for his travel accounts of Greece and the Ottoman lands. His other important work was *Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce* (1824) [History of the Regeneration of Greece]. Although he started a career as a priest, the French Revolution changed his trajectory considerably. He studied medicine, later became consul of France, and was involved in many political issues. Pouqueville and his brother were philhellenes and supporters of the Greek independence movement (Castellan 1992, 2:17–29).

⁴⁷⁴ François Charles Hugues Laurent Pouqueville, *Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot Père et Fils, 1825), 372–76.

⁴⁷⁵ Claude Fauriel (1772–1844) published *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* [Folk Songs of Modern Greece], which were supposedly an exemplary contribution to the philological and ethnographic study of modern Greek folk culture. Although Fauriel had never been to Greece, he collected his materials from Greeks who lived in Europe. Fauriel had various sources from which he assembled his materials. Among others, he collected the songs from Adamantios Korais, from Greeks living in Venice and Trieste, and from intellectuals of the Ionian Islands such as Andrea Mustokside. Fauriel's Greek folk song anthology, which is without music notation, was published in German and English three years after the Greek Revolution had started. More Greek folk song anthologies followed in Germany, Italy, and Greece. For further reading, see Deligiorgis 1969; Politēs 2001.

⁴⁷⁶ Claude Fauriel, *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, recueillis et publiés*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot Père et Fils, 1825), 15.

⁴⁷⁷ "[...] d'être opprimés par les plus durs et le plus incorrigibles des barbares." (ibid., 2:16).

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 2:18.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 2:18–19. There were more travelers that apparently heard songs of the Greek Revolution during their stay in Greece. Andersen's account is of interest, since it shows that the repertoire of the Greek rhapsodes included songs in both Greek and Turkish languages. They could apparently sing songs that had modal melodies and those of famous operettas (Andersen 1871, 184; Kardamis 2020, 63–74). For more primary sources that witnessed Rēgas' patriotic hymn, see also Daskalakēs 1977, 28–36.

Rēgas' poem was translated and included in other European song anthologies. Apart from French, it was also translated into German, Russian, and Romanian.⁴⁸⁰ Daskalakēs claimed that Rēgas' song had become so popular that even Turkish officials enjoyed the tune.⁴⁸¹ The lyrics of Rēgas' hymn already became famous before the establishment of the Greek nation-state, as well as after. The lyrics were published in many song anthologies during the nineteenth century, with some orthographic modifications and also in much shorter versions.⁴⁸² None of these publications, however, included any musical notation: they were mainly song text anthologies. Already during the Greek upheavals, Rēgas had taken his place among the national heroes as the “protomartyr,” who had died for the Greek cause.⁴⁸³ This also becomes evident in the glorifications of national events. For the commemorative ceremonies of the Greek Revolution, Ioannēs Zambelios wrote a tragedy titled “Rēgas” that was performed on the symbolic day of 25 March. In a commemorative speech on 25 March 1857, Kolokotrōnēs' secretary, Geōrgion Tertsetēs, stated that Rēgas' hymn was the “most sacred song of our people.”⁴⁸⁴ In Greece, 25 March is a national holiday that commemorates the outbreak of the Greek Revolution and the “resurrection” of the Greek nation. Rēgas has become a hero, and his songs are a *sine qua non* in this context.

The lyrics of the battle song “Ōs pote pallēkaria,” which is also often referred to as “Thourios tou Rēga” [Rēgas' Battle Song] is a call to arms against tyrannical rule.⁴⁸⁵ The first striking feature is the title and the denomination of the musical genre. The term “thourios,” which Rēgas used, is derived from ancient Greek and was not generally used by Ottoman-Greek citizens at this time.⁴⁸⁶ In Modern Greek, the same musical genre would correspond to “emvatērio” [march] or “paianas” [paean/hymn]. Rēgas borrowed the term

⁴⁸⁰ In Romania, Rēgas' song was used for their own national aims. See Kōnstantzos 2015, 33.

⁴⁸¹ Daskalakēs, *Ta ethnegertika tragoudia tou Rēga Velestinlē*, 29. Daskalakēs gives a Greek translation from the French original in Rizo-Neroulo (1828, 48–49). It should be mentioned that Rizo-Neroulo did not write concretely about Rēgas' “Thourios,” as Daskalakēs deduced. Rizo-Neroulo mentioned two other Greek songs of the revolution that were a kind of “Greek Marseillaise” starting with “Allons, enfants de la Grèce” [Up! Children of Greece]. The second piece started with the incipit “Braves Hellènes! Fils des Spartiates” [Brave Hellenes! Sons of Spartans]. According to Rizo-Neroulo, the Turkish officials enjoyed the tunes without really understanding their content.

⁴⁸² Athanasios Christopoulos and G[eōrgios] Sakellarios, *Asmata diaphorōn poiētōn: ērōika, evtrapela, kai ta vlachika* (Nafplio: Kōnstantinou Trompra Kydōnieōs, 1835), 4; Athanasios Gellēs, ed., *Hē Evterpē ē apanthisma asmatōn, erōtikōn kai ērōikōn* (Athens: Typois Athanasios Gellē kai Syn., 1848), 94; Athan[asios] Christopoulos, *Anthologia ētoi syllogē asmatōn, ērōikōn, kleptikōn kai erōtikōn, meta tōn lyrikōn kai vlakchikōn* (Athens: Arkadiou, 1865), 3. The earliest of these sources was the previously-mentioned “Asmata kai ponēmata diaphorōn” published 1821 in Jassy (see pp. 114–15).

⁴⁸³ Roudometof and Robertson, *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy*, 103.

⁴⁸⁴ “to ieroteron asma tēs phylēs mas.” Quoted according to Kōnstantzos 2015, 32; Karamperopoulos 2009, 15.

⁴⁸⁵ For an English translation of Rēgas' lyrics, see Appendix A, Case Study 3.7. The lyrics were adopted from Stathēs (1996, 273–77), and the translation into English has been based on Karaberopoulos and Zervoulakos (2002, 154–65). Stathēs additionally provided important information on the figures that are mentioned in the lyrics. For critical remarks and interpretation of the lyrics, see also Stathēs 1996, 287–98.

⁴⁸⁶ Daskalakēs, *Ta ethnegertika tragoudia tou Rēga Velestinlē*, 19.

“thourios” from ancient Attic poetry,⁴⁸⁷ which in the context of the Greek Enlightenment alluded to the Greeks’ origins and the ideal of Hellenicity. Although today there are various “thourios” in Greek music, the term “Thourios” alone with the uppercase initial letter is often associated with “Thourios tou Rēga” [Rēga’s Battle Hymn]. Thus, the term “Thourios” was an ancient term that was reintroduced in the light of modern Hellenism. The title page in the Corfu copy is headed by the two words “eivtheria” [Freedom] on the left side and “isotēs” [Equality] on the right (Figure 2).⁴⁸⁸ Below, in a centered position, is the capitalized word “Thourios.” Since the term “thourios” was probably not understood by the average Greek-speaker, an alternative title was given below, which is “ētoi ormētikos patriōtikos ymnos” [or impetuous patriotic hymn]. The lyrics were to be sung to the tune of a song titled “Mia prostagē megalē” [A Great Command].⁴⁸⁹ The practice of providing only song lyrics and instructing that they be sung to an existing tune had been used effectively before in the French Revolution. Many political songs of the French Revolution made use of “parodies,” drawing on older or more recent melodies of the *opéra comique* or *vaudeville*. Another pool of melodies was derived from *chansons*, hymns, and other musical subcategories. The propagandistic potential of hymns and *chansons* was soon recognized and used for political ends.⁴⁹⁰ The song lyrics were printed on leaflets or in small textbooks. The music scores were not provided. Instead, the title or first verse was provided with a popular tune to which the lyrics should be sung.⁴⁹¹ This practice was very powerful and the melodies of the French Revolution were also adopted in Germany, in spite of the fact that the German political student movement actually aimed to resist the French nationalist aspirations. The melody of the “Marseillaise,” for example,

⁴⁸⁷ Dēmētrios Karamperopoulos, “Rēga Velestinlē, Thourios: analysē” (Athens, 21 July 2013), 1.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. Figure 2. Downloaded from <http://repository.academyofathens.gr/gr/listItems/181626> (accessed 12 Nov. 2024).

⁴⁸⁹ “Thourios ētoi ormētikos Patriōtikos Ymnos prōtos, eis ton ēchon *Mia prostagē megalē*” (Figure 2). “*Mia prostagē megalē*” [A Great Command] was the incipit of the song, but it does not indicate any further detailed information. Kōnstantzos (2015) claimed that the incipit “*Mia prostagē megalē*” had many variants, and the original melody could not be found. He assumed that the melody to Rēgas’ song provided in Sigalas’ anthology was the most authentic. The lyrics of “*Mia prostagē megalē*” can be found in Gellēs (1848, 120–21) and in Fauriel (1824, Part 1, Section 2, no. 2). In Gellēs (1848), this song is classified as a “klephtic” song, whereas in Fauriel it is classified as a “historical” song. The only version with text and music notation could be found in Pachtikos (1905, 317–18). All three anthologies mentioned have almost the same lyrics. The song deals with the occupation of the fortress of Anapli in Naḗplio, which was successfully defended by the Greek Albanian forces. Fauriel explains in his introduction that this occupation occurred in the first Turkish Morea expedition. Kardamis claimed that “A Great Command” dealt with the heroic achievements of Lampros Katsōnēs (1752–1804), a military officer in the Russian army who achieved victories against the Ottomans (Kardamēs 2008, 89–90). In both cases, the martial content of the songs is evident. Based on the content of the song lyrics, it is possible to claim that Rēgas drew on a song that dealt with a victorious military campaign against the Turks, which had a melody that had been well-known back then.

⁴⁹⁰ Herbert Schneider, “Revolutionäre Lieder und vaterländische Gesänge: Zur Publikation französischer Revolutionslieder in Deutschland und zum politischen Lied in R. Z. Beckers ‘Mildheimischem Liederbuch,’” in *Volk, Nation, Vaterland*, ed. Ulrich Herrmann, Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert 18 (Hamburg: F. Meiner, 1996), 291–92; Adélaïde de Place, *La vie musicale en France au temps de la Révolution* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1989), 14.

⁴⁹¹ Place, *La vie musicale en France au temps de la Révolution*, 14.



Figure 2 Beginning of Rēgas' "Thourios" (Corfu edition of 1798). Facsimile from the digital repository of the Academy of Athens.

can be found in German, but also in Greek.⁴⁹² The song collection *Hymnes patriotiques des Hellènes* (1827) [Patriotic Hymns of the Hellenes] gives numerous and interesting examples of this phenomenon of contrafact.⁴⁹³ This patriotic song anthology does not provide any music notation but was still compiled with the purpose of being sung. Each song is preceded by an instruction designating which tune the lyrics should be performed to. The first piece, “L’appel aux armes” [Call to Arms],⁴⁹⁴ for example, is supposed to be sung to the tune of the “Marseillaise”; the third piece, “Hymn of Combat,” is supposed to be sung to a tune by Cherubini that starts with “Où sont-ils ces rois dont la haine” [Where are the kings whose hatred ...].⁴⁹⁵ Another piece titled “L’hymne des jeunes hommes” [Hymn of the Young Men]⁴⁹⁶ is sung to the tune “Soldats français, chantez Roland, etc.” [French soldiers, sing Roland, etc.];⁴⁹⁷ the heroic threnody to the Greek national hero Markos Botsaris, “Marcos Botsaris. Cantilène Héroïque,” is supposed to be sung to the tune “Bayard est mort” [Bayard is Dead].⁴⁹⁸ Similar examples from the German-speaking world can be found in the edition of songs of the 1848 Revolution.⁴⁹⁹ In this volume, one can find titles such as “Reveille” [Wake Up] by Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810–1876), which is to be sung to the melody of the “Marseillaise”;⁵⁰⁰ “Mein Deutschland, strecke die Glieder” [My Beloved Germany, Stretch Your Limbs] to the melody of “The King of Thule,”⁵⁰¹ and “Brüder lasst uns zusammen stehen” [Brothers Let’s Hold Together] to the melody “Hail to Thee in Victor’s Crown.”⁵⁰² Examples from the Greek-speaking world can be found in Christodoulos’ volume, *Apollon, Leader of the Muses* (1860). The love song “Kai otan ênoiges therma kai evglōtta ta cheilē” [And When You Open Warmly and Eloquenty Your Lips] indicates the title “Quando le sere al placido” [When the Evenings in the Calm] to which it is supposed to be sung.⁵⁰³ Another more political song is a march in memory of 10 October 1862, whose lyrics were composed by Theodōros Geōrgios Orphanidēs.⁵⁰⁴ It starts with the in-

⁴⁹² See Schneider, “Revolutionäre Lieder und vaterländische Gesänge,” 292–95; Kardamis, “Odes, Anthems and Battle Songs,” 65.

⁴⁹³ Achille Desauges, *Hymnes patriotiques des Hellènes* (Paris: Achille Desauges, 1827).

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁹⁹ Klaus Kuhnke, *Die alten bösen Lieder: Lieder und Gedichte der Revolution von 1848* (Ahrensburg, Paris: Dammokles, 1969).

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 66–67.

⁵⁰¹ Exact version of composition not specified. *Ibid.*, 60.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁰³ E. P. Christodoulos, *Ho mousēgetēs Apollōn: syllogē neōn asmatōn êrōikōn, erōtikōn, lyrikōn, distichōn, vakchikōn, satyrikōn*, (Patras: Ek tēs typographias A. S. Agapētou, 1860), 43.

⁵⁰⁴ Theodōros G. Orphanidēs was born in 1817 in Izmir and died in 1886 in Athens. He was a satirist and botanist who formed an opposition, together with Aleksandros Soutzos and Achilleas Paraschos, against King

cipit “Greece, awoken as in those glorious times,”⁵⁰⁵ and is supposed to be sung to the Italian song “‘La ronda’ with the stanza ‘Long Live Garibaldi and Freedom’.”⁵⁰⁶ The Greek battle song “Ho Ippevs” [The Militiaman] is to be sung to the melody of the hunter’s song “Auf grün belaubter Haide” [On Green, Leafy Heath].⁵⁰⁷ All these examples show that providing musical notation for patriotic songs was quite unusual. For easier dissemination of the lyrics and the songs, it seemed to have been more efficient to revert to already well-known, existing tunes to which the lyrics could be easily adapted. This was probably also the best way to reach social groups who could not read notation or were illiterate. Popular songs that were known and easy to sing and play could reach the masses through oral transmission. No cumbersome organization, fundraising and printing were necessary. The Greek music historian Synadinos gave another example of some verses by the Greek poet Achilleus Paraschos (1838–1895), which were sung to the aria from *Rigoletto* that starts with “La donna è mobile.” He affirmed that Italian melodies were so well assimilated with the Greek “soul” that Greeks would consider them their own.⁵⁰⁸ The two other songs of the revolution that were printed together with Rēgas’ “Thourios” followed the same principles. Whereas one adopted the melody of the French revolutionary song “La Carmagnole,” the other drew on a more serene tune by Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836) and Johann Martin Usteri (1763–1827), known as “Freut Euch des Lebens” from 1795.⁵⁰⁹ Hence, Rēgas’ “Thourios” seemed to have followed the same practice.⁵¹⁰

Of all the many verses, there is one in particular that best represents the idea of the Greek Revolution. The slogan “Better one hour of free life than forty years of slavery and captivity”⁵¹¹ is the proverbial quintessence of Rēgas’ “Thourios,” and it is representative

Otto of Bavaria and the influence of German literature models (Veloudis 1983, 1:234). He entered the service of the foreign ministry in 1844 and went to Paris for educational purposes. In his poem anthology *Menippos*, he expressed his discontent about the political situation in Greece. Due to his political stance, he was suspended from his position and arrested. He dedicated himself to writing until his death (Kōnstantzos 2015, 117). See also information on Orphanidēs provided at the National Book Centre of Greece, which is part of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture, and Sports. See www.ekebi.gr (accessed 2 Apr. 2021).

⁵⁰⁵ “Ellas, egeirou ōs palai doksasmenē.” In the chapter of heroic songs in Sigalas (1880, 65), there is a piece in Chrysanthine notation with the same incipit. Since the Italian original could not be found, it was not possible to tell if both versions had exactly the same melody.

⁵⁰⁶ “ēchos tou Italikou asmatos ‘la ronda’ tou echontos strophēn ‘Viva Garibaldi e libertà’” (Orphanidēs 1862, 1). The song probably became popular during the October incidents in 1862, when King Otto of Greece had to abdicate the throne (Koliopoulos and Veremēs 2010, 42).

⁵⁰⁷ Andreas Koromēla, ed., *Diaphora poiēmata tou Aleksandrou Rizou Ragkavē* (Athens: Ek tēs Typographias Andreiou Koromēla, 1837), 289–91. More information on the German title can be found at the Folk Song Archive of Austria and South Tirol (<https://www.volksmusikdatenbank.at>, accessed 12 Nov. 2024).

⁵⁰⁸ Synadinos, *Istoria tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs 1824–1919*, 249.

⁵⁰⁹ See Vranousēs, “Ho ‘Patriōtikos ymnos’ tou Rēgas kai hē ellēnikē ‘Karmaniola,’” 302, 307. On Nägeli, see pp. 103–104 of this study.

⁵¹⁰ For the influence of French songs of the revolution on Corfu towards the end of the eighteenth century, see Kardamēs (2008).

⁵¹¹ “Kalētera mias ōras eleftherē zōē para saranta chronous sklavia kai phylakē.” Stathēs remarks that the pattern “Better one hour ..., than forty years ...” still exists as an idiom in modern Greek (Stathēs 1996, 288).

of the heroic mindset of the Greek revolutionary spirit. It was—and still is—often used as a popular reference to the Greek struggle for freedom and independence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are many examples where this slogan has been used to evoke memories of Greek patriotism. It can be seen, for example, in the opening quotation of the chapter on patriotic songs in the anthology *Apollo, Leader of the Muses*,⁵¹² or in more contemporary secondary literature at the beginning of the article by Dēmētrios Karamperopoulos.⁵¹³

The first time Rēgas' patriotic hymn appeared together with musical notation was in Antōnios N. Sigalas'⁵¹⁴ *Sylogē ethnikōn asmatōn* [Anthology of National Songs], published in Athens in 1880. In this monumental song anthology, Rēgas' song forms part of the thirty-two patriotic songs that cover the period from pre-revolutionary times until the Crimean War. Sigalas' song anthology is the first Greek publication of its kind. In addition to providing musical notation for four hundred songs, it can also be seen as the first attempt to create a national monumental compilation of songs that were sung mostly in Greek, both within and outside Greece.⁵¹⁵ Moreover, it is the first comprehensive edition that also provides non-sacred music, such as folk tunes, and traditional music of various genres with music notation. Sigalas' *Anthology of National Songs* did not conceive the nation in geographical terms but more in cultural and linguistic terms. The word "national" in this context has many facets and cannot be limited only to one particular song genre. Whereas in the later decades of the nineteenth century, "national" was closely related to the realm of the folk song, Sigalas' concept seemed to have been a more comprehensive one. Rōmanou remarked that during this period no consciousness of any distinction between Greek folk songs and other songs in the Greek language had yet fully developed. Therefore, out of the four hundred songs, only sixty belonged to the category that today would be considered Greek folk songs.⁵¹⁶ However, the fact that Sigalas gave no references nor provided the original sources for his song collection causes serious problems from a scholarly point of view. Although his anthology only included three school songs,⁵¹⁷

⁵¹² Christodoulos, *Ho mousēgetēs Apollōn*.

⁵¹³ Karamperopoulos, "Ho Thourios" *tou Rēga empsychōtēs tōn ragaidōn epanastatōn*, 5.

⁵¹⁴ Antōnios N. Sigalas (1804/1805–1895) was a famous musician and composer originally from the island of Thira. He was a student of Chourmouzios the Archivist at the Third Patriarchal School (Papadopoulos 1890, 331) that was founded in 1815. He also edited sacred music in three volumes that were awarded the "Golden Prize" in the Fourth Olympic Exposition. Furthermore, he published numerous articles on music, directed a church choir, and taught music to aficionados free of charge. He died at the age of 90 (Papadopoulos 1904, 158–61; Kalogeropoulos 1998, 5:391–92).

⁵¹⁵ Sigalas classified the songs into sixteen categories: church hymns and invocations, patriotic songs, native songs, Byzantine songs, European (diatonic) and Ionian songs, Cretan songs, Russian melodies, humorous songs, love songs, dance songs, school songs, Christmas songs, wedding songs, lullabies, and threnodies (mourning songs).

⁵¹⁶ Romanou, *Ethnikēs mousikēs periēgēsis, 1901–1912: ellēnika mousika periodika ōs pēgē erevnas tēs istorias tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs*, 1:173.

⁵¹⁷ He provided notation for three songs (pp. 487, 488, 493), which had already been included in the song text anthology *Evchai deēseis* (1846). This volume was reedited in *Neai evchai deēseis* (1882), which also included some of the old songs. One was "Sto scholeio tha emvōmen" [We Will Enter the School], which was tradition-

Sigalas likely conceptualized his work as a general contribution to society rather than as an anthology to be taught in schools.⁵¹⁸ In 1875, his work was awarded the Silver Prize in the frame of the Third Olympic Exposition by the Ecclesiastical Musical Society, and the printing costs were funded by the parliament. Other school song anthologies that contain Rēgas' battle song with different melodies were the school song anthologies *Mousa*⁵¹⁹ and *Orphikē lyra*.⁵²⁰ For the analysis of Rēgas' song, those versions with music notation have been primarily considered.⁵²¹ Other concordances in printed song text anthologies were consulted whenever necessary.⁵²²

Rēgas' patriotic song is a call to fight for freedom from the "Ottoman yoke." The song complains about the life under tyrannical rule that cost the lives of many friends and family members. In order to become free from oppression, the song calls for an uprising against the tyrant to whom the first-person narrator refuses to submit. Although the sentiment that is provoked by the song evokes and recalls the songs of the French Revolution, Rēgas also makes use of spiritual elements. One important key moment of the song is, for example, the oath on the cross. The fourth stanza has another important element which is the slogan "Better one hour of free life than forty years of slavery and captivity." It still enjoys great popularity today.

The version that Sigalas provided in his song anthology is in Chrysanthine notation, like all songs of his anthology.⁵²³ He chose the title "Thourios asma" [Battle Song] as the heading. Additionally, he indicated the original author below, which is "of the unforgettable Rēgas of Pherraios."⁵²⁴ Maybe the most striking characteristic of this version is the simplicity of the melody. It starts with an upbeat in form of a fourth leap from the finalis A_4 to D_5 and leads back through C_5 to the finalis. The ambitus is restricted to the interval of a fourth A_4 – D_5 and the melody develops between the main pitches A_4 – C_5 – D_5 . The simplicity of this version is further supported by its symmetrical structure. In the first section (mm. 1–4), the initial motif of the fourth leap leading back to the basic tone is repeated twice. The first time it concludes in the basic tone, and the second time it remains on the

ally sung for the first school day. Another song, "Pavei pleon hē meletē" [The Class Ends for Now], was sung at the end of the school day. The third song, "Lampra sēmeron ēmera" [Bright Is the Day Today], is dedicated to learning and can also be found in the school song anthology from 1846.

⁵¹⁸ In his preface, Sigalas stated that he wanted to offer his anthology to the "art-loving society" within and outside of Greece (1880, ζ' [vii]).

⁵¹⁹ Sakellaridēs, *Mousa*, 51–52.

⁵²⁰ Artemides, *Orphikē lyra*, 118–119.

⁵²¹ It should be mentioned that Nikolaos Mantzaros (1795–1872) also drew on the lyrics of Rēgas' "Thourios," which he included in his "16 Arie Greche" for piano. An excerpt was provided in Kōnstantzos 2015, 38.

⁵²² The first striking difference on a textual level is the number of verses. Whereas it is possible to find up to forty-six distiches in Fauriel (1825), *Evterpē* (n.p., 1848) and Christopoulos (1856) gave twenty-two, Sigalas (1880) fifteen, Artemidēs (1905) nine, and Sakellaridēs (1882) only five distiches. The content of the lyrics is also similar in most of the stated examples, except for some minor changes in orthography or words.

⁵²³ A tentative transcription of the song is provided in Appendix A, Case Studies 3.1 and 3.2.

⁵²⁴ "Tou aeimnēstou Rēga tou Pherraiou" (Sigalas 1880, 33).

formation “Stichoi tines ek tou thouriou tou Rēga” [The lyrics are from Rēgas’ battle song]. The melody follows arrangements of the songs that are characteristic of European models. The piece is in C major and the melody unfolds between an ambitus of a seventh (C₄–B₄). The song is structured roughly into three short sections. The A- and B-sections (mm. 1–4 and 5–8) are in 4/4-time and contain the main verses of the stanza. The C-section (mm. 9–14) is in 3/4-time and serves as a kind of coda that is sung on the syllable “la” at the end of each stanza. Each of the last two sections is repeated. The melody is set in thirds and proceeds mainly in small intervals such as seconds, while thirds are the biggest intervallic leaps in this piece. Similar to Sigalas’ version, the scale degree proceeds on the first, fourth, and fifth degree.⁵²⁷ Whereas Sigalas’ main concern was simplicity, using at the same time stylized patterns that were reminiscent of Greek folk tunes, Sakellaridēs seemingly did not intend to use any musical means that would be associated with the Greek folk songs. Instead, he made more use of phrases and structures that were familiar from European folk song collections. This is not very surprising when his background is taken into consideration. In Athens, he was considered one of the main supporters of Western music, and he also harmonized Greek Orthodox church songs. The title page of his volume also stated that it included German and Greek national folk songs and that one of the contributors was Julious Ennig, who had been mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Sakellaridēs’ interpretation of Rēgas’ battle song appears simple at first sight, but a closer look reveals interesting parallels between the music and the lyrics. As mentioned previously, Rēgas’ song originally consisted of many distiches. Sakellaridēs’ edition in *Mousa* (1882) has five stanzas starting with the most popular one which is the distich “Better one hour of free life than forty years of slavery and captivity.” Similar to Sigalas, the iambic meter (˘ -) of the poem is reflected in the rhythmic pattern of the melody (Example 3). The stressed syllables correspond with the main beats of the melody, are often marked by longer rhythmic values, and coincide with the accentuated syllables of the words.

Kal - lí - te-ras mias ō - ras e - lév - the - rē zō - ē pa-

Example 3: First line of Rēgas’ song according to Sakellaridēs (1882), with meter.

The half note at the end of the phrases in the A- and B-sections not only highlights the rhyme scheme of the distiches but also stresses particular words, such as “life” and “captivity” (stz. 1), “slavery” and “flames” (stz. 2), “as you are told” and “blood to drink” (stz. 3), “time” and “cross” (stz. 4), and “oath on thee” and “never to agree” (stz. 5). These important

⁵²⁷ See Roman numerals in Case Study 3.3.

keywords of the Greek Revolution are stressed by rhythm, melody, and meter, which all organize the song's inner structure. Rēgas had written many distiches highlighting the injustices perpetrated on the people, which were mainly caused by a "tyrannical" attitude. Sakellaridēs, however, picked out only five of Rēgas' distiches, which all have a fierce message and draw on many key elements of the Greek struggle for independence: "slavery" and "freedom," the "oath on the cross," and the fight against the "tyrant" at all costs. This quite serious and fierce message is then combined with playful elements in the song's last section, which is repeated in 3/4-time and sung on the syllable "la." This section gives the song a vivacious ending evocative of joyful dancing.

In 1905, twenty-five years after Sigalas' publication, Artemidēs⁵²⁸ included Rēgas' battle song in his school song anthology *Orphikē lyra* [Orphean Lyre], which has the highest percentage (62%) of patriotic songs among the school song anthologies examined.⁵²⁹ Similar to *Mousa*, Artemidēs' song anthology provided all melodies in both Chrysanthine and staff notation. He included Rēgas' poem with a different melody that is diametrically opposed to those of Sigalas and Sakellaridēs. As shown above, the melodies presented in Sigalas and Sakellaridēs were easy to learn and perform, thanks to their simple, linear structure and the close relationship between their music and lyrics. Artemidēs' reinterpretation of Rēgas' battle song suggests a different approach that gained more influence at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first fundamental difference from the previous examples is the division of the piece into two sections with contrasting characters. The first section (mm. 1–31) is "swift," whereas the latter (mm. 31–45) is "slow." Although Artemidēs made some comments on the correct performance order of the song, some aspects remain unclear. In the version in Chrysanthine notation, he instructed that first the A-section with stzs. 1 and 2 should be sung. Then he indicated that the singer should continue with stz. 3 in the B-section. There are two options of how the subsequent stanzas could be performed to the music. The first option is that two stanzas are always sung one after the other in the A-section and are followed by the next stanza in the B-section.⁵³⁰ It is, however, also plausible that the remaining stanzas were sung to the A-section, whereas the B-section was performed each time with the same line, namely, "Better one hour of freedom." Although this is an assumption, stz. 3 would serve in this case as a sort of refrain that was intended to be performed after every second stanza. This would mean that Artemidēs gave the stanza "Better one hour of free life than forty years of slavery and captivity" a distinct position, whereas in the other two anthologies, it was treated equally

⁵²⁸ Kleovoulos, Artemidēs (1878–1949), born in Nicosia, was a Cypriot instructor, musician, cantor, and folk song researcher. He graduated from the Pagkypriou Didaskaliou [Cypriot Teachers' School] and worked as a teacher at state schools in villages. He taught European and church music in the years 1898 to 1917 at various institutes. Besides his position as a teacher, he was interested in collecting Cypriot folk songs. He also took part in esthetical debates on music and teaching in Greek-speaking journals. For further training, he went in 1903 to Athens. In 1905, he published the *Orphikē lyra*. In 1917, he moved to Egypt, where he founded the Lyceum at Alexandria and worked as First Cantor. For further reading, see Christodōros 2016, 43–49.

⁵²⁹ See Appendix A, Case Study 3.5 and Table 1 in Chapter 1.4.1.

⁵³⁰ This variant has been performed in the recording of "Ōs pote pallēkaria" by the Hellenic Music Archive Ensemble (2012, track 31).

with other stanzas. This tendency to highlight stz. 3 as a refrain can also be observed in some later interpretations.⁵³¹

The nine stanzas that Artemidēs gave in his edition are much fewer than the original.⁵³² He skipped the third stanza, which was still available in the 1798 version, and continued with “Better one hour of free life.” Artemidēs then continued directly with the “oath” which brings the piece to an end. The selection of the stanzas was not coincidental but is the essence of Rēgas’ song reduced to the main pillars of the national narrative. All trans-national and trans-confessional elements of the piece were omitted, and the most popular elements singled out.

Another striking difference in this version is the musical expression. The melody of the whole arrangement evolves within the ambitus of a seventh F₄–E₅ but has comparatively more complex rhythmic figures and chromatic progressions. The B-section in particular, contains, within fifteen measures, all rhythmic main values from a sixteenth note to a whole note, not to mention various dotted quarter and eighth notes as well as triplets. The rich rhythmic variation also creates syncopation and makes this piece, compared to the previous ones, far more complex. Whereas in Sigalas’ and Sakellaridēs’ volumes the balance between song text syllables and melody was more balanced and linear, Artemidēs’ version fragments and repeats parts of the lyrics that are reminiscent of performance techniques typical of the Greek folk song. This is also what Artemidēs probably aimed at. He himself indicated in square brackets “Inspired from a national folk melody,” which supports the thesis that he made use of elements typical of folk songs. This is not surprising, since folk song research in Greece gained much importance at the beginning of the twentieth century. Such an important national song as Rēgas’ “Thourios” probably seemed more authentic when sung to a melody that was performed in a demotic style, rather than a melody that was more typical of European or German folk songs. It is therefore likely that Artemidēs intended to create authenticity by drawing on a national song par excellence. He set it to a tune that actually did not exist but, rather, was “inspired” by Greek folk songs.

However, it is striking that the idea of including Rēgas’ song in school anthologies came relatively late. Rēgas’ battle song, which has such a distinct place in the context of the Greek Revolution, did not appear in any of the other nineteenth-century school song anthologies. Some of Rēgas’ other songs did, however, appear in Maltos’ editions.⁵³³ Sakellaridēs’ *Mousa* and Artemidēs’ *Orphikē lyra* were the first school song anthologies to include Rēgas’ “Thourios,” although with different approaches. In a way, they also reflect the mindset of their times and that of their creators—Sakellaridēs, who adhered more to a European music tradition and collaborated with the German musician Julious Ennig; and

⁵³¹ For example, the popular, demotic interpretation of Rēgas’ “Thourios” by Nikos Ksylourēs (1936–1980) composed by Chrēstos Leontēs (*1940). The song was released in 1978 on LP and included in a new album released in 2004. See Ksylourēs 2004, CD2, track 17.

⁵³² Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 3.6.

⁵³³ For example, “Ho kairos adelphoi tēs elevtherias phthanei” [The time of freedom, brothers, is coming] in Maltos 1885, 2:182.

Artemidēs, who already showed an increasing interest in a patriotic and Greek folk song culture at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was in the latter nineteenth century that the representation of national topics through music became more relevant. Greece already had heroes and hymns that dated back to the heyday of the Greek Revolution. The “original” songs, however, could not be sung since they were transmitted only as lyrics and their melodies were not printed. In order to reintroduce the songs, not only as poems but also as songs that could be taught in schools, new melodies had to be composed. Through singing the national songs to new music and melodies, the songs could be revived again. Furthermore, specific patriotic slogans, such as “Better one hour of free life than forty years of slavery and captivity,” could be singled out and highlighted. In this context, it is also relevant to consider which of Rēgas’ distiches were used in the available song anthologies. Sigalas’ version is probably the most extensive, with fifteen distiches. It also contains some of the republican notions that are best expressed in stz. 8: “The law must be the first and only guide.” However, it is striking that all versions contain the complete distiches on the oath on the cross. The oath is also the core distich in the melodies of Sakellaridēs (stzs. 4–5) and Artemidēs (stzs. 4–9). These kinds of oath scenes had great patriotic value and were presented in different realms of the arts to reinforce patriotic sentiment.⁵³⁴ The latter nineteenth century reshaped Rēgas’ message around a new nucleus, which was the oath on the cross and the patriotic slogan “Better one hour of free life.”

As becomes evident from both Rēgas’ constitution and his poem, he opposed, in the first place, monarchic structures that would oppress and subjugate people. His vision of revolution is stressed in antithetic ideals such as freedom instead of slavery, constitutional republic instead of tyrannical monarchy, equality and brotherhood instead of class hierarchy, or expressed in the simple terms of the French Revolution, “liberté, égalité, fraternité.” “Brotherhood,” for Rēgas, had a transnational and trans-confessional meaning and included all peoples, from the Balkans to the Arabic lands. This becomes clear from the verse “Bulgarians and Albanians, Armenians and Romoi, Blacks and Whites all with the same momentum.”⁵³⁵ The poem also invited more allies to join the revolution from far-flung places such as Georgia, Bursa, Aleppo, Vidin, and Egypt. During the nineteenth century, these brotherly traits of the poem seem to be gradually lost. Already in Fauriel’s version, which was published around twenty-five to thirty years after Rēgas’ execution, the above-mentioned verse had changed. Here, the poem was only addressed to a smaller group of people, which were “Bulgarians and Albanians, Serbs and Romoi, Islanders and Mainlanders,”⁵³⁶ of which the great majority were Orthodox Christians.⁵³⁷ Furthermore, none

⁵³⁴ The oath scenes will also be discussed in the case studies that deal with songs composed for the 25 March celebrations. See Chapter 1.4.7.

⁵³⁵ Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 3.7, stz. 23.

⁵³⁶ Fauriel, *Chants populaires de la Grèce modern, recueillis et publiés*, 2:24–25; Johannes Irmscher, “Zur ‘Kriegshymne’ des Rigas Velestinlis,” in *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski* (Warsaw: Panstw. Wyd. Nauk., 1966), 479.

⁵³⁷ By “Islanders” and “Mainlanders,” the poem referred to Greeks from the islands and those from the Greek mainland.

of these verses are mentioned in any of the late nineteenth-century music anthologies. Another striking feature is the language register used. Whereas the “Emperor’s Hymn,” for example, was composed in an archaic Greek language, Rēgas’ battle song was composed in a simple demotic language. Therefore, it could be understood by most of the Greek-speaking subjects and hence spread easily. Rēgas’ song expressed the vision of a republican idea, but in the course of the nineteenth century, it became gradually Hellenized.

1.4.5 Defining the “Other” in Patriotic Songs

The genre of patriotic songs was not a genuinely Greek invention but was inspired from the revolutionary movements and uprisings that were occurring in Europe. Patriotic songs can roughly be divided into two categories. One category is patriotic songs dedicated to the nation. They praise its beauty and its important historic achievements or highlight the special relationship between the individual and the nation. They highlight the interwovenness of ethnic and national symbolisms. The other musical genre that provokes patriotic sentiment is battle songs or songs of the revolution. They deal with the willingness to die for the nation and praise bravery, manhood, and violence against the “other.” Sometimes they depict combat situations and motivate people to join wars and seek martyrdom. In his work, Schneider provided a list of the most recurrent topics in patriotic and student songs in the German context around 1818, which were inspired by the French songs of the revolution. The similarity of the topics to the Greek patriotic songs is stunning. In the Greek case, they were filled with their cultural and national content and so fit their own political context. Some of the most frequently-recurring content is martyrdom, national freedom and self-determination, a soldier’s life, naming and fighting the enemy, trust in divine support, national loyalty, superiority of one’s own nation, the brutality of war, national heroism, death to cowardice, oaths to freedom and the nation, expelling invaders, upholding human rights, and the sovereignty of the nations.⁵³⁸

Patriotic songs, especially battle songs that call for arms and resistance, dramatically express this contrast between the “self” and the “other.” The image of the “other” is best constructed by a series of characteristics that create strong dichotomies and are shown diametrically to the “own” identity. In patriotic songs, the “self” and the “other” are not equal to each other but are presented as “black” and “white,” “good” and “evil,” “just” and “unjust.” These antithetical constructions between the “self” and the “other” serve to legitimize invasions, questioning, fearing, and even extinguishing the “other.” In many of the patriotic songs, the “other” is dehumanized, often remains anonymous, and is frequently referred to as “tyrant.” Therefore, these songs could be used against any opponent or enemy.

Hence, the constructed “other” in one and the same song is not static but may refer to different persons, enemies, and peoples, depending on the contemporary political circumstances. The already mentioned Theodōros G. Orphanidēs (1817–1886) wrote an “Asma emvatērion” [Marching Song], which he dedicated to the events of 10 October 1862 and

⁵³⁸ Schneider, “Revolutionäre Lieder und vaterländische Gesänge,” 304–5.

to the “students of the university.”⁵³⁹ This song has twelve stanzas which are structured in four verses plus one refrain, and each stanza has a slightly varied ending. The song is about a glorious Hellas that was ridiculed for a long time but now will take up arms to shape her own future. Each stanza is followed by the slogan “Long live the people! Brave men forth! In clangor or fire!”⁵⁴⁰ The last line of the refrain, which forms part of the slogan, changes in each stanza. The slogan of the first stanza ends with “May our shivering, loutish enemy fall,”⁵⁴¹ that of stz. 2 ends with “May every foolish enemy of our glory fall,”⁵⁴² that of stz. 3 “May the infamous tyrant fall from the throne,”⁵⁴³ etc. Prior to the lyrics, Orphanidēs provided the instruction to sing this song to the Italian tune “La ronda.”⁵⁴⁴ This song was also included in Sigalas’ anthology.⁵⁴⁵ Kōnstantzos assumes that this piece adopted the melody of the Italian song “Siamo Italiani giovani freschi” [We Are Fresh Young Italians].⁵⁴⁶ The lyrics provided in Orphanidēs (1862) and in Sigalas (1880) correspond to each other, apart from minor orthographical or grammatical deviations. The last verse of the final stanza, however, has a striking difference that is worth looking at more closely. The stanza deals with a positive outlook for the future of Greece that is symbolized in the “blooming nation” or the “rise of happy days.” Example 4 is a translation of the final stanza, the twelfth, in both available Greek sources, which are juxtaposed below in order to highlight the difference between the two versions: Orphanidēs’ and Sigalas’ lyrics.

This example shows that political songs that were designed for a specific political purpose with a constructed “other” could easily be changed and replaced by a new “other.” In the events of 1862, the dethronement of King Otto was forthcoming, and the lyrics aimed to cause agitation and uprisings against the emperor. In the other version, eighteen years later, it was adapted, and the “other” changed from “King Otto” to “Turk.” This probably also has to do with a changed political context.⁵⁴⁷

⁵³⁹ Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 4.1. Due to inner political unrest, to the greater influence of ethnocentric thought, and to resentments against “ksenokratia” [foreign rulership], King Otto and his wife Amalia were dethroned during a journey through Greece. This led to many organized uprisings that were accompanied with plunder and mass exodus of the German population. For a more detailed account, see Turczynski 2003, 394–95.

⁵⁴⁰ “Zētō to ethnos! Gennaioi, empros! Ite en mesō klaggēs kai pyros.”

⁵⁴¹ “Ki’as pesē aspairōn pas agenēs echthros.”

⁵⁴² “Ki’as pesē pas afthrōn tēs doksēs mas echthros.”

⁵⁴³ “Ki’as piptē tou thronou pas tyrannos aischros.”

⁵⁴⁴ It is likely that this instruction by Orphanidēs referred to the song “Passa la ronda” composed by Teobaldo Ciconi (1824–1863), who originally had composed the lyrics as a patriotic song to support the revolutionary movements in Undine in 1848 (Cambuli 2014, 52–53). This song became popular, and there were many variants of it. The song’s refrain became known as “Zitti, silenzio! Chi passa là? Passa la ronda. Viva la ronda: Viva l’Italia, la libertà!” The refrain might have taken up other words and names according to the political situation. It is also likely that it was sung to different melodies. See also Ridolfi 2011, and for further information on Tobaldo Ciconi, see Cella 1981.

⁵⁴⁵ *Syllogē ethnikōn asmatōn*, 65–69.

⁵⁴⁶ Kōnstantzos, *Devte paides tōn Ellēnōn*, 117–18.

⁵⁴⁷ Sigalas’ song anthology was published in 1880, when Abdulhamid II had been Sultan for four years. He was not popular, since he did not put into practice the decisions of the First Constitution that would have

Stz.	Orphanidēs (1862)	Sigalas (1880)
	If our nation will flourish and rise If the happy days begin Inglorious <i>Othōn</i> , your memory will live on And you will be unfortunate twice	If our nation will flourish and rise If the happy days begin Inglorious <i>Turk</i> , your memory will live on And you will be unfortunate twice
12	[Refrain] Long live the nation! Brave men forth! In clangor or fire! And may the flourishing fatherland bring down the enemy.	[Refrain] Long live the nation! Brave men forth! In clangor or fire! And may the flourishing fatherland bring down the enemy.

Example 4 Last stanza of the same song printed in Orphanidēs (1862) and Sigalas (1880). Translation and italics mine.

Sigalas’ anthology contained a few patriotic songs with turcophobic content that, however, do not allow a chauvinistic reading. It is important to consider that Sigalas’ intention was a monumental anthology of songs in Greek, which also included older songs from the heyday of the Greek Revolution. Hence, in order to compile all the different songs of the Greek people, he also had to include those of the Greek Revolution. This assumption is further supported when the pieces that were compiled in the “Hymns” chapter are considered. He collected a great variety of hymns, including some dedicated to theological devotion but also some hymns to the Greek emperor. The melodies are not necessarily Greek but draw on well-known foreign ones. The hymn dedicated to King George I of Greece is accompanied by a melody in neume notation, which is Carey’s tune “God Save the Queen” (Figure 3).⁵⁴⁸

Two more emperor’s hymns are on pages 15 and 16, dedicated to the anniversary celebrations of Queen Olga and King Constantine. Both have the same lyrics but with different melodies. This supports the before-mentioned thesis that lyrics could be adapted freely to different melodies. The hymns in Sigalas’ anthology are, however, not only limited to the Greek world. On page 20 is a hymn dedicated to Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876), which was probably sung in schools since the song lyrics praise him as the protector of “education.”⁵⁴⁹ A hymn to his successor Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1908) was, however,

given equal rights to non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Instead, he suspended it. See also Chapter 2.1. of this thesis.

⁵⁴⁸ The same piece also appears in Maltos (1884, 1:125). Kardamis (2020) claimed in his paper that King Otto of Bavaria had also used this melody.

⁵⁴⁹ See comments and translation in French by Khoury (1977, 248–49).

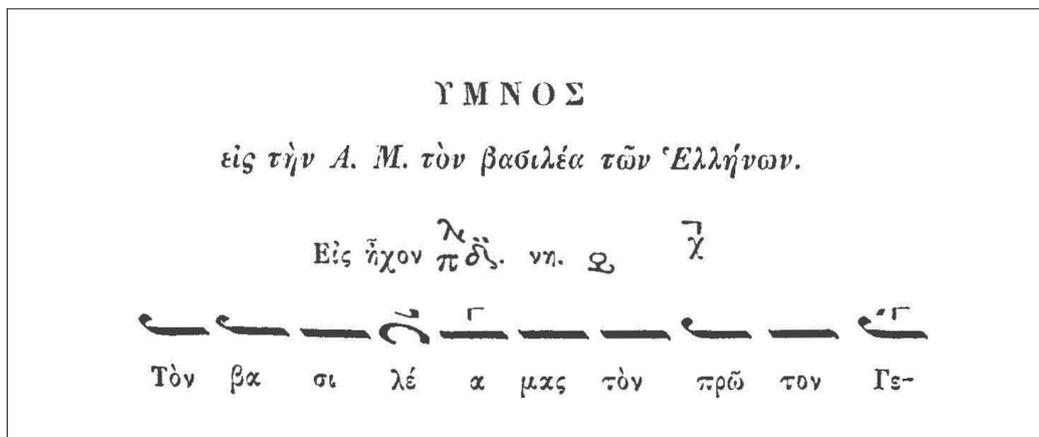


Figure 3 First line of the hymn to King George I of Greece set to Carey’s melody “God Save the Queen,” in Sigalas (1880, 11–12).

not included, which may also have political reasons.⁵⁵⁰ Other very intriguing examples in this context are two Islamic hymns performed on Muslim feast days. On page 24 Sigalas provided an “*Ymnos psallomenos en tō ramazaniō*” [Hymn Chanted for Ramadan].⁵⁵¹ On page 27 Sigalas gave one more Islamic hymn that was sung on the occasion of the Islamic feast “Bayram,” which he titled “*Ymnos psallomenos en tō baeramiō*” [Hymn Chanted on Bayram]. Both have the same lyrics in Arabic; however, they have different melodies. One more striking example that deserves attention is a hymn that was “sung in 1825 in the south minaret of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.”⁵⁵² The lyrics obviously draw on the *adhan*, the Islamic call to prayer by the muezzin (Example 5).

⁵⁵⁰ Sultan Abdülaziz and his predecessor, Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861), pushed forward various reforms, such as the decree “*Islâhât fermânî*” [Imperial Edict of Reform] which, among many other changes, also gave the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire equal rights. This promoted the rise of the Christian merchant class (Kappler 2002, 17). Hence, both sultans enjoyed popularity among the Greeks, and Greek Orthodox subjects composed many hymns in Greek and Turkish that they dedicated to the Ottoman Emperors. Keivelēs (1873), for example, contains a hymn with lyrics by Tantalidēs and music by Keivelēs himself. It is dedicated to Sultan Abdülaziz’s return from his journey to Europe. Erol correctly observed that the poet acknowledged Ottoman power as legitimate (2015, 23). Many of these encomiums were sung in schools or performed on other anniversaries or special occasions. They can be seen as one dimension of “Helleno-Ottomanism”, where even the Patriarchate appears as an agent of Ottoman patriotism (Anagnostopoulou 2012, 82). Greece gave Sultan Abdülaziz the highest decoration of honor as a symbolic gesture (Zeleps 2002, 101). The situation, however, changed during the reign of Abdulhamid II. The First Constitution was passed in 1876, but it was already rejected in 1878. It was restored in the Second Constitution (1908) when Sultan Abdulhamid II was dethroned.

⁵⁵¹ It was possible to find out more details that helped to identify this piece in the Arabic language. In the Turkish repertoire, this piece has been catalogued in the *makâm dilkeş hâverân* and *usûl durak evferi* and is attributed to Zâkirî Hasan Efendi (d. ca. 1623). Modern editions of this piece can be found in Ezgi 1945, 11; Ezgi 1935, 3:63.

⁵⁵² “*Ymnos psaleis kata to 1825 en tō mesēmvrinō minare tēs Ag. Sophias en Kōnstantinoupolei*” (Sigalas 1880, 21–23).

Greek		English
Megas ho Theos, megas ho Theos	1×	God is great, God is great
Omologō oti eis estin ho Theos	2×	I bear witness that there is no deity but God
Omologō oti dikaios estin ho Prophētēs	1×	I bear witness that the Prophet is just
Devte proskēnisōmen	2×	Come to worship
Devte eis apelevtherōsin	2×	Come to liberation
Megas ho Theos, megas ho Theos	1×	God is great, God is great
Ouk estin eteros plēn tou Theou	2×	There is no other [deity] except for God.

Example 5 The Greek text of the *adhan* in Sigalas (1880).

It is remarkable that the *adhan* apparently also circulated in Greek. Reasons for this can be mainly based only on assumptions. It cannot be said for sure whether the *adhan* in Greek, sung from the minaret of the most important church of Eastern Christianity, was intended to provoke and reify Ottoman power while the Greek insurrection was in full progress. Khoury suggested another reading and claimed that the Muslim prayer in Greek would not have been understood by the majority of the Muslim population, and therefore it was possible to send hidden messages.⁵⁵³ He read the line “come to liberty” as an allusion to the Greek longing for liberty that was supported by some compassionate muezzins. The word “apelevtherōsin” [liberation] is mostly given in the Arabic original as “salvation,” which in Greek would actually correspond to the word “sōtēria.” Additionally, it is noteworthy that God was not referred to as “Allah” and the prophet Muhammed was not mentioned by name, as is the case in the Arabic original. In any case, these last examples clearly show that Sigalas included even non-Greek and non-Christian pieces in his volume, which makes it a quite unique anthology. The question whether the Islamic hymns were really considered to be national cannot be fully answered at this stage. However, the political and revolutionary songs have to be read in the light of an increasing historicism, which aimed to compile and conserve songs that were considered “old” and part of the national musical heritage.

⁵⁵³ Khoury, “Appel (Adan), louanges et invocation (Dua) musulmans en grec moderne (Dimotiki),” 250–51.

1.4.6 “Ho Klephtēs” [The Klepht]

In many klephtic songs, the new klephts are compared to ancient Greek heroes.⁵⁵⁴ In the historiography of the nation, the fallen heroes live forever. Although heroes die on the battlefields, their virtues and spirit are kept alive in the aftermath. They represent ideals, take on an important role in a nation’s destiny, and represent important values such as bravery, liberty, fraternity, solidarity, and martyrdom. Moreover, many decades after the foundation of the Greek state, both ancient and modern Greek heroes appeared as models for the heroic ideals of the contemporary Greeks. Important figures such as Rēgas Pherraios, the ideological father of the Greek Revolution, or klephtic and revolutionary warriors such as Markos Botsaris⁵⁵⁵ and Geōrgios Karaïskakēs, among others, had distinct roles in the national narrative of the Greek liberation. The klephtic figure, who as an outlaw did not bow to the Ottoman “yoke,” became the Greek heroic figure par excellence. Klephtic songs entered numerous folk song collections within and outside Greece and praised their noble character and heroic achievements. Klephtic songs became one of the most representative genres of Greek folk songs.⁵⁵⁶ Some of these songs also found their way into Greek school song anthologies.

“Ho Klephtēs” [The Klepht] also belongs to the popular Greek patriotic songs.⁵⁵⁷ It was included in this study since it belongs to the category of klephtic songs and hence also to national songs. In this case, neither melody nor lyrics derive from folk culture, but both were actually composed. Aleksandros Rizos Ragkavēs’ (1809–1892) poem “Ho Klephtēs” [The Klepht] with the incipit “Black is the night in the mountains” enjoys great popularity among the Greek national songs and highlights many elements of the klephtic figure. The fact that this song was included in around thirteen song text anthologies of the late nineteenth century, as well as there being six early recordings of this song, underlines the popularity of “The Klepht” since the latter nineteenth century.⁵⁵⁸

The poem of “The Klepht” can be found in early song text anthologies since 1837.⁵⁵⁹ In 1880, almost forty-three years later, the song was published with music notation and print-

⁵⁵⁴ For a definition of the Klepht, see Glossary.

⁵⁵⁵ Pavlos Karrer composed an opera that drew on the klephtic figure of Markos Botsaris, who also appears in many folk song anthologies. He became a Greek hero due to his distinct contributions in the Greek War of Independence and was killed at the Battle of Kefalovryso (Charkiolakis 2017, 303).

⁵⁵⁶ Peter Mackridge, “‘You Used to Sing All My Songs’: Poetry, Language and Song from Solomos to Seferis,” in *Music, Language and Identity in Greece: Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Polina Tambakaki et al., Centre for Hellenic Studies, King’s College London. Publications 19 (London; New York: Routledge, 2020), 220; Roudometof, “Invented Traditions, Symbolic Boundaries, and National Identity in Southeastern Europe,” 438.

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 5.

⁵⁵⁸ See Kōnstantzos, *Devte paides tōn Ellēnōn*, 132–33.

⁵⁵⁹ Koromēla, *Diaphora poiēmata tou Aleksandrou Rizou Ragkavē*, 291–93; Gellēs, *Hē Evterpē ē apanthisma asmatiōn, erōtikōn kai ērōikōn*, 114; n.a., *Tragōdia, ētoi diaphora asmata ērōika klephtika kai erōtika* (Athens: Ek tēs typographias Aggelou Aggelidou, 1841), 62; Christopoulos, *Anthologia ētoi syllogē asmatōn, ērōikōn, kleptikōn kai erōtikōn, meta tōn lyrikōn kai vlakchikōn*, 25.

ed in Sigalas' song anthology; and later similarly published in Artemidēs' *Orphikē lyra*.⁵⁶⁰ As this song deals with the klephtic figure, it is easy to assume that, like many other klephtic songs, this song also originated from the days of the Greek Revolution. Geōrganta has, however, shown in her work that this song was inspired by the German Enlightenment literature and was then recontextualized into nineteenth-century Greek romanticism.⁵⁶¹

During the years 1825–1829, the 23-year-old Ragkavēs went to Munich to study at the military academy as a holder of a scholarship, which was granted by King Ludwig I (r. 1825–1848) of Bavaria. During this time, he was also exposed to German revolutionary and patriotic thought that inspired him to compose his own patriotic poems, for which he used German melodies.⁵⁶² In his memoirs, Ragkavēs wrote in more detail about the circumstances in which his patriotic poems came into being.

And back then, they adapted various songs to German tunes that they had in their ears, thinking always of Greece and hoping that they would be sung by the Greek youth that was fit for action and would provoke this youth to acts of bravery. To those belong the later-published “The Klepht,” “The Salpix,” and others.⁵⁶³

Similar to other song anthologies that do not provide music notation but indicate the tune to which the song should be performed, Ragkavēs' 1837 edition gave the instructions “Skopos tōn lēstōn tou Schillerou” [Melody of Schiller's “The Robbers”]. In his memoirs, Ragkavēs stated that he was not able to clearly remember the tune, and therefore he had to ask his colleague in Nafplio, who was a military band musician.⁵⁶⁴ His colleague eventually wrote down the melody, which was later also printed in the song anthology *Mousikē anthodesmē* [Musical Bouquet] (1876?) with a different melody than that to which the song is commonly sung today.⁵⁶⁵ As can be deduced from his edition of 1837, he was obviously inspired by a melody from Schiller's play, “The Robbers,” which Schiller had written in 1781 at the age of twenty-two. In act four, there is a scene with the verse “Ein freies Leben führen wir, ein Leben voller Wonne” [We live a free life, a life full of delight] that is sung; it is based on the melody “Gaudeamus igitur” [So Let Us Rejoice] by an anonymous composer. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, this piece became very popular as a student

⁵⁶⁰ *Sylogē ethnikōn asmatōn*, 48; *Orphikē lyra*, 83–84.

⁵⁶¹ Athēna Geōrganta, “‘Ho Klephtēs' tou A. R. Ragkavē enas apanastatēs ērōas kai ena polemiko emvatērio,” *Mnēmōn* 13 (1991): 25–48.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁶³ “Tote kai diaphora asmata epoion kat' ēchous Germanikous, ous eichon enavlous, stochozomenos pantote tēs Ellados, kai elpizōn oti tha epsallonto pote ypo tēs machimou Ellēnikēs neolaias, eksaptonta avtēn eis erga andreas. Ek toutōn eisi ta meta tavta ekdothenta ‘o Klephtēs’, ‘hē Salpigks’ kai alla” Aleksandros Rizos Ragkavēs, *Apomnēmonevmata*, vol. 1 (Athens: Ekd. G. Kasdonēs, 1894), 174. My translation.

⁵⁶⁴ Geōrganta, “‘Ho Klephtēs' tou A. R. Ragkavē,” 31.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 29. The volume does not show any publisher nor publication date. The copy that is available at the Athens National Library indicated “1876(?)” as the supposed publication year. This date is further supported in a footnote in Synadinos (1919, 250). For a transcribed version of this piece cf. Appendix A, Case Study 5.1.

song and had entered the sphere of student feasts and events. The melody of “*Gaudeamus igitur*” passed beyond national borders and reached distant places, where the song also underwent changes and modifications.⁵⁶⁶ It is therefore understandable that, during his student years abroad, the young Ragkavēs was not only receptive to all sorts of student songs but also learned those that had gained special popularity in academic circles and rituals. Although the text of the song was much older and went back to earlier sources, it can be found in an anthology of student songs published as early as 1781, the same year that Schiller wrote his play.⁵⁶⁷ The melody of “*Gaudeamus igitur*” remained one of the most popular of the German student songs.⁵⁶⁸ Schiller’s adaptation of the melody to a piece in “*The Robbers*” may have influenced Ragkavēs, who adopted the same melody for his song. There were also some ideological parallels between Schiller’s “*The Robbers*” and Ragkavēs’ Greek robbers, or “*Klephts*” as they are called.

The idea of freedom in an “enslaved” nation is expressed at different levels of the poem and may be considered the most vital message of this song. Each of the ten stanzas represents an aspect of klephtic life. The lyrics in the iambic meter contain many attributes that reflect the virtues and ideals of the klepht’s character.⁵⁶⁹ The characteristics of the klepht may be seen at a meta-level as the virtues of the nation. Stz. 1 is an introduction into the habitat of the klephts, which is in the mountains: wild, rough, cold, and dark. What seems like a hostile environment for an average human is exactly where the klepht is at home. Stz. 2 describes the klepht within his habitat. He has divine powers, holding a thunderbolt in his hand.⁵⁷⁰ The mountain is his palace, which shows that in his world he is the one in power. His spirit of freedom is additionally emphasized by making use of the sky metaphor. He lives free in the mountains, and the sky serves him as a blanket. Stz. 3 highlights his superiority over his enemy, who is forced to escape. The following stanzas work with juxtapositions, where the contrast of the two different worlds—the world of the klepht and that of the “unfree”—are pointed out. Whereas, for example, stz. 4 starts with the deceit and injustice perpetrated by the “evil” that prevails in the outer world, in the world of the klephts, their secret virtues are highlighted. In a similar way, stz. 5 talks about betrayal and selling off nations like “animals,” whereas in the klepht’s world the weapons “sing” and serve to defend and protect. The juxtaposition of slavery and freedom can be found in stz. 6. Whereas slavery dominates in the rest of the world, the klepht’s world is associated with freedom and manhood as it refers to faith, honor, and loyalty—the latter expressed on the oath on the cross. Stz. 7 makes use of a recurring element, which is the

⁵⁶⁶ For a more detailed history of the transmission and function of the piece “*Gaudeamus igitur*,” see also Gre-
gor 1980, 2: 31–33.

⁵⁶⁷ Christian Wilhelm Kindleben, *Studentenlieder: Aus den hinterlassenen Papieren eines unglücklichen Philoso-
phen Florido genannt, gesammelt und verbessert* (Halle, Saale: n.p., 1781), 52–54.

⁵⁶⁸ Stephenson, Scharff, and Klötzer, *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte der deutschen Einheitsbewegung
im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, 5:54.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 5.2–5.4.

⁵⁷⁰ See also Geōrganta, “‘Ho Klephtēs’ tou A. R. Ragkavēs,” 37.

farewell scene from the family, and, thus, the birth of the klepht.⁵⁷¹ It is the vital moment when young men quit their regular lives as subjects and start new lives as outlaws. Stz. 8 explains the strong motivation to become an outlaw more concretely. Freedom for the klepht is a question of choice. The klepht himself decides whether to live as a “slave” or as a free man, and thus to fall as a free man. Stz. 9 describes the brutality of the combat that klephts joined as revolutionaries and warriors. In the end, the klepht eventually gets killed. The last stanza emphasizes the strong comradeship among the klephts. The fallen klepht is carried by his comrades, who sing the slogan “free the klepht lives, and free he dies.” The lyrics present an honorable and noble brigand who withdrew from society in order to fight the injustice that he and his people suffered. The popular theme of the “noble brigand” who lived in the wilderness and took part in subversive activities against despotism started in Greece during the era of the Greek Enlightenment and acquired more romanticized traits during the nineteenth century.

Although originally the poet’s intention was that this song should be sung to the tune of “*Gaudeamus igitur*,” for unknown reasons, the tune was later changed to a different melody. Today, this song is usually performed with the melody as given in Sigalas (1880) as well as in Artemidēs (1905).⁵⁷² According to Synadinos’ statement, the melody of this song was derived from a Bavarian context. He stated: “Even today, there are people who are unaware that the music of the battle songs played by the military band musicians like ‘Black Is the Night in the Mountains’, ‘In the Middle of My Sword’, ‘My Slender and Sharp Sword’ were German.”⁵⁷³ Thus, the melody of the unknown composer, according to Synadinos, was introduced from a German context. Ragkavēs’ poem was adapted to a tune that was introduced by Andreas Seiler, a German military bandmaster. Ernst Mangel,⁵⁷⁴ the bandmaster of the Bavarian military corps in Greece had invited Franz Seiler⁵⁷⁵ and another musician called Christian Welcker⁵⁷⁶ to support him in organizing musical education and wind bands. These musicians were all military band musicians who built up the first Bavarian wind bands in Greece. It is very likely that this was also the musical context in which the song’s melody was adapted to Ragkavēs’ poem. The fact that the song origi-

⁵⁷¹ A similar topic was also dealt with in the song “The young soldier” with music by Methfessel (Chapter 1.4.2), and in the song “*Ey gâzîler*” (Chapter 2.3.6).

⁵⁷² Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 5.2.

⁵⁷³ “*Yparchoun polloi akomē kai sēmeron, oi opoioi agnooun oti hē mousikē tōn thourion pou paizoun ai stratiotikai mousikai, opōs to ‘Mavrē ein’ hē nyxhta sta vouna’, ‘Stē mesē to spathi mou’, ‘Ō ligeron kai kopteron spathi mou’ eine germanikē*” (Synadinos 1919, 249n1).

⁵⁷⁴ Synadinos, *Istoria tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs 1824–1919*, 20–21. Synadinos explained that Mangel went to Romania, where he worked at the theater. An Austrian musician called Brandl was appointed as new bandleader.

⁵⁷⁵ Franz Seiler was born in France on 1 January 1804 and served in Bavaria for four years. From 14 January 1833 to 1 March 1837, he worked as a wind band director. He entered the Greek army as a volunteer musician on 6 March 1837 and served as bandmaster during this year. On 23 July 1865, he retired with the title of a major bandmaster and died on 29 January 1871 (Motzenigos 1958, 273). Kōnstantzos claims that Andreas Seiler (183?–1903), the son of Franz Seiler, made the most recent arrangement of the song as it is known today (Kōnstantzos 2015, 132).

⁵⁷⁶ See Motzenigos 1958, 273.

nated from a German military band march was, however, not mentioned either in Sigalas' or in Artemidēs' edition of this piece.

Similar to the previous case studies, the new composition of "The Klepht" has a simple structure and a catchy melody in G major. Seiler's arrangement can be divided into two sections. The A-section can be split into two subsections in mm. 1–8 and 9–20. The B-section goes from mm. 21–28. Each of the stanzas consists of five verses, and each of the verses is performed in four measures, except for v₄ and v₅, which are repeated and therefore have eight measures, as presented in the following structure section (Table 2):

Table 2 Structure of "The Klepht."

Section	A					B	
Measures	1–4	5–8	9–12	13–16	17–20	21–24	25–28
Verse	1	2	3	4	4	5	5

In terms of musical disposition, the A- and B-sections also show different characteristics that should be mentioned at this point. The A-section has a "marching" character, as it is also instructed at the beginning of the piece by the editor. The first beat is emphasized by upbeats and longer note values, such as dotted quarter notes. This effect is further stressed by the fourth and fifth leaps in mm. 4 and 8. The melody evolves within the ambitus of a ninth D₄–E₅. The B-section of this song creates an interesting contrast to the first one. This contrast is achieved by using straight rhythmic values such as—mostly—eighth and quarter notes instead of dotted values. This gives the impression that the song's tempo is accelerating. Another remarkable feature is that the B-section is dedicated only to the last verse of each stanza. Although proportions between the verses and the musical units are mostly balanced, v₅ is repeated twice and brings the stanza to a conclusion on the *finalis*. The B-section, however, is also highlighted by its different melodic character. In this way, the music contrasts the last verses of the stanzas, which all allude to the most popular characteristics of the klephtic figure. Stz. 1 describes the habitat in the wilderness and how he is the one in power in his own world; stz. 2 draws on the cult of arms and praises the rifle as "his hope"; stz. 3 represents the klepht as a freedom-loving outlaw who "knows how to die"; stz. 4 draws on the topic of slavery; and finally, stz. 5 emphasizes his determination that if he falls, he will fall as a free man. Ragkavēs followed a demotic practice when he composed the lyrics because he used the so-called "political verse." The political verse is characteristic of many Greek folk songs and consists of fifteen syllables, which are divided into 8+7 syllables, as Table 3 exemplifies. In this piece, verses 1–2 and 4–5 each compose a political verse, whereas v₃ is inserted in between and divides the two political verses from each other.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ Geōrganta, "Ho Klephtēs' tou A. R. Ragkavē," 35.

Table 3 Scheme of the political verse with fifteen syllables.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Mavr'	ein'	hē	nych	ta	sta	vou	na	stous	vra	chous	peph	tei	chio	ni
v1								v2						
Sta	a	gria	sta	sko	tei	na								
v3														
Stais	trach	iais	pet	rais	sta	ste	na	ho	kleph	tēs	kses	pa	thō	nei
v4								v5						

By using the political verse, Ragkavēs draws on the tradition of the Greek folk song. It could be an intention to mimic the klephtic song and reflect its poetic characteristics and thus create the impression of authenticity. The most important national figure of the Greek Revolution is represented in this song with his most typical traits and set to a serene melody that is easy to sing. By the same token, the lyrics are well constructed, for they imply characteristics of the Greek folk song. The musical ductus also qualifies this piece for public national ceremonies played by military bands. It is reported, for example, that the military band of the Greek battleship “Averōph” played this song during military confrontations in order to raise the spirits of the marines. They also played this tune when they declared the liberation of Lesbos Island to its inhabitants.⁵⁷⁸ The fact that this piece derived from a non-Greek musical context did not prevent it from gaining highly national significance.

1.4.7 Songs for Commemorating 25 March

The national meaning of songs may become especially reinforced and meaningful when they are contextualized in national ceremonies and events. Songs often become an indispensable part of national rites such as commemorative ceremonies and national feasts. In Greece, 25 March commemorates the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821. The selection of the day was seemingly not a mere coincidence, as Herzfeld pointed out. He claimed that the exact dating of the Greek Revolution was problematic since the uprising had started as a guerrilla war over a longer period instead of on a single, particular day. However, the official date coincides with the Feast of the Annunciation and thus suggests a symbolic parallel between the resurrection of the Greek nation and the prophecy of Christ’s resur-

⁵⁷⁸ Pantelēs S. Mpoukalas and Spyros Kazianēs, *Polemousame kai tragoudousame: tragoudia istorikēs mnēmēs tōn Valkanikōn polemōn* ([Athens]: Idryma tēs Voulēs tōn Ellēnōn gia ton Koinovoulevtismo kai tē Dēmokratia, 2004), 18–19, 41.

rection. Furthermore, as Herzfeld correctly observed, the Greek word “epanastasēs” [Revolution] contained the word “anastasēs” [Resurrection] and thus reinforced the prophetic and religious dimension of this date.⁵⁷⁹ Elements of Greek Orthodox Christianity seemed to have indeed played an important role, as will be shown in this chapter.

The song text anthology *Kithara* (1835) compiled by Panagiōtēs Soutzos (1806–1868) included a poem dedicated to the national day, as the title “Hē 25 Martiou ē ta genethlia tēs Ellados” [March 25, or The Birthday of Hellas] suggests. It relates the vicissitudes of the Greek Revolution in verse form.⁵⁸⁰ Christopoulos in his song text anthology, for example, dedicated the piece “San tē spitha krymmenē stēn stachtē” [Like a Spark in the Ashes] to 25 March, as the heading “Eis tēn KE’ Martiou” [To the 25 March] suggests.⁵⁸¹ The same piece was provided with notation in many later song anthologies, including two school song anthologies.⁵⁸² The text was written by Andreas Koutouvalēs (1808–1882),⁵⁸³ whose poem was set to music by Spyridōn Ksyndas.⁵⁸⁴ After that, this piece seemed to become a fixed part of the 25 March celebrations, given that it appeared decades later with the heading “The 25th of March” in Argyropoulos’ song anthology *Apollōn* published in 1925.

It is assumed that Ksyndas had probably composed this song already before March 1875.⁵⁸⁵ The versions in Maltos (1885) and Artemidēs (1905) are in staff notation and almost identical. There are minor divergences in voice leading and sentence structure, which do not, however, change the melody’s character or the song’s message. The piece can be roughly structured into two sections: the A-section is in F major (mm. 1–20) and the B-section in B-flat major (mm. 21–37).⁵⁸⁶ In order to sing all six stanzas, the song must be performed in two cycles, with each cycle containing three stanzas.

⁵⁷⁹ Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 1982, 22.

⁵⁸⁰ Aleksandros Soutzos, *Hē kithara ē hē syllogē tōn neon lyrikōn tou poiēseōn* (Athens: Ek tēs typographias tōn adelphōn A. kai N. Aggedidōn, 1835), 3–6.

⁵⁸¹ Christopoulos, *Anthologia ētoi syllogē asmatōn, ērōikōn, kleptikōn kai erōtikōn, meta tōn lyrikōn kai vlakchikōn*, (Athens: Arkadiou, 1865), 24; *Anthologia ētoi syllogē asmatōn, ērōikōn, kleptikōn kai erōtikōn, meta tōn lyrikōn kai vakchikōn*, (Athens: Typois Nikolaou Rousopoulou, 1872), 28.

⁵⁸² Maltos, *Terpsichorē*, 1885, 2:173–76; *Orphikē lyra*, 72–73; A. G. Argyropoulos, *Apollōn: asmata paidagōgika meta didaktikēs tou paidagōgikou asmatos*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Narkissou, 1925), 64. Apart from the above-mentioned school song anthologies, it was also included in Sigalas 1880, 70–73.

⁵⁸³ Maltos and Artemidēs attributed the text to Andreas Koutouvalēs (1808–1882), which Kōnstantzos also indicated in his work. Synadinos and Kokkinakēs attributed the text to Dionysios Solomos. See Kōnstantzos 2015, 203; Synadinos 1919, 283; Kokkinakēs 1899, 295.

⁵⁸⁴ Spyridōn Ksyndas (1814/1817–1896) was an educator, guitarist, and composer. He was a student of the Greek national composer Nikolaos Mantzaros and of Niccolò Zingarelli in Naples. His musical training had a strong Italian influence. He contributed to the creation of the Greek art song and composed operas such as *Ho ypopsiphios* [The Parliamentary Candidate], premiered in 1867, which is the first opera with a Greek libretto (Kardamis 2001). Ksyndas also composed many patriotic songs for male choir, such as “San tē spitha” [Like the Spark], “Empros paidia” [Go For It, Pals], and “Ksyndate Ellēnopaída” [Wake Up, Children of Greece] (Motzenigos 1958, 224–25; Synadinos 1919, 281–85).

⁵⁸⁵ Kostas Kardamis, “Xyndas [Xyntas, Xinda(s), Xinta(s)], Spyridon,” in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.30664>.

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. Appendix, Case Studies 6.1 and 6.2.

The striking characteristics of this piece lie in the relation between the melody and the lyrics. The upbeat, which is characterized by the rhythmic pattern ♪♪|♪, is used almost throughout the entire piece (Example 6). It organizes the inner structure of the musical sections in several ways: when used as an upbeat, firstly, it stresses the first beat of each measure; and secondly, when following the rest signs (e.g. m. 4), it separates the phrases and verses from each other. Additionally, the same rhythmic pattern also emphasizes the third beat, which generates the “marching” character of the piece. Similarly, this rhythmic pattern is congruent with the accentuated syllables of the foot that coincide with the metrical foot of the poem, that is the anapest (˘˘-).⁵⁸⁷

v1. San tē spí-tha krym mé-nē stē stá - ktē v2. E-kry - vó-tan gia mas 'lef-the - ria

Example 6 The beginning of “Like a Spark in the Ash” with the poetic meter.

The song lyrics narrate the beginning of the Greek Revolution.⁵⁸⁸ They use the metaphor of the hidden spark in the ashes that eventually became a great fire in the hearts of the Greeks who longed for freedom from slavery. The basic character of this marching song is serene and mostly follows the basic harmonies of F major. However, not all the verses have the same weight in this piece. The composer used interesting turns in the harmonic progression, as well as longer rhythmic values and repetitions, to emphasize specific verses of the stanzas in both musical sections. This applies in the A-section to mm. 10–16, where stz. 2, v2 and stz. 5, v2 are repeated three times, respectively. Whereas mm. 10–12 are still part of melody “B,” the following mm. 12–16 present the first part of melody “A” in F minor and thus create a striking contrast. The lyrics at the beginning of stz. 2 tell about the day when the “lips” opened and loudly shouted out their protest, which had been silenced during the period of slavery. In stz. 5, which is performed at the same place in the second repeat, the lyrics relate how everyone rushed into the church to receive God’s blessing. The turn to F minor goes together with the verse “Which slavery had kept closed” in stz. 2, with the corresponding part in stz. 5 “And entered the church.” This verse is repeated three times until it ends in m. 16. In m. 16 Ksyndas uses a half note and a quarter rest sign, which are used only in mm. 16, 20, 30, and 37 every time he ends a phrase or intends to create a caesura. With this longer note value and a rest sign, he is also able to stress some words more than others. In m. 16, he highlights, for example, the words “slavery” and

⁵⁸⁷ It should be mentioned that in Christopoulos’ text anthologies (1865, 24; 1872, 28) stz. 3, v2 “To stavro gia sēmeio enas vasta” [One holds the cross as a sign] has a deviating meter that was not congruent with the music. All versions with musical notation, such as Maltos (1885), Artemidēs (1905), and Sigalas (1880) modified this verse slightly, probably to make it fit the music. The content, however, did not change significantly.

⁵⁸⁸ For the lyrics of “San tē spitha,” see Appendix A, Case Study 6.3.

“church,” and in mm. 30 and 36 “freedom.” These three words, “sklavía” [slavery], “ekklēsia” [church], and “levthería” [freedom], which end on the same rhyme, may be seen as the keywords and primary message of this song and of the Greek Revolution.

Stz3/v1. Tre - choun o - loi kai t'ar - mat' ar - pa - zoun, v2. Ton stav -
 Stz6/v1. Ti ev - lo - gia ē - to 'kei - nē hē thei - a v2. Tōn El -

Example 7 Broken triads in the B-section of “Like a Spark in the Ash.”

The beginning of the B-section (mm. 21–37) also shows some refined elements in the music that support and highlight the message and meaning conveyed in the lyrics. Ksyndas continues using the same rhythmic pattern $\text{♪} \cdot \text{♪} \mid \text{♪}$ and applies it to a broken triad, F–D–B \flat |F–D–B \flat , which is reminiscent of musical motifs typical of brass instruments (Example 7). This kind of broken triad played on trumpets, for example, is often associated with acoustic signals that are derived from military culture and aim to catch attention or even order a specific military action. The lyrics that correspond to this passage (mm. 21–22) reveal a striking connection with the music. The militaristic signal is sung to “They all run and grab the arms” (stz. 3, v1), which is well suited to this musical symbolism. The fact that this is not a mere coincidence is shown in the same passage, sung in the second cycle with stz. 6, v1, which is “What a blessing had been that divine one.” In this context, the music suggests the heavenly trumpets of justice and emphasizes the religious-spiritual war in the name of God-given justice. As before, in this section, Ksyndas also uses harmonic deviations to stress some verses and contrast them with others. In mm. 25–27, he draws on melody A but passes from B-flat major to D major. This passage highlights another important element in the narrative of the Greek Revolution, which is the oath to the nation or, in this case, the oath to freedom.⁵⁸⁹ Oath scenes had become very popular in stage performances but had also appeared in other realms of the arts.⁵⁹⁰ In this song, the women and children

⁵⁸⁹ Oath scenes had become popular in the French operas that dealt with the French Revolution. The figure of the emperor and his emblems were replaced by the national banner, to which the protagonists took an oath. In the Greek case, the partisans take an oath on the banner or on the cross. The Greek composer Pavlos Karrer (1829–1896) also included an oath scene in his national opera *Markos Botzarēs*, which was composed in 1858 and premiered in 1861. One of the opera’s highlights was the oath scene. The fighters took an oath on the banner and cross, which was blessed by the Archbishop Germanos. Although the libretto was originally written by Giovanni Caccialupi in Italian, this scene was also partly performed in Greek during the Cretan Revolt of 1866 (Ksepapadakou and Leōtsakos 2013; Ksepapadakē, 2003, 27–63). With the oath scenes, Ksyndas therefore drew on an image that had already gained popularity and importance in the Greek Independence War and had highly symbolic power.

⁵⁹⁰ Some of the most famous paintings of Greek oath scenes were produced by Ludovico Lipparini, where the Archbishop Germanos raises the flag of the Greek Revolution. Another painting is of Dionysios Tsokos (1849?) where the national hero Theodōros Kolokotrōnēs (1770–1843), commander in chief in the War of Independ-

obliging the revolutionaries to take the oath is repeated twice in mm. 27–31, the first time in D major and the second time in A major with the ninth; in the third and fourth oaths (mm. 33–36), Ksyndas returns back to the tonic B \flat major, which he emphasizes by making use of the cadence B \flat –E \flat –F–B \flat . Musically, the oaths on freedom end on half notes and rest signs, which highlight the last syllable of the word “[e]’levtheria” [Freedom]. By using similar musical materials, albeit with harmonic variations, prolongations of note values, and repetition of some phrases, Ksyndas manages to stress some passages and their keywords throughout the song. It is also worth considering the lyrics of the same passage in the second cycle of the song. Whereas in the first cycle, women and children ask for the oath (mm. 25–27), the second cycle once more places emphasis on the religious dimension of the conveyed message. It draws on Christian symbols such as the cross, which, according to the lyrics, had served the Greeks at all times as an aid. The topic of (re-)gaining freedom, which is highlighted at the end of the song once more, is closely connected with religious faith and belief. The word “freedom” appears three times in stzs. 1, 3, and 6. Apart from the word “God,” the word “freedom” is the only one that is repeated more than once. It is not possible to say for sure whether the three-time repetition of the word “freedom” is just a coincidence. Since other religious notions are also present in this song, it is legitimate to read the three repetitions of the word “freedom” in a religious-symbolic context. The religious determination eventually leads to the song’s positive and victorious ending. Although this piece was printed in school song anthologies, its compositional features are reminiscent of elements that are often used in operettas, which in Ksyndas’ case is not surprising. It is evident that neither the poem nor the music were derived from a folkloric context, but both were composed and are in one way or another congruent with each other. This piece was suitable for the 25 March commemorations, whose most important key elements could be transmitted through simple but refined music to school students.⁵⁹¹

The next piece belongs to the same context of the 25 March commemorations and was composed by the already-mentioned Sakellaridēs, who set a poem by G. M. Geōrgopoulos to music. His composition with the title “25 Martiou” [25 March] was included in his school song anthology “Tyrtaios” (1898).⁵⁹² The title of Sakellaridēs’ song anthology draws on the ancient Greek poet Tyrtaeus (fl. seventh century), whose military poems contributed to the Spartan victory in the Second Messenian War. This allusion to the heroic past is transferred to the present, which is also expressed in the relatively high percentage of

ence, is depicted while he is taking the oath. Another famous painting depicts the Archbishop of Patras: the outstanding role of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Greek Revolution is highlighted, and the war for freedom sanctified.

⁵⁹¹ The song follows the main narrative of Greek national history: enslaved Greeks that fought for freedom and self-determination. With faith in God and God’s blessings, they achieved freedom.

⁵⁹² Iō. Th. Sakellaridēs, *Tyrtaios ētoi asmata patriōtika orchēstika kai gymnastika* (Athens: Sp. Kosoulinos para tō naō tōn Agiōn Theodōron, 1898), 23. For this study, the original copy from Sakellaridēs’ anthology was not available. The analysis of this piece is based on the same version provided in Artemidēs 1905, 79–82. See Appendix A, Case Study 7.1.

patriotic songs (62%) that this volume contains. Martial notions are also perceivable in this simple but powerful song that is dealt with below.⁵⁹³

The performance instruction “Agōgē emvatēriou” [Marching tempo] and the *alla breve* time unit underlines the military ductus of the piece. The swift character of the piece has also been indicated in the heading, which in Sakellaridēs’ volume is followed by the word “trochadēn” [swift]. Sakellaridēs’ composition is organized symmetrically, which is also expressed in the structure of the lyrics. The song is composed of two sections with each section consisting of sixteen measures. Each of the sixteen measures can be subdivided into two subsections of eight measures, which repeat the same melody exactly twice. The eight-measure subsection is symmetrically divided again into two, where each verse of the poem corresponds to four measures. The symmetrical composition of the piece and its division into subsections correspond with the eight verses of each stanza (Table 4). In order to perform all three stanzas, it is necessary to repeat the score three times. The ratio between the melody and the lyrics is supported by a stable rhythmic pattern. The rhythmic pattern $\text{♩}|\text{♩}|\text{♩}|\text{♩}|\text{♩}|\text{♩}|\text{♩}|\text{♩}$ used by the composer almost throughout the whole piece, albeit sometimes with slight variations, supports the homogeneous character of the piece (Example 8). Once the school student is familiar with this basic rhythmic pattern, it is possible to concentrate only on the melody and lyrics. At the same time, it also facilitates the learning of the song. The piece’s homogeneous character is further achieved by a 1:1 ratio between note and syllable and the underlying meter of the lyrics, which is the trochee (- ♘). Also here, the accentuated syllables of the words fall together with the accentuated syllables of the trochees.

v1. Ó - lē dó - ksa, ó - lē chá - ri á - gia mé - ra ksē - me - rō - nei v2. kai tēn

Example 8 The beginning of “All Glory, All Joy” with poetic meter.

Generally, the A-section (mm. 1–16) contains verses 1–4 and the B-section (mm. 16–32) verses 5–8 of each stanza. The composer contrasted the B-section of the song by shifting to the submediant E minor of the tonic. In the following, the interesting relationship between the lyrics and the music will be looked at more closely.⁵⁹⁴ The A-section in G major corresponds with the first four verses of each stanza. All have in common the setting of the present time, which is the “here and now.” The present is “glorious” and “holy”; it is the expression of the commemorative idea when the people salute their nation kneeling. The same musical section in stz. 2 praises the martyrdom of the fallen partisans whose blood

⁵⁹³ Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 7.

⁵⁹⁴ For the song lyrics, see Appendix A, Case Study 7.2.

sanctified the nation's earth. The "holy day is dawning" in stz. 1, v1 can be understood as both the beginning of the nation's anniversary and also as the beginning of the nation's rebirth. From this reading, the idea of the dawn's "sunbeams" gains a symbolic meaning. The B-section creates, musically and semantically, a remarkable contrast and counterpoint to the A-section. The last four verses of the stanzas, which are performed in the B-section in E minor, deal with the glorious past victories and sacrifices. The last four verses of stz. 1 recount the story of the beginning of the revolution in the monastery of Holy Lavra. The corresponding verses of stz. 2 tell how the sunbeams of the "dawning" moved later to other important stages of the Greek Revolution—such as Psara, Souli, the Gravia Inn, Rumelia, Kleisova, and Missolonghi—and freed them all, but with a high death toll.⁵⁹⁵ Stz. 3 is probably, from today's point of view, the most controversial one since it draws on Greek fin-de-siècle irredentist politics. In fact, in modern recordings, this stanza is omitted, and instead, the second stanza was reproduced once more.⁵⁹⁶ Whereas the B-sections of stzs. 1 and 2 dealt with the past, in stz. 3 the vision turns towards the future. The musical structure in relation to tonality and content has been presented in Table 4.

Table 4 Musical structure of "25 March" in *Artemidēs* (1905).

Section	A				B			
Measures	1–4	5–8	9–12	13–16	17–20	21–24	25–28	29–32
Verse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Melody	A		A		B		B	
Tonality	G major				E minor			
Time domain	Present				Past/Future			

In stz. 3, Greece appears personified as the mother, who, grief-stricken, turns to her "children" with four reproachful questions. All the questions that are part of the B-section are in direct speech and point clearly to the "unfree" places, namely the Byzantine capital,

⁵⁹⁵ The places mentioned in these verses were milestones in the Greek Revolution. The Aegean island Psara, for example, joined the Greek Revolution unsuccessfully but reached fame for having been faithful to their flag: "Freedom or Death." During an Ottoman attack, the islanders retreated into the town's old fortress, which they blew up when the Turkish troops entered. This kind of martyrdom, which can be found in a similar narrative in the Fall of Souli (1803) with heavy death tolls, is an often-recurring topic in the narrative of the Greek Revolution. The Battle of Gravia Inn (1821) refers to a military confrontation during the Greek Revolution between the victorious Greek revolutionaries and Ottoman troops.

⁵⁹⁶ This song was performed by the Children's Choir of Spyros Lampros with piano accompaniment by Giōrgos Niarchos. This piece appears as track 2 on the CD "Hē 25ē Martiou sta scholeia tēs patridas mas" [25 March at the Schools of Our Nation] published in 2016.

Constantinople,⁵⁹⁷ and Crete. Indirectly, these questions insinuate the request to hoist the Greek flag in Crete and Istanbul, save them from “darkness,” and reconvert the Hagia Sophia to a church again. In this way, the B-section of stz. 3 is a reference to the future and to the territories that still had to be “freed.” Thus, this song not only revisits the glorious recent past of the modern Greek nation, but it also further evokes the nationalist agenda that aimed to restore the geographical territories of the Byzantines, which was part of the ideology of the “Great Idea.”

The two case studies mentioned have shown how music contributed to the transmission of patriotic ideas and ideals in the context of school songs. Although the lyrics and the commemorative character of the song’s content clearly draw on Greek national history, the musical disposition of the songs does not derive from a genuine Greek context. Rather, they derive from a Western musical tradition. Both Sakellaridēs and Ksyndas were representatives of Western music in Greece and were also trained as such. Both were highly capable of connecting music and poetry in a harmonious fashion. The most important elements in their music are symmetry and simplicity, which are paired with a high level of congruency between musical and poetical expression. This became evident, for example, in the rhythmic patterns of the melody that stood in line with the meter of the poem. The songs are not only easy to learn, but they are also easy to remember. The lyrics that are closely connected to the melody can be memorized in this way without any great effort. The level of expression between music and lyrics is more elaborated in Ksyndas’ song, who used refined techniques to highlight important moments of the lyrics by prolongation of note values, repetition, or harmonic progressions. The tools that Sakellaridēs used were simpler but not less efficient. With a simple structure and a relatively limited pool of musical motifs, he achieved an interesting structural as well as semantic link between the music and the lyrics. Both the content and the relation between present, past, and future were well thought out and connected with each other. Both pieces were included in school song anthologies and were probably also taught in schools. In this way, Greek nationalist thought, as well as the ideology of the “Great Idea,” could be propagated and inculcated into the minds of young children. Artemidēs’ song collection contained both songs that were based on patriotic poems with newly composed music and completely new songs that had an important function in the context of patriotic songs. Although there are more songs in the context of the 25 March celebrations, this subchapter singled out only two of those that were included in the older school song anthologies where the “code” of the national memory was passed on from the older to the younger generation. Thus, these songs shaped the ideological disposition of the offspring that was destined to construct the nation’s future.

The formation of the national orientation of Greek children continued in the first two decades of the twentieth century. After losing the Greco-Turkish War in 1897 and the Macedonian conflict, Greece entered a governmental crisis, which in 1909 culminated in

⁵⁹⁷ The Greek word “Polis,” capitalized with an upper-case “P,” refers to the “the City,” which is Constantinople.

the Goudi Coup. The coup paved the way for a new Greek political orientation that helped Eleftherios Venizelos enter the Greek political arena from 1910–1920. His office coincided with a period of great political unrest and conflicts that triggered a process of militarization of Greek society, including Greek children. Similar to the British model of youth associations, the *SEP* (*Sōmatos Ellēnōn Proskopōn*) [Corps of the Greek Boy Scouts] was established by Greece in 1910. The SEP was a boys' scout association that not only instilled nationalist sentiment, but also aimed to train future soldiers.⁵⁹⁸ While Venizelos was in office, the SEP was officially supported and organized by the state and supervised by members of the Ministry of Education, the military, the Marines, and the church.⁵⁹⁹ Greek Boy Scout associations were not only limited to Greece itself but were also active in the diaspora communities, such as in Egypt, Istanbul, Izmir, and Asia Minor in general. The young boys were educated in a strongly militaristic fashion and inculcated with the irredentist vision of the “Great Idea.”⁶⁰⁰ After the Second Balkan War in 1912, Boy Scouts were invited to serve as reservists, and by 1917 they were under the auspices of the Greek state. The main aims of the SEP were the moral and physical education of children and Greek society; at the same time, the SEP was a preparatory training for the children before they became soldiers in the war.⁶⁰¹ Similar to Boy Scout associations elsewhere, music helped reinforce national group identity and sentiment. Although none of the consulted school song anthologies contained any songs that could be associated with the Boy Scouts, the “*Emvatērion tōn proskopōn*” [Boy Scouts' March] by Kōnstantinos Lykorta with the title “*Eso etoimos!*” [Be Prepared!], in addition to eyewitness testimonies, show that militaristic songs for Greek children did exist.⁶⁰² Another example comes from an eyewitness, who saw a group of school students in Çatalca walking through the streets singing anti-Muslim and anti-Turkish songs and glorifying violence.⁶⁰³ As will be shown in Part Two, the society of the late Ottoman Empire underwent a similar process of militarization in the exact same time period. Similar to Greek children, Ottoman children were also instilled with nationalist ideas and trained in warfare. As teenagers and adults, both fought each other in World War I and the Greco-Turkish War that followed.

⁵⁹⁸ Athanasios Tsoukalas, “*Proskopikē kinēsē kai politikēs synistōses stēn Ellada kata ton 20° aiōna: ta archeia tou Sōmatos Ellēnōn Proskopōn.*” (Doctoral Dissertation, Corfu, Ionian University, 2016), 43, 85.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁶⁰² Unfortunately, none of the scores were available for this study. However, they are mentioned because the Boy Scout associations will be dealt with in Chapter 2.3.3. The last stanza of “Be Prepared!” is a good example of the militaristic ideology: “*Pros avton hē Patris atenizei; kai avtos tēn Patrid' agapa; Stratiōtēs na ginē elpizei; kai tha ginē, avto protima; Mian monon ston noun echei skepsi; eis tas machas thriamvous na drepse; tous krotaphous me daphnas na strepsē; tēn Athanatē Doksa na vrē.*” [The nation looks after him; and he loves the nation; he hopes to become a soldier; and that he will become one, he prefers; only one thought has he in mind: that he harvests triumph from the battles; that his head is crowned with laurels; that he finds the Immortal Glory]. Own translation from the Greek original provided in Tsoukalas 2016, 258.

⁶⁰³ Nazan Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth during World War I*, Contemporary Issues in the Middle East (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2019), 91, 179n69.