

Cüneyt Ersin Mihci

# Forging National Music on Both Sides of the Aegean

in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries



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To my dear family ...



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## Preliminary Information on Transliteration and Additional Music Scores

The various historical events, revolutions, and changes in the Ottoman Empire and Greece have led to different uses of terminology, orthography, and alphabets. It is therefore necessary to explain briefly how this study has dealt with these peculiarities.

This study refrains from adopting the nomenclature generally used to refer to nationals of Greece, Turkey, and the Ottoman Empire. Although this topic deserves a more in-depth discussion, the dissertation aims to make a finer distinction between the ethnic backgrounds of specific persons. Therefore, the term “Greek” is used for Greek nationals of Greece, whereas the term “Ottoman-Greek” or “Ottoman-Greek subject” is used for members of the Greek- and Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian group of Ottoman society. The same applies to “Armenian” and “Ottoman-Armenian.” In a similar way, this terminology is also used to distinguish between “Greek,” “Turkish,” and “Oriental music.” The author of this study uses the term “Ottoman music” to refer to the music of Ottoman Muslim and Christian musicians in the Ottoman Empire instead of “Ottoman-Turkish” or “Turkish” music as is often used today in Turkey. The problematic term “Oriental music” is used in this study in its historical context, as it was also used by both west and east European musicians themselves.

Geographical references are, whenever available, given in English. Thus, city names such as “Kōnstantinoupolē” are given as “Istanbul,” “Gelibolu” as “Gallipoli,” “Athēna” as “Athens,” “Navplio” as “Nafplio” etc. In the bibliography, Greek authors’ names are given in the original spelling. The spelling differs depending on whether the work was published in Greek or English. Thus, the same author may appear in two different spellings, such as in “Kardamis, Kostas” or “Kardamēs, Kōstas,” “Romanou, Katy” or “Rōmanou, Kaitē” etc.

Book titles and song lyrics, as well as quotations from Modern Greek, have been transliterated. The aim of the provided transliterations is to give interested readers the possibility of searching for the cited works in other library catalogues. This is beneficial for searching in Greek as well as international library catalogues. Volumes in Ottoman Turkish, titles and quoted passages from printed sources in Arabic alphabet have been transliterated into the Latin alphabet and adapted to Modern Turkish orthography. Since the majority of the printed sources used are stored in Turkish libraries, both Turkish as well as international users will find the books more easily if the titles are searched with Modern Turkish orthography. Transliterations of Ottoman-Turkish lyrics from the Greek or Armenian alphabet, or from Hungarian transcriptions, are presented in the Appendix section in Modern Turkish orthography.

Since this study refers to numerous persons and musicians that are commonly unknown, some additional biographical data is provided to avoid simple “name dropping.” Most of the data was obtained from printed or online encyclopedic sources, as well as monographs, which are indicated accordingly. Whenever a person could not be found in any of the consulted sources, the living dates were adopted from the data sheet of the

GND (Gemeinsame Normdatei). The author of this study does not provide any living dates if they cannot be found.

Some of the historical Greek and Turkish persons already have defined equivalents in English. Whenever there are established English versions of Greek and Turkish names, they have been adopted for this study. Thus, e.g., the study uses Sultan “Abdulhamid II” instead of “Abdülhamîd II” or “John of Damascus” instead of “Iōannēs Damaskēnos.” Other Turkish names in the Arabic alphabet are transliterated according to contemporary Turkish orthography. Titles in Turkish such as “Bey,” “Hanım” and “Pasha” are not translated but given with an uppercase letter, such as in “İhsân Hanım” or “Âsım Bey.”

Some of the Greek references in this volume use prefaces of song anthologies and books that used Greek lowercase letters to indicate the pagination. In order to facilitate easier reading, they are given first in the original Greek letters, followed by lower case Roman numerals. In this way, readers who may not be familiar with numerals in the Greek alphabet have the chance to look up the respective references.

This dissertation uses a variety of music sources from volumes that are difficult to access. In order to offer insights into the musical analysis of the pieces, the author of this study edited the songs that have been dealt with and provided these editions in the Appendix. They should not be understood as a true, scholarly edition of the original but as a medium to exemplify and visualize some of the phenomena that are analyzed and mentioned. The originals are often untidy, in the Arabic or Greek alphabet, and for someone not familiar with the two languages, they are difficult to access. Lyrics in the Greek alphabet are given in Latin letters. For the Ottoman music anthologies, the lyrics are transliterated according to Modern Turkish orthography. For the sake of consistency, the author prefers to use the terms “stanza” and “verse” although this concept did not always exist in the music culture that has been analyzed. The transcription of the “Sevastopol Song” from Hampartsum into staff notation is based on the transcription rules of the *Corpus Musicae Ottomanicae*.

In the same way, the author also provides some tentative translations from Modern Greek, Turkish, German, Italian, and French into English. In many cases, it is impossible to always suggest a suitable equivalent term. Therefore, the translations followed the principle: “as close as possible to the original and as free as necessary.” The main idea of the translations is to give those who do not know any Greek or Turkish the chance to read and understand the content of the quotations, book titles, or lyrics. Specific technical terms are given in italics when mentioned for the first time, and can be looked up in the glossary adjunct to this volume when they are not directly translated.

One last word has to be made on publication dates for the sources that were published before Turkey switched to the Gregorian calendar. Besides the hijri and rumi dates, the author also provides the corresponding year in the Gregorian calendar. In this regard, the reader is also recommended to consult the online calendar converter that is provided by the “Türk Tarih Kurumu” [Turkish Historical Society].

## List of Abbreviations

cf.	confer = compare
col./cols.	column/columns
d.	died
e.g.	exempli gratia = for example
fl.	flourished
h.	hijri = the Islamic calendar
it.	Italian
m., mm.	measure, measures
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no publisher
p., pp.	page, pages
pt.	part
r.	reign
sic	sic erat scriptum = as in the original
stz./stzs.	stanza/stanzas
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television
v1, v2	verse 1, verse 2 etc.
viz.	<i>videlicet</i> = namely

## Transliteration System

Modern Greek	Translit.	Modern Greek	Translit.	Modern Greek	Translit.
A, α	a	Z, ζ	z	O, ο	o
αι	ai	H, η	hē, ē	οι	oi
αϊ	aï	ηυ	iv, if	οϊ	oï
αυ	av, af	Θ, θ	th	ου	ou
B, β	v	I, ι	i	Π, π	p
Γ, γ	g	K, κ	k	Ρ, ρ	r
γγ	ng	Λ, λ	l	Σ, σ, ς	s
γκ	gk	M, μ	m	Τ, τ	t
γξ	nks	μπ	b, mp	Υ, υ	y
γχ	nch	N, ν	n	Φ, φ	ph
Δ, δ	d	ντ	d, nd, nt	Χ, χ	ch
E, ε	e	Ξ, ξ	ks	Ψ, ψ	ps
ει	ei	Ω, ω	ō		
εϊ	eï				
ευ	ev, ef				

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# Introduction

In recent centuries, national readings of music histories have singled out topics that were considered important for a given country's cultural identity and nationhood. Correspondingly, other relevant sources that did not fit into the national view were given only marginal attention. For example, nineteenth-century Ottoman-Greek music anthologies have caught the interest of researchers only in the last two decades. Sources that were written in the reformed neume notation—also called Chrysanthine notation—had mostly Ottoman-Turkish song lyrics in Greek letters and were scarcely considered by the academic community. For Greek researchers who could decipher the notation, the content of the lyrics was unintelligible and the musical context unfamiliar. For Turkish researchers the lyrics could be read, once having learned the Greek alphabet, but the notation remained an obstacle. Thus, these important sources, although part of the Ottoman and Greek heritage, received hardly any scholarly attention. The abovementioned case demonstrates the importance of overcoming a national reading by supporting a transcultural one in order to reach a holistic understanding of music history on both sides of the Aegean. Despite the current trend of abandoning the nationalist perspective in favor of a transcultural or intercultural reading, the national mindset occasionally still prevails, thus impeding an unbiased study of the sources.

Kalaitzidis' revealing catalogue of "post-Byzantine" music manuscripts highlights this point. His study is a remarkable testimony of songs in Ottoman-Turkish that were sung among *Phanariot* Greeks and were codified in neume notation. Kalaitzidis is familiar with the common national reading of the sources and poses questions that would usually come into the minds of Greek researchers with a biased perspective: "Why [did] the oppressed

Greeks transcribe the music of the Muslims? Was it a sign of spiritual surrender? Was it an acceptance of the cultural superiority of the conqueror? Which conditions favored the incorporation of Persian, Arabic, and Ottoman melodies into the body of transcriptions and consequently into the repertoire?"<sup>1</sup> The fact that songs, especially in hand-written, private song anthologies, may be the result of preference and taste seems to be farfetched from a national reading. Kalaitzidis therefore asserts that "a fragmented and simplistic examination of the phenomenon may lead to erroneous conclusions."<sup>2</sup> In a similar way, Turkish musicology has for a long time appropriated old works by Ottoman composers regardless of their ethnic, social, or confessional background. The "Turkish character" of this music was highlighted by the term "Ottoman Turkish Music," as it has become an established term to refer to "Ottoman court music." The same applies to historical patriotic songs that had been declared a "unique" expression of the nation. As this research will show, the notion of these "national songs" turned out to be a transcultural phenomenon rather than a genuinely national one. The national reading of music sources is still prevalent because musicology, like other academic disciplines, was influenced by political ideologies. In Greece and Turkey, as well as in many other nation-states, nineteenth-century historiography stood in the service of nation-building and sometimes also helped to validate nationalist claims and aspirations. Musicology played an important role in contributing to and supporting the historical theses that Greece and Turkey helped legitimize as part of the overall nationalist narrative. This study aims to deconstruct this narrative and the limitations that it imposed by looking at the same materials from a transcultural perspective.

## Theories of Nationalism, National Identity and Music

After the Second World War, nationalism and nation-states became an object of study in academia. Since then, the corpus of nationalism studies has been steadily growing.<sup>3</sup> The constructed and artificial character of nation-states has been described in many academic works.<sup>4</sup> Benedict Anderson described the nation as an "imagined political community," the members of which, in spite of the fact that they do not all know each other, imagine themselves as one communion.<sup>5</sup> The concept of the nation emerged during the era of Enlightenment. Ideas of national characteristics had already been pronounced in the eighteenth

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<sup>1</sup> Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)*, trans. Kiriaki Koubaroulis and Dimitri Koubaroulis, *Istanbul Texts and Studies 28* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2012), 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> For an introduction to this field, see Smith, Anthony D., *Theories of Nationalism*. London: Duckworth, 1971.

<sup>4</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Repr., *New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 56; Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Repr. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003), 31.

<sup>5</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

century, and it was assumed that each nation and people had a characteristic “genius” and language that was given to them by nature. In Herder’s words, this national character became expressed in the so-called “Genius eines Volkes” [Genius of the people].<sup>6</sup> Nationalism, as a ubiquitous element of the human, was first explicit in philology and folklore studies. The nation was suggested to be a primordial element of humanity. The “rediscovery” of the nation that emerged from the debris of history is often expressed in the “awakening” metaphor, which suggested that the nation was old and pre-historic, and fell into a phase of slumber until the moment of “rebirth” or “reawakening.”<sup>7</sup> Smith already pointed to the flaws in this reading, since it blanked out the time between the supposed origins and the “resurrection” of the nation. This narrative also omits the consequences of migration and colonization, as well as many other questions. Although the so-called “awakening” was celebrated in national histories, the reasons why the nations had fallen into slumber, and why only some of them “awoke,” remained a marginal interest. The narrative is constructed in favor of a nationalist reading of the imagined past.<sup>8</sup> In a similar way, Gellner vehemently contradicted the mythical “sleeping-beauty” metaphor, and underlined the fact that nations were not pre-historic but modern phenomena that derived from new social organization, high culture and education. The nation, as Gellner recognized, was not an inherent attribute of humanity, nor natural or universal, but a political organization of mankind.<sup>9</sup> Nations are artificial constructs that are based on the idea of nationalism.

One of the pillars on which a nation rests is the imagination of a shared, common culture. It consists of a series of cultural social codes and has a high level of congruency within the entire nation. As Gellner claimed, the shared culture of the nation undergoes transformations, while its formation is selective. The “shared” culture that is transmitted through modern education in schools is different from the culture that had been transmitted by societies before the pre-modern age.<sup>10</sup> The nation-state and its institutions present themselves as protectors of culture and organizers of the educational system. They aim to create a homogeneous and standardized educational system that disseminates the same content to its citizens. The national educational system is a state-run, sophisticated

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<sup>6</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) is one of the best-known exponents and interpreters of what in German is often referred to as “Volksgeist” [The spirit of the people]. Although notions about what Herder referred to as “national characters” are different from those of the nineteenth century, the people, language, and nation were for him one unity: “Denn jedes Volk ist Volk: es hat seine Nationalbildung, wie seine Sprache; zwar hat der Himmelsstrich über alle bald ein Gepräge, bald nur einen linden Schleier gebreitet, der aber das ursprüngliche Stammgebilde der Nation nicht zerstört” [For every nation is one people, having its own national form, as well as its own language: the climate, it is true, stamps on each its mark, or spreads over it a light veil, but not sufficient to destroy the original national character] (Herder 1790, 2:94; translation according to Churchill 1803, 298, 166). For further reading on Herder and the “Volksgeist,” see Kopp 2021, 49–62.

<sup>7</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 48; Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 48; Michael Murphy, “Introduction,” 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), 2.

<sup>10</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 36.

institution. It has teachers who are especially trained for this purpose and who work in an organized school system with a pyramidal structure. The educational system in the nation is indispensable, as it conserves and disseminates selected cultural elements to a broader national public.

By applying an ethno-symbolist approach, Smith's path-breaking study highlighted the power of the nation, which was capable of mobilizing people and leading them into wars for the sake of national ideals. The ethno-symbolist reading focuses on the popular roots of nationalism, expressed in myths, memories, symbols, and traditions of ethnic heritage.<sup>11</sup> While all these components stress the uniqueness of a nation, they also stress its distinction and superiority to other nations. The ethnic and cultural symbolisms help people recognize their nation and identify with it, but they also help distinguish their nation from other, bordering nations. Smith has outlined a scheme that represents characteristic features of the nation. Firstly, he highlighted the vital role of the historians who legitimized national history. They formed the main pillars of national history and presented it as one coherent and plausible narrative that connected the mythical past to the present. These national histories are generally structured in three "chapters" that refer to the past, connect it with the present and draft the future, respectively. Cultural continuity is the "glue" that holds together the different stages of the nation and becomes manifest in important names, symbols, language, territories, customs and rituals that shape national identity.<sup>12</sup> Nationalist readings of the past intertwine the past with the present and lead to what Smith called "re-appropriation"—the transference and recontextualization of a pristine national ethos into the modern nation-state.<sup>13</sup>

The construction of national history and identity follows a modular principle in many cases. In his book *Nations and Nationalism*, Gellner described the characteristic steps of the nation and the history it narrates.<sup>14</sup> The new emerging fictive state called "Ruritania" is used as a placeholder for any nation that seeks independence and the right to self-determination from "Megalomania," the antagonist of Ruritania. It is surprising to see the many parallels between Gellner's abstract description of these emergent states and real ones. The formation of nation-states is not isomorphic, however. Although they draw on similar concepts that imagine, model, adapt, and transform the nation, the overall frame of the nation is filled with the specific elements and ingredients that differentiate the nation from others and highlight its uniqueness. It is therefore vital to single out these elements in order to comprehend their interconnectedness and the meaning and truth they create within the national collective.

The nineteenth-century national historiographies drew on elements and histories from the mythical age, long before the nation came into existence. It is characteristic of

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<sup>11</sup> Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>14</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 59.

national myths to deal with outstanding events and present national figures in a subjective light. The narrative is based on selective interpretations: some events are told with more detail, whereas others are neglected in order to convey the desired version of a past. Myths narrate complex stories in a restructured way so that the listeners may easily follow and locate themselves within the groups represented. Political myths incorporate the basic values and virtues of a social group. Hein-Kircher distinguishes three types of basic political myths: myths about persons, myths about historical events, and myths of origins. Myths are part of the collective remembrance that holds the nation together. The represented past corresponds with the rules of collective memory. It is concrete, idealized, and a simplified explanation of the past. In the national context, myths emphasize the historical achievements of the nation.<sup>15</sup> This is an important aspect that geographically defines the collective within the national borders and highlights difference from others.

National rituals such as commemoration ceremonies also play a pivotal role in the sacralization of specific national elements. Remembrance culture serves as a medium to locate the past in the present. The term “collective memory” emerged in 1902 and was later used by Maurice Halbwachs to describe the *mémoire collective* as a social phenomenon.<sup>16</sup> Collective memory is directly interdependent with *cadres sociaux* [social frames] or social groups and would be lost if the group dissolved. Halbwachs saw a great difference between history and collective memory because the first aimed to represent an unbiased and universal view. Pierre Nora supports Halbwachs’ basic theses in his work *Lieux de Mémoire* [Realms of Memory]. He also highlighted the opposing notions of “history” and “memory.” “History,” as an incomplete representation of the past, aims to reconstruct the past through analytical and critical argumentation. In contrast, memory was more subject to change because it is derived from persons and groups that remember but also forget, interpret but also reinterpret the past.<sup>17</sup> The realms of memory are an artificial and intentional construct that were shaped under the contemporary influence of their times. They reinforce the common ties of a society, highlight uniqueness, and level out differences. This type of memory is based on the premise of continuity with the past and creates parameters with which individuals of the same community identify themselves.<sup>18</sup> The eternal existence of memories is expressed in realms of memory such as museums, anniversaries, monuments, and other important sites.<sup>19</sup> Hence, memory is not a phenomenon of the past but is in constant contact with the present. Realms of memories have three dimensions that appear together and are always in relation to each other. These dimensions are of material, sym-

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<sup>15</sup> Heidi Hein-Kircher and Hans Henning Hahn, eds., *Erinnerungsorte, Mythen und Stereotypen in Europa* (Wrocław: ATUT, 2008), 20–21.

<sup>16</sup> Kerwin Lee Klein, “On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse,” *Representations*, 2000, 127. See also Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Pierre Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, trans. Wolfgang Kaiser (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1990), 12–13.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

bolical, and functional nature. A musical piece, for example, may exist as a written score (material), may be used to accompany an event (functional), but may also commemorate and mourn the fallen (symbolic). The piece, however, does not actually constitute those three levels per se; rather, they are assigned by human agency. According to Assmann, cultural memory is a social construction of formative versions of the past.<sup>20</sup> At collective and institutional levels, the processes of collective memory do not follow psychological mechanisms but, rather, the intentional politics of remembrance and forgetting.<sup>21</sup> The interpretation of the past depends on the present view and may change during the course of time. As Italo Svevo observed: “The present directs the past like members of an orchestra. It needs only these tones and no others.”<sup>22</sup> According to Svevo, the view of the past depended on the priorities that weigh more heavily in the present. The remembered past is entangled with notions of identity. The reconstructed identity is concrete, organized, shaped, mandatory, and reflexive.<sup>23</sup> It is concrete, highlights differences from other identities, and downplays the differences that exist within the same social group. It is therefore often politically motivated for the purpose of creating a national identity. The remembrance which is used for this purpose is, as Assmann puts it, *imaginaire* [imaginary]—not in the sense that it is fictive, but as in Anderson’s model, that it is fabricated and invented.<sup>24</sup> Winter explained his preference for the term “historical remembrance” over the term “collective memory” or “history.” The term “collective memory” is often used as an umbrella term that merges all social and psychological phenomena together, such as traditions, historical consciousness, monuments, commemorations, and historical experience.<sup>25</sup> Similar to the previously mentioned authors, Winter also sees the act of history and memory not as a natural outcome of a group of people but as a result of social agency. These social agents shape the way people perceive the past by their actions and, therefore, the way they remember the past and shape remembrance culture.<sup>26</sup> Winter cites in his thesis, for instance, the so-called “memory boom” that followed World War II and became a phenomenon in many industrialized and “affluent” nations that mourned their fallen. These concepts of “collective memory” or “historical remembrance” were also vital for defining the national collective and hence the imagined nation.

The different models of the nations can be categorized into the *Kulturnation* [Cultural Nationalism], where cultural elements such as language, literature, and religion de-

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<sup>20</sup> Astrid Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen: Eine Einführung*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2011), 128.

<sup>21</sup> Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, C. H. Beck Kulturwissenschaft (München: C. H. Beck, 1999), 15.

<sup>22</sup> “Die Gegenwart dirigiert die Vergangenheit wie die Mitglieder eines Orchesters. Sie benötigt diese Töne und keine anderen.” *Ibid.*, 17. My translation from German.

<sup>23</sup> Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen*, 31–32.

<sup>24</sup> Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*, 83.

<sup>25</sup> Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen*, 112.

<sup>26</sup> J. M. Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 3–12.

fine a nation; another model is the *Staatsnation* [Political Nationalism], which is political nationalism in accordance with the spirit of French nationalism.<sup>27</sup> In the early nineteenth century, nationalism had more universal features and was inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment. It was assumed that the nation was shaped by a group of people that shared one language and history. Nationalism in this early stage aimed to educate and teach the country's own people about their culture and history. The existence of other peoples and nations was, however, recognized and respected, since nationalism was seen as an inherent aspect of mankind. The Second Republic in France in 1848 was celebrated as the victory of all the peoples of Europe in fulfilling the political promises of 1789.<sup>28</sup>

These humanist and universalist ideas of the nation from the early nineteenth century were gradually given up after the French Revolution in 1848, and national culture in the whole of Europe underwent a process of popularization and politicization.<sup>29</sup> The initial "universal nationalism" gave way to more competitive nationalisms, which came into conflict with other nations and saw their development as a potential threat.<sup>30</sup> This tendency became more accelerated and far-reaching after the Franco-German War. The new political orientation also influenced the realm of culture and, hence, also music. From the 1870s onwards, national songs that dealt with political or historical events were rapidly disseminated in flyers. Their content would be set to already-known melodies that had a similar symbolic message to the new song.<sup>31</sup> The national song became the medium that expressed national claims. Political groups recognized the power of music and its versatile usage for political aims. Anthems as well as patriotic songs served as catalysts to instill nationalist ideology. Anderson highlighted the importance of the moment of "unisonance" and the experience of simultaneity when a community sings the same text to the same melody together. The power of the "imagined sound" could create a feeling of unity among the national community. It was best expressed in music that is performed on national holidays and ceremonies.<sup>32</sup> Music and songs had the power to inculcate national ideas and virtues and reinforce national identity. Nationalist songs drew on old campaigns, heroes, and legends of the mythical past and conjured them in the present. In the *fin-de-siècle*, the aspect of ethnicity in music became gradually more pronounced. The national character in music became related to race theory and questions of national origins.

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<sup>27</sup> Murphy, "Introduction," 3.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>29</sup> Philip Vilas Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History*, ABC-CLIO World Music Series (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 50.

<sup>30</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, California Studies in 19th Century Music 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 76–77.

<sup>31</sup> Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism*, 55.

<sup>32</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 145.

## The State of Art and Previous Literature

Since the 2000s, nationalism studies in Greece and Turkey have led to fruitful output and collaborative work between Turkish, Greek, and international scholars who approached this topic from different angles. A comprehensive list of literature would go beyond the purpose of this chapter. Therefore, the following will provide a selection of relevant works.

As a study in the field of historical musicology, this thesis followed models of comparative historiographic research that were conducted in the same geographical topographies. In recent years, the benefits of a comparative approach have been recognized by many researchers and gained weight in the study of Turkish and modern Greek history. One example of this trend was the historical analysis of the emergent nation-states of Greece and Turkey provided by Sophos and Özkırmı. <sup>33</sup> In their study, they discussed the paths that the two nations took to construct their respective nations and national identities. Grigoriadis also benefited from a comparative approach, casting light on the milestones of nationalism in both nations. <sup>34</sup> In his work, the author focuses on the period from the Greek Enlightenment to the Turkish military coup in 1980, dealing with the most relevant and popular myths and claims that helped forge a national history and collective in both nations. In a similar way, the omnibus volume edited by Frangoudaki and Keyder sheds further light on the different historical, political, social, and cultural dimensions of Greek and Turkish nation-state building. <sup>35</sup> A good account of the consequences of “State-Nationalism” from the emergence of Greece in 1830 until the end of World War II is given in the volume edited by Fortna, Katsikas, Kamouzis and Konortas. <sup>36</sup> The volume is structured according to the most relevant political periods and looks at the intersection between Ottoman citizenry and emergent national movements. Additionally, it describes the impact of nationalist thought on the minorities in both nations. Due to the multi-ethnic structure of the Ottoman Empire, it would be more correct to speak of “nationalisms” instead of the singular form of the word. In his study, Feroz Ahmed observed the relationship between Turkish nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire and other emerging nationalisms of minority groups, such as Greek, Armenian and Arabic nationalism. <sup>37</sup> Other scholars have also studied Ottoman-Greek subjects in the grip of nationalism. For exam-

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<sup>33</sup> Umut Özkırmı and Spyros A. Sophos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (London: Hurst, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A “Sacred Synthesis,”* Palgrave Pivot (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>35</sup> Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder, *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850–1950* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007).

<sup>36</sup> Benjamin C. Fortna et al., eds., *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830–1945*, SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East 17 (London; New York: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>37</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities: Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, and Arabs, 1908–1918* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014). For an account of the Young Turk and Arabic nationalism, see Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

ple, Eksertzoglou<sup>38</sup> and Zborowski<sup>39</sup> give a thorough account of the impact of the Greek Philological Society in Istanbul, which in the Ottoman-Greek context played an important role in education, history, and identity. Another good introduction to the complex field of Greek- and Ottoman-Greek citizenry can be found in Gondicas and Issawi's book, which filled in many blank spots around the organization of the Ottoman-Greek subjects in the Ottoman Empire and their relation to the neighboring Greek nation-state.<sup>40</sup>

Nationalism studies were not limited to historiography, political sciences, sociology, and anthropology but also caught the attention of many other disciplines. Nationalism and national sentiment were also expressed in the arts and, thus, in music. The phenomenon of Greek and Turkish nationalism being expressed in music has been mostly studied by researchers of the respective nations in the twentieth century. In recent decades, the nationalist reading has been mostly given up in favor of a more scholarly and unbiased reading. One good example of this new trend was the research project *Intercommunal Musical Geographies of Late Ottoman Istanbul*. Although by now there is a considerable number of articles in English, the latest and most important literature is still available only in Greek or Turkish. The more recent publications in English facilitate access to this intriguing and complex topic to a broader readership. The *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* published a special issue on Greece in 2011 that gives an overview of the rich facets of Greek identity in music.<sup>41</sup> As in many other European nations, Greek identity was also negotiated on stage in theater plays and operas. The volume, which was published by the musicological department of the Ionian University, gives a lively account of Greek opera life and highlights the historical and cultural entanglements with other musical currents in Europe.<sup>42</sup> The latest omnibus volume, edited by Tambakaki, Vlagopoulos, Levidou, and Beaton revised Greek music history and reevaluated primary sources in a new light. In three parts, the book takes a retrospective look at Greek music historiography, music institutions, and the vicissitudes that Greek music underwent in the name of modernization. This volume also includes a chapter on national poetry and songs.<sup>43</sup> Kokkonis' research about the Greek national music debate is a less-known but important contribution. In his study, he ana-

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<sup>38</sup> Eksertzoglou looks at the Greek Philological Society in Istanbul between the years 1861–1912 and gives insights into the organization of Ottoman-Greek identity and education. Charēs Eksertzoglou, *Ethnikē tavtotēta stēn Kōnstantinoupolē tou 19<sup>o</sup> aiōna: ho Ellēnikos Philologikos Syllogos Kōnstantinoupoleōs* (Athens: Nephelē Istoria, 1996).

<sup>39</sup> Antje Zborowski, *Griechisch, Osmanisch, Modern—Spätosmanische Identitäten: Der Griechische Philologische Verein in Konstantinopel 1861–1911/12*. *Istanbuler Texte und Studien* 42 (Baden-Baden: Ergon Verlag, 2019).

<sup>40</sup> Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1999).

<sup>41</sup> "Music in Nineteenth-Century Greece." *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 8, no. 1 (2011): 17–39 (Cambridge University Press, 2011), doi:10.1017/S1479409811000218.

<sup>42</sup> Ionian University Department of Music Hellenic Music Research Lab and Corfu Philharmonic Society, eds., *Opera and the Greek World during the Nineteenth Century* (Corfu, 2019).

<sup>43</sup> Polina Tambakaki et al., eds., *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 19 (London; New York: Routledge, 2020).

lyzed the narratives of the Greek music debate, referred to important key stakeholders and provided an account of the narratives that existed in intellectual circles in the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

National identity and its relationship to music had also become an important research topic among Turkish scholars. However, the main focus of the symbiotic relationship between music and nationhood was mostly on the period of the early Turkish Republic from 1923 onwards. Sağlam's and Balkılıç's volumes describe the musical reforms and the reorganization of the musical infrastructure in the initial years of the Turkish Republic that aimed to forge a Turkish national music.<sup>45</sup> Another important contribution to Turkish nationalism and folklore studies was Öztürkmen's seminal work.<sup>46</sup> There, she points to the pioneers and early thinkers of Turkish nationalist thought in the late Ottoman Empire and describes the institutional infrastructure in which music was selected and organized according to nationalist ideologies. Aksoy's contributions can be considered an early example, where he transcended the national reading of music sources in his numerous works and articles.<sup>47</sup> Although many Turkish and international publications have researched the several reforms of Ottoman music,<sup>48</sup> an in-depth study and evaluation of the available music sources is still lacking. The same applies to an unbiased history of "Ottoman music" that revises and questions claims which became established through a Turkish reading and which sought to appropriate or reject musical elements. The omnibus volume edited by Martin Greve was an initial step towards revisiting Ottoman music history and overcoming a national reading. The volume sheds further light on the different facets

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44 Kokkonis, Georges. "Composer l'identité nationale: la musique grecque au miroir de la littérature musicologique." *Études balkaniques* 13 (2006): 59–104.; Georges Kokkonis, *La question de la grécité dans la musique néohellénique*, Textes, documents, études sur le monde byzantin, néohellénique et balkanique 9 (Paris: Éditions de l'Association Pierre Belon, 2008).

45 Özgür Balkılıç, *Cumhuriyet, halk ve müzik: Türkiye'de müzik reformu 1922–1952* (Ankara: Tan, 2009); Özgür Balkılıç, *Temiz ve soylu türküler söyleyelim: Türkiye'de milli kimlik inşasında halk müziği*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015); Atilla Sağlam, *Türk musiki/müzik devrimi* (Bursa: Alfa Aktüel Yayınları, 2009).

46 Arzu Öztürkmen, "Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993).

47 Cf. Bülent Aksoy and Cem Behar, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e musiki ve batılılaşma," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1211–36; Bülent Aksoy, "Is the Question of the Origin of Turkish Music Not Redundant?," *Turkish Music Quarterly: Journal of the Center for Turkish Music/University of Maryland Baltimore County* 2, no. 4 (1989): 1–7; Bülent Aksoy, *Geçmişin musiki mirasına bakışlar* (Istanbul: Pan, 2008); Bülent Aksoy, "Preliminary Notes on the Possibility (or Impossibility) of Writing Ottoman Musical History," in *Writing the History of "Ottoman Music"*, ed. Martin Greve, *Istanbul Texts and Studien* 33 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2015), 15–33.

48 Cf. Martin Greve, *Die Europäisierung orientalischer Kunstmusik in der Türkei*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe XXXVI, Musikwissenschaft 142 (Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 1995); Ralf Martin Jäger, "Musikalische Schriftlichkeit und der Wandel der türkischen Kunstmusik im 19. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien* 8, no. 1 (1995): 177–97; Jäger, Ralf Martin. "Osmanische Musikkultur zwischen Orient und Okzident: Der Beginn der kompositorischen Auseinandersetzung mit Europa an der Schwelle zum 20. Jahrhundert." In *Musik verbindet uns. Festschrift für Marianne Bröcker*, edited by Heidi Christ, 51–62. Veröffentlichungsreihe der Forschungsstelle für fränkische Volksmusik der Bezirke Mittel-, Ober- und Unterfranken 62. Uffenheim, 2006. Pars Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1986); Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, *Türk askeri muzikaları tarihi* (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955).

of Ottoman music, such as theory, history, and political implications, and pleads for ways to (re)write the history of Ottoman music.<sup>49</sup> Eugenia Popescu-Judetz already recognized and drew attention to a relatively early stage of the mutual influences in Ottoman music among Greeks, Ottomans, and Romanians.<sup>50</sup> Kerovpyan, Jäger, and Olley also shed further light on the influence of the Ottoman-Armenian community on the field of Ottoman music and music literacy.<sup>51</sup> Bilal's work can also be considered a study related to political ideology at the intersection of Armenian and Ottoman music. In her thesis, she studied the lullabies of the Ottoman-Armenian community and the political ideas that they implied.<sup>52</sup> In a similar way, Plemmenos' study on the Greek Phanariots in the frame of Ottoman music, Kalaitzidis' catalogue of post-Byzantine music manuscripts, and Kappler's edition of nineteenth-century Ottoman-Greek song anthologies showed the important contribution of Ottoman-Greek editors and musicians to Ottoman music.<sup>53</sup> The most recent and closest publication related to the research focus of the present study is Merih Erol's volume.<sup>54</sup> Her historical analysis describes the stance of the Ottoman-Greek community in Istanbul in relation to important questions of identity and music. Her comprehensive study, which also considered archival evidence, describes the organizational infrastructure that made the exchange of ideas about relevant questions among the Greek-speaking communities possible. As an historian, she focused, among other things, on intellectual history and gave a detailed account of the debates on Greek music in the era of reforms and renewal. In her work, she pointed to the impact of national thought on music and considered the intellectual currents based on primary sources that were also published in other Greek-speaking places. As a researcher familiar with Ottoman and Greek (music) history, her work can be considered one of the most important contributions in English in

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<sup>49</sup> Martin Greve, ed., *Writing the History of "Ottoman Music,"* Istanbul Texts and Studies 33 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2015).

<sup>50</sup> Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Meanings in Turkish Musical Culture* (Istanbul: Pan, 1996); Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Three Comparative Essays on Turkish Music* (Istanbul: Pan Yayincilik, 2010); Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, ed., *Sources of 18th-Century Music: Panayiotes Chalatzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos' Comparative Treatises on Secular Music*, (Istanbul: Pan Yayincilik, 2000); Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *XVIII. Yüzyıl musiki yazmalarından Kevserî mecmuası üstüne karşılaştırmalı bir inceleme*, trans. Bülent Aksoy (Istanbul: Pan Yayincılık, 1998).

<sup>51</sup> Aram Kerovpyan, *Klasik osmanlı müziği ve Ermeniler*, trans. Altuğ Yılmaz, (Istanbul: Surp Pirgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfi, 2010); Ralf Martin Jäger, *Türkische Kunstmusik und ihre handschriftlichen Quellen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert*, Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster 7. (Eisenach: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1996); Ralf Martin Jäger, *Katalog der Hamparsum-notası-Manuskripte im Archiv des Konservatoriums der Universität Istanbul*, Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster 7. (Eisenach: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1996); Jacob Olley, "Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul: Ottoman Armenians and the Invention of Hamparsum Notation" (Doctoral Dissertation, United Kingdom, King's College London, 2017).

<sup>52</sup> Melissa Bilal, "Thou Need'st Not Weet, for I Have Wept Full Sore: An Effective Genealogy of the Armenian Lullaby in Turkey" (Doctoral Dissertation, Chicago, University of Chicago, 2013).

<sup>53</sup> Kalaitzidis, *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)*; Matthias Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik in Griechisch-Osmanischen Liedanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2002); John Plemmenos, *Ottoman Minority Musics: The Case of Eighteenth-Century Greek Phanariots* (Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert Academic Pub., 2010).

<sup>54</sup> Merih Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music in Ottoman Istanbul: Nation and Community in the Era of Reform*, Ethnomusicology Multimedia (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

this field. Her study focuses on the historical dimension of Greek national thought and its sociological and cultural impact on music. However, the study and analysis of primary music sources that would represent nationalist thought expressed through the medium of music has only a marginal place in her study since she takes a more historical approach. Additionally, although she considered the rise of Turkish nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire in her approach, the focal point in her study remains the Greek community of Istanbul. Neither the comparative nor a musicological approach have priority in her study. A musicological approach to this complex topic also allows us to consider, beyond the intellectual discourse, how those ideas were applied, became manifest, and materialized in music scores and song anthologies.

## **Research Question and Methodology**

In order to deconstruct and transcend the nationalist reading, a musicological analysis of both the national music narrative as well as other musical materials is necessary. Being familiar with existing global ideological currents turned out to be beneficial for a trans-cultural understanding of the sources. This helped the sources to be read more as an expression of both local and global trends instead of being considered unique, characteristic, and peculiar to one nation. Hence, the national reading of music should be understood as a constructed narrative and as a residue of a past ideological current that has partly survived until today and has not been fully overcome yet. The scope of this research project is, therefore, to overcome the limitations that this reading has set, which was fostered by the academic disciplines themselves. In this way, this study aims to provide a better understanding of how nationalist concepts were transferred and introduced in Greece and Turkey and how they became manifest and were expressed in the field of music.

National identity was expressed through music in various forms. Music stood in the service of the nation and helped to glorify, celebrate, or mourn important national heroes and emperors, as well as historical events. Music had the power to reinforce ties within the national collective, represent the nation to an international audience, or demonstrate national power. The late nineteenth-century folk song, for example, became the embodiment of the pure and authentic national spirit. The boundaries between folk songs and national songs became blurred: nationalist ideas were expressed in patriotic songs. The latter were also used to commemorate important national dates, symbols, and images where the ideals of the nation were codified. Thus, this study looks at how music codified national culture and how it was conveyed through music. The intention of this study is to offer a better understanding of how a nation-state such as Greece dealt with the question of music and national identity in contrast to a multi-ethnic empire that sought ways to face rising nationalisms and keep the different communities of its territory under control. Was there only one “Greek” or “Turkish” national identity and only one national music, or was this a topic that had to be negotiated over a long period of time? Who were the key stakeholders, and

what arguments were brought forth to answer the question of what “Turkish,” “Ottoman,” or “Greek” music actually was? Why was it necessary to define it at all?

Because music and national identity in Greece and Turkey is a broad field of study that exceeds the scope of a dissertation, this contribution is considered to be one subchapter in an “unfinished book.” At an early stage, this broad topic had to be narrowed down to focus on two main aspects where music and national identity became manifest: one was the intellectual discourse on music and national identity; the other was how national ideology became manifest in music. As this study takes a comparative approach, the selected research topics had to allow comparison of how music conveyed national ideas in Greece and in the Ottoman Empire. Although national identity had been negotiated throughout the nineteenth century, this study mainly focuses on the time period from the 1870s to the 1920s, when “romantic nationalism” had reached its peak.

As follows, this study fills in an important research gap in different ways. To begin with, this study aims to draw scholarly attention to an understudied research field. Although it mainly focuses on the differences and parallels between music and national identity in Greece and Turkey, its rich entanglements were obviously also derived from ideological currents of west Europe. Therefore, this research not only addresses Greek or Turkish scholars, but also many other international researchers that deal with similar questions. In order to access this topic, it was necessary to consult various sources that were written in different languages. It is likely that language barriers have prevented researchers from studying these complex sources. A comparative approach in this context requires a vast array of skills to access and evaluate the sources. Since this research has been written in English and has provided translations for many of the case studies, readers that are not familiar with Greek, Turkish, German or French will have the chance to gain insights into various primary sources that have been available only in the original language. Likewise, this research contributes to the body of nationalism studies due to its interdisciplinary approach. An in-depth study of musical materials is imperative to comprehend the interconnectedness of music, nation, and identity in a broader context. In this research, musicological methodology turned out to be vital in order to gain new perspectives on Greek and Ottoman musical sources. Although the main approach is based on historical musicology, this study also benefited from a comparative approach because it looks at how the concepts and findings of nationalism studies are applicable in Greece and Turkey. In this way, this study supplies a previously lacking, thorough analysis of the intellectual history in Ottoman and Greek music and provides numerous case studies that exemplify how ideas of nationalism became manifest, particularly in school songs and other music genres that were relevant to shaping the national collective.

As this dissertation touches upon many topics that are related to different academic disciplines, it may have some shortcomings. The author of this study is aware of the fact that there were many more aspects, sources, and music genres that contributed to the formation of national identities in Greece and Turkey through music. They could not be dealt with in this dissertation, as they form a related but different field of study. Even the few case studies in this dissertation are only some examples out of a whole corpus that would

have deserved a more detailed analysis with additional case studies. This dissertation can only shed light on a very limited aspect within a whole field that needs further research and scholarly dedication.

## Key Sources and Dissertation Outline

One of the greatest challenges in this dissertation was coping with the several different languages in which the primary sources were written. The deeper the research proceeded, the more unexpected connections and writings had to be reckoned with for this study. The nineteenth-century Greek sources are mostly written in an archaic, purified form of Modern Greek (*katharevousa*), and Ottoman sources similarly used an Ottoman Turkish that does not have much in common with today's standardized Turkish. This study also benefited from a series of French sources, which had fueled the "orientalist" music debate. It was unexpected to find many links to Germanophone sources that, in one way or another, had to be considered in order to grasp the complex entanglements in a more holistic fashion. Many of the sources were difficult to find and access. Some of them have been digitized, others are scattered in several libraries. The music scores that this dissertation used were printed in different music notations. Apart from staff notation, some of the sources had been published in Chrysanthine and Hampartsum notation. In order for the reader to be able to follow the musical analysis, this thesis provides an edition of the songs in the appendix section that can also be accessed by a broader scholarly community. The same applies to the song lyrics, which were, for the most part, originally given in the Greek or Arabic alphabet.

Needless to say, the Greek and Turkish music sources of the late nineteenth century can be understood best when they are read in their historical context. Therefore, it is indispensable to consider the intellectual history of national music and relevant ideas related to it. The first part of the dissertation makes use of a series of primary sources that reflect on the questions of Greek music and national identity. The sources consist of Greek and late Ottoman journal and newspaper articles that were written by both well-known and lesser-known authors between the 1850s and 1920s. Besides the journal articles, the prefaces of song anthologies and books that expressed different ideas about the restoration of national music (for example, Greek music) served as fruitful sources for understanding the stances that existed on Greek music among the different stakeholders. The "national crisis" that led to these discussions was triggered from outside of Greek borders, where some intellectuals questioned whether there was something such as a "Greek national character" in music. This "crisis" in music, which also reached the Middle East, was especially fueled by French scholars. During this period, France was in a phase of transition and redefinition of its distinct national culture. Various race theories emerged that sought to prove cultural kinship among the different peoples and their common ancestors. In the field of musicology, it was Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray who dedicated himself to the study of

Greek music in order to search for and find a heritage that both nations shared.<sup>55</sup> The same topics were addressed by Turkish intellectuals only towards the end of the nineteenth century. Âsım Bey and Rauf Yekta, among others, also shared their thoughts in articles in well-known newspapers that had a section dedicated to the “science of music,” such as in the journal *Malûmât*. Many Ottomans were also confronted with the need to reform their national music according to Western models.

These ideological currents partly entered the realm of music education in schools, which is the main topic of the second section of Parts One and Two. The relevance of this issue has been recognized by a few scholars of both nations, who had carried out some preliminary research on school music in Greece and Turkey.<sup>56</sup> Thanks to a well-developed printing infrastructure and the influence of foreign scholarship, Greeks had started compiling school song anthologies much earlier than the Ottomans. The earlier school song anthologies only existed without music notation, whereas those with notation started from the 1870s onwards. In Ottoman Turkey, the situation was quite different. Although the school system had been reformed in the late 1860s, the only known school song anthologies date back to the time of the Second Constitutional Period, which started in 1908. Since school education was a result of modern state politics, it turned out to be beneficial to look at similar phenomena in other states. Wilfried Gruhn’s work was especially helpful to develop a better understanding of school song education in the European context.<sup>57</sup> The school song education in the German-speaking world seemed to have played an important role and served as a model that was worth adopting for both nations. As this study will show, the two nations had both differences and similarities when they sought to design new school song anthologies to shape the minds and national character of children. The Greeks started earlier and clearly followed trends that were contemporary in Europe, including their melodies. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century did the two nations form their own understanding of what elements in lyrics and music were best suited to their nationals. Although the melodies were different from each other, the principles they followed showed many striking parallels.

This thesis has already located the research topic within the broader framework of nationalism studies and has introduced relevant concepts in the field of music and musicology. This basic knowledge can be understood as the common ground on which the following chapters are constructed. The introduction chapter is followed by the main body of the research, which is structured in three parts. Part One examines how music contrib-

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<sup>55</sup> The idea of an Aryan race was not only limited to biological features but also included notions of culture. For a detailed account on the idea of races in France in the later nineteenth century, see J. Pasler, “Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France: Music as Emblem of Identity,” *The Musical Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (2006): 459–504, <https://doi.org/10.1093/musqtl/gdn002>.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Iōannēs tou Panagiōtēs Stavrou, “Hē ellēnikē paradosiakē mousikē stēn prōtovathmia ekpaidevsē: istorikē anaskopēsē – sēmerinē pragmatikotēta” (Doctoral Dissertation, Corfu, Ionian University, 2004); Erhan Özden, *Osmanlı mârifî’nde mûsikî*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları. IV/A-2-2.9. dizi, sayı 5 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015); Selma Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı’da çocuk mûsikisi* (Istanbul: Fanus Kitap, 2014).

<sup>57</sup> Wilfried Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung: Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte vom Gesangsunterricht der Aufklärungspädagogik zu ästhetisch-kultureller Bildung*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993).

uted to the construction of national identity on the western side of the Aegean, namely Greece, whereas Part Two sheds further light on the same question on the eastern side of the Aegean, namely the Ottoman Empire. The conclusion chapter first compares the findings, then discusses and answers the research questions that have been stated before.

The beginnings of Parts One and Two each have a section on intellectual history. These sections deal with ideological currents in the respective nations and how these currents affected notions about national music. Journal articles and prefaces of song anthologies give important insights into the arguments of the different interest groups that debated questions of national music.<sup>58</sup> There was, however, one methodological problem that derived from the chronological incongruency of Greek and Turkish sources. Whereas in the Greek-speaking world a lively music debate had already started in the 1870s, in the Turkish-speaking world, the discussions on music in the context of national identity did not seem to start until the late 1890s. This, however, does not mean that the topics being discussed in the Greek music debate remained completely unnoticed on the Ottoman side. Before the Ottomans started the music debate in journals, some earlier music scores suggest that the ideas of the same debates must have been noticed already since the 1870s.

Parts One and Two also contain a comprehensive analysis of musical case studies that shed further light on the context of music and national identity in school education. Hroch considered education to be a prerequisite to forging the modern nation.<sup>59</sup> It was in the educational institutions where the national self-awareness of the collective was shaped, and the constructed national values inculcated. School songs form part of this curriculum, which had an important impact on the formation of the collective and, thus, national identity. In the last third of the nineteenth century, there was a rising number of school song anthologies in Greece. Among various educational songs, patriotic songs had become an important element in school music education. This chapter will also trace the change between the repertoire and reception of the school song anthologies that appeared as early as the 1870s and those of a later period in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The analysis of Turkish school song anthologies will focus on volumes from the early twentieth century, marking the first compilation of school songs. Additionally, the case studies in Part Two include two Ottoman songs that were imbued with national meaning in the course of the twentieth century. In this context, not only Ottoman-Turkish but also Ottoman-Greek sources will be consulted to tell the “entire story” of the songs that were redefined and reshaped in the light of Turkish nationalist thought.

The case studies that have been selected for this dissertation were all taken from Greek and Turkish school song anthologies for two reasons: firstly, they allow a comparative study, and secondly, they give fascinating insights into a corpus that has hardly been

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<sup>58</sup> See Kaitē Romanou, *Ethnikēs mousikēs periēgēsis, 1901–1912: ellēnika mousika periodika ōs pēgē erevnas tēs istorias tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs*, vol. 1 (Athens: Koultoura, 1996), 31–95.

<sup>59</sup> Miroslav Hroch, “National Romanticism,” in *National Romanticism: The Formation of National Movements*, edited by Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček, translated by Derek Paton. Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945) (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007), 14, <http://books.openedition.org/ceup/2245?lang=en> (accessed 12 Nov. 2024).

studied. National ideology was best expressed in one key music genre for this research, which was patriotic songs. Besides important statistical information, the study also looked at the repertoire that was taught. What was characteristic of “patriotic” or “heroic” songs back in the latter nineteenth century? What topics, images, memories, and visions did they draw on? What models did they follow? What musical techniques were used to put across or trigger patriotic sentiments? For the analysis, this study singled out a few case studies, which can be seen as exemplary of many others. The intention was to show the different facets of the patriotic songs that were taught at schools and the way they were constructed to fulfill the desired purpose.



**Part One:**  
**Forging National Music**  
**on the West Side**  
**of the Aegean**



# 1

## 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.<sup>60</sup>

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

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<sup>60</sup> 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*<sup>61</sup> 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.”<sup>62</sup> From this point on, the discussions around Greek culture and identity served to claim their legitimate position among the “civilized” European nations.<sup>63</sup>

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.<sup>64</sup> The first Greek newspaper was printed in 1784 in Vienna, followed by the *Ephēmeris* [Newspaper] founded in 1790 which translated literature of the Enlightenment

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<sup>61</sup> 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).

<sup>62</sup> Özkırmılı and Sophos, *Tormented by History*, 79.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>64</sup> 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 Pherraios<sup>65</sup> published, with the help of the printing house of the Pouliou brothers, his revolutionary ideas.<sup>66</sup> *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.<sup>67</sup> The *Phanariot hospodar*<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> 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

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<sup>65</sup> 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).

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

<sup>67</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> 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.

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

<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> 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,”<sup>72</sup> 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,”<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> 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?*,<sup>76</sup> 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

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<sup>71</sup> 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).

<sup>72</sup> 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.

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

<sup>74</sup> Turczynski, *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte Griechenlands im 19. Jahrhundert*, 14.

<sup>75</sup> 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.

<sup>76</sup> “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.<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup> 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).<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup>

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.<sup>81</sup> Ancient Greek aesthetics became a fashion, visible in the emergent German neoclassicist architecture, where ancient and modern elements fused.<sup>82</sup> Within a few years, Athens was restructured in neoclassical style, street- and

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<sup>77</sup> Renierēs, translated according to Kitroeff (2007, 314).

<sup>78</sup> 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.

<sup>79</sup> 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).

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

<sup>81</sup> 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.

<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup>

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.<sup>85</sup> In this context, Kōnstantinos Paparrēgopoulos’ and Spyridōn Zambelios’<sup>86</sup> 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*<sup>87</sup> (1852) and *Byzantine Studies*<sup>88</sup> (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*<sup>89</sup> and priests armed with swords and holy icons into the war for liberty. The illustration’s title, “Kōnstantinos ho Palaiologos for God and Country,”<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> 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-

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

<sup>84</sup> 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.

<sup>85</sup> 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).

<sup>86</sup> 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).

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

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

<sup>89</sup> Klephts were partisans who initiated the Greek Revolution. See also Chapter 1.4.6

<sup>90</sup> “Kōnstantinos ho Palaiologos yper patriδος kai pisteōs.”

<sup>91</sup> 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.”<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> He evaluated the Ottoman occupation positively, because the Byzantine intelligentsia migrated to Europe, which gave rise to scientific progress and initiated the European Enlightenment.<sup>94</sup> He stressed the Greek characteristic of unity through ancient and medieval times and underlined its importance for modern times as well.<sup>95</sup> Kōnstantinos Paparrēgopoulos<sup>96</sup> made another pivotal contribution that contested Fallmerayer’s thesis and supported Greek identity.<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup> 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*,<sup>99</sup> published in five volumes between 1860 and 1874. He claimed unbroken continuity throughout five successive stages of Hellenisms during 4,000 years: Ancient, Macedonian,<sup>100</sup> Chris-

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<sup>92</sup> Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 40.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Clogg, “The Greeks and Their Past,” 26.

<sup>95</sup> 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.

<sup>96</sup> 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.

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

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 19.

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

<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup> In this way, he drew on Iōannēs Kōlettēs'<sup>103</sup> "Great Idea"<sup>104</sup> that aimed to unify all territories with Greek settlements that once belonged to the Byzantine Empire.<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup>

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-

<sup>101</sup> 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.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>103</sup> 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.

<sup>104</sup> 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).

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

<sup>106</sup> 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.”<sup>107</sup> 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 language<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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.”<sup>110</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup> The Greek people could present themselves as the true and rightful descendants of their ancient forefathers.<sup>112</sup> The international impact of the Olympics and the dream of restoring the former splendor of ancient Greece revived endeavors to free regions with

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<sup>107</sup> “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).

<sup>108</sup> 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).

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

<sup>110</sup> 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.

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

<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup> 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.<sup>114</sup> 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.<sup>115</sup> 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.<sup>116</sup>

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.<sup>117</sup> 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

<sup>113</sup> Zelepos, *Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität, 1870–1912*, 166.

<sup>114</sup> Translated from Zelepos 2002, 169.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

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

<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> 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.<sup>120</sup> 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*<sup>121</sup> (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*<sup>122</sup> (1861) and *The Past, Present and the Future of the East*<sup>123</sup> (1876), favored coexistence with Pan-Slavism rather than living under the Ottomans, whom he portrayed as a common enemy of both.<sup>124</sup> 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*<sup>125</sup> (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.<sup>126</sup> 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.

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

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 90–91.

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

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

<sup>124</sup> Zelepos, *Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität, 1870–1912*, 93.

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

<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup> In the Greek context, there had already been several attempts to reform music notation, such as by Hierōnymos of Cyprus<sup>129</sup> and Agapios Palliermos of Chios.<sup>130</sup> 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.<sup>131</sup> 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 orally<sup>132</sup> or based on a notation which served as a mnemonic device. Therefore, systematization and

<sup>127</sup> 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.

<sup>128</sup> 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.

<sup>129</sup> 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.

<sup>130</sup> Gregorio Stathis, “I sistemi alfabetici di scrittura musicale per scrivere la musica bizantina nel periodo 1790–1850,” *Klēronomia: 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.

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

<sup>132</sup> 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*<sup>133</sup> (1832), published in Trieste, became the most influential musical work of the Greek Enlightenment.<sup>134</sup> In contemporary journals, such as the already mentioned *Hermes the Scholar*, Chrysanthos was praised as a supporter of Enlightenment,<sup>135</sup> and his reforms were discussed in the same journal issues as those of Korais'.<sup>136</sup> 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.<sup>137</sup> His method spread easily beyond the borders of Greece.<sup>138</sup> 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.<sup>139</sup> 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."<sup>140</sup> Consequently, he was exiled to his home city, where he started designing a

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

<sup>134</sup> 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.

<sup>135</sup> 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.

<sup>136</sup> 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).

<sup>137</sup> 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).

<sup>138</sup> Rōmanou, *Entechnē ellēnikē mousikē stous neōterous chronous*, 36.

<sup>139</sup> Romanou and Barbaki, "Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece," 60.

<sup>140</sup> 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 Meletios<sup>141</sup> 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.<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>143</sup> 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*.<sup>144</sup> 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,<sup>145</sup> 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."<sup>146</sup> 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.<sup>147</sup>

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

<sup>142</sup> 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.

<sup>143</sup> 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).

<sup>144</sup> "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.

<sup>145</sup> 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).

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

<sup>147</sup> 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 Chourmouzios the Archivist, had already transcribed the *Doxastikon*<sup>148</sup> 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. Pelopidēs<sup>149</sup> praised the Three Teachers’ patriotic contribution to the resuscitation of the nation.<sup>150</sup> 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.”<sup>151</sup> 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,<sup>152</sup> who is referred to as “the earliest teacher and the origi-

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<sup>148</sup> 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>.

<sup>149</sup> 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).

<sup>150</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, 29.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>152</sup> His full name was Iōannēs Sergiou Mansour, born in 676 in Damascus.

nator of our ecclesiastical music.”<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup> 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.<sup>155</sup> 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.”<sup>156</sup>

Rōmanou and Ksanthoudakēs remarked that Chrysanthos’ work was influenced by French, English, Italian, and German music theories.<sup>157</sup> 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.<sup>158</sup> 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,<sup>159</sup> which in the first third of the nineteenth century was also applied in the field of music. Music pedagogy in this context focused

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<sup>153</sup> Pelopidēs in Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 28.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 232.

<sup>156</sup> Lingas, “Canonising Byzantine Chant as Greek Art Music,” 34.

<sup>157</sup> 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>.

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

<sup>159</sup> 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.<sup>160</sup> 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.<sup>161</sup> 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.”<sup>162</sup>

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

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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).

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

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

<sup>162</sup> “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.<sup>163</sup> 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

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<sup>163</sup> 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,<sup>164</sup> August Böckh,<sup>165</sup> Rudolf Westphal,<sup>166</sup> François-Auguste Gevaert,<sup>167</sup> and Albert Thierfelder,<sup>168</sup> who all admired the scholarship and methodology of the ancient Greeks.<sup>169</sup> The prestige that

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<sup>164</sup> 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).

<sup>165</sup> 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>.

<sup>166</sup> 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).

<sup>167</sup> 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).

<sup>168</sup> 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).

<sup>169</sup> 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.<sup>170</sup> 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.<sup>171</sup> 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."<sup>172</sup> Even if Tzetzēs<sup>173</sup> discred-

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<sup>170</sup> 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).

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

<sup>172</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, 247. Translation according to Rōmanou.

<sup>173</sup> Iōannēs Tzetzēs (Johannes Tzetzēs) 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.<sup>174</sup> 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 Mahmud<sup>175</sup> 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.<sup>176</sup> 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.<sup>177</sup>

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*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.

<sup>174</sup> Tzetzēs, *Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche*, 73.

<sup>175</sup> This probably refers to Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839).

<sup>176</sup> 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.

<sup>177</sup> 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,<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup> 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.<sup>180</sup> 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.<sup>181</sup> 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,<sup>182</sup> for example, stated that the Greek people systematized and cultivated their spiritual music, and so conserved “the precious heritage” throughout “the ages of darkness.”<sup>183</sup> Before the 1870s, it is also possible to find alternative arguments about the origins of Greek music. Agathokleous,<sup>184</sup> 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

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<sup>178</sup> 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).

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

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>181</sup> Evtaksias, *Hē ethnikē ēmōn mousikē*, 16.

<sup>182</sup> 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 *Evtērpē* (1830) (Papadopoulos 1890, 340, 356).

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

<sup>184</sup> 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.”<sup>185</sup> 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. Kēltzanidēs<sup>186</sup> 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.”<sup>187</sup> 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*).<sup>188</sup> 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 Porphyrogenitus<sup>189</sup> (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.<sup>190</sup> 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.<sup>191</sup> 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

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

<sup>186</sup> 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.

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

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

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

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

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, δ’–ε’ [iv–v].

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

Arguments underlining continuity in Greek music served to highlight the pure and authentic origins of Greek music. Geōrgios Pachtikos<sup>193</sup> 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.<sup>194</sup>

For those who questioned the pure origins of Greek music, Milēsios gave an answer in a journal article.<sup>195</sup> 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.<sup>196</sup> 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.”<sup>197</sup> 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.<sup>198</sup>

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

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<sup>192</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, 239.

<sup>193</sup> 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).

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

<sup>195</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:3.

the folk song was in full bloom during the medieval Greek period.<sup>199</sup> 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.<sup>200</sup> 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.”<sup>201</sup> 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.<sup>202</sup> 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 Tzetzes, who had studied in Germany, published his treatise *On the Ancient Greek Music in the Greek Church*,<sup>203</sup> where he discredited the works of foreign scholars and reproached them for being tendentious, unscholarly, and superficial.<sup>204</sup> He claimed that only the Greek church music conserved elements of “truly” ancient Greek origin, which the Roman church lacked.<sup>205</sup> He emphasized that the Greek

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

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., κδ’ [xxiv].

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., κε’ [xxv].

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

<sup>203</sup> Tzetzes, *Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche*.

<sup>204</sup> Tzetzes refers to Kiesewetter, Dr. Wilhelm Christ, and Dr. Schafhäutl, who used the writings of Greek singers of recent times. Tzetzes’ 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 (Tzetzes 1874, 8–9). Furthermore, Tzetzes reproached them, as Dr. Christ had already commented, that the conserved elements could not be recognized by the “Nichtgriechen” [Non-Greeks]. Therefore, for Tzetzes, the occidental scholars failed to write a correct Greek music history (Tzetzes 1874, 8).

<sup>205</sup> “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” (Tzetzes 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.<sup>206</sup> 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.”<sup>207</sup>

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’s<sup>208</sup> statement to underline the great significance Greek music had for renowned European composers.<sup>209</sup> 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].”<sup>210</sup> 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

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

<sup>207</sup> Quotation and translation according to Roudometof (1998, 440).

<sup>208</sup> For a detailed reception of Richard Wagner in Greece, see Kourmpāna 2017.

<sup>209</sup> 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).

<sup>210</sup> “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.<sup>211</sup>

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.<sup>212</sup> 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.<sup>213</sup> 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.”<sup>214</sup> 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.<sup>215</sup>

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

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<sup>211</sup> “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.

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

<sup>213</sup> Cf., for example, Thereianos 1875, 19.

<sup>214</sup> By “Asian,” Keīvelēs referred to the music of the Middle East.

<sup>215</sup> “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).<sup>216</sup> 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!<sup>217</sup>

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.<sup>218</sup> 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.”<sup>219</sup> 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-

<sup>216</sup> 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.

<sup>217</sup> “[...] 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).

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 29.

enced directly.<sup>220</sup> 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.<sup>221</sup>

### 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.<sup>222</sup>

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.<sup>223</sup> 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

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 27.

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

<sup>222</sup> “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]).

<sup>223</sup> 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.<sup>224</sup> 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.<sup>225</sup> 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.<sup>226</sup> 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.<sup>227</sup> Evstathios Thereianos<sup>228</sup> argued that Greek church music fell into a state of stagnation and took up foreign melodies and Turkish words, which unmade its miraculous sound.<sup>229</sup> 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

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

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

<sup>226</sup> Vernardakēs, *Logos avtoschedios peri tēs kath’ ēmas ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs*, 22.

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

<sup>228</sup> 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.

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

based on habits.<sup>230</sup> 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.<sup>231</sup> 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.<sup>232</sup>

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*.<sup>233</sup> Tzetzes even called Chrysanthos "a not very educated man"<sup>234</sup> who was not able to fully understand the sources he had read.<sup>235</sup> He claimed that the commission in Istanbul, which had decided on the music reforms in 1818, consisted of people without

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<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>233</sup> Milēsios, "Peri tēs mousikēs tōn neōterōn Ellēnōn," January 1, 1871, 434.

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

<sup>235</sup> "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.<sup>236</sup>

### 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.”<sup>237</sup> 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.”<sup>238</sup> This group, Milēsios concluded, neither

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>237</sup> 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.

<sup>238</sup> “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.<sup>239</sup> 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.”<sup>240</sup> Many decades later, in 1919, it is possible to find similar comments on the Turkish influence on Greek music. N. Theodōros Synadinos<sup>241</sup> 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.”<sup>242</sup> Greek Orthodox church music was considered backwards and, in contrast to ancient Greek music, internationally invisible.<sup>243</sup> 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

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

<sup>240</sup> 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).

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

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

<sup>243</sup> Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklesiastikē mousikē*, 69.

Orthodox cantors who aimed to “elevate” their liturgical music to the same level.<sup>244</sup> The best-known Greek cantors, who intended to innovate Greek music culture in the name of progress, were Iōannēs Chaviaras<sup>245</sup> and Anthimos Nikolaïdēs.<sup>246</sup> Chaviaras collaborated with Benedict Randhartinger<sup>247</sup> in Vienna from 1844 onwards. Both rearranged and harmonized the liturgical chants, which were premiered at the Holy Trinity at Easter 1844.<sup>248</sup> 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.<sup>249</sup>

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

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<sup>244</sup> 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.

<sup>245</sup> 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).

<sup>246</sup> 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.

<sup>247</sup> 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.

<sup>248</sup> 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).

<sup>249</sup> “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.<sup>250</sup>

In a similar way, the community of the St. George Church in Vienna, where the cantor Nikolaïdēs, with Preyer,<sup>251</sup> rearranged liturgical chant, addressed a letter to the Ecumenical Patriarchate stating their reason for introducing tetraphonic singing at the church.<sup>252</sup> 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.<sup>253</sup> After its premiere in 1844 in Vienna, the first volume was published in April 1845.<sup>254</sup> 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,<sup>255</sup> London, and Liverpool. His arrangements were also used under Nikolaos Kanakēs<sup>256</sup> at the Church of Saint Irene of Athens; and under Panagiōtēs Gritsanēs<sup>257</sup> when he was called to Alexandria in 1873.

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>251</sup> 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).

<sup>252</sup> Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklesiastikē mousikē*, 23–24.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>254</sup> 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).

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

<sup>256</sup> 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).

<sup>257</sup> 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.”<sup>258</sup> A more critical stance was taken in an article by Papadopoulos<sup>259</sup> 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.”<sup>260</sup> 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.<sup>261</sup> 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-

<sup>258</sup> Thereianos, “Skepseis peri tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs,” 414.

<sup>259</sup> 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).

<sup>260</sup> “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.

<sup>261</sup> 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.<sup>262</sup>

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]<sup>263</sup> from the Greek church.<sup>264</sup>

### 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.<sup>265</sup> The French defeat in the Franco-Prussian war (1870–1871) and the aftermath of the “Dreyfus

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

<sup>263</sup> In Greek often referred to as “*armonikē symphōnia*.”

<sup>264</sup> Tzetzēs, *Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche*, 104.

<sup>265</sup> 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.<sup>266</sup> 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.<sup>267</sup> France highlighted its kinship with classical Greek and Roman civilizations to prove superiority over the Germans.<sup>268</sup> 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.<sup>269</sup>

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.<sup>270</sup> With this state-

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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).

<sup>266</sup> Pasler, “Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France,” 460.

<sup>267</sup> 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.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>269</sup> Pasler, “Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France,” 472.

<sup>270</sup> 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.<sup>271</sup>

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.”<sup>272</sup> However, he had many criticisms of Greek Orthodox church chant, especially of the *ison*.<sup>273</sup> 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*,<sup>274</sup> and finally confessed his aversion to the *ison* to his acquaintance Aphthonidēs<sup>275</sup> in Istanbul.<sup>276</sup> 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.<sup>277</sup>

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

<sup>271</sup> 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.

<sup>272</sup> “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.

<sup>273</sup> 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).

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

<sup>275</sup> Geörgios 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).

<sup>276</sup> “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).

<sup>277</sup> “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.”<sup>278</sup> 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.<sup>279</sup> 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.”<sup>280</sup>

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.”<sup>281</sup> 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.”<sup>282</sup> 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.”<sup>283</sup> 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-

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<sup>278</sup> “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).

<sup>279</sup> “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].

<sup>280</sup> 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.

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

<sup>282</sup> “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).

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

tion in Greek music.<sup>284</sup> 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.<sup>285</sup>

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."<sup>286</sup> 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.<sup>287</sup> 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.<sup>288</sup> In a pamphlet from 1885, the Greek Musical Commission had already defined the exact pitches in terms of fractions.<sup>289</sup> But Bourgault-Ducoudray complained that the results of the mathematical calculations were not really applicable and were unpractical for performers.<sup>290</sup> 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.

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<sup>284</sup> "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).

<sup>285</sup> "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.

<sup>286</sup> "[...] 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.

<sup>287</sup> "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).

<sup>288</sup> "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).

<sup>289</sup> Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music in Ottoman Istanbul*, 123–27.

<sup>290</sup> 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.<sup>291</sup> 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.”<sup>292</sup> 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.<sup>293</sup> 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 Istanbul<sup>294</sup> 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.<sup>295</sup> 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.”<sup>296</sup> 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-

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<sup>291</sup> 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.

<sup>292</sup> “[...] 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.

<sup>293</sup> 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.

<sup>294</sup> 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).

<sup>295</sup> 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.

<sup>296</sup> 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.<sup>297</sup>

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.<sup>298</sup> Parts of his *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque* were republished in the journal *Mousikē* [Music] and *Ekklesiastikē alētheia* [Ecclesiastic Truth].<sup>299</sup> 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.<sup>300</sup> 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,<sup>301</sup> 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.<sup>302</sup> 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.<sup>303</sup> 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.<sup>304</sup> Therefore,

<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 74.

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

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

<sup>300</sup> 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).

<sup>301</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., ζβ’ [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 Tantalidēs<sup>305</sup> song anthology *Songs to European Melodies*<sup>306</sup> 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.<sup>307</sup> 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.<sup>308</sup>

One of the reactions to this work was published in a newspaper article in the *Ekklesiastikē alētheia*. Dēmētrios Paspallēs<sup>309</sup> drew on Bourgault-Ducoudray’s arguments and contextualized them in the ongoing discussion about the improvement of Greek Orthodox church music.<sup>310</sup> Paspallēs referred to Charles Émile Ruelle’s paper from a conference in 1869, which was eventually published on 3 January 1878.<sup>311</sup> The content of the original passage that Paspallēs provided included the most important milestones of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s reforms.<sup>312</sup> These had also been discussed by the commission of the

<sup>305</sup> 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).

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

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

<sup>308</sup> *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.

<sup>309</sup> 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.”

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

<sup>311</sup> 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.

<sup>312</sup> 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.”<sup>313</sup> 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.”<sup>314</sup> 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.”<sup>315</sup> Another point of his criticism referred to the “arbitrary, out-of-tune yelling” of the unexperienced church cantors.<sup>316</sup> 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.<sup>317</sup> 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.<sup>318</sup> The same stance is also evident in Nikolaos Paganas’<sup>319</sup> 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-

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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).

<sup>313</sup> “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).

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

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 178, col. 1.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> 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).

<sup>319</sup> 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.”<sup>320</sup> 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.<sup>321</sup> 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,<sup>322</sup> 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.<sup>323</sup>

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.<sup>324</sup> Lampelet’s statement

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<sup>320</sup> “[...] 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).

<sup>321</sup> Paspallēs, “To zētēma tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs,” 178, col. 2.

<sup>322</sup> 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.

<sup>323</sup> 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).

<sup>324</sup> 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.<sup>325</sup>

Thanks to his academic background, Bourgault-Ducoudray was able to draw international attention to “Oriental music.” He collaborated with the Greek singer M. Aramis,<sup>326</sup> 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.<sup>327</sup>

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

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<sup>325</sup> 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>.

<sup>326</sup> 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).

<sup>327</sup> Vlagopoulos, “The Patrimony of Our Race,” 62.

Turkish and generally of “Eastern” origin.<sup>328</sup> Athanasios Evtaksias,<sup>329</sup> 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.”<sup>330</sup>

On the eastern side of the Aegean, Isaac De Salomon Algazi,<sup>331</sup> a composer of “Oriental music” as he is called in his song anthology published around 1925,<sup>332</sup> 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,

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<sup>328</sup> 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.

<sup>329</sup> 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).

<sup>330</sup> Evtaksias, *Hē ethnīkē ēmōn mousikē*, 20.

<sup>331</sup> 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.

<sup>332</sup> 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.<sup>333</sup>

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."<sup>334</sup>

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 Yekta<sup>335</sup> 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."<sup>336</sup> 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.<sup>337</sup> 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

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<sup>333</sup> "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).

<sup>334</sup> "[...] 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.

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

<sup>336</sup> 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).

<sup>337</sup> "[...] 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.”<sup>338</sup> 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.<sup>339</sup> 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.<sup>340</sup> 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.<sup>341</sup> Because there were hardly any of the old teachers

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<sup>338</sup> “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).

<sup>339</sup> “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).

<sup>340</sup> 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.

<sup>341</sup> 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.<sup>342</sup> 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,<sup>343</sup> to draw conclusions regarding the rhythmic disposition of melodies and lyrics and their relationship with ancient songs.<sup>344</sup>

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 tetrachord singing spoke in favor of harmonized singing and one of the listeners shouted, “Down with polyphony, down with the cantatas! Long live the Byzantine!”<sup>345</sup> 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!”<sup>346</sup> 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.”<sup>347</sup> 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.<sup>348</sup> 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

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

<sup>343</sup> 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).

<sup>344</sup> Ibid., 434. col. 2.

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

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

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

<sup>348</sup> 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.”<sup>349</sup>

Paganas criticized Stamatiadēs<sup>350</sup> 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.<sup>351</sup> 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.<sup>352</sup> 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.<sup>353</sup>

### 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.<sup>354</sup> Paspallēs, who thought that the “New Method” was an unfinished work, underlined the necessity of introducing a “new,

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<sup>349</sup> Ibid., 432, col. 1.

<sup>350</sup> 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).

<sup>351</sup> Paganas, “Peri ekklesiastikēs mousikēs,” 79.

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

<sup>353</sup> Ibid.

<sup>354</sup> Thereianos, “Skepseis peri tēs ekklesiastikēs mousikēs,” 416, col. 1.

systematized, methodological notation for the melodies.”<sup>355</sup> 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.<sup>356</sup>

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.<sup>357</sup> It is possible to observe similar tendencies in the report of the Music Commission of 1881,<sup>358</sup> 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.”<sup>359</sup> 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.”<sup>360</sup>

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.<sup>361</sup> 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.<sup>362</sup> Another argument that was brought forth was the historical contribution of Greek music to Greek Independence. Greek music was

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<sup>355</sup> Paspallēs, “To zētēma tēs ekklesiastikēs mousikēs,” 177–78.

<sup>356</sup> Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklesiastikē mousikē*, 62.

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

<sup>358</sup> 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).

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

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 2.

<sup>361</sup> 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).

<sup>362</sup> 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.<sup>363</sup> 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.<sup>364</sup> 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.<sup>365</sup> 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.<sup>366</sup> 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.<sup>367</sup> 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.<sup>368</sup>

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

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

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>366</sup> Paspallēs, “To zētēma tēs ekklēsiastikēs mousikēs,” 178, col. 2.

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

<sup>368</sup> 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.<sup>369</sup> 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.<sup>370</sup> 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-

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

<sup>370</sup> 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.<sup>371</sup> 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.<sup>372</sup> In Greece, the subject “ōdikē” [singing] was introduced into elementary schools in 1834.<sup>373</sup> 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.<sup>374</sup> 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].<sup>375</sup>

The Athenian society “Friends of Education” was founded on 25 July 1836 with Iōannēs Kokkōnēs<sup>376</sup> 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.<sup>377</sup> 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,<sup>378</sup> 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

<sup>371</sup> 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).

<sup>372</sup> Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, 45.

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

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

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

<sup>376</sup> 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.

<sup>377</sup> 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).

<sup>378</sup> 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,<sup>379</sup> 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.<sup>380</sup> 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 *archaiolatreia*, 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.<sup>381</sup> 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.<sup>382</sup> 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.<sup>383</sup> Since a mere imitation of the music was not suf-

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<sup>379</sup> 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).

<sup>380</sup> Cf. Appendix B, Table 1.

<sup>381</sup> See Chapter 1.2.

<sup>382</sup> Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, 133.

<sup>383</sup> 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.<sup>384</sup> 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.<sup>385</sup> 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

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<sup>384</sup> Kalomoirēs, *Mousikē sto scholeio*, 8.

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

was normally used to notate monophonic music, Keivelēs, in his anthology, provided a hymn to the Greek emperor, which he notated for four voices (Figure 1). In the context of the political discourse, Keivelēs' four-part arrangement in Chrysanthine notation could be read as a reply to the “modernists” who propagated the introduction of staff notation. He showed that Chrysanthine notation was versatile and could even be used for harmonized pieces.

**ΑΣΜΑ**  
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ Α. Μ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ  
**ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΝ Α΄**  
Μελοποιηθὲν κατὰ τετράφωνον σύστημα (α)  
παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Σμύρνη Μισαήλ Μισαηλίδου  
εἰς ἤχον πλ. Δ΄. εἰς ἦχον (β).

**Α** Πο λυ χρο νι ον ποι η σαι Κυ ρι ος η ς  
**Β** Πο λυ χρο νι ον ποι η σαι Κυ ρι ος η ς  
**Γ** Πο λυ χρο νι ον ποι η σαι Κυ ρι ος η ς  
**Δ** Πο λυ χρο νι ον ποι η σαι Κυ ρι ος η ς

**Figure 1** Hymn to King George I of Greece in Chrysanthine notation set for four voices by Misaēlidēs (Keivelēs 1873, 2:7).

Since this study focuses on the patriotic and national elements in music, the research has evaluated the percentage of songs with patriotic content in relation to the total number of the school songs that were included in a volume. Table 1 ranks the Greek school song anthologies according to the percentage of patriotic songs they contain.

**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.<sup>386</sup> 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'<sup>387</sup> 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),<sup>388</sup> just to mention a few.

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<sup>386</sup> 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.

<sup>387</sup> 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.

<sup>388</sup> 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.<sup>389</sup> 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,<sup>390</sup> I. Kaisarēs,<sup>391</sup> Sakellaridēs, Sp. Kaisarēs,<sup>392</sup> Katakouzēnos,<sup>393</sup> Argyropoulos,<sup>394</sup> Samaras,<sup>395</sup> Ksyndas,<sup>396</sup> Mangel,<sup>397</sup> Kokkos,<sup>398</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Cf. Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, 114.

<sup>390</sup> 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).

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

<sup>392</sup> 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).

<sup>393</sup> 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).

<sup>394</sup> 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).

<sup>395</sup> 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).

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

<sup>397</sup> 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).

<sup>398</sup> 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,<sup>399</sup> 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."<sup>400</sup> 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.<sup>401</sup> Greek poems were set to tunes that French and German children were taught, and Greek children were invited to "taste this tasteless salad."<sup>402</sup> 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."<sup>403</sup> 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."<sup>404</sup>

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

In 1876, Ēlias Tantalidēs' published *Songs to European Melodies*<sup>405</sup> 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

<sup>399</sup> 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).

<sup>400</sup> "olethriou psevdopolitismou" (Artemidēs 1905, 5).

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

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>405</sup> Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evrōpaikēn melōdian*.

credit to in his preface along with the aforementioned Julious Ennig, who worked at the Athenian Conservatory.<sup>406</sup> 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.<sup>407</sup> In 1880, the same author published *Songs for the Use of Greek Children*—another song anthology for educational purposes.<sup>408</sup> 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.<sup>409</sup> Tantalidēs emphasized the role of Greek continuity in the tradition of music by claiming that Terpander’s<sup>410</sup> spirit was still slumbering in the Greek nation.<sup>411</sup> 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.<sup>412</sup> In this context, he referred to Bourgault-Ducoudray’s ideas.<sup>413</sup> 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.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> Ibid., 6, 14.

<sup>407</sup> Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*.

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

<sup>409</sup> Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, 5.

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

<sup>411</sup> Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, 6.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>413</sup> See Chapter 1.3.5.

<sup>414</sup> 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,<sup>415</sup> 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,<sup>416</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Kücken,<sup>417</sup> Philip Friedrich Silcher,<sup>418</sup> and Ludwig Christian Erk,<sup>419</sup> among others, give further information on the anthology's methodological and music-philosophical orientation. Names such as Silcher

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<sup>415</sup> 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).

<sup>416</sup> 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).

<sup>417</sup> 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).

<sup>418</sup> 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).

<sup>419</sup> 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.<sup>420</sup> 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,<sup>421</sup> he wrote down Pestalozzi’s method in the form of a practical guide.<sup>422</sup> 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.<sup>423</sup> 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.<sup>424</sup> The industrial revolution that also entailed mass public education created a demand for educational music books.<sup>425</sup> 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

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

<sup>421</sup> 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).

<sup>422</sup> Pfeiffer and Nägeli, *Gesangsbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen*.

<sup>423</sup> Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, 5–6.

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

<sup>425</sup> 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 ανοίξῃς” [Spring Has Come Again], which is based on the melody “Alle Vöglein sind schon da” [All Birdies Are Back Again].<sup>426</sup> 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]<sup>427</sup> from W. A. Mozart’s opera *Die Zauberflöte* [*The Magic Flute*], “Die Lorelei” compiled by Silcher,<sup>428</sup> 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-

<sup>426</sup> Navpliotēs 1894, 126; Sakellaridēs 1882, 37; Maltos 1884, 1:83; Maltos 1887, 1:2.

<sup>427</sup> Tantalidēs, *Asmata eis evropaikēn melōdian*, pt. B, 2.

<sup>428</sup> 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.<sup>429</sup>

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.<sup>430</sup> The poem, written by Angelos Vlachos,<sup>431</sup> 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 Methfessel<sup>432</sup> 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],<sup>433</sup> but it is likely that it had already been composed

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<sup>429</sup> “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.

<sup>430</sup> 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.

<sup>431</sup> 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).

<sup>432</sup> 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).

<sup>433</sup> 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,<sup>434</sup> 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.<sup>435</sup> 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."

<b>"Ho nearos stratiōtēs"</b>	<b>rhyme</b>	<b>"Deutsches Weihelied"</b>	<b>rhyme</b>
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

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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.

<sup>434</sup> 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.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:77.

In this way, the endings of each hemistich correspond with the endings of the four melodic units.<sup>436</sup> 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].<sup>437</sup> 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.<sup>438</sup> 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.<sup>439</sup> 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.<sup>440</sup> 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).<sup>441</sup> 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-

<sup>436</sup> Cf. arrows in Appendix A, Case Study 1.1.

<sup>437</sup> 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.

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

<sup>439</sup> 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.

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

<sup>441</sup> 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.<sup>442</sup> 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],<sup>443</sup> and the melody was probably adopted from the “Österreichisches Nationallied” [Austrian National Song].<sup>444</sup> It is also possible that Tantalidēs used “Das Lied der Deutschen” [The Song of the Germans], which Erk had included in his school song

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<sup>442</sup> 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>.

<sup>443</sup> 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.

<sup>444</sup> 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.<sup>445</sup> 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.<sup>446</sup> The same version of the song can also be found in *Mousa*<sup>447</sup> (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’s<sup>448</sup> 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.<sup>449</sup> 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.<sup>450</sup> 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 Ragkavēs<sup>451</sup> and was set to the melody of Haydn’s hymn to the Austrian emperor. The German and Greek versions

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

<sup>446</sup> 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.

<sup>447</sup> Sakellaridēs, *Mousa*, 15–16.

<sup>448</sup> 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).

<sup>449</sup> See Hermand 2002, 251–58.

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

<sup>451</sup> 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.<sup>452</sup> 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.

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

<sup>452</sup> 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].<sup>453</sup> 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.

<sup>453</sup> 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*<sup>454</sup> and the second two years later in *Melpomenē*.<sup>455</sup> 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”<sup>456</sup> 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.<sup>457</sup> 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.<sup>458</sup> 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

<sup>454</sup> Maltos, *Terpsichorē*, 1884, 1:54.

<sup>455</sup> 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.

<sup>456</sup> 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).

<sup>457</sup> Maltos, *Terpsichorē*, 1884, 1:124–25.

<sup>458</sup> 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.<sup>459</sup> 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.<sup>460</sup> 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).<sup>461</sup> He is also referred to as Rēgas of “Pherraios,” the ancient name of Velestino, which, however, Rēgas himself seemingly never used.<sup>462</sup> 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.<sup>463</sup> 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

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<sup>459</sup> See Introduction of the present study.

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

<sup>461</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 3.

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

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

humorously expressed the anthology's political, humanistic orientation.<sup>464</sup> 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."<sup>465</sup> 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.<sup>466</sup> Although the printed pamphlets with highly political and revolutionary content were confiscated by authorities in Vienna,<sup>467</sup> 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.<sup>468</sup> 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.<sup>469</sup>

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

<sup>464</sup> 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.

<sup>465</sup> 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).

<sup>466</sup> 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].

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

<sup>468</sup> *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.

<sup>469</sup> 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.

<sup>470</sup> Daskalakēs, *Ta ethnēgertika tragoudia tou Rēga Velestinē*, 17.

<sup>471</sup> 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.<sup>472</sup> The philhellene François Pouqueville<sup>473</sup> 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.<sup>474</sup> Pouqueville's compatriot Claude Fauriel<sup>475</sup> 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.<sup>476</sup> 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."<sup>477</sup> 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.<sup>478</sup> 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.<sup>479</sup>

<sup>472</sup> Ibid.; Daskalakēs, *Ta ethnegertika tragoudia tou Rēga Velestinlē*, 33.

<sup>473</sup> 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).

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

<sup>475</sup> Claude Fauriel (1772–1844) published *Chants populaires de la Grèce modern* [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.

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

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

<sup>478</sup> Ibid., 2:18.

<sup>479</sup> 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.<sup>480</sup> Daskalakēs claimed that Rēgas' song had become so popular that even Turkish officials enjoyed the tune.<sup>481</sup> 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.<sup>482</sup> 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.<sup>483</sup> 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.”<sup>484</sup> 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.<sup>485</sup> 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.<sup>486</sup> In Modern Greek, the same musical genre would correspond to “emvatērio” [march] or “paianas” [paean/hymn]. Rēgas borrowed the term

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

<sup>481</sup> 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.

<sup>482</sup> 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).

<sup>483</sup> Roudometof and Robertson, *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy*, 103.

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

<sup>485</sup> 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.

<sup>486</sup> Daskalakēs, *Ta ethnegertika tragoudia tou Rēga Velestinlē*, 19.

“thourios” from ancient Attic poetry,<sup>487</sup> 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).<sup>488</sup> 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].<sup>489</sup> 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.<sup>490</sup> 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.<sup>491</sup> 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,

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

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

<sup>489</sup> “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.

<sup>490</sup> 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.

<sup>491</sup> 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.<sup>492</sup> The song collection *Hymnes patriotiques des Hellènes* (1827) [Patriotic Hymns of the Hellenes] gives numerous and interesting examples of this phenomenon of contrafact.<sup>493</sup> 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],<sup>494</sup> 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 ...].<sup>495</sup> Another piece titled “L’hymne des jeunes hommes” [Hymn of the Young Men]<sup>496</sup> is sung to the tune “Soldats français, chantez Roland, etc.” [French soldiers, sing Roland, etc.];<sup>497</sup> 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].<sup>498</sup> Similar examples from the German-speaking world can be found in the edition of songs of the 1848 Revolution.<sup>499</sup> 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”;<sup>500</sup> “Mein Deutschland, strecke die Glieder” [My Beloved Germany, Stretch Your Limbs] to the melody of “The King of Thule,”<sup>501</sup> and “Brüder lasst uns zusammen stehen” [Brothers Let’s Hold Together] to the melody “Hail to Thee in Victor’s Crown.”<sup>502</sup> 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.<sup>503</sup> Another more political song is a march in memory of 10 October 1862, whose lyrics were composed by Theodōros Geōrgios Orphanidēs.<sup>504</sup> It starts with the in-

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

<sup>493</sup> Achille Desauges, *Hymnes patriotiques des Hellènes* (Paris: Achille Desauges, 1827).

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

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

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.*, 66–67.

<sup>501</sup> Exact version of composition not specified. *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

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

<sup>504</sup> 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,”<sup>505</sup> and is supposed to be sung to the Italian song “‘La ronda’ with the stanza ‘Long Live Garibaldi and Freedom’.”<sup>506</sup> 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].<sup>507</sup> 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.<sup>508</sup> 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.<sup>509</sup> Hence, Rēgas’ “Thourios” seemed to have followed the same practice.<sup>510</sup>

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”<sup>511</sup> 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](http://www.ekebi.gr) (accessed 2 Apr. 2021).

<sup>505</sup> “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.

<sup>506</sup> “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).

<sup>507</sup> 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).

<sup>508</sup> Synadinos, *Istoria tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs 1824–1919*, 249.

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

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

<sup>511</sup> “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*,<sup>512</sup> or in more contemporary secondary literature at the beginning of the article by Dēmētrios Karamperopoulos.<sup>513</sup>

The first time Rēgas' patriotic hymn appeared together with musical notation was in Antōnios N. Sigalas'<sup>514</sup> *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.<sup>515</sup> 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.<sup>516</sup> 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,<sup>517</sup>

<sup>512</sup> Christodoulos, *Ho mousēgetēs Apollōn*.

<sup>513</sup> Karamperopoulos, "Ho Thourios" *tou Rēga empsychōtēs tōn ragaidōn epanastatōn*, 5.

<sup>514</sup> 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).

<sup>515</sup> 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).

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

<sup>517</sup> 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.<sup>518</sup> 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*<sup>519</sup> and *Orphikē lyra*.<sup>520</sup> For the analysis of Rēgas' song, those versions with music notation have been primarily considered.<sup>521</sup> Other concordances in printed song text anthologies were consulted whenever necessary.<sup>522</sup>

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.<sup>523</sup> 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."<sup>524</sup> 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

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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.

<sup>518</sup> 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]).

<sup>519</sup> Sakellaridēs, *Mousa*, 51–52.

<sup>520</sup> Artemides, *Orphikē lyra*, 118–119.

<sup>521</sup> 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.

<sup>522</sup> 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.

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

<sup>524</sup> "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 (C<sub>4</sub>–B<sub>4</sub>). 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.<sup>527</sup> 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

<sup>527</sup> 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, Artemidēs<sup>528</sup> 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.<sup>529</sup> 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.<sup>530</sup> 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

<sup>528</sup> 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.

<sup>529</sup> See Appendix A, Case Study 3.5 and Table 1 in Chapter 1.4.1.

<sup>530</sup> 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.<sup>531</sup>

The nine stanzas that Artemidēs gave in his edition are much fewer than the original.<sup>532</sup> 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  $F_4$ – $E_5$  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.<sup>533</sup> 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

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<sup>531</sup> 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.

<sup>532</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 3.6.

<sup>533</sup> 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.<sup>534</sup> 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.”<sup>535</sup> 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,”<sup>536</sup> of which the great majority were Orthodox Christians.<sup>537</sup> Furthermore, none

<sup>534</sup> 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.

<sup>535</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 3.7, stz. 23.

<sup>536</sup> 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.

<sup>537</sup> 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.<sup>538</sup>

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

<sup>538</sup> Schneider, “Revolutionäre Lieder und vaterländische Gesänge,” 304–5.

to the “students of the university.”<sup>539</sup> 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!”<sup>540</sup> 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,”<sup>541</sup> that of stz. 2 ends with “May every foolish enemy of our glory fall,”<sup>542</sup> that of stz. 3 “May the infamous tyrant fall from the throne,”<sup>543</sup> etc. Prior to the lyrics, Orphanidēs provided the instruction to sing this song to the Italian tune “La ronda.”<sup>544</sup> This song was also included in Sigalas’ anthology.<sup>545</sup> Kōnstantzos assumes that this piece adopted the melody of the Italian song “Siamo Italiani giovani freschi” [We Are Fresh Young Italians].<sup>546</sup> 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.<sup>547</sup>

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<sup>539</sup> 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.

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

<sup>541</sup> “Ki’as pesē aspairōn pas agenēs echthros.”

<sup>542</sup> “Ki’as pesē pas afthrōn tēs doksēs mas echthros.”

<sup>543</sup> “Ki’as piptē tou thronou pas tyrannos aischros.”

<sup>544</sup> 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.

<sup>545</sup> *Syllogē ethnikōn asmatōn*, 65–69.

<sup>546</sup> Kōnstantzos, *Devte paides tōn Ellēnōn*, 117–18.

<sup>547</sup> 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).<sup>548</sup>

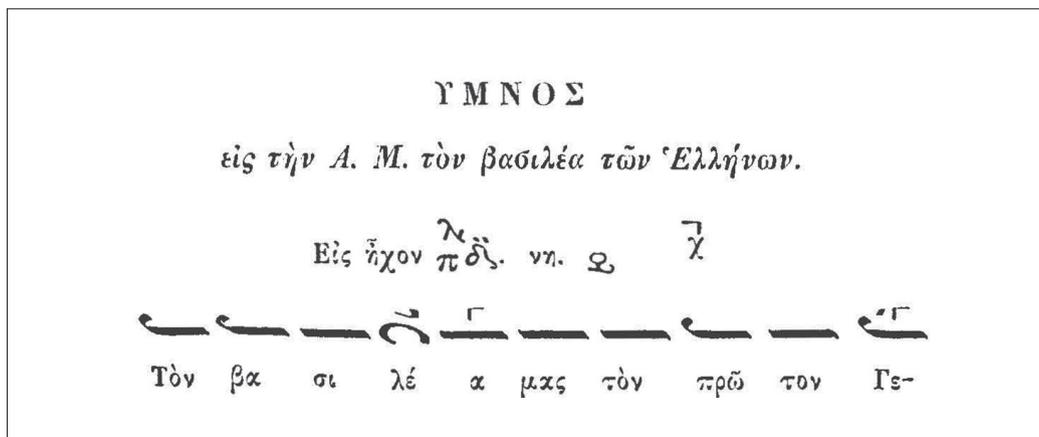
Two more emperor’s hymns are on pages 15 and 16, dedicated to the anniversary celebrations of Queen Olga and King Constantine. Both have the same lyrics but with different melodies. This supports the before-mentioned thesis that lyrics could be adapted freely to different melodies. The hymns in Sigalas’ 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.”<sup>549</sup> A hymn to his successor Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1908) was, however,

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

<sup>548</sup> 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.

<sup>549</sup> 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.<sup>550</sup> 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].<sup>551</sup> 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.”<sup>552</sup> The lyrics obviously draw on the *adhan*, the Islamic call to prayer by the muezzin (Example 5).

<sup>550</sup> 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 (Zelevos 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.

<sup>551</sup> 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.

<sup>552</sup> “*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.<sup>553</sup> 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.

<sup>553</sup> 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.<sup>554</sup> 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 Botsaris<sup>555</sup> 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.<sup>556</sup> 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.<sup>557</sup> 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.<sup>558</sup>

The poem of “The Klepht” can be found in early song text anthologies since 1837.<sup>559</sup> In 1880, almost forty-three years later, the song was published with music notation and print-

<sup>554</sup> For a definition of the Klepht, see Glossary.

<sup>555</sup> 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).

<sup>556</sup> 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.

<sup>557</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 5.

<sup>558</sup> See Kōnstantzos, *Devte paides tōn Ellēnōn*, 132–33.

<sup>559</sup> 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*.<sup>560</sup> 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.<sup>561</sup>

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.<sup>562</sup> 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.<sup>563</sup>

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.<sup>564</sup> 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.<sup>565</sup> 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

<sup>560</sup> *Sylogē ethnikōn asmatōn*, 48; *Orphikē lyra*, 83–84.

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

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>563</sup> “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.

<sup>564</sup> Geōrganta, “‘Ho Klephtēs' tou A. R. Ragkavē,” 31.

<sup>565</sup> *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.<sup>566</sup> 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.<sup>567</sup> The melody of “*Gaudeamus igitur*” remained one of the most popular of the German student songs.<sup>568</sup> 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.<sup>569</sup> 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.<sup>570</sup> 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

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

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

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

<sup>569</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 5.2–5.4.

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

farewell scene from the family, and, thus, the birth of the klepht.<sup>571</sup> 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).<sup>572</sup> 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.”<sup>573</sup> 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,<sup>574</sup> the bandmaster of the Bavarian military corps in Greece had invited Franz Seiler<sup>575</sup> and another musician called Christian Welcker<sup>576</sup> 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-

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<sup>571</sup> 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).

<sup>572</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 5.2.

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

<sup>574</sup> 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.

<sup>575</sup> 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).

<sup>576</sup> 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 v<sub>4</sub> and v<sub>5</sub>, 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 D<sub>4</sub>–E<sub>5</sub>. 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, v<sub>5</sub> 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 v<sub>3</sub> is inserted in between and divides the two political verses from each other.<sup>577</sup>

<sup>577</sup> 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.<sup>578</sup> 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-

<sup>578</sup> 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.<sup>579</sup> 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.<sup>580</sup> 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.<sup>581</sup> The same piece was provided with notation in many later song anthologies, including two school song anthologies.<sup>582</sup> The text was written by Andreas Koutouvalēs (1808–1882),<sup>583</sup> whose poem was set to music by Spyridōn Ksyndas.<sup>584</sup> 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 25<sup>th</sup> of March” in Argyropoulos’ song anthology *Apollōn* published in 1925.

It is assumed that Ksyndas had probably composed this song already before March 1875.<sup>585</sup> 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).<sup>586</sup> In order to sing all six stanzas, the song must be performed in two cycles, with each cycle containing three stanzas.

<sup>579</sup> Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 1982, 22.

<sup>580</sup> 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.

<sup>581</sup> 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.

<sup>582</sup> 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.

<sup>583</sup> 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.

<sup>584</sup> 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] (Motznigos 1958, 224–25; Synadinos 1919, 281–85).

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

<sup>586</sup> 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 (˘˘-).<sup>587</sup>

The image shows a musical score for the beginning of the song. It features a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody is written on a single staff. Below the staff, the lyrics are written in two lines, with poetic meter markings (˘˘-) under the syllables. The first line of lyrics is: v1. San tē spí-tha krym mé-nē stē stá - ktē. The second line is: v2. E-kry - vó-tan gia mas 'lef-the - ria. The musical notation includes eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and a final cadence.

**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.<sup>588</sup> 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

<sup>587</sup> 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.

<sup>588</sup> 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  $\text{♪} \cdot \text{♪} \cdot \text{♪}$  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.<sup>589</sup> Oath scenes had become very popular in stage performances but had also appeared in other realms of the arts.<sup>590</sup> In this song, the women and children

<sup>589</sup> 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.

<sup>590</sup> 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.<sup>591</sup>

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).<sup>592</sup> 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

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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.

<sup>591</sup> 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.

<sup>592</sup> 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.<sup>593</sup>

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.<sup>594</sup> 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

<sup>593</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 7.

<sup>594</sup> 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.<sup>595</sup> 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.<sup>596</sup> 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,

<sup>595</sup> 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.

<sup>596</sup> 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,<sup>597</sup> 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

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<sup>597</sup> 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.<sup>598</sup> 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.<sup>599</sup> 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.”<sup>600</sup> 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.<sup>601</sup> 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.<sup>602</sup> 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.<sup>603</sup> 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.

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<sup>598</sup> 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.

<sup>599</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>600</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>601</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>602</sup> 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.

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



**Part Two:**  
**Forging National Music**  
**on the East Side**  
**of the Aegean**



# 2

## Music and National Identity in the Late Ottoman Empire and Turkey

### 2.1 Introduction

The question of nation and identity in a multi-ethnic state also became an important issue among Ottoman intellectuals. The emergence of nation-states in the Balkans and the dissemination of nationalist thought forced the Ottomans to take a stance and face this challenge. The diverse social structure of Ottoman society, with its different confessions and languages, made it difficult to simply adopt the notions of more homogeneous nation-states that were based on one religion, culture, and language. National identity had to be rethought and negotiated according to the social and political reality that existed in the Ottoman Empire. The self-perception of the Ottoman state is best reflected in the national historiographies. Whereas the Greek national historiography became established with Paparrēgopoulos' monumental works, the Ottoman case shows various stages in which Ottoman history and, thus, national identity were defined.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, historiography in the Ottoman Empire was based mainly on two pillars, namely Islam and the Ottoman dynasty. These two stories—the rise of Islam and the establishment of the Caliphate on one hand, and the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty on the other—were connected to the Seljuk Turks. The Seljuk Turks, who invaded the Middle East and Anatolia, established the Seljuk Sultanates

first in Persia and later in Anatolia.<sup>604</sup> The beginning of the *Tanzimat* [Reorganization] era in 1839 and the increasing transfer of European scholarship and methodology led to the emergence of new Ottoman historiographies. Cevdet Pasha's (1823–1895) work, for example, benefited from European expertise and methodology, which he applied in his *Tarih-i Cevdet* [Cevdet's Chronicle], a voluminous history of the empire from 1774 to 1825.<sup>605</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, the origins of the Ottomans became an important question. The origins were mostly presented in the light of a Pan-Islamic ideology which underscored the Islamic Caliphate.

Many books that were published by European Turcologists were translated into Turkish and gave rise to a Turkish self-awareness within Ottoman subjects. The denomination "Turkey" had been used only by Europeans, and not by the Ottomans, to refer to their nation.<sup>606</sup> In a similar way, the word "Turk" was a term used for Anatolian peasants that often had a pejorative connotation, and Ottomans normally would not identify themselves with this term. This tendency gradually changed towards the latter nineteenth century when European scholars emphasized the pivotal contributions of Turkic people in Asian and European history during the pre-Islamic era.<sup>607</sup> The works of Hungarian scholars especially had an important influence in this context, since they highlighted the common origins of the Turks and Magyars.<sup>608</sup> Other foreign scholars also impacted the national self-perception of the Turks, such as the Frenchman David-Léon Cahun (1841–1900), with his idealized and romanticized account of the history of Asia.<sup>609</sup>

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Turkish role in the Ottoman narrative became particularly pronounced. Similar to the Greek case, the contributions of philology also played a pivotal role in the Turkish case. Ahmed Vefik Pasha (d. 1891) represented the Turkish language as part of an ancient family spoken between Anatolia and Asia.<sup>610</sup> Süleyman Pasha's (d. 1892) universal history from 1876 was the first to include the pre-Islamic history of the Turks.<sup>611</sup> Necîb Âsım Yazıksız<sup>612</sup> (1861–1935), who will be dealt

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<sup>604</sup> Bernard Lewis, "History Writing and National Revival in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Affairs* 4 (1953): 218.

<sup>605</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

<sup>606</sup> The word "Turkey" is a denomination that was coined in the West. Ottomans did not use this term to refer to their own nation. They used terms such as "the lands of Islam" or "the Ottoman dominions" which also included regions of the empire that were not inhabited by the Turks (*ibid.*, 220).

<sup>607</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>608</sup> Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913) was in contact with Turkish intellectuals during his stay in Istanbul. His work was continued by his students, such as Ignác Kúnos (1862–1945) and József Thury (1861–1906). *Ibid.*

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>610</sup> He published *Fezleke-i târîh-i Osmâni* (1869) [Summary of Ottoman History], which served as a model for editors of Ottoman schoolbooks. See Mustafa Çıkar, *Von der osmanischen Dynastie zur türkischen Nation: Politische Gemeinsamkeiten in osmanisch-türkischen Schulbüchern der Jahre 1876–1938*, Edition Universität (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges, 2001), 34.

<sup>611</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 341.

<sup>612</sup> Necîb Âsım Bey [Yazıksız] (1861–1935) was an important Ottoman intellectual who worked on Turkish history and national ideals. He started at the military school and later worked as a teacher of Turkish, French, and history in the Second Constitutional Period. He was influenced by the Turkist movement, which grew strong-

with further below, is considered the first real Turcologist in Ottoman Turkey. He translated Cahun's influential work, *Introduction to the History of Asia: Turks and Mongols from their origins to 1405* from French into Turkish.<sup>613</sup> Âsım Bey was influenced by the discourses and works of European scholars, especially those of Hungary.<sup>614</sup>

At the turn of the twentieth century, Turkism enjoyed a rising popularity, especially among the Young Turks.<sup>615</sup> This trend was driven by Turkic people from the Caucasian region (such as Muslim Tartars), the Volga region, central Asia, Azerbaijan, and Crimea, who had fled from the Pan-Slavic movement that had been growing in Russia.<sup>616</sup> The Turkish answer to the emergence of national ideologies that highlighted common origins in the neighboring countries was the rise of "Pan-Turkism." The most influential figure in this context was Ismail Gasprinski (1841–1914), whose ideas were disseminated by well-known Ottoman intellectuals, such as Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935), Ahmed Ağaoğlu (1869–1939), and Ziyâ Gökalp (1876–1924), and whose impact lasted until the times of the Turkish Republic. Pan-Turkism became an ideology not only in the Ottoman Empire but also among the Turkic people beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire in Caucasia. Akçura envisioned a Turkish nation that was based on and defined by race. He claimed in his pamphlet, "Three Kinds of Policies" (1904), that the other two existing movements, Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism, had failed.<sup>617</sup> Although he considered Turkism to still be in a phase of "infancy," in the following years, it gained power due to external factors. Those external factors were a series of military defeats and disasters such as the loss of Crete, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, as well as the invasion of Tripolitania by Italy and the lost Balkan Wars. This led to a militarization of Ottoman society, which fomented radical views. The vision of the Pan-Turkists was to reestablish the Göktürk Empire, which would unite all Turkic people. This irredentist ideology was also used to "free" Turks that lived in Tsarist Russia.<sup>618</sup>

The dethronement of Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1908 introduced a new phase in Ottoman historiography. The Second Constitution gave a short-lived revival to Ottomanism, which, however, failed due to the influence and dominance of other competing national ideologies. In the Second Constitutional Era, there was an increase in the platforms that

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er in the Ottoman Empire. Apart from his few articles on music, his main research area focused on Ottoman-Turkish language and history. At the university, he founded the department of turcology and also published articles in French (Arpağuş 2004, 11–13; Uçman 2010; İhsanoğlu 2003, 212–14).

<sup>613</sup> The original title of the work was "Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie. Turcs et Mongols des origines à 1405." See Landau 1981, 29.

<sup>614</sup> Lewis, "History Writing and National Revival in Turkey," 222.

<sup>615</sup> The Young Turk movement was founded at the centenary of the French Revolution in 1889. They started as a secret union of medical students. The name "Young Turks" suggests that its members were of Turkish origin, which, however, was not the case. Arabs, Albanians, Jews as well as Armenians and Greeks were also members (Özkırımlı and Sophos 2008, 37).

<sup>616</sup> Lewis, "History Writing and National Revival in Turkey," 222.

<sup>617</sup> Yusuf Akçura. "Yusuf Akçura's 'Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset' ('Three Kinds of Policy')." Translated by İsmail Fehmi. *Oriente Moderno* 61, no. 1 (1981): 7. See also Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey*, 14.

<sup>618</sup> Özkırımlı and Sophos, *Tormented by History*, 127.

provided an infrastructure to exchange and disseminate nationalist ideas. In 1910, the Ottoman Historical Society was born. It propagated topics related to the Ottoman nation and served as a mouthpiece of Turkism. In the Republican era, the society's name was adapted to the new circumstances and changed to the Turkish Historical Society. Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later Atatürk) pronounced the ancient origins of the Turkic people in central Asia, which was presented as the cradle of all human civilizations. The Turkish History Thesis claimed that Turks belonged to the Aryan people, Hittites, and Sumerians were the predecessors of the Turks, and that therefore Turks were the antecedents of Western civilization. These assumptions were supported by foreign scholars, whose studies emerged in the 1930s. In Turkey, this thesis was adopted and proclaimed as official doctrine. It is important to bear in mind that a "valid" Ottoman historiography had been negotiated over decades until the Turkist movement dominated. There had been various intellectual groups that emphasized elements of Ottoman identity according to their convictions or interests.

From the 1860s onwards, the so-called Young Ottomans had a vision of an Ottoman nation which would grant equality before the law and parliamentary representation to both Muslim and non-Muslim.<sup>619</sup> They aimed to create a sense of patriotism among the different subjects of the empire and loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty. This movement, which is also often referred to as "Ottomanism," existed until the outbreak of World War I. Ottomanism was understood as the policy of "creating a single, unified state out of the racially, linguistically, and religiously differentiated subjects of the Ottoman Empire by emphasizing loyalty to the ruling Ottoman dynasty."<sup>620</sup> It reached its first peak with the proclamation of the First Constitution in 1876. Abdulhamid II suspended this constitution and ruled as absolute monarch until his dethronement in 1908 and the proclamation of the Second Constitution. Although Ottomanism aimed to unite and give equal rights to all Ottoman subjects regardless of their confession, Ottomanism during the reign of Abdulhamid II had strong Islamic notions and is therefore also often referred to as Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism focused on Islamic values that sought to strengthen ties amongst the Muslim world and aimed to create a sense of unity.

The different ideologies were not always strictly separated from each other, but they could also co-exist or complement each other. Although forging bonds with other Muslim nations was important in the Islamic ideology, it did not persist in the years of the Ottoman Empire. However, it remained a powerful instrument that was used by the Young Turks to mobilize the masses in years of war.<sup>621</sup> In the later nineteenth century, Turkish

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<sup>619</sup> Ibid., 28. For further reading on the Young Ottomans, see Hanioglu 2008, 103–8. Devereux observed that the Young Ottomans introduced the notion of a nation-state, where Muslims and non-Muslims would live together and overcome socio-religious differences. In the first Ottoman Constitution (1876–1908), individual rights were pronounced in Article 8, "all subjects of the empire, without distinction, to be Ottomans," and Article 17 "all Ottomans without prejudice were equal before the law, possessing the same rights and duties, without prejudice to religion" (Devereux 1963, 74).

<sup>620</sup> Yusuf Akçura, "Yusuf Akçura's 'Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset,' 2, 18.

<sup>621</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, Library of Modern Middle East Studies 87 (London, New York: I. B. Tauris; Distributed in the United States exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 215–16.

nationalism was the predominant movement that survived the Ottoman period. The idealization of Turkic history marked the intellectual current that dominated the Ottoman Turks until the end of World War I, and the ideas of Pan-Turkism had entered the official sphere.<sup>622</sup> Pan-Turkism was a response to other Pan-movements, such as “Pan-Hellenism” or “Pan-Slavism,” and followed similar aspirations. Pan-Turkism aimed to unite all groups of Turkic people into one big Turkish Empire. This included Turks that lived in the Ottoman Empire as well as other Turkic groups that lived in other areas. Therefore, Pan-Turkism was at the same time an irredentist ideology that could only be realized by conquering territories outside the nation. Another concurrent ideology that had a similar connotation was “Turanism.” Turanism (or Pan-Turanism) was more a reference to a vague geographical region. Turanism included all the people that had their origins in Turan. The geographical boundaries reach from “China in the east, Tibet, India, and Iran in the south, the desert Dasht-i Kipchak and the Caspian Sea in the west, and again the desert of Dasht-i Kipchak in the north.”<sup>623</sup> Turanism therefore had a broader context than Pan-Turkism and also included Hungarians, Finns, Estonians, and other Finno-Ugric peoples.<sup>624</sup>

However, the Ottomans did not stay in the realm of Islamic and Turkic identities. Archaeology had become one of the key disciplines through which both Greeks and European nations sought to represent themselves as part of “European Civilization.” The Ottomans did not reject the Helleno-Byzantine heritage per se. The power of museums as an educational institution that was able to narrate the national history had already been recognized from the 1870s onwards. Under the reign of Abdulhamid II, a considerable number of archaeological museums were constructed. Whereas the first intentions were just to house collections, the idea of displaying objects with the goal of constructing a narrative was soon implemented. Since the 1870s, the museum had become a place of public spectacle that aimed to attract visitors and did not only serve to represent the Sultan.<sup>625</sup> The motivation behind it was twofold. Firstly, the Ottomans had to position themselves in the “war of narratives,” in which European nations used archaeology to prove their cultural affinity with ancient civilizations. Secondly, the Ottomans intended to prove that their nation, which had housed archaeological sites for many centuries, thus belonged to the same, valued civilization. During the reign of Abdulhamid II, Ottoman identity was represented as Islamic, Turkish, and based on old Ottoman traditions.<sup>626</sup> The rise of the imperial museum can be seen as one of the Ottoman Empire’s attempts to position itself in the competition to prove European descentance. It also displayed the Helleno-Byzantine heritage

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<sup>622</sup> For a detailed account of the emergence of Pan-Turkism in the Ottoman Empire, see Landau 1981, 28–72.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. Landau refers to a Turkish document from 1832 regarding the Khanate of Kokand. See also Bacqué-Grammont 1972, 194–99.

<sup>624</sup> Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey*, 1. Hungarian scholars used the term “Turan” to describe the Turkish lands of Central and Southeast Asia. For more detailed reading, see Lewis 2002, 341.

<sup>625</sup> Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 92.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

by drawing on European concepts. However, at the same time, the museums highlighted kinship between the Ottoman and Hellenic-Byzantine heritage and thus emphasized affinity with European identity.<sup>627</sup> The numerous artifacts in the Ottoman museum, which was built in a neoclassical fashion, suggested that Ottoman people were the rightful heirs to the Hellenistic legacy.<sup>628</sup> On the one hand, it exposed the cultural richness of the empire with objects that were in demand, and on the other hand, it underlined common interests and patrimony with the Europeans.<sup>629</sup>

In 1889, a group of students at the imperial medical school called a society into being whose members were later known as the “Young Turks.” In 1892, they formed part of the party “Committee of Union and Progress” (CUP), which became a serious opposition to the sultan.<sup>630</sup> The CUP was an activist and militarized committee with well-established networks in the peripheries of the empire. It was the most influential disseminator of Ottoman propaganda.<sup>631</sup> The dethronement of Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1908 was followed by a chaotic political landscape where the CUP mainly dominated. It took over political control of all the important branches of the empire. The revival of Ottomanism after 1908 was of short duration. Even though they installed a constitutional monarchy, all promises such as equality and free press were not put into practice.<sup>632</sup> From that point on, both sultan and parliament were under the supervision of the Young Turks, who also prevented the influence of opposition parties from arising. The young “democratic” experience in the Ottoman Empire ended with the *coup d'état* in July 1912 and the Balkan crisis that gave more power to the CUP. In the following years, the CUP initiated a militarization and propaganda campaign, which lasted until World War I and which followed the German model of “A Nation in Arms.”<sup>633</sup>

Shortly after the Ottomans lost World War I, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed in 1923. It pushed forward state reforms, which accelerated the process of westernization. It was declared a secularist nation-state that saw its roots in Anatolia, from where the resistance movement had started.<sup>634</sup> In modern Turkish history, the Turkish Republic is represented as the nation that emerged as an antagonist to the Ottoman state. This is mostly characterized in the numerous reforms that had profound cultural, social, political, and economic impact. The Sultanate was abolished in 1922 and the Caliphate in 1924. Establishments and ministries linked to religion were shut down. In 1925, the Gregorian calendar was adopted, and Ottoman wear, such as the *fez*, which was the headgear of Ottoman

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<sup>627</sup> Ibid., 83–96.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>629</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>630</sup> Roudometof and Robertson, *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy*, 88.

<sup>631</sup> Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 147.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>633</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>634</sup> Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building*, 222.

males, was prohibited. The most radical reform was the abolition of the Arabic alphabet and the introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928. This cultural revolution in the name of civilization sought to create a more modern and homogeneous nation, but, at the same time, it cut off traditions and the links to its national history.<sup>635</sup> Modern Turkish identity defined itself for a long time in opposition to the Ottomans, who were often represented as backward and without a national profile. From today's point of view, the cultural reforms which were launched in the early years of the Turkish nation seem to be more of a continuation of a modernizing process rather than a break with the old regime. The process of implementing reforms in order to close the cultural gap with Europe had already started in the years of the Tanzimat.

Much of the basic infrastructure that shaped the cultural self-perception of modern Turkey was already in place in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. The "Türk Derneği" [Turkish Association] was the first institution to dedicate itself to what was called "Turcology" in Europe. It also served to disseminate knowledge of the Turkish language, history, ethnography, and literature among the people. In 1911, the Turkish associations "Türk Ocakları" [Turkish Hearths] were founded as a powerful tool to disseminate Turkist ideology. The aim of those foundations was "national education and progress on scientific, social, and economic levels and to work for the perfection of the valuable Turkish race and language, which is an important pillar of the Muslim peoples."<sup>636</sup> The Turkish Hearths had a special commission that aimed to rewrite Turkish history. After the formation of the Society of Turkish Historiography, the Turkish History Congress was held for the first time in 1932. This was when the "Türk tarih tezi" [Turkish History Thesis] was formulated. The Turkish History Thesis claimed that the Turks' origins were in central Asia and they had existed 9,000 years before Christ.<sup>637</sup> Race theories had also become an important realm within Turcology and were used to prove that Turks were related to the "white race." Turkish historians were inspired by the theses of foreign researchers such as Eugène Pittard (1867–1962) and Wilhelm Koppers (1886–1961), who traced the origins of ancient Turks to the Altaic mountains. The aim of these studies was to show that Turks did not originally belong to the Mongolian race but were Aryans.<sup>638</sup> In 1930, the "Türk tarihinin ana hatları" [The Main Lines of Turkish History] were published, which for the first time publicly stated that the most important civilizations of mankind were founded by the predecessors of the Turks.<sup>639</sup> It was based on the assumption that the Hittites that had lived in central Asia brought Turkish civilization to Anatolia via migration. Islamic religion was seen as the main reason for the decay of the civilizations that Timur and Genghis Khan

<sup>635</sup> For a good description of the reforms and consequences, see Kadioğlu 1996, 186.

<sup>636</sup> "Akvam-ı İslamiyenin bir rükn-ü mühimi olan Türklerin milli terbiye ve ilmi, içtimai iktisadi seviyelerinin terakki ve alasıyla Türk ırk ve dilinin kemaline çalışmak" (quoted in Öztürkmen 1993, 47). My translation.

<sup>637</sup> Balkılıç, *Cumhuriyet, halk ve müzik*, 30–32.

<sup>638</sup> Serpil Akkaya, *Sumerer, Hethiter und Trojaner—Urahnen der anatolischen Türken?*, (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2012), 37.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*, 39. This historical narrative was questioned and revised in the 1950s.

had created. Afet İnan (1908–1985), the best-known proponent of this thesis, claimed that religion had caused the “Turkish character” to deteriorate and was responsible for the stagnation in Turkish culture.<sup>640</sup> Thus, the Turkish national identity was constructed over a long period of time and stood under the influence of numerous ideologies that had been competing with each other.

### Music and Ottoman Identities

The nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire was characterized by an ongoing process of political and economic reforms, and the attempt to modernize the nation to meet the latest economic, political, and intellectual currents that were coming in from Europe. In the chapter on Greek music and identity, a plethora of articles and primary sources showed the numerous perspectives that existed among the different groups concerning the future of Greek music. In the Ottoman case, the available primary literature is more limited and therefore it is more difficult to trace the intellectual discourse on music. Towards the last third of the nineteenth century, it is possible to find statements on Western culture, which is often seen as a different element to the “Turkish” one. In order to clearly differentiate between those two styles, Ottomans used the terms *alafranga* [it. Alla Franca] for Western, and *alaturca* [it. alla Turca] to refer to Ottoman/Turkish culture. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, *alafranga* had become one of the buzzwords of the Tanzimat era. The term *frenk* [Frankish] was an adoption from Persian and simply meant “European.”<sup>641</sup> It connoted a modern lifestyle that was imported from outside. *Alafranga* objects and lifestyle had notions of superiority and progress, sometimes being contrasted with *alaturca*. In music, *alafranga* encompassed all music genres and instruments that were not conceived as “national” and “indigenous.” Polkas, waltzes, mazurkas, and marches, even those composed by Turkish or Ottoman musicians, were still considered *alafranga* music. In contrast, *alaturca* music presented notions of the traditional and elements that were considered “national” and “own.” Its use, however, was not only restricted to Turkish or Ottoman music, but extended to “Oriental music” or music of the “East,” as it was often referred to by many western and eastern European nineteenth-century writers. Alî Rifat Çığatay,<sup>642</sup> for example, compared European and Ottoman music in his treatise that was published as a series of articles in the journal *Malûmât*. He constantly used the terms *alafranga* and

<sup>640</sup> Balkılıç, *Cumhuriyet, halk ve müzik*, 35.

<sup>641</sup> James Redhouse, ed., *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, 8th ed. (Istanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1986), 378.

<sup>642</sup> Alî Rifat Çığatay (1867–1935) was born in Istanbul and grew up during a period when the Ottoman Empire underwent a process of reforms under the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II. He absorbed the intellectual currents of his time and thought of ways to apply them to Ottoman music. He formed part of the progressive movement that sought to reform Ottoman music by harmonizing modal melodies. Çığatay was also a music instructor. In 1915, he had a position as a music teacher at the Dârülbedâyi (later Dârülelhân), the music conservatory in Istanbul. He was also active as a music director. He was a member of the “Şark Mûsikîsi Cemiyeti” [Society for Eastern Music], which he later abandoned due to diverging interests. As an Ottoman musician who was familiar with Western and Ottoman music, he knew Hampartsum notation in addition to staff notation. He is considered the first Ottoman musician who deliberately transferred and applied techniques from Western music to modal music. He introduced European musical instruments into Ottoman music and prepared per-

alaturca to distinguish Western music from Ottoman music. Other terms that were used to refer to alaturca music were simply “Osmânlı mûsîkîsi” or “Mûsîkî-i Osmânî” [Ottoman music], or “Şark mûsîkîsi” [Eastern music], the Turkish term for “Oriental music,” which was used by Rauf Yekta (see Chapter 2.2).

The concepts of alaturca and alafanga music were not mutually exclusive and could also emerge as a synthesis. The piano, for example, which had conquered the living-rooms of the Ottoman elites, was an alafanga instrument par excellence. There are numerous scores by European composers and from different musical genres that were sold in various music shops. These kinds of piano arrangements enabled the upper social class to familiarize themselves with music that was in vogue in European cultural centers. This same tendency could also be observed at a local level. There are scores that indicate a demand for alaturca music pieces that could be played on the piano. Composers and musicians met this demand and rearranged alaturca music for piano. Needless to say, they had to omit the most characteristic musical elements, such as modes and rhythmic cycles (*usûl*), which were either difficult or impossible to perform on the piano.

## 2.2 The Ottoman/Turkish Music Debate

In the chapter on the Greek music debates, the sources were based on a selection of books and articles that were published from the 1870s onwards. It is remarkable, however, that in the Turkish case, similar debates do not seem to start earlier than the 1890s. The earliest known articles that deal with topics related to national music were written in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Among the debaters are music aficionados and intellectuals as well as musicians and musicologists. This chapter will trace the emergence of Turkish music debates from the turn of the twentieth century until the initial years of the Turkish Republic. Compared to the Greek music debate that started three decades earlier, it is surprising that in the Turkish-speaking community, the interest in Turkish music seemed to have been relatively low. Necîb Âsım (1861–1935), in his article from 1896, highlighted this lack of interest and publicly expressed his gratitude to the journal *Malûmât* for dedicating one section of the gazette to articles on music and music scores.<sup>643</sup> His efforts to initiate a Turkish music debate had hardly any repercussions. The lack of platforms that would give space to discussions on music were held responsible for the general lack of

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formances with harmonized Ottoman melodies. His aim was to create an Ottoman music that was suitable to be performed in concert halls. Among his numerous works are also patriotic songs such as the “Independence March,” which was composed for voice and piano when the Turkish Republic was proclaimed. His contributions as composer and as musicologist are still appreciated today (Özcan 1993; Doğrusöz and Ergur 2017; Çağatay and Doğrusöz 2021, 17–87).

<sup>643</sup> Necîb Âsım, “Necîb Âsım Bey’in Ma’lûmâta mektûbu,” *Malûmât*, no. 43 (Hazîrân 1312/June 1896): 943–44, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 106–7.

interest in this topic. Besides the *Malûmât*, there were also other gazettes like the *Şehbâl* and *Millî tetebbûlar mecmûası* that dedicated a few columns in some issues to musical topics.<sup>644</sup> The lack of interest in Turkish music seemed to have continued in the following decades. In 1912, Rauf Yekta (1871–1935) criticized the scant knowledge and study of Turkish music.<sup>645</sup>

As the founder of Turkish musicology, Rauf Yekta is one of the pivotal figures in the debates about Turkish music. Thanks to his proficiency in French, his scholarly work was not only read by Turkish speakers but also by the international public. Likewise, he was able to take part in the debates around music in the European centers. His motivation derived from the need to defend and challenge claims that had been made by orientalist, foreign scholars regarding “Turkish,” or what was also called “Eastern” or “Oriental,” music. When Yekta entered the debate, the discussions about reforming “Oriental music” in the sense of Bourgault-Ducoudray were already thirty years old. The first time Yekta explicitly mentioned Bourgault-Ducoudray was in an article in the journal *Resimli kitap* published in 1909.<sup>646</sup> In the introduction, he wrote about the numerous travel accounts by Europeans in the Middle East and their writings on music. Most of the observations on music in these books, Yekta affirmed, were superficial and incorrect.<sup>647</sup> Apart from the details about Bourgault-Ducoudray, Yekta provided a comprehensive excerpt from Bourgault-Ducoudray’s ideas in Turkish. When foreign researchers presented “Oriental music” in a bad light or claimed that Turkish music was of foreign rather than Turkish origin, Turkish researchers were forced to reckon with questions of national identity. This triggered a crisis that needed to be overcome.

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<sup>644</sup> The weekly journal *Malûmât*, edited by Mehmed Tâhir Efendi (1864–1912), dealt with a plethora of topics from the fields of literature, history, geography, military science, politics, and musicology. From 23 May 1895 onwards, the journal’s title changed to *Musavver Malûmât* (Arpaguş 2004, 1). The journal *Şehbâl* was published at intervals of fourteen days and dealt with many topics of general interest, including those of the arts. It was the mouthpiece of many well-known Turkish musicologists who published their articles in this journal. Among the authors were Rauf Yekta (1871–1935), Suphi Ezgi (1869–1962), Sâlih Murât Uzdilek (1861–1967), and Sadeddin Arel (1880–1955) – the latter being the editor. The first issue was published on 1 March 1909 and the last one shortly before World War I on 15 July 1914 (Uymaz 2005). The *Millî tetebbûlar mecmûası* [Journal for National Studies] was established on 10 March 1915 and focused more on topics related to Turkish culture and Islamic civilization. The journal also included many articles by foreign authors (Yazıcı 2005).

<sup>645</sup> Rauf Yekta, “Şark mûsikisine aid bir mühim teşebbüs,” *Şehbâl*, no. 48 (1317/1901): 472, ed. in Öncel 2010, 97.

<sup>646</sup> Rauf Yekta, “Memâlik-i şarkıyye’de seyâhat-ı mûsikıyye,” *Resimli kitap*, Nisan 1325/1909, ed. in Öncel 2010, 51–56. See also remarks in Mihci “Réceptions turc-ottomanes de Bourgault-Ducoudray et de ses théories.” In *Composer l’histoire. Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray et ses héritages*, edited by Peter Asimov and Yves Balmer. Paris: Les Éditions du Conservatoire, forthcoming.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.*

### 2.2.1 Origin of the Debate

The chain of argumentation, as well as the formation of the groups that took part in the discussion, show many parallels to the Greek music debate. The Turkish music debates resulted from a crisis of national identity and reflections about the question of what “Turkish music” actually was. The supporters of Turkish or Ottoman music were in a defensive position, aiming to disprove the claims of French and English orientalists who had already claimed several decades earlier that Ottoman music was of “Byzantine” or “Arabo-Persian” descent. The effort to refute this theory became even more urgent in the initial years of the Turkish Republic, which sought to abolish Ottoman music completely from the public sphere for not being of Turkish origin.

The only way to face this challenge was to show, firstly, that Turkish music was national, and secondly, that it was not influenced by foreign nations. In the late nineteenth century, the influence of Pan-Turkic and Turanist ideas had already impacted the intellectual debates and the questions of the race and origins of the Turkish people. The same questions concerning the origins of the people had become the crucial question in the identity discourse of the nation, and thus they also determined the main thread in the debates on national music. Similar to those in Greek debates, the important elements in the discussions around Turkish music were centered on origins and unbroken cultural continuity, which had been questioned by foreign scholars.

One of many prejudiced reproaches was made by the priest Stephen Hatherly,<sup>648</sup> who claimed in his work that Turks were, as a nation, “not artistic.”<sup>649</sup> The sources that he used to prove his thesis were popular music pieces, such as the dance from the operetta *Lebledji Hor-hor Agha* and Turkish airs for piano rearranged by Callisto Guatelli (d. 1899). Hatherly claimed that although these pieces were denominated as

Turkish, even by Greeks, [they] are undoubtedly Greek in their origin. [...] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when they over-ran the civilized lands constituting the Byzantine empire, they not only possessed no Architecture or Music of their own, but they saw at once that there was no need of their possessing any, both being made ready to their hand in the countries conquered by them. Hence Turkish Architecture and Turkish Music when not spoiled by foreign admixture are both essentially Greek, or more distinctively, Byzantine.<sup>650</sup>

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<sup>648</sup> Stephen Hatherly was an Englishman born in Bristol in 1827. Alongside his important contributions as a priest, he also had a special interest in music. In 1853, he studied music at the New College in Oxford, and five years later, in 1857, he converted to Orthodoxy. Although he had been active in the Russian-Orthodox church and aimed for a priesthood in Russia, he was ordained into the priesthood in Istanbul on 8 October 1871. During his time in Istanbul, Hatherly seemingly underwent a change of attitude. Birchall (2014) remarked on Hatherly’s new national Greek and Hellenistic orientation in his works that he wrote during this period. Birchall could not discern whether Hatherly adopted this new orientation in order to better reach his Greek Orthodox audience or because he personally believed in this ideology (Birchall 2014, 113–43). A similar “chauvinistic” tone can also be perceived in Hatherly’s work *A Treatise on Byzantine Music* (1892).

<sup>649</sup> Stephen Georgeson Hatherly, *A Treatise on Byzantine Music* (London: William Reeves, 1892), 111.

<sup>650</sup> *Ibid.*, 111–12.

Hatherly's approach is biased, similar to Bourgaault-Ducoudray's, to whom he also made reference.<sup>651</sup> Although the appropriation of music and the attempt to claim its origins as Greek or Byzantine was perpetuated by philhellenes, Byzantinists, and Greeks, the real crisis faced by supporters of Ottoman music was triggered in their own nation-state by Turkish nationalists.

The most important Turkish intellectual who shaped the frame and the "Principles of Turkism" was Ziyâ Gökalp (1876–1924). During the initial years of the Turkish Republic, the idea of national ideals shifted to mainland Anatolia, and the Turkish peasant represented the pure, uncorrupted spirit of the nation. The peasant was presented in a highly idealized light, and it was assumed that the peasantry had conserved a continuous, uncorrupted Turkish character by having lived far away from the urban centers. In contrast, Ottoman music, it was believed, was the music of the multi-ethnic cities and therefore corrupted by foreign influences. Gökalp emphasized, for example, the differences between Ottoman music and Turkish folk songs. Ottoman music was bound by rules and derived from the imitation of other people's music, whereas "Turkish music consists of melodies unfettered by rules, systems and technique, of songs which express the heart of the Turk."<sup>652</sup> The idealization of peasant culture in the early Turkish Republic and the break with the old Ottoman culture and esthetics is characteristic of thinkers such as Gökalp. He followed the orientalist argument and claimed that Ottoman music "was adapted from Byzantium by al-Fârâbî [...]. Because of its source, Byzantine music is part of the culture of the ancient Greeks."<sup>653</sup> Gökalp's claim was actually not new and was probably also perpetuated among the more progressive groups of Turkists. Gökalp made use of claims and ideas about Turkish music that were already in circulation before he was born. For the new Turkish political stakeholders, it was not difficult to leave Ottoman music behind since they would focus on Anatolian culture and Western civilization. Therefore, all music related to what was called "Oriental music" was rejected by Gökalp, who used the same language as the nineteenth-century orientalists. He acknowledged that "Eastern" music derived from ancient Greek music, from his point of view, because it made use of quarter tones. Quarter tones and "monotony" for him were the main flaws of Greek music, and these had been eliminated in Europe thanks to the introduction of harmony and polyphony. The "sick music," according to Gökalp, remained unchanged, in contrast to its Western equivalent, and was reintroduced to the Persians and Ottomans, as well as to Armenians, Syrians, and Byzantines. Gökalp mentioned three types of music, namely "Oriental, Western, and folk," and raised the question as to which of these types would correspond to the "real national music." He excluded "Oriental" music for being "sick and non-national." In contrast, he considered Western music to be part of Turkish civilization, and folk songs to be part of

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<sup>651</sup> Indeed, Aksoy was correct when he claimed that Hatherly probably would not have changed his opinion, even if he had consulted other sources of Ottoman music since his approach to the sources was biased and solely intended to legitimize Byzantine continuity in music (Aksoy 2008, 165).

<sup>652</sup> Ziyâ Gökalp, *The Principles of Turkism*, trans. Robert Devereux (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 24.

<sup>653</sup> *Ibid.*

Turkish culture. He concluded: “Our national music will be born out of a marriage between folk and Western music. Our folk music has given us many melodies. If we collect these and harmonize them in the Western manner, we shall have both a national and a European music.”<sup>654</sup> Similar ideas had been formulated by Bourgault-Ducoudray in the 1880s, but in Turkey it had become a political creed in 1923. The new Turkish music followed the contemporary cultural politics of “halka doğru” [towards the people] and emerged from a synthesis of folk song and Western music similar to the Hungarian and Russian models.<sup>655</sup> The folk song, which became the new basis of the national school, became for the first time an object of research and study. Herder’s ideas about the folk song that would best represent the nation’s character, were still being perceived and applied roughly one hundred sixty years later. For musicians who lived through the transition from the Ottoman Empire to Turkey and who had grown up with Ottoman music, these claims were a great offense and setback. In the end, Ottoman music, which had shaped their culture for so long, was at stake.

### 2.2.2 Formation of a Historical Master Narrative in Ottoman Music

The emergence of Turkish or Ottoman music history is a relatively late phenomenon. As has been mentioned, towards the end of the nineteenth century, many Ottoman intellectuals pointed out the lack of interest in Turkish music. It is true that there was, seemingly, not much published on the history of Ottoman music. One thin volume that dealt with music history was *Târihçe-i fenn-i mûsîkî* (1894) [The History of Music Science] published by Hacı Mehmed Emîn (1845–1907).<sup>656</sup> This booklet, however, dealt with the history of European music, especially of opera and theater. Additionally, it also contained a section with composer biographies. The book does not deal with any aspects of Ottoman music. However, it solely mentions in the preface some of the Istanbulite composers of alafanga music.<sup>657</sup> This volume may therefore demonstrate the interest of Ottoman intellectuals in

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<sup>654</sup> Ibid., 99.

<sup>655</sup> Ibid.

<sup>656</sup> Mehmed Emîn, *Târihçe-i fenn-i mûsîkî* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Sava ve Enver, 1310/1894), ed. in Abaylı 2004. Mehmed Emîn Efendi was born in Istanbul in 1845. At the age of ten, he entered the Imperial Music School (*Mûzika-yı Hümâyûn*), where he was a student of Guatelli Pasha. He became familiar with European as well as Ottoman music and contributed to the musical scene in various ways. In 1873, he joined a printing house and from 1876 onwards he published more than 250 fascicules of sheet music in staff notation who were arranged by Guatelli Pasha, among others. Besides his compositions, Emîn Efendi was also active in the field of music pedagogy. He published the *Nota muallimi* (1302/1886) [The Notation Master], which was written for music aficionados that were interested in learning music or staff notation. His contributions in the field of printing and teaching notation probably gave him the additional title *notacı* [One who sells, prints or writes notes]. He died in Istanbul in 1907. For further reading also consult Rona 1960, 16; Erol 2003; Öztuna 1990, 1:255–56. A picture of Hacı Emîn Efendi was printed on the upper left corner of Konuk (1317/1901, 2).

<sup>657</sup> Among the names that he mentioned are the Ottoman-Armenian composer Dikran Tchouhadjian (1837–1898), the Italian violinist Giuseppe Gaido, Antoine Merciyân, and the author himself (Mehmed Emîn 1310/1894, 4).

European rather than in Ottoman music. It does not contain any notions or comments that would deal with the problem of Ottoman or Turkish identity in music.

Initial steps in this process of achieving self-awareness in “Oriental music” in the Turkish context can be seen in an article that was published in the journal *Malûmât* in 1896.<sup>658</sup> The article, which is anonymous, was probably written by the publisher of the journal, Tâhir Bey. In his article, which was meant as a reply to Âsım Bey’s letter, Tâhir Bey deals with questions concerning the origins of *garb* [Occidental/Western] and *şark* [Oriental/Eastern] music. The author claimed that the musical origins of European music were in Egypt, later passing to the Greeks and Romans. He highlighted the role of the Turks in the history of “Oriental music,” which, according to him, had originated along the coasts of China and Japan. The author affirmed that both nations had elevated music to its highest degree and invented the “most touching” melodies as well as the instruments that were necessary to express them. He admitted that this age was followed by a period of decline and decadence; but on the other hand, it achieved great progress under the Persian civilization, which is why in the Ottoman repertoire there were still many songs in Persian.<sup>659</sup> He further claimed that this music was adopted by the Arabs during the Abbasid Caliphate (1261–1517) and was eventually adopted by the Turks. Since the Arabs were “uninterested” in the “riches” and “progress of civilization,” he concluded that if the Turks had not adopted the “Oriental music” from the Arabs, it would have been lost forever. The Turks, he claimed, not only adopted the music; they developed and fomented its progress in order to guarantee its future.<sup>660</sup> This short and simple narrative of Turkish music history underwent important changes in the following decades. This article asserted that all nations from China, Japan, and Persia were related to ideas of progress and developed civilizations, whereas the Arabic period was held responsible for the age of decline. According to this narrative, the Turks served as the “savior” of “Oriental music,” who combined and further developed it to a high level.

Another important thinker in this context was Âsım Bey. In his article “Mûsikî-i mil-lîmiz” [Our National Music], he underlined the importance of a history of Ottoman music to complement national history and the corpus of Ottoman literature. In order to do so, he outlined the most important stages of Ottoman music history, which he dealt with in each of the articles. His outline suggests an interest in the music of past cultures that supposedly influenced Ottoman music. He started with Hebrew music,<sup>661</sup> but he also planned to publish articles on the music of China, Iran, Romania, Byzantium, and Arabia. In his article

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<sup>658</sup> [Tâhir Beyefendi?], “Ma’lûmât’ın N. Âsım’a cevâbı,” *Malûmât*, no. 43 (1312/1896): 943–44, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 107–10.

<sup>659</sup> For a detailed study of the influence of the Persianate repertoire on Ottoman music, see Feldman 2015, 87–139.

<sup>660</sup> [Tâhir Beyefendi?] 1312/1896, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 109.

<sup>661</sup> It is likely that Âsım Bey’s article on Hebrew music was based on Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg’s (1802–1864) *Die Bücher Moses und Ägypten* (1841) [The Books of Moses and Egypt]. The article places special weight on organology, where Âsım Bey drew parallels to instruments that were also used in Turkish music.

on music in the Seljuk dynasty, he affirmed that Ottoman music was connected with the music of the Greeks and the Seljuks. In the following, he used the chronicles *Târih-i Âl-i Selçûk*<sup>662</sup> [History of the Seljuk Dynasty] and quoted passages that deal with music practices and instruments. By doing so, he highlighted the importance music had for the predecessors of the Ottoman dynasty. He also intended to prove cultural continuity by showing that many of the old instruments mentioned still existed in his time. He underlined the important contributions of the Persians and concluded that many of the adopted instruments were of Persian origin.<sup>663</sup> In the last of the three articles, Âsım Bey wrote about “Ottoman music.”<sup>664</sup> As had become apparent in his article on Seljuk music, in “Ottoman music” his narrative concentrated on the Turkic and Persian cultures. By doing so, he omitted any possible contributions from other Christian musical cultures, such as Byzantine music. Therefore, Âsım Bey’s article is tendentious and is influenced by his ideological background. Continuity in Ottoman musical culture played a pivotal role. In his second article, he pointed out the influences of central Asian cultures during the time of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481). He stated that the Ottoman state had strong relations with the Timurid Empire during the reign of Husain Baiqara (1470–1506). Many experienced craftsmen and poets visited Sultan Mehmed II, including the prestigious musician Abdülkâdir Merâğî (1353–1435). During the time of Sultan Selim III (1761–1808), more professional artists and musicians came from Iran. Âsım Bey referred to Evliya Çelebi’s famous travel account of the seventeenth century and used it to prove the high number of musicians and instrument makers that had existed back then. He concluded that music had always played an important role for the Turks and that many of the instruments were still in use. The former band of the Janissaries, where these instruments were used, was replaced by “Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn,” the late Ottoman imperial military band, which at the same time served as a music school. Âsım Bey further highlighted the cultural kinship with the central Asian by referring to folklore. He introduced a short digression to show that, apart from the Ottoman instruments in the urban centers, they were also to be found in more rural areas. In an idealizing fashion, he narrated a folk ritual of the Turkmens in Aleppo and the primitive instruments that were made of wood and coffee beans. In this way, Âsım Bey reminded his readers that folk songs also formed part of the cultural heritage and therefore should be researched. He probably aimed to draw attention to a field that was understudied at that time. Comparing the lively debates and existing literature in the Greek-speaking world, it is surprising that at the end of the nineteenth century there

<sup>662</sup> The chronicles *Târih-i Âl-i Selçûk* (also known as *Selçûknâme*) were commissioned by Murâd II (r. 1421–1444 and 1446–1451) and were written and completed between the years 1424 and 1436. The chronicles, in the Persian language, give insights into the history of various Turkic tribes such as the Oghuz, Seljuks, and Ottomans, highlighting the decisive episodes. It is considered one of the most important historical documents of Turkic history (Özgüdenli 2011).

<sup>663</sup> Necib Âsım, “Selçûkilerin mûsikîsi,” *Malûmât*, no. 112 (Kânûn-ı Evvel 1313/1898): 1242–44, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 130.

<sup>664</sup> Necib Âsım, “Mûsikî-i Osmânî,” *Malûmât*, no. 115 (Kânûn-ı Evvel 1313/1898): 1285–87.

was seemingly so little knowledge of and interest in Turkish music studies. Although his claims were tendentious, the tone in which he wrote was relatively passive. His motivation was to disseminate knowledge about the history of the Turkish people. His arguments and narrative reveal the influence of David Léon Cahun's work *Introduction to the History of Asia*, which was published in 1896 and even translated into Turkish in 1899.

Rauf Yekta's role as the first Turkish (ethno-)musicologist was comparatively more influential in the debates around Turkish music. His expertise and professional formation derived from the dervish convents where he was taught by his masters. His mission was to establish a scholarship-based study of Turkish music. He not only defended Turkish music against supporters of Western music in the Ottoman Empire; he also hoped to refute wrong assumptions and claims that were circulating among foreign and Turkish scholars. He hoped to spark interest among Turkish scholars with his musicological articles that he published in Ottoman journals such as *İkdâm*.<sup>665</sup> He laid the foundation for Turkish music history and became known as a fervent defender of Turkish music. His best-known article was "La Musique Turque" [Turkish Music], which was published in Albert Lavignac's music encyclopedia *Encyclopédie de la musique*.<sup>666</sup> Although the article was published in 1922, Yekta had already written it in 1913. Therefore, it can be assumed that he developed his ideas and theses on Turkish music in the first decade of the twentieth century. One of the striking features of his article is the terminology that he used to refer to Ottoman or Middle Eastern music. Yekta did not use the phrase "Ottoman music" in this article but spoke mostly of "Turkish music." One of his early articles that he published in the journal *İkdâm* in 1898 was titled "A Few Words on Ottoman Music."<sup>667</sup> Did he choose the word "Ottoman" unconsciously or did this change of mindset derive from an ideological background?

His article "Turkish music," which he wrote in French, is not only a scholarly attempt to eliminate wrong assumptions and ideas about Turkish music that had been claimed by foreign musicologists. His article can also be considered a scholarly—and also a political—statement on the origins of Turkish music which aimed to prove the glorious and unbroken past of Turkish musical history. In his introduction he stated his thesis, claiming that Turks came originally from central Asia and were divided into two tribes. One was the Uyghurs who lived in parts of east Turkistan, and the others were the Turks who had settled in west Turkistan. In this article, Yekta's understanding of "Turk" or "Turkish" was not geographically limited to the Ottomans but extended beyond them. In his theory, the western Turks adopted the ideas and religion of the Arabs who had reached central Asia in the early Middle Ages. Because of the Muslim religion, and because Arabic as well as Persian had become the languages of the sciences, Turks also wrote their scholarly treat-

<sup>665</sup> The *İkdâm* was a periodical that circulated between 1894–1928. It dealt with questions of politics, culture, and science. It also included topics that were related to the Turkish language and music and thus served as a platform to exchange and disseminate ideas on national culture (Yazıcı 2000).

<sup>666</sup> Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922.

<sup>667</sup> Rauf Yekta, "Osmânî mûsikîsi hakkında bir kaç söz," (*İkdâm*, Zilkade 1315/1898).

tises in Arabic and Persian. Yekta used this argument to present the well-known theoretician al-Fârâbî as a Turkish scholar and to include him in the lineup of Turkish thinkers. He claimed that al-Fârâbî was the earliest Turkish theoretician to write a “Turkish” music treatise in Arabic. Yekta drew attention to the misinterpretation of Western European scholars—namely that since al-Fârâbî wrote in Arabic, Western scholars mistook him for an Arab.<sup>668</sup> The tendency to appropriate great theoreticians and musicians of the Middle Ages as part of the Turkish musical heritage can be observed in twentieth-century Turkey in particular. Abdülkâdir Merâğî, in this context, is a pivotal figure who even today is considered the originator of Turkish music. Many pieces in the Ottoman repertoire that are in Persian are attributed to Merâğî without any historical basis.<sup>669</sup> It is crucial to understand that these kinds of references to old composers who used Persian as their language were seen as an important element in the chain of music transmission. In Ottoman Turkey, the attribution of musical pieces to Merâğî started in the second half of the eighteenth century, which Feldman referred to as the “Ottoman musical Renaissance.”<sup>670</sup> According to his analysis, there was a significant rupture and change in the musical repertoire from a “simplistic” to a more sophisticated style. In many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music anthologies, it is possible to find pieces that were attributed to the “Hoca” [The Teacher]—a title often used to honor Merâğî.<sup>671</sup> In later centuries this culture lived on, and many of the attributions to Merâğî or to “Acemler” [The Persians] were not based on scholarly evidence. For Yekta and his contemporary musicologists, such as Sadettin Arel (1880–1955) and Suphi Ezgi (1889–1947), it was pivotal, however, to show a monolithic and unchanging music.<sup>672</sup> Yekta, who also published a biography on Merâğî, clarified that the Europeans mistook him for an Iranian musician. Yekta explained that the last name, “Merâğî,” showed that he was originally from Maraga, a city in today’s Azerbaijan. Al-Fârâbî and Merâğî’s supposed birthplaces served as proof for Yekta that they lived in areas where Turks had already settled. Yekta used this assumption to claim that very early, important thinkers as well as musicians were Turkish in origin. Furthermore, Yekta’s emphasis was even greater on the aspect of cultural continuity. He claimed that many of Merâğî’s pieces had essentially their form, despite the fact that they were transmitted orally over a long period of time.<sup>673</sup>

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<sup>668</sup> Yekta, “La Musique Turque,” 1922, 2975, col. 2.

<sup>669</sup> Feldman explained in his article the phenomenon of “Pseudographia” in late Ottoman Turkey. Pieces that were attributed to prestigious composers like Merâğî had already become “classics” in the seventeenth century. An analysis of the transmitted repertoire prior to the 1650s showed, however, that there was no correlation in the repertoire (Feldman 2015, 132). Consequently, the emergence of old composer names, together with musical pieces that had not been recorded before, happened without any historical basis and stood in the light of an “Ottoman musical Renaissance.”

<sup>670</sup> Feldman, “The Musical ‘Renaissance’ of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey.”

<sup>671</sup> See, for example, the edition of the codex TR-Iüne 204-2 in Mihci, Demirkol, and Sharif 2021.

<sup>672</sup> Feldman, “The Musical ‘Renaissance’ of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey,” 129.

<sup>673</sup> Yekta, “La Musique Turque,” 1922, 2978, cols. 1–2.

In Yekta's brief history of Turkish music, which he narrated chronologically according to the reigns of the sultans, the era of Sultan Mahmud I and Sultan Selim III is shown as the peak of Turkish music. Both sultans, who reigned in the eighteenth century, are presented as the "protectors" of Turkish music. Demetrius Cantemir's (1673–1723) as well as Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede's (1765–1821) music theories are mentioned in the context of an emerging musical literacy. Yekta mentioned that the Moldavian prince Cantemir, who wrote the first music theory in Turkish, had attributed the invention of the alphabet notation to himself.<sup>674</sup> Yekta disagreed and underlined that the alphabet notation had already been in use since the times of Merâğî. It is true that the alphabet notation had been used in many prior music treatises to exemplify musical phenomena, but it followed different rules and was never used to write down music for practical performances.

In the previous chapter on Greek music, it became clear that music notation played an important role in the context of national identity. Byzantine neume notation was an important element and proof of continuity in Greek Orthodox music. Hence, the debates around reforming the notation or even replacing it with staff notation were seen as a threat to the native musical tradition. However, in the Turkish case, the situation was different. Musical literacy in music performance started at a relatively late stage in the Ottoman-Muslim tradition. Earlier, Ottoman music had been transmitted by the *meşk* tradition, which was characterized by an individual, master-student relationship.<sup>675</sup> The student learned the repertoire face-to-face and the musical style by rote until completing the training. The Ottoman music transmission was for many centuries based on oral transmission. Consequently, there were only very few Ottoman sources that recorded songs in the form of music anthologies with notation. However, those song collections circulated only in very limited groups and were not in use on a large scale. Moreover, music notation was used in music treatises exclusively to illustrate and exemplify theoretical assumptions and claims. Letters of the Arabic alphabet generally served to indicate pitch.

The lack of a "national notation" in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, when national origins and identity in music had become important, turned out to be an obstacle in the historical narrative of Turkish music. The numerous modernization processes in the nineteenth century also impacted music notation cultures in the Ottoman Empire. The only notations that were invented for practical use and for writing down and performing music were Chrysanthine and Hampartsum notation. After the establishment of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band in 1828, staff notation was also introduced. Staff notation was mostly used for military bands and European entertainment music, but it was also used to write down Ottoman songs. Additionally, Hampartsum notation was used in a small circle

<sup>674</sup> Cantemir's contemporary, Nâyî Osmân Dede, had introduced a notation a few decades earlier that was almost identical to Cantemir's. For more detailed information consult Popescu-Judetzu 1996.

<sup>675</sup> For further reading on the *meşk*, see also Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, *Osmanlı dönemi türk müzikîsi* (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2003); Cem Behar, *Aşk olmayınca meşk olmaz: geleneksel osmanlı/türk müziğinde öğretim ve intikal* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998); Gönül Paçacı, "Mûsiki taliminden müzik terbiyesine," *Toplumsal tarih*, no. 100 (2002): 10–19.

of musicians, both Muslim and Christian.<sup>676</sup> Staff notation dominated, however, especially in the latter nineteenth century. The co-existence of various notation systems that partly developed out of the national self-awareness of the Ottoman-Christians led to the manifestation of an Ottoman music repertoire that was codified in various notations. For the debate on Turkish national identity, however, the lack of a national “Turkish” music notation was problematic.

Ottoman Greeks used Chrysanthine notation for both spiritual as well as secular music. The numerous printed volumes of Ottoman music in this reformed neume notation are actually the earliest printed editions of Ottoman vocal music. In addition, there are also many manuscript sources that contain Ottoman music in neume notation. The users of Chrysanthine notation were mostly Ottoman Greeks or Greeks who knew Turkish and had a connection to the Greek Orthodox church. Among Ottoman-Muslim musicians, Chrysanthine notation was rarely used.<sup>677</sup> In contrast, Hampartsum notation was accepted among many Ottoman-Muslim musicians who lived in the capital. Unlike Chrysanthine notation, Ottoman songs in Hampartsum notation were rarely printed. The repertoire that was transmitted in Hampartsum notation consisted mainly of manuscripts in the form of codices or loose sheets that circulated among the dervish lodges and musicians. Although Hampartsum notation was born out of national aspirations in the light of the European Enlightenment, it did not hinder Ottoman-Muslim musicians from using it. Whether the use of Hampartsum notation, which derived from an Ottoman-Armenian context, was related to Ottoman national ideologies cannot be known for sure. In the introduction to an article, Alî Rifat Çağatay differentiated between *alafranga* and *alaturca* notation. In this article from 1895, he stated that staff notation was *alafranga* notation, whereas he referred to Hampartsum notation as *alaturca* notation. In the following issues of the journal, he explained the correct usage and notation of Hampartsum characters. Yekta knew, of course, that neume notation came from the Orthodox-Greek and Hampartsum notation from an Armenian heritage. Since there was seemingly no “Turkish” notation that was being used, he had to compensate for this missing element in Turkish music history. Thus, he reverted to medieval Islamic shared traditions, which he “Turkified.”

In 1909, Rauf Yekta published two articles on music notation. The first deals with the development of music notation in Europe, whereas in the second article, he gives an historical account of the music notation of the Eastern nations, especially of the Ottomans.<sup>678</sup> In his article on Ottoman music notation, he described the works of ten important per-

<sup>676</sup> Hampartsum notation was named after the Ottoman Armenian musician Hampartsum Limonciyan (1768–1839), who was one of its inventors. Together with Minas Bžškean (1777–1861) and members of the Tiwzeans family, he developed a new notation that derived from the signs of the older Armenian “khaz” notation. The ideological spirit that was influenced by the currents of Enlightenment thought was a very similar one to that of Chrysanthos of Madytos. Both reformed their already existing notation around the same time. Kerovpyan (2010) claimed that Hampartsum notation was developed between the years 1810 and 1812. For further reading, see Popescu-Judetz 1996, 42–43; Kerovpyan 2010, 91–105; Jäger, 2006, 184–85; Olley, 2017.

<sup>677</sup> Among the list of subscribers in *Kêltzanidēs* (1859), there is also one Muslim name from Crete called Ahmed Bey. See Kappler 2002, 19n35.

<sup>678</sup> Rauf Yekta, “Kitâbet-i mûsikîyye târîhine bir nazar,” *Şehbâl*, no. 7 (1909): 127, ed. in Öncel 2010, 80–82.

sons who had contributed to the development of music notation in the Ottoman and Islamic contexts. Yekta took al-Fârâbî and his Middle Age context around the year 941 as a point of departure.<sup>679</sup> Al-Fârâbî had used music notation in the form of Arabic letters for didactic purposes; and this notation, which Yekta considered to be in a state of infancy, was further developed by Hacı Safiyyüddîn Abdülmü'min el-Urmevî<sup>680</sup> and the aforementioned Abdülkâdir Merâğî.<sup>681</sup> The fourth theoretician that Yekta mentioned was Kutbeddîn Şîrâzî,<sup>682</sup> who drew on Urmevî's concept but added more functional elements to the notation. From the Ottoman period, Yekta discussed Ahmedoğlu Şükrullâh<sup>683</sup> as an expert on notation among the Ottoman composers of the fifteenth century who also used alphabet-

<sup>679</sup> Al-Fârâbî (d. 950) used a tablature notation that used letters in alphabetical order to indicate the tonal steps (Popescu-Judetetz 1996, 15).

<sup>680</sup> Safiyyüddîn Abdülmü'min el-Urmevî (d. 1294) was a music theoretician named after the city "Urmia," where he was supposedly born. He is considered the founder of the Systematist School, which developed an alphabetical notation that reached full functionality in indicating pitch and measure. Thanks to the Persian elements that his work introduced, his work was widely referenced in Turkish and Persian sources (Popescu-Judetetz 1996, 16–17). Some Turkish musicologists consider el-Urmevî to be one of the early national scholars. Öztuna, for example, called el-Urmevî a "Turkish music theoretician. The greatest music theoretician of the Islamic world" (1990, 2:250). Öztuna claimed that el-Urmevî wrote a vocal piece in "ebced" notation and in the Arabic language, which is considered one of the oldest pieces that has been handed down to the present day in the Turkish repertoire. All early Turkish musicologists, such as Rauf Yekta, Suphi Ezgi, and Sadeddin Arel worked on el-Urmevî's writings. Ezgi and Arel apparently discovered close relations between the Turkish music system and the explanations in el-Urmevî's treatise. El-Urmevî dedicated himself to the study of music treatises by famous Islamic as well as early Greek theoreticians. He developed a system in which he divided the octave into seventeen pitches and indicated them according to the pitch in "ebced" notation. His approach was accepted in the Turkish-Islamic world between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries (Uygun 2008; Öztuna 1990, 2:250–51).

<sup>681</sup> Abdülkâdir Merâğî (d. 1435) is considered one of the most important musicians and theoreticians of the Muslim world. His talents were not limited to music: he also was a poet, writer, painter, calligrapher, and professional reader of the Koran. He served as a musician at various courts. It is claimed that his name derives from the city Maraga, where he was supposedly born. This information, however, could not be verified. He spent parts of his life in Samarkand and Herat and was in contact with Ottoman and Mamluk courts. In Turkey, he is considered to be the father of classical Ottoman music; and he is often referred to as "Hace" or "Hoca" [The Teacher/Master], which underlines his authoritative position (Feldman 1990/1991, 92). In his treatises written in Persian, he melded Persian and Turkish musical cultures into a theoretical framework. The music system which Merâğî used was based on that of el-Urmevî (Popescu-Judetetz 1998, 19; Öztuna 1988; İhsanoğlu 2003, 5–14).

<sup>682</sup> Kutbeddîn Şîrâzî (1236–1311) is described in Öztuna (1990) as a "great Muslim thinker and scientist, music theoretician." He was born in Şîrâz and died in Tabrîz at the age of seventy-four. He worked in different areas, such as Islamic philosophy, mathematics, optics, astronomy, and geography, in Iraq and Iran before he came to Anatolia. He became an ambassador of the Mamluk sultan Qalawun and went to Cairo. He played such instruments as the *rebâb* and *kemençe*. His most outstanding work was *Dürretü't-tâc li-gurreti'd-dibâc* (1305), an encyclopedia with important sections on music. Rauf Yekta seemingly prepared a translation, which according to Öztuna had never been published (Öztuna 1990, 2:465–66; Şerbetçi 2002). Şîrâzî added more detailed ideas to the notation, similar to a semi-staff notation (Popescu-Judetetz 1996, 18). Kiesewetter called Şîrâzî "Zarlino der Orientalen" [The Zarlino of the Orientals] and claimed that Urmevî's thoughts had led to reforms and the emergence of a system that was based on seven whole tones and five halftones. Kiesewetter assumed that this system was transferred from Europe to Persia and not vice versa (Kiesewetter and Hammer-Purgstall 1842, 13). Yekta fervently criticized this assumption in his article of 1915, where he discussed the origins of Turkish music. For more detailed information on this debate, see Yekta 1331/1915, ed. in Çakıroğlu 2015, 217–29.

<sup>683</sup> Şükrullâh al-Çeşmişkezekî (1388–1470?) entered the service of the Ottomans in 1409. Apart from his work as a scholar and statesman, he was interested in the study of music. He translated el-Urmevî's treatise from Arabic into Turkish with some additional annotations. Yekta used some of the elements in his articles in the

ical notation. Up to this point, Yekta narrated the history of music notation as an uninterrupted process of progress and unbroken continuity. Şükrullâh's period was, however, followed by a caesura. Yekta remarked that there was no further evidence of music notation until the seventeenth century and lamented that the "national notation" was lost.<sup>684</sup> Continuing, Yekta mentioned the most important names of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition, Cantemir<sup>685</sup> provided a music treatise on Ottoman music as well as numerous instrumental pieces in alphanumeric notation. Prior to him, the musician Nâyî Osmân Dede,<sup>686</sup> whom Yekta mentioned as well, had published another treatise with an almost identical but more complex system. Another musician of the eighteenth century whom Yekta mentions is Nâyî Osmân Dede's grandson and Mevlevî musician, Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede,<sup>687</sup> who was commissioned by Sultan Selim III around 1794 to develop a music notation. In his work *Tahrîriyyetül-mûsikî* [The Writing of Music], Abdülbâkî presented a notation in the tradition of the older Islamic music treatises. Yekta's narrative of the history of music notation in the Ottoman world ends abruptly in the nineteenth century after mentioning the notation of Necîb Pasha<sup>688</sup> and Hampartsum notation.

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journal *Millî tettebbûlar mecmûası* [Journal of National Studies]. The passage on Ottoman general history that Şükrullâh dealt with in his work caught particular attention (Öztuna 1990, 2:263–64; Yıldız 2010; İhsanoğlu 2003, 30–31).

<sup>684</sup> For a brief introduction to the notation systems in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire, see Behar 2019.

<sup>685</sup> Prince Demetrius Cantemir (1673–1723) was born in Jassy in Moldovia and served at the Ottoman court in Istanbul from 1687 to 1691 and from 1693 to 1700. There he became familiar with Ottoman culture. He also learned Ottoman music and played the tanbûr and ney. He designed a music notation in the same period as Nâyî Osmân Dede, which he tried to propagate without success. Cantemir's music treatise *Kitabu ilmi'l-mûsikî 'alâ vechi'l-hurûfât* (ed. in Tura 2001) is accompanied by 350 instrumental pieces that were notated in alphabetical notation. Unlike earlier examples, the alphabetic letters in Cantemir's work referred to a specific pitch and the numerals denoted a rhythmic value. His notation, however, did not reach a broader audience and was short-lived. He died in Kharkov and was buried in Jassy (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 27–30, 35; Tura 2001, 1:xix–xxiv).

<sup>686</sup> Nâyî Osmân Dede (1652–1730), in addition to being a famous ney player, was also familiar with Arabic and Persian music and literature. He became sheikh of the dervish convent in Galata and adopted the alphabetic notation from older music treatises (Öztuna 1996, 2:169–70; Popescu-Judetz 1996, 31–34; Çakır 1998). His biographers say that he was able to write down vocal pieces and perform them from the notation (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 30).

<sup>687</sup> Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede (1765–1821) was the grandson of Nâyî Osmân Dede and head of the dervish convent in the Yenikapı district in Istanbul. He was a ney player, composer, and music theoretician. Abdülbâkî Dede aimed to revitalize three alphabetical notations of medieval models after he adopted most of the symbols from el-Urmevî (Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede 2006; Popescu-Judetz 1996, 36–39; Uslu and Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık 2009).

<sup>688</sup> Necîb Pasha (1815–1883) is considered one of the most influential Ottoman musicians of the nineteenth century. At an early age, he already became familiar with Ottoman music, and later, when he entered the newly organized Imperial Music School, he also learned European music from Giuseppe Donizetti. After his training in harmony, piano, violin, and flute, he became a member of the military band as a flutist in 1846. From 1876 on, he had higher positions; he composed one march to Sultan Abdulhamid II and another march dedicated to the First Constitution, which became the official Ottoman march for thirty-three years. As a composer and instructor who was familiar with the two musical cultures, he contributed to the westernization of music in the Ottoman Empire. In Turkey, he is also known as a music collector who commissioned musicians to write down and conserve the Ottoman music repertoire (Öztuna 1990, 2:103–5; Gazimihal 1955, 65–69; Özcan 2006).

Necîb Pasha was a military commander and composer of the Ottoman national anthem, which was used from 1876–1908. He found staff notation inappropriate to represent Turkish music. He had attempted to reintroduce alphabetical notation, which, however, was unsuccessful. Yekta, who later also proposed to reintroduce alphabetical notation, could not understand why Necîb Pasha's notation had not been accepted among Ottoman musicians, whereas Hampartsum notation, which was introduced during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, became widely used.<sup>689</sup>

In his article "Studies on the Origins of Old Turkish Music," Yekta defended the origins of Turkish music against false claims by foreign researchers.<sup>690</sup> In his article of 1915, Yekta dealt with Kiesewetter's volume *Die Musik der Araber* [The Music of the Arabs] in particular.<sup>691</sup> When Kiesewetter spoke about the music history of the Middle East, he claimed that the Persian authors were late in writing music treatises because of the Turkish occupation. Yekta was offended by Kiesewetter's ideas and his remark that Turks were "far away from the muses." Kiesewetter had stated that only when the Turks had retreated and the Mongols dominated were the arts and sciences able to reach their heyday.<sup>692</sup> Yekta contradicted Kiesewetter and stressed that both Turks and Mongols were peoples that possessed elaborate instruments and music, and neither were "enemies of the sciences." He quoted an excerpt from the medieval theoretician Abdülkâdir Merâğî, who, in his writings on the music of the Turks and Mongols, claimed that both music traditions were developed and systematized and that both even used a precise nomenclature to describe musical phenomena. For Yekta, this showed that Turks historically belonged to the world of civilized people but that foreign scholars came to misleading conclusions and assumptions regarding the topic. Yekta can be seen as one of the earliest Turkish musicologists to publicly reject this kind of biased perspective on Ottoman music and to fight for its reputation and acceptance among European scholars.

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<sup>689</sup> Rauf Yekta also invented an alphabetical notation, which he himself called "Turkish notation." A few pictures of this notation were printed in Doğrusöz 2018, 133–34. For Yekta's theoretical treatise, see Yekta 1335/1919.

<sup>690</sup> See Yekta 1331/1915 ed. in Çakıroğlu 2015.

<sup>691</sup> Kiesewetter and Hammer-Purgstall, *Die Musik der Araber*.

<sup>692</sup> "Das verspätete Erscheinen persischer Schriftsteller über musikalische Theorie dürfte aus dem Schicksal zu erklären seyn, welches Persien in eben dieser Periode betraf: noch in der Mitte des XI. Jahrhunderts unserer Zeitrechnung gerieth das Land unter die Herrschaft der Türken, eines Volkes, das überall den Musen abhold gewesen. Erst als die Türken im XIII. Jahrhundert wieder dem Andrang der Mongolen weichen mussten, lebten unter der milderen und aufgeklärteren Regierung mongolischer Dynastien Künste und Wissenschaften neuerdings auf, und blühten in noch höherem Flor unter ausgezeichneten Fürsten aus der Familie des mächtigen Eroberers Timur, gewöhnlich Tamerlan genannt." [The late appearance of music theory by the Persian authors may be explained by the fate that Persia met during this period: in the middle of the eleventh century of our calendar, the land fell under the rule of the Turks, a nation which had been averse to the muses everywhere. Only in the thirteenth century, when the Turks had to give way to the impetus of the Mongols, could the arts and sciences newly revive thanks to the more lenient and enlightened Mongolian rulers, and thus flourish in a greater flowerage under the rulers of the family of the powerful conqueror Timur, who is usually referred to as Tamerlan], *ibid.*, 13.

Yekta also intended to write and publish a *History of Oriental Music*<sup>693</sup> in fascicules, which started to be published from 1925 onwards. In this volume, which he had also planned to use in his music lectures, he intended to narrate the history of Turkish music since the beginning of music in the mythical past to the present. It also included the music history of neighboring and ancient civilizations such as the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Assyrians, and ancient Greeks, among others. He used organology to trace instruments that had commonly been in use since the pre-biblical age. Unfortunately, only the first few fascicules of this work were printed, while the greater part remained unpublished.

It has become clear that the topics in the Turkish music debate were centered on questions that were vital for Turkish national identity and music. The questions that somehow directed the debate derived from a direct comparison with other nations and the musical elements they had that the Ottomans did not. Âsım Bey repeatedly stressed in his articles that the *alaturca* or *incesâz*<sup>694</sup> music was not suitable as a national music since it was based on imitations of Persian and Arabic musical cultures; thus, it did not correspond to the requirements of a Turkish national music. He drew attention to folk songs from Anatolia, from which a national “Turkish” music could be formed. However, he lamented that there was hardly any interest in folk songs that had been abandoned and therefore left in an undeveloped state for 500 years.<sup>695</sup> Âsım Bey criticized the conservative stance that continued with the fashion of composing old-style songs. This prevented the emancipation of music, poetry, and language since it simply imitated the language and music of other nations. Âsım Bey questioned the benefits of the *alaturca* music and the efforts that had been spent on this music for the last 600 years. He stated that the music of the past centuries was lost and that even the best-trained musicians would not remember the music of the last century. Âsım Bey explained why musicians of Arabic and Persian origin caused astonishment among *incesâz* musicians when they performed *gazels*<sup>696</sup> or

<sup>693</sup> Rauf Yekta, *Şark mûsikîsi târihi* (Istanbul: Mahmûd Bey Matbaası, 1343/1927). On the title page of the volume, Yekta listed the musical topics and cultures that he had planned to study and consider in his work. The topics that he had itemized were “The Origins of Music; The Music of the Primitive People; The Music Before the Flood; Considering Egypt as the Cradle of Music; Music in Egypt; Music of the Assyrians and Phoenicians; Music in India; Music of the Hebrews; Music in China; Music in Japan; Music in the Vicinity of the Burmans, Siamese and Ceylonians; Music of the Ancient Greeks; Music of the Arabs; Music of the Persians.” The last published issue dealt with the music of India. The first issues were reissued in the Latin alphabet in the *Nota musiki mecmuası* from 1933 to 1935 when Rauf Yekta had already died. See also Paçacı 2010, 172–74.

<sup>694</sup> *İncesâz* was an alternative term for an orchestra that performed “fasıl music.” Therefore, this type of orchestra was sometimes also referred to as “fasıl heyeti,” which is a group of musicians that play a “fasıl program.” The term “fasıl” means “chapter” or “section” and relates to the idea of the *makâm* as a “chapter.” The *fasıl* is composed of a selection of instrumental and vocal pieces that all belong to the same *makâm*, are performed as a cycle, and are often conceived as a type of “Suite.” The performance has a determined order, which depends on the music genres of which it has been composed. See also Öztuna 1990, 1: 286.

<sup>695</sup> Necîb Âsım, “Türk mûsikîsi,” *Malûmât*, no. 104 (Teşrîn-i evvel 1313/1897): 1065–66, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 119. At this point, it should be remarked that Âsım Bey tended to idealize the Anatolian folk song. At that time, the folk song was hardly known since the first serious field studies started only in the early 1920s.

<sup>696</sup> The *gazel* (or *ghazal*) is a widely used literary form of poetry in Islamic cultures, but it may also refer to a vocal music genre. The performer sings the verses of the poem in a free and improvised fashion. Therefore, the vocal music genre “*gazel*” can be considered the vocal equivalent of the instrumental *taksim*. The performance may eventually be accompanied by instruments, although the center of the performance remains the

*kasides*<sup>697</sup> in their own style. For Âsım Bey, the lack of understanding of this foreign culture proved that *incesâz* music was not national.<sup>698</sup>

### 2.2.3 Restoration of Ottoman Music

As in the Greek music debate, the restoration of Turkish national music also became a topic in the Turkish music debate. Journal articles from the last decade of the nineteenth century give an idea of what intellectual currents and approaches existed in terms of a national music. In the Greek music debate, there had been three main movements that sought to reform their music according to different principles. It is not surprising to observe that similar movements also occurred in the Ottoman case, because they reacted and responded to the same ideological questions that were circulating at that time. Rauf Yekta, for example, drew attention to two groups that had opposing ideas on how Ottoman music should be modernized. The first group consisted of intellectuals who aimed to mimic the trends in Europe. As had been done with other Western sciences, they were inclined to adopt the tempered system of Western music. They asserted that all modes that did not form part of the minor and major tonality should be abolished in order to harmonize the traditional melodies according to Western models. The second group aimed to harmonize the traditional melodies, without applying the intervals of the tempered system but keeping the characteristic modes.<sup>699</sup> Yekta complained that there was a serious lack of expert knowledge that could properly contribute to this field. Most of the music societies that emerged in the Second Constitutional Period consisted of instrumentalists, who according to Yekta, were “more or less specialized” in performing music. Most of them did not possess any background in either the history or the theory of the music that they performed.<sup>700</sup> The lack of interest in Ottoman music and the small number of experts who would exchange ideas on this topic were recognized by other authors, too.

Mehmed Celâl,<sup>701</sup> for example, criticized in an article the attitude of intellectuals towards *alafraŋa* and *alaturca* music. He complained that most of the Western music aficio-

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singer and his or her ability to unfold the modal characteristics of the *makâm* in the performance (Öztuna 1990, 1:299; Özkan 1996, 149–50).

<sup>697</sup> Like the *gazel*, the *kasîde* is one of the best-known Arabic poetic forms. Many *kasides* are much longer than *gazels* and consist of more than fifteen distiches. *Kasîdes* are often encomiastic praise poems to God or living emperors but may also praise famous, deceased persons. Some of those persons may come from a religious context and therefore the *kasîdes* have a commemorative character. In Turkey, the *kasîde* has the same musical characteristics as the *gazel*, but the lyrics draw on spiritual and religious content (Öztuna 1990, 1: 433–34; Redhouse 1986, 614; Andrews 1976, 146–73).

<sup>698</sup> Necîb Âsım, “Bu millî manzûmeler hakkında hey’et-i tahririyyemizden Necib Âsım Beyefendi’nin mütâla’aları,” *Malûmât*, no. 104 (Teşrîn-i evvel 1313/1897): 1072–75, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 120. On this topic, see also Aksoy 1989, 2.

<sup>699</sup> Yekta, *Türk musikisi*, 56.

<sup>700</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>701</sup> Mehmed Celâl (1867–1912) was an Ottoman intellectual and author of numerous poems, journal articles, and novels in the late Ottoman Empire (Andı 2019).

nados sought to create a “musical art” by imitating Western music. The author made reference to Necib Âsım Bey, pointing out his remarks that every nation had its own music and that the nations were distinct from each other due to their melodies or songs.<sup>702</sup> The proposed ideas showed that an Ottoman national music could be created by making use of the “fenn-i mûsikî” [science of music]. What exactly “science of music” meant was not explained in detail. However, taking into consideration the broader historical debates on national music, it is possible to draw conclusions. Mehmed Celâl’s concept of the “science of music” seemed to suggest that he was very familiar with the ideas of Bourgauld-Ducoudray. Celâl claimed that to adopt alafraŋga music did not mean to adopt music “à la France” but that every national melody was apt to be rearranged by the “science of music,” which also applied to all the music of other nations such as “French, German, Spanish, Hungarian.”<sup>703</sup> Since the “science of music” was notated the same way and followed the same rules and principles, it could be applied, according to Celâl, to the melodies of all nations. Finally, he proposed to apply the “science of music” to traditional melodies as well. In this context, he mentioned the names Haydar Bey<sup>704</sup> and Tchouhadjian,<sup>705</sup> who had combined traditional melodies with the “science of music.” The composers that Mehmed Celâl Bey mentioned were popular composers of operettas, who often drew on traditional tunes and *couleur locale*. Celâl proposed that the “national dialect”<sup>706</sup> could even be reinforced by the use of traditional instruments on stage. The author of this article hoped that, in this way, the “art music” would not only be a mere imitation but would please both Ottoman and non-Ottoman musicians and music lovers. The author further asserted that the rules of the “science of music” had to be thoroughly studied for years in order to be properly mastered. Like Yekta, Mehmed Celâl distinguished two groups of music aficionados in this debate. The first were the “imitators” of Western music, and the second were

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<sup>702</sup> Mehmed Celâl, “Bizde mûsikî,” *Malûmât*, no. 106 (1313/1897): 1123–26, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 103.

<sup>703</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>704</sup> Kemânî Ali Haydar Bey (1846–1904) was a Turkish violinist, flutist, and composer of operettas. Haydar Bey received his musical training in the Ottoman military band *Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn*. He was familiar with Turkish as well as with Western music. He became especially famous for his compositions in vocal music genres such as marches and *şarkıs* (Öztuna 1990, 1:339). Celâl Bey, mentioning him together with Tchouhadjian, aims to show Haydar Bey’s ability to combine alafraŋga genres, such as the operetta, with modes and elements that are characteristic of Eastern music.

<sup>705</sup> Dikran Tchouhadjian (also Çuhacıyan) (1836?–1898) was an Ottoman-Armenian composer who became famous for his operettas. The popularity of Tchouhadjian’s pieces derives from the amalgamation of Western music genres with the *couleur locale*, modes, and elements of “Oriental music.” In 1861, he started his musical training in Milan and afterwards became the director of orchestras and choirs. Wealthy Armenians patronized many of his cultural and musical projects. After a stay in Vienna, he directed the orchestra under Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1878. He worked as a teacher at the Armenian school at Üsküdar and died of a tumor after a visit to Paris. His musical works achieved international fame, even beyond the Ottoman borders, which made him famous as the “Ottoman Lully.” Some pieces from his operettas, especially from the *Leblebidji Hor-hor Agha*, first performed in 1876 in Istanbul, were also rearranged for piano. He composed operas that dealt with the victorious military campaign of Gâzi Osmân Pasha in Serbia. His repertoire also included music genres such as marches as well as religious songs. He dedicated a march to Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1895 (Öztuna 1990, 1:204; Tahmizian 2011; M. Emin, 1314/1898, 335, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 146–47).

<sup>706</sup> “Şive-i millî” (Celâl 1313/1897), ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 104.

those who aimed to make a “marriage,” in the sense of Bourgault-Ducoudray, between national music and Western composition techniques. Celâl also stressed the need for musicologists who would dedicate themselves to the study of the folk song genres. He criticized those that looked down on the folk song as music of Iranian and Arabic descent. He proposed instead that the “nağamât-ı millî” [national tunes] should be rearranged according to their character and a new “classical music” should be produced.<sup>707</sup>

Âsım Bey was also aware of the need to create an Ottoman national music. Similar to other authors, he believed that each nation had its genuine music. He considered Ottoman music as non-national, being of Arabic and Iranian descent. “Turkish” music was considered the music of Anatolia and Syria and the music of the Turkmens. Âsım Bey suggested studying their melodies first and using their “original form” to compile a national music, as had been done in a similar fashion in Europe and Hungary.<sup>708</sup> The new Ottoman national music should be based on theoretical rules, composition techniques, and instrumentation of Western orchestras. The musical materials should derive from airs and tunes that were collected from the peasants and studied.

Âsım Bey explained in more detail what he considered to be shortcomings in Turkish music. As had been mentioned before, he distinguished three types of music that existed in his nation, which were alafanga music, alaturca music, and folk song. Firstly, he compared alafanga and alaturca music side by side to stress why alaturca music did not correspond to the contemporary requirements. He stated that alafanga music was characterized by the link between the audience and the orchestra, which was able to trigger emotions by the use of instruments. The music, mood, and words were aligned and worked as a whole. In the alaturca music, he claimed, no attention was paid to the level of expression. Hence, it was possible that a serene poem might be set to a melancholic melody, and thus music and words formed an antithesis.<sup>709</sup> Therefore, alaturca music could not be used in any of the Western music genres, such as military marches, theatrical music, and operas. The third group, which is the folk song, had been played by former Janissary musicians who returned to their homeland when the Janissary corps—the elite infantry unit of the sultan—was abolished. He highlighted that all the facets of this music, such as folk songs and instruments (including the *davul*, *zurna*,<sup>710</sup> *ney*, etc.) were creations of the musicians themselves and were therefore genuinely Turkish. Interestingly, Âsım Bey also referred to Turkestan, a region in central Asia, where this music and its instruments had originated. Âsım Bey further underlined the expressiveness of the folk song and referred to traditional practices in villages. He stated that it would suffice if one merely “sketched” his feeling in the air with the finger and the musician would improvise a tune and lyrics

<sup>707</sup> Celâl 1313/1897, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 105.

<sup>708</sup> Necîb Âsım, “Necîb Âsım Bey’in Ma’lûmâta mektûbu,” *Malûmât*, no. 43 (Hazîrân 1312/1896): 943–44, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 109.

<sup>709</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>710</sup> The *zurna* is a double-reed instrument often played together with the *davul* in folk music.

related to this emotion.<sup>711</sup> The author criticized, however, the conservatives of the “elegant class,” who abandoned the folk song and were even tempted to erase it completely in the name of “civilization.” Âsım Bey strongly supported the study of the “national sound” of the “neglected” folk song and contributed to its progress. This is how he invited his readers to give rise to “Turkish” or “Ottoman” music.<sup>712</sup> The ideas that Âsım Bey shared with his readership are based on models that were being used in many European nations. He did not, however, give any concrete examples of what the creation of a new Turkish piece could look like. This is probably because he was not a musician, nor an expert in the field of music, which he himself had also admitted. It is likely that he had intended to initiate a debate on a topic that had hardly gained any attention.

### Harmonization of Ottoman Songs

The idea of harmonizing Ottoman songs was first discussed in Turkish journals only in the early twentieth century.<sup>713</sup> The silence on this issue is remarkable and strange if the impassioned discussions among the supporters and opposition of Western music techniques in Greek music are taken into account. Despite the fact that it was not possible to find any evidence in journals and music debates, it is unlikely that the Ottoman musicians ignored this topic. Although there is hardly any controversial discussion of this topic in Ottoman journals, the influence of this debate can be seen in some of the printed music scores that were published around the same time that Bourgault-Ducoudray’s ideas were freshly circulating.

One of those examples is a song anthology series arranged for piano by Callisto Guatelli,<sup>714</sup> the music director of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band. Unfortunately, there is no publication date on the score. Given the fact that Hatherly referred to this source, it must have been published prior to 1892. The two fascicules, which contain twelve pieces each, both contain vocal and instrumental Ottoman music arranged for piano. The songs

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<sup>711</sup> Necîb Âsım, “Necîb Âsım Bey’in Ma’lûmâta mektûbu,” *Malûmât*, no. 43 (Hazîrân 1312/1896): 943–44, ed. in Arpağuş 2004, 112.

<sup>712</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>713</sup> For an introduction to the harmonization of Turkish melodies in the early Turkish Republic, see the three articles by Mihalzâde (1926), edited in Kahraman and Tebiş 2014, 134–55. For further reading, see also Sağlam 2009, 111–15, 134–35; Oransay 1983, 1517–30; Balkılıç 2009, 93–100.

<sup>714</sup> Callisto Guatelli (d. 1899) was a musician of Italian origin. During the last years of Abdülaziz’s reign, he was the young director of the Naum Theater in Istanbul. Later he became director of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band in 1861 (Tuğlacı 1986, 83). He trained many military band musicians and was a well-known music instructor. He composed Ottoman marches such as the “Marş-ı Sultânî,” an emperor’s march dedicated to Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876). Guatelli’s name also often appears in the editions of printed Ottoman music in staff notation that were published by Notacı Hacı Emin. In the Hacı Emin editions, Guatelli partly harmonized and arranged the Ottoman melodies that were printed as piano scores. His other, less well-known edition of Ottoman songs for piano was the *Album*. It is likely that the *Album* was intended to be published as a series. When this study was conducted, only the first and second issues of this series were accessible. The scores have no publication date, nor is the total number of issues known. For more information on Guatelli, consult Öztuna 1990, 1:310; Gazimihal 1955, 69–71; Tuğlacı 1986, 83.

do not have specific titles but refer only to the genre of the piece, such as the vocal genre *şarkı* or the instrumental genre *peşrev*. The pieces do not indicate any information that would allow their identification.<sup>715</sup> Besides the pieces that do not mention any composer names, the collection also includes pieces that were composed by the family members of the emperor.<sup>716</sup> In the brief preface, Guatelli claimed to be publishing a collection of “new” and “old” national and popular airs of the “Orient.” He emphasized that he had been especially careful when rearranging the melodies and hoped that his work would be accepted by the musical public.<sup>717</sup> It is interesting that Guatelli dedicated this song collection to Dēmētrios Paspallēs, the notable banker, who was chairman of the Istanbulite musical society before it dissolved. Paspallēs had already played an important role in the debate on Greek music and published numerous articles on music history as well as on the future of Greek music. He was the mouthpiece of change and reforms, criticizing those who would oppose it.<sup>718</sup> Guatelli’s dedication to Paspallēs may allude to the intellectual connection between these two musicians, who both sought to find ways to reform their respective national music. The fact that Guatelli rearranged, harmonized, and transferred the Ottoman melodies into staff notation has to be read in the context of reforms and esthetical ideologies in the field of music. Guatelli did not only create an edition of Ottoman songs but also showed that according to the contemporary understanding of reforms and modernization, “Oriental” music could be expressed in staff notation. The dedication of his volume is therefore a nod to Paspallēs, who also tried hard to push forward reforms in Greek Orthodox music, among them the introduction of staff notation.

Another source that very likely was influenced by the same thinking was Hacı Emîn’s song anthology *Fenn-i mûsikîden râst faslına mahsûs piyano notasıdır* [Piano Scores From [the Series] “Science of Music” in the Mode Râst].<sup>719</sup> This anthology dates from 1293/1876,

<sup>715</sup> Only the first pieces of each volume are national marches dedicated to Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861).

<sup>716</sup> Some of the composer names that are mentioned in both volumes are Münire Sultan (1844–1862), Âdile Sultan (1826–1899)—both daughters of the emperor—his “niece or granddaughter” Hanöm Suliana (?), and his brother-in-law Fethi Ahmet Pasha (1801–1858). The volume also contains one piece attributed to Sultan Mahmud, which could not be further identified.

<sup>717</sup> “Fu mio pensiero che pubblicando una raccolta d’arie nazionali e di Canti popolari Orientali antichi e moderni, fedelmente riportati e con ogni possibile cura disposti, potessi fare opera gradita. Onorato dalle loro Altezze del permesso di armonizzare e pubblicare le loro composizioni autografe, ho creduto dovessero queste figurare nella mia collezione come parte integrante della stessa. Offerta in tal modo una precisa idea d’un genere finora compiutamente ignorato, oso sperare che questo mio lavoro sarà ben accolta [sic] dal pubblico musicale.” [It was my intention to produce a work in the public interest, by publishing a collection of national airs, of new and old popular Oriental songs, faithfully transferred and carefully prepared. Since I was honored by their Majesties with the permission to harmonize and publish their original compositions, I believed that they had to appear in my collection as an integral part of the same. By presenting in this way a precise idea of a hitherto unknown genre, I dare to hope that my work will be well received by the music public]. I would like to thank Dr. Michela Bonato for revising my translation from Italian to English.

<sup>718</sup> Cf. Chapter 1.3.4.

<sup>719</sup> I am very grateful to Katy Romanou for having provided me with this important source. Two more issues of the same series in makâm sūz-1 dilârâ (1293/1876) and neveser (1294/1877) were edited in the anthology by Tütüncü 2020, 55–118.

the same year that Bourgault-Ducoudray published his work *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce & d'Orient*. It is likely that Hacı Emîn published more issues, each one dedicated to one *makâm* or *fasıl*. In this anthology, Hacı Emîn included fifteen pieces of both secular instrumental (2) and vocal music (13). The exact order of the pieces is also described in a short text given at the end of the book.<sup>720</sup> It is striking that besides the *şarkı*, all other vocal music genres are in the Persian language; some of them are attributed to the prestigious medieval musician Abdülkâdir Merâğî, who is also referred to as “Hoca” [The Teacher]. Similar to Guatelli, it is likely that Hacı Emîn also intended to create a collection that contained both old and new pieces and that back then were considered “historical” and “national.” The pieces in Persian were considered the classics of Turkish music and were often attributed to ancient composers. They were arranged for piano to the detriment of important musical characteristics such as rhythmic cycles (*usûl*),<sup>721</sup> mode (*makâm*),<sup>722</sup> and lyrics.<sup>723</sup> It would be going too far to give a complete analysis of these pieces. The idea is to show that although the topic of reforming Turkish music was seemingly not publicly discussed, the musicians were aware of the latest trends and made their first attempts to harmonize their “national” music as early as the 1870s. In this way, they made it possible to play Ottoman songs on tempered, European instruments, such as the piano, and present them to an Ottoman and non-Ottoman audience. The song anthologies of Guatelli, Hacı Emîn, and also of Madam Herzmańska de Slupno<sup>724</sup> belong to the earliest known Ottoman printed piano arrangements, where old and new pieces from the Ottoman music repertoire were rearranged and partly harmonized.

At the end of Yekta’s comprehensive article “Turkish Music,” he gave a statement on the attempts of various musicians to harmonize “Oriental music.” Yekta pointed out that Turkish music was genuinely homophonic, and that in the course of history, Turks had never felt the need to introduce harmony in their music. He explained that the numerous *makâm*s and *usûl*s and their combinations saved the music from being monotonous. Yekta

<sup>720</sup> “İşbu makâm-i mezkûre mahsûs olarak bir pîşrev ve bir kâr u beste ve iki semâi ve bir pîşrev semâisi ve diğeri şarkıyyâtdan ibâret olub bundan böyle mâkâmât ilm-i mûsikîyyenin her birerleri minvâl meşrûh üzere sırasıyla tab olunub bu siyâk üzere ihrâc olacaktır.” [Dedicated to the aforementioned *makâm* [râst], [this volume] is composed of one *peşrev*, one *kâr* and *beste*, two *semâis*, and one *peşrev semâi* with the rest being *şarkı*. Each of these *makâm*s of music sciences, once their form has been explained, will be printed one by one and published consecutively].

<sup>721</sup> The *usûl*, for example, although mentioned in the heading of the piece, was usually not printed in the music scores. The piece “Şevknâme” attributed to Abdülkâdir Merâğî on p. 6 has the rhythmic pattern *hafif*, which in traditional music treatises is given with 32 beats. In this arrangement, however, the time signature was given as a 4/4, hence emphasizing the first and third beats.

<sup>722</sup> The broken chords in the piano accompaniment are based on the G major key.

<sup>723</sup> Although most of the content is vocal music, none of the song lyrics were given, neither as text underlay nor as block text. The score only provided the melody.

<sup>724</sup> Irma Herzmańska was of Polish origin and had come from Galicia-Slupno to Istanbul-Pera in 1865. She gave music lessons to the children of the Ottoman palace as well as to other upper social-class families. Additionally, she arranged seventy-five Ottoman pieces from the vocal and instrumental repertoire as well as dances for piano (Atalay 2018, 104–6).

presented harmonization as an exclusively Western European phenomenon that could not be found in other musical cultures elsewhere. He traced this to different musical tastes and the need of the Europeans to introduce harmony and polyphony, which were detrimental to the diversity of modes. The reduction of the many modes to major and minor tonality limited the set of possible notes and the new ways of musical expression. At this stage, Yekta quoted Bourgault-Ducoudray's statements which claimed that it was necessary to adopt the modal characteristics of "Oriental music" to push European music out of its state of monotony. The way Yekta defended Oriental music is remarkable. He presented the use of harmony in Western music as the exception to the rule and as not corresponding to the esthetic needs of other musical cultures. In fact, he considers the reduction of music to two tonalities as a loss and limitation that led the composers of Western music to a crisis. For Yekta it was not "Oriental music" that needed to undergo reforms; it was Western music that needed elements of "Oriental music" to reinvent itself.<sup>725</sup>

### Revival of the Imperial Janissary Band

Public performances of Ottoman songs that were arranged for Western instruments were reviewed in journal articles. One of these public events was a concert that drew on the revival of the Janissary bands. The Janissary bands had been abolished in 1826 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) and replaced by a modern military band with Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856) as the new band director.<sup>726</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, there was seemingly a growing interest in the Janissaries.

The eighth issue of the late Ottoman music journal *Âlem-i mûsikî* [World of Music],<sup>727</sup> published in 1919, was dedicated to the Janissary military bands. The short article titled "Mehter muzİKası" [The Mehter Band] gives interesting insights into the contemporary notions of the revived Janissary music. The article was taken from a short brochure<sup>728</sup> of

<sup>725</sup> Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922, 3062–64.

<sup>726</sup> Sultan Mahmud II reacted to the diminishing efficiency of the Janissaries, whose poor performance in the Greek War of Independence demonstrated bad management. He fostered a new force within the Janissary corps, which would be trained in Western military tactics and artillery. These reforms and changes led to suspicion among the Janissaries, which culminated in the Janissaries' revolt. The loyal Janissaries were separated from the rebels, the latter being slaughtered in their barracks (Shaw 2003, 16).

<sup>727</sup> The journal *Âlem-i mûsikî* [World of Music] was published by Şehi Mehmed Bahâ Bey (1877–1953). The journal was also supported by Rauf Yekta, who published a letter in the first issue. Paçacı (2010) has listed in total sixteen issues of this journal and provided a short list of contents as well as pictures of the title pages of the volumes. For further information, see Paçacı, *Osmanlı müziğini okumak*, 192–201; Beste Aydın, "Âlem-i Mûsikî" (Master Thesis, Izmir, Ege Üniversitesi, 2004).

<sup>728</sup> In 1909, Celâl Esad Arseven prepared a brochure called "Türk mûsikîsinin teşvîk ve ihyâsı maksadıyla tertib ve ihyâ edilen mûsikî müsâmere dolayısıyla Türk mûsikî ve yeniçeri 'Mehter' muzİKası hakkında mutalâât" [Studies on Turkish music and the Janissary "Mehter" band that has been composed and revived for the music evening entertainment for the purpose of encouraging and restoring Turkish music]. In this volume, he gave general information on Janissary culture and music that he wanted to use to restore the Janissary band music. His ideas and thoughts were influenced by an older article by Ârif Pasha, who had described the Mehter with images in the "Mecmûa-i tesâvir-i Osmâniye" (1863) [Anthology of Images of the Ottomans].

Celâl Esad.<sup>729</sup> It starts with a general historical introduction describing the clothing, rituals, and organization of the Mehter, indicating the number of musicians and types of instruments.<sup>730</sup> In the following paragraph, the article mentions a Mehter band performance with period clothing and instruments directed by Celâl Esad at Tepebaşı Theater in the year 1327/1911 with the aim of promoting and reviving Turkish music.<sup>731</sup> The author complained that this tradition of musical performance had been discontinued, but he enthusiastically stated that “we belong to those who wait impatiently to start reviving it [the Mehter band] again.”<sup>732</sup> Celâl Esad’s brochure title suggests that the Mehter concert seemingly did not aim to give an authentic historical performance of Janissary band music but rather had to be understood as taking a stance on the esthetical discussions about Turkish or “Oriental music.”<sup>733</sup> This becomes evident from a series of musical elements that were atypical of Mehter bands but were still used, for example, clarinets and oboes instead of the traditional zurna. Celâl Esad complained that he was not able to find a zurna player who also knew music notation. At the same time, he claimed that the sound of the zurna would have discouraged aficionados of both Western and “Oriental music” from enjoying the concert. Hence, the zurna, which is the traditional instrument of the Mehter band, was left out. Another important element was the harmonization of the melody because Mehter music was originally monophonic.<sup>734</sup> Although Bourgault-Ducoudray’s name was not explicitly mentioned here, Celâl Esad’s vision of the future of Turkish music shows many similarities with those of Bourgault-Ducoudray. He believed that the introduction of harmony was the “first step” towards saving and keeping alive the “great works of old times” and sparking enthusiasm in the hearts of the young people.<sup>735</sup> The performance also included old secular court music arranged for piano and lyra (kemençe).

Rauf Yekta, who was also in the audience, praised Celâl Esad’s efforts and intentions to organize a historical music event. The fact that Celâl Esad had written down and harmonized the melodies was, for Yekta, a noble attempt to “save” the melodies that were

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<sup>729</sup> Celâl Esad Arseven (1875–1971) was a Turkish art historian and music aficionado. He first studied at the school for civil servants and later changed to the military school. He learned musical instruments such as the *ûd*, cello, violin, and accordion and was also active as a composer. Later he worked as an instructor at the university and became a politician. When he wrote the article on the Janissary band music in 1909, his new opera *Şabân* came to fame (Öztuna 1990, 1:112–13).

<sup>730</sup> A complete transcription of the article into the Latin alphabet can be found in Aydın 2004 and a partial one also in Paçacı 2010, 235.

<sup>731</sup> Tuğlacı (1986, 24) indicated the exact date as 16 February 1911.

<sup>732</sup> “Biz bunun yeniden ihyâsına teşebbüs edilmesine sabırsızlıkla intizâr edenlerdeniz” (quoted in Paçacı 2010, 236).

<sup>733</sup> On this topic, see also Sanal 1964, 285.

<sup>734</sup> Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane’den bando’ya*, 22.

<sup>735</sup> Celâl Esad according to Rauf Yekta, “Mehterhâne konseri,” *Şehbâl*, no. 49 (March 14, 1912): 12, ed. in Uymaz 2005, 57.

threatened with being lost.<sup>736</sup> However, he also pointed out the shortcomings of the performance. He criticized the Mehter performance that aimed to create a “national sound” with Western instruments that were not able to produce the right pitches. One of the most important points of criticism was the harmonization of the melodies. The rearrangement and harmonization of homophonic melodies, according to the rules of Western music, were in most cases impossible. Yekta affirmed that harmonization could be applied to major and minor tonalities, but its application to modal music would not produce satisfying results. Concretely, he referred to a *peşrev*—an instrumental “prelude” to a *fasıl* cycle—that was performed by the violinist Anastas Efendi<sup>737</sup> and the pianist Vittorio Radeqlia.<sup>738</sup> Radeqlia had rearranged and harmonized the melody of the instrumental piece. Yekta explained that the harmonization of the *peşrev* was possible due to the modal kinship between the *makâm râst* and the G major key,<sup>739</sup> which otherwise would not have worked. He mentioned a piece in *makâm bestenigâr* that appeared in the concert program but eventually was not performed. The reason for this, Yekta concluded, was the impossibility of harmonizing the *makâm bestenigâr* due to its complex microtonal pitches. Whereas in the minor and major keys, the interval between the tonic and the dominant is a perfect fifth, in *bestenigâr*, the interval would result in a tritone (f $\sharp$ –c) and hence it could not easily be harmonized. Yekta therefore assumed that Radeqlia had become aware of the difficulties and had not been able to harmonize the melody, and thus had omitted the entire piece from the concert program. Yekta summarized that most of the pieces had modes that were related to minor and major keys or were derivations of those. Their performance was, however, far from the characteristics of *makâm* music, which were lost due to the music being rearranged.<sup>740</sup> Performance of traditional music with Western music elements was, for Yekta, like an Ottoman poem being transcribed into Latin script and read by someone who did not know any Turkish at all. Hence, he concluded that the forefathers of the Mehter had probably “turned in their graves” during that evening.<sup>741</sup>

For many centuries, the Janissary band’s music had been an important part of the Ottoman military apparatus.<sup>742</sup> After the Janissary band was closed down, a new westernized Ottoman military band was introduced, mainly organized by foreign musicians and

<sup>736</sup> Rauf Yekta, “Mehterhâne konseri (2),” *Şehbâl*, no. 50 (1912): 32, ed. in Öncel 2010, 108–113.

<sup>737</sup> It could not be told for sure if this performer was Kemeñeci Anastas (d. 1938?) or another person.

<sup>738</sup> Vittorio Radeqlia (1863–193?) was an Italian composer born in Istanbul. He graduated from the Paris Conservatory and worked as an orchestra director, pianist, and violinist. He harmonized a series of pieces from the Ottoman music repertoire and followed the footsteps of the Ottoman-Armenian musician Kirkor Sinanian (d. 1910?). Radeqlia also worked in the Imperial Ottoman Military Band. In addition to Istanbul, his three operas were also staged in Milan and Turin (Öztuna 1990, 2:207).

<sup>739</sup> Rauf Yekta, “Mehterhâne konseri (2),” *Şehbâl*, no. 50 (1912): 32, ed. in Öncel 2010, 110.

<sup>740</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>741</sup> Rauf Yekta, “Mehterhâne konseri,” *Şehbâl*, no. 49 (March 14, 1912): 12, ed. in Uymaz 2005, 58.

<sup>742</sup> For an introduction to Janissary band music, see Gheorghîă 2017, 367–89; Tuğlacı 1986; Sanlıkol 2011; Kahramankaptan and Tansel 2009; Erendil 1992; Gazimihal 1955, 1957; Üngör 1966.

directors.<sup>743</sup> Yet, there was still an interest in Janissary culture.<sup>744</sup> The new Janissary band that was revived in the first quarter of the twentieth century initially had a more representative function in terms of the newly founded Ottoman Military Museum, where they gave performances. The revival of the Janissary military band was a remarkable step, especially if considered in its historical context.<sup>745</sup>

The numerous defeats in the Balkans jeopardized the morale of the Ottoman nation. To rebuild and support the people's national sentiment, museums and school education turned out to be useful tools that would focus on past glories and victories. Sanal claimed, for example, that the victory of the Ottoman army at Kut Al Amara in 1916 led Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V to the idea of celebrating it with the music of the Janissaries.<sup>746</sup> The Janissary corps embodied in a romantic fashion the glorious past of the empire and were able to highlight the achievements of the Ottoman military. Even in the imperial exhibition in 1893 in Chicago, Janissary mannequins had been displayed to represent Ottoman culture.<sup>747</sup> Reviving the Janissary band was probably only one of the measures that

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<sup>743</sup> The new Imperial Military Band was organized according to Western models. The expertise had to be introduced from outside the Ottoman Empire, since the existing musicians were unqualified for this task. From this moment on, many musicians from France and Italy were recruited to teach Western military band music to the Ottoman musicians. Although initially the French musician Ernst Mangel was summoned, in 1826, to direct and educate the newly founded Ottoman military band, he was soon dismissed. After some negotiations with the Sardinian embassy, Giuseppe Donizetti was ultimately appointed to organize the Ottoman military band. Giuseppe Donizetti was born in 1788 in Lombardy in today's Italy. At the age of twenty, he started his career as a military band director both in Italy and France under Napoleon. Between 1828–1856, he was director of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band "Mûzika-yı Hümâyûn." Donizetti learned Hampartsum notation, which had been used by a few Ottoman musicians, and he also became more acquainted with Ottoman music. He taught European instruments and staff notation and was conferred the rank of pasha. He was the brother of Gaetano Donizetti, whose operas were also performed in Istanbul. Donizetti died on 10 February 1856 in Istanbul (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1216; Yekta 1922, 2981). He managed the orchestra, instructed the musicians, and composed hymns to the sultan such as the "Mahmûdiye March." His repertoire included a variety of tunes that were inspired by popular European music genres such as waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, and marches (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1217). After his death, the Italian music director Callisto Guatelli continued the Ottoman Imperial Military band. He composed marches to Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) as well as to his successor, Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1908) (ibid., 1220). He composed pieces that were inspired by makâm music and similarly to the Greek counterparts, he harmonized Ottoman music pieces (ibid., 1222). Before Guatelli died in 1899, D'Arenda Pasha was appointed as director of the Ottoman military band. D'Arenda was of Spanish origin and joined the Ottoman military after his music training at the Paris Conservatory (Gazimihal 1955, 83). Until the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908, the directors of Ottoman military music were foreign musicians. They had successful careers in Ottoman Turkey and made a considerable contribution to the westernization of Ottoman music. Apart from the band directors, there were other foreign musicians who gave music and instrumental classes. Mehmed Ali Bey (d. 1895), who had already worked with Guatelli and D'Arenda, became the first Turkish music director of the Ottoman military band. He was followed by Saffet Atabinen (1858–1939) and the last director, Zatî Bey Arca (d. 1951), who had played an important role as a music instructor (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1225).

<sup>744</sup> Shaw's examples show that in 1847, twenty years after the abolition of the Janissaries, there had already been a growing interest in collecting Janissary objects. Due to its temporal proximity, this was not possible at a public level. It took almost a hundred years before Janissary culture could be revived and form part of the official Ottoman narrative (Shaw 2003, 54).

<sup>745</sup> On the revival of the Mehter bands in the late Ottoman Empire, see also O'Connell 2017, 97–126.

<sup>746</sup> Sanal, *Mehter musikisi*, 283.

<sup>747</sup> Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 57.

drew on the past glories of the Ottoman state, which were displayed in the context of the military museum. The revival of Janissary music, however, turned out to be problematic because it had been transmitted by oral culture and after its abolition was lost from memory.<sup>748</sup> Although the greater part of the repertoire had fallen into obscurity, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, musicians started researching, recollecting, and republishing pieces of Janissary music that had supposedly survived until then. Similarly, new pieces were composed, and Ottoman art music was rearranged and formed part of the new repertoire. The scores of the so-called *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* [Imperial Mehter Band] are worth looking at more closely in order to gain a better understanding of the broader circumstances and musical content.<sup>749</sup>

The revival of the Mehter band aimed to present the nation and its history in a new light. In this context, the Ottoman Military Museum was organized and opened to the public in the year of the Young Turk Revolution. The power of museums as an educational institution had been already recognized from the 1870s onwards. Under the reign of Abdulhamid II, a considerable number of archaeological museums were constructed. Whereas the first intention was to house collections, the idea of putting objects in an organized order that would narrate the continuity of the national history was soon implemented. After the Young Turk Revolution, Ottoman identity was grounded on the notions of state and united citizenship,<sup>750</sup> although even this idea was given up at a later stage. As Shaw correctly observed, “museums provided for public spaces devoted to the construction and projection of the history, culture, and identity of the Ottoman state and its people.”<sup>751</sup> The museum that would house the newly founded Mehter band was initially called “Military Weapon Museum,” but this was later changed to the “Ottoman Military Museum.”<sup>752</sup> Between the years 1908–1923, Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha<sup>753</sup> implemented a series of new elements in the museum, including a library, a museum guide, a shooting range, and a cinema. In addition, the three-volume museum guide was available in Turkish and French. A musical component was the new Mehter band that was performing

<sup>748</sup> Sanal, *Mehter musikisi: bestekâr mehterler, mehter havaları*, 284; Aksoy and Behar, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e musiki ve batılılaşma,” 1214–15; Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane’den bando’ya*, 22.

<sup>749</sup> Appendix A, Case Study 17.1.

<sup>750</sup> Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 25.

<sup>751</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>752</sup> First “Eslîha-ı Askeriyye Müzesi,” then it was changed to “Müze-i Askerî-i Osmânî” (Çürük 1991).

<sup>753</sup> Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha (1861–1926) contributed nine volumes in the field of Ottoman military history. Together with Ali Rizâ, he founded the Ottoman Military Museum, which he directed from 1908–1923. Under the auspices of the museum, the Imperial Janissary Band *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* was revived. Besides his post as an instructor at the Ottoman military school, he was also a connoisseur of music. He composed the patriotic song “Türk kavminin beş bin yıllık yuvası” [The five-thousand-year-old home of the Turkish nation], which was included in many Ottoman school song collections. Among many other songs, he also wrote lyrics for newly composed Mehter songs (Öztuna 1990, 2:66; Çoruhlu 1989, 2:106–8; Sanal 1964, 284–85; Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1234; Üngör 1966, 211–12).

regularly in the Ottoman Military Museum. 1914 is normally shown as the year when the new Mehterhâne came into being.<sup>754</sup> In this context, a series of Mehter band scores called *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî Notaları* [Scores of the Imperial Mehter] were published.<sup>755</sup> Apart from the scores, there are standard advertisements for the Ottoman Military Museum at the end of each issue that are worth considering. The text can be divided into five paragraphs, of which the first, fourth, and fifth deal with the Mehter band. The announcement was as follows:

The new Imperial Mehter band that was revived and added recently to the military museum is brought to life by the national [military] band at determined hours at the military museum. They perform, from scores that were transcribed from alphabetic and Hampartsum notation, a series of historical Ottoman scores, with some of them being rearranged for voice and singing. Because they have been continuously demanded from all over, and especially from schools that use military and national songs, as well as military troops and some other bands, it has been decided to sell the scores to those who are interested. They [the scores] will be printed, performed, and produced consecutively for the benefit of the Ottoman Military Museum.<sup>756</sup>

In addition, the museum visitor was informed that the imperial Mehter played during the working hours of the museum, in the afternoons in the museum's garden, afterward inside the museum in an ancient style of the "Nevbet-i hâkânî,"<sup>757</sup> and later it performed in the museum cinema. In good weather, the Mehter band performance was followed by "old Ottoman style" combat with weapons as well as "old Ottoman exercises." The description of the Mehter band as one of the attractions of the Ottoman Military Museum shows on the one hand that the old imperial military band had become an object of display at the museum; but on the other hand, it was a medium of national and international self-representation. During the reign of the Young Turks with Enver Pasha as minister of war, the Mehter band became once more part of the military and was mentioned in the "Regulations that Concern the Organization of the Mehter Ensemble in the Imperial Army" in

<sup>754</sup> Öztuna claimed that Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha had founded the museum in 1911 but that it became institutionalized in 1914 (Öztuna 1990, 2:42; Sanal 1964, 285; Kahramankaptan and Tansel 2009, 46).

<sup>755</sup> Çürük, "Askerî müze: İstanbul Harbiye'de Osmanlı silâhlarıyla savaş malzemesinin korunduğu müze."

<sup>756</sup> "Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî' âhiren Müze-i Askerîyece ihyâ edilmiş işbu millî musıkamız tarafından Müze-i Askerî'de evkat-ı muayyenesinde terennüm ve tegannî edilegelmekte olan ve bir takımı hurûfat ve Hampartsum notalarından naklen bitamam tarz-ı kadîm-i Osmanî'de ve bazıları onlara mânen bir surette yeniden müretteb bulunan terennümât ve teganniyâtın notaları her taraftan ve bilhassa terennümât-ı askerîye ve milliyede bulunan mektebler ve kıta'at-ı askerîye ve bazı bandolar tarafından ale'd-devam taleb edilmekte bulunmalarıyla bunların peyderpey tab' ve tems'ili ve hâsîlât ve temettu'ları Müze-i Askerî-i Osmanî'de aid bulunmak üzere arzu buyuranlara fûruhtu karargîr olmuştur." Quoted according to Paçacı 2010, 237. My translation.

<sup>757</sup> This term usually refers to the change of shift of soldiers, but it may also be a type of set performance of a military band. According to Öztuna, the "nevbet" referred to the occasions on which the Mehter band played at the Emperor's court. In some places, they gave up to three performances a day (Öztuna 1990, 42-43).

1917.<sup>758</sup> The new Mehter was again revived after the Turkish War of Independence. The Mehterhâne, as it is known today, was revived in 1953.<sup>759</sup>

The total number of issues of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* is uncertain. Paçacı listed twenty-six issues in her volume.<sup>760</sup> The piece that has been used for this case study is not mentioned in any of the known sources.<sup>761</sup> However, the fact that the issues are not numbered makes it more difficult to put the series in chronological order. Whereas most of the issues do not give any printing house, the last seven entries in Paçacı's list indicated the printing house "Ahmed İhsân Matbaası"<sup>762</sup> and the "Matbaa-i Osmâniye."<sup>763</sup> The available score titles give an idea of the repertoire. Although the great majority of the titles are related to national topics, there are also various songs from an older, secular repertoire. The music of the Mehter during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1785–1839) was not limited to just war songs but also included more music genres that are considered to be Ottoman art or court music.<sup>764</sup> Hence, it is possible to find two pieces by Abdülkâdir Merâğî, who in Ottoman music is considered one of the old masters. It is probably due to his fame and prestige that he was included in this series of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî*. The same applies to other songs of the secular music repertoire attributed to the musical sultans, such as Sultan Mahmud II (1785–1839)<sup>765</sup> and Sultan Selim III (1761–1808).<sup>766</sup> Other composers from the older repertoires are Selim Giray Khan (1631–1704)<sup>767</sup> as well as İsmâil Dede Efendi (1778–1846).<sup>768</sup> There are also some other names of contemporary musicians such as Giriftzen

<sup>758</sup> "Ordu-yu hümâyûnda mehter takımlarının teşkiline dair ta'limâtname." See O'Connell 2017, 118; Sanal 1964, 286.

<sup>759</sup> Öztuna, "Mehter-hâne," 42; Sanal, *Mehter musikisi*, 291; Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya*, 26.

<sup>760</sup> Mehmet Sanlıkol also provided some titles of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* together with a copy of the scores. See Sanlıkol 2011, 87–128.

<sup>761</sup> Although Paçacı's list is incomplete, it is still an important source that provides a great deal of information on the repertoire. It also provides names of composers that, in one way or the other, contributed to the series.

<sup>762</sup> The printing house was named for its founder, Ahmed İhsan Tokgöz (1867–1942). The name of his printing house changed many times. See Strauss 1992, 322; Ebüzziya 1989, 2:94–95.

<sup>763</sup> For more information on the Matbaa-i Osmâniyye, see Birinci 2011.

<sup>764</sup> Aksoy claimed that the band musicians would also perform other music genres typical of secular Ottoman music, such as peşrev, sâz semâî, and nakış, among others (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1214).

<sup>765</sup> Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) learned the tanbûr, the ney, and chanting from Sultan Selim III. Apart from his numerous compositions, he was also one of the earliest supporters of the westernization of Ottoman music (Öztuna 1990, 2:6–7).

<sup>766</sup> Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1808) is considered the most "musical" Ottoman emperor and the sultan of reforms. He was a devoted musician and poet who composed numerous religious and secular pieces. He learned tanbûr from prominent Ottoman musicians, such as Tanbûri İsak (1745–1814). His reforms met with great protest among the Janissaries, to whom he fell prey and by whom he was murdered in 1808 (Öztuna 1990, 2:279–82; İhsanoğlu 2003, 128–29).

<sup>767</sup> Selim Giray Khan was the ruler of Crimea for twenty-three years between 1671–1704. Öztuna claimed that he had learned music from his grandfather. He was a poet and musician (Eravcı 2009, 26:428–29; Öztuna 1990, 2:283).

<sup>768</sup> İsmâil Dede Efendi is considered one of the most prominent composers and musicians of Ottoman music. He learned music from Ali Nutkî Dede at the dervish convent at Yenikapı in Istanbul and finished his

Âsım Bey (1852–1915)<sup>769</sup> and Muallim Kâzım Uz (1873–1943),<sup>770</sup> as well as İsmâil Hakkı Bey (1866–1927),<sup>771</sup> who was an important music instructor of the late Ottoman Empire.

The songs that suggest clearly national topics are by contemporary musicians. Among them is, for example, the director of the Ertuğrul Military Museum, Paul Lange, who composed an “Ertuğrul Sancak Havası” [Air of the Ertuğrul Banner].<sup>772</sup> However, the most frequently occurring names are those of the founders of the new military museum, Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha (1861–1926) and Nâyî Alî Rızâ Şengel (1880–1953),<sup>773</sup> who have the lion’s share with fourteen of the twenty-seven available pieces from this series. In this context, Muhtâr Pasha contributed lyrics to at least eleven of the listed pieces, all of which have patriotic content. This is not very surprising as he was not only a colonel but also an instructor at various military schools. He published a great number of methodological books on military topics. In the scores of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî*, his lyrics were set to music by Alî Rızâ.

The cover pages of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* scores have many decorative elements including plant motifs on the upper side and stringed instruments such as lyra, kânûn, oud, and tanbûr (Figure 4) on the lower side. The percussion instruments that are more associated with military music are the davul and the tambourine that appear on the right and left sides. Wind instruments, such as the zurna, and the Turkish crescent with the so-

studies in 1789. His fame as a musician and singer even reached the imperial palace, to which he was invited by Sultan Selim III. He had many students who became well-known in the years to come. He died during his pilgrimage to Mecca (Öztuna 1990, 1:394–400; Özcan 2001, 23:93–95).

<sup>769</sup> According to Öztuna’s calculations, Giriftzen Âsım Bey died in 1929. The issue of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* with Giriftzen Âsım Bey’s piece is dated to “Teşrîn-i sâni 1334,” which is November 1918. It is important to consider that if all the information that Paçacı gave is correct, the composer is mentioned as “Giriftzen Âsım Bey Merhum” [Giriftzen Âsım Bey the late], which means that by 1918, he had already died. See Öztuna 1990, 1:116–17; Paçacı 2010, 389.

<sup>770</sup> For biographical information on Kâzım Uz, see p. 203.

<sup>771</sup> The piece for the inauguration of the Mehter band, composed by İsmâil Hakkı Bey with the lyrics of Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha, was called “Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî marşı.” This march, with the incipit “Gâfil ne bilir neşve-i pür şevk-i vegâyı,” enjoyed great popularity (Tuğlacı 1986, 25). For a detailed analysis of this piece, see O’Connell 2017, 105–7. For biographical information on İsmâil Hakkı Bey, see p. 209 of this study.

<sup>772</sup> Paul Lange was born in 1865 in Germany and came to Istanbul in the light of good political relations between the German and Ottoman empires. He was an opera singer but also played the piano and directed orchestras and choirs. Around 1888, he started a new life in Istanbul as a music teacher and opened a music school where he gave singing and piano classes. He also worked as a music teacher at the Istanbul Robert College and the German school. In 1905, he became director of the naval military band “Ertuğrul Müzikası,” and in 1908 he was appointed Ottoman court musician—a post he held during the reigns of Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V (r. 1909–1918) and Sultan Mehmed Vahdettîn (r. 1918–1922). As a representative of Western music in the Ottoman capital, he was an important figure. He composed numerous Ottoman marches that were inspired by contemporary political events. He died in 1920 in Istanbul (Tuğlacı 1986, 161–71; Kutlay Baydar 2010, 137–53).

<sup>773</sup> Alî Rızâ Şengel was born in 1880 in Istanbul-Eyüp. As a child, he had already come into contact with music thanks to his father. İsmâil Hakkı Bey was a relative, and he taught him staff notation, solfeggio, and music theory. In 1908, Şengel’s musical skills drew public attention for the first time during an evening event organized by the naval association. In 1914, at the age of thirty-four, he was appointed head of the newly founded *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* (Özcan 2010, 38: 537–38; Rona 1960, 155–59; Öztuna 1990, 2:349–51). Thus, he eventually became head and master of the band, as is evident in the description “Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî usta ve mehterbaşı” [Master and First-Mehter of the Imperial Mehter Band]. See also O’Connell 2017, 100–104.

called “Turkish jingle” are also shown. The frame of the text is headed by national symbols including the crescent above the sunrays. Below, there is a short introductory text to the score:

In the style and form of our old national music called “Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî”, the instructive “Ottoman Military Museum” presents some tools and musical instruments, clothing, and costumes, and also singing and chanting similar to and resembling it [old national music], organized by the entire directorate, and concerning our national music airs that have been restored again: Scores of the Imperial Mehter.<sup>774</sup>

This introductory text is followed by the title of the song “Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası”<sup>775</sup> [Air of the Çanakkale Victory] and other information such as mode and rhythmic cycle. The song title already reveals that it must have been composed after the outcome of the Gallipoli Campaign.<sup>776</sup> It is noteworthy that the military museum drew not only on the past glories of the Ottomans but also on the present ones to boost national confidence. In the museum politics, contemporary topics seemed to have played as important a role as past events.<sup>777</sup> The museum focused especially on victories to highlight historical key moments of the Ottomans that were worth being proud of. The cost is stated as five piastres, which were donated to the military museum. The name of the composer and lyricist are shown surrounded by instrumental motifs: the afore-mentioned Alî Rızâ.<sup>778</sup>

In this series, all the lyrics of the songs are given as block lyrics at the end of the score. The lyrics are structured into distiches. Two hemistiches form one distich, two distiches form one stanza. The first stanza and the “makta” [End] were also set into music in the text underlay. The second stanza was not set to music but is supposed to be performed in accordance with the first stanza. The short explanation above the block lyrics gives more information about the authorship of the poem. The author of the text is none less than the Sultan himself as the heading states: “The poem about the great affair of the Çanakkale victory, which of the holy Caliph himself, the great, powerful protector his Holiness, was

<sup>774</sup> “‘Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî’ nâmındaki kadim millî mûsikimiz tarz u sûretinde bazı âlât u edevâtı mûsikîyesi ve elbise ve kıyâfetleri ve terennümât ü teganniyâtı da onlara müşâbih ve muâdil bulunmak üzere ahbâr-âver ‘Müze-i Âskerî-i Osmânî’ müdiriyyetince teşkil ve yine baştan ihdâs kılınan millî mûsikimiz havâlarına müteallik.” My translation. I thank Neslihan Demirkol for revising my transcription.

<sup>775</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 17.1 and 17.2.

<sup>776</sup> Gallipoli is on the northern coast of the Dardanelles Strait, a narrow strait connecting the Aegean Sea and Sea of Marmara close to Istanbul. The English term “Gallipoli” derives from the Greek denomination “Kallēpolē” or in Turkish “Gelibolu.” In Turkish, however, the song title refers not to Gallipoli but to “Çanakkale,” which is situated on the south coast of the Dardanelles Strait. The reason for this is probably that during the campaign, the Turkish troops were deployed in Çanakkale. However, the crucial part of the campaign took place on the peninsula of Gallipoli.

<sup>777</sup> This is further affirmed by Shaw’s observation of paintings that were displayed at the museum and that dealt with the Gallipoli and Caucasus Campaigns (Shaw 2003, 204–5).

<sup>778</sup> “Sâhib-i güfte, sâhib-i beste Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî usta ve mehterbaşı Nayî Alî Rızâ.”

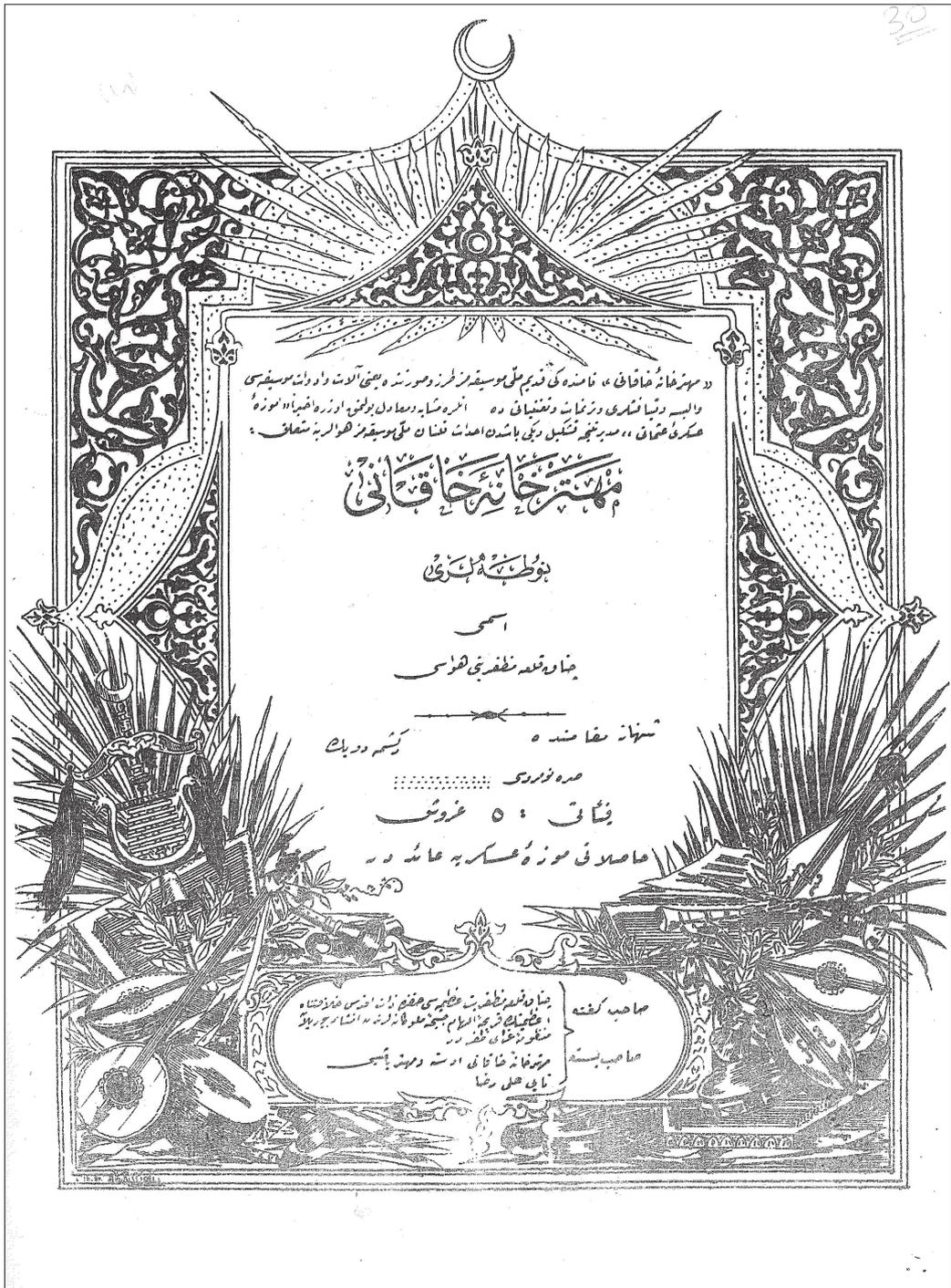


Figure 4 The title page of the Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî score. This is the issue of the “Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası.” The publisher did not provide any issue number.

invited to recite, has been a great success.”<sup>779</sup> Apparently, this poem had been relatively popular and had also been published in various newspapers. It also served as a source of inspiration for other poets who elaborated on this poem and made new creations.<sup>780</sup> The song, as already apparent from the title, is an epic narration that praises the victorious outcome of the Gallipoli Campaign. Stz. 1 defines the aggressors, namely the two “national enemies” of the “Muslim people” that attacked Çanakkale from sea and land. The attack could have been prevented by “divine help” and military reinforcement. Stz. 2 praises the determined position of the soldiers, to whom the narrator refers to as “my sons.” The enemies, impressed by the determined stance of the Ottoman (Muslim) soldiers, have no other choice than to retreat. Their mission to “penetrate the heart of Islam” failed. The poem concludes with the narrator expressing his gratitude to God by worshipping Him and praying for the protection of the “Muslim lands” in the future. The poem was written in archaic language and follows rules of Ottoman poetry such as rhyme scheme and prosody.

The *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* scores are not arranged for bands. The melody is given together with the lyrics. As the publisher had stated before, there were apparently many bands that requested the scores of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî*. It seems they had to arrange the melodies themselves according to their own needs. The “küşâde,” which is an instrumental introduction, opens and closes the song, and it separates the stanzas from each other. The song has three sections with three stanzas. The “makta” [end] has a different rhythm and brings the vocal part of the song to a conclusion. Its special position also corresponds with the change of usûl from 4/4 to 3/4.<sup>781</sup> The indicated makâm for this song is şehnâz, a descending mode that is relatively close to diatonic scales. Such modes have been typical for these types of “Neo-Mehter” songs.<sup>782</sup> The eight measures of the instrumental introduction can be divided into two subsections because they practically repeat the same musical phrase twice, the latter one leading to the finalis A<sub>4</sub>.<sup>783</sup> The instrumental introduction presents the makâm as well as the ambitus of the piece. In the first section, the melody unfolds within one octave starting on the makâm’s highest pitch, from which the melody tends to move towards the finalis. In a way, the high pitches create tension, stressing the dramatic opening of the poem, which is further supported by the octave leap (m. 9). The melody of the second section does not surpass the octave A<sub>5</sub> but moves within the modal frame of the makâm, keeping to its tonal characteristics within the tetrachord D<sub>5</sub>–A<sub>5</sub>. The closing part consists of two brief phrases that are repeated respectively

<sup>779</sup> “Çanakkale muzafferiyet-i azîmesi hakkında zât-ı akdes-i hilâfet-penâh-ı âzamî taraf-ı Akdesinden inşâd buyrulan manzûme garra-i zaferdir.”

<sup>780</sup> See also a facsimile of the song lyrics in Çağlar 2015, 82–83. In Çağlar’s volume, another version composed by Yahya Kemal, with the title “Tahmîs-i gazel-i hümayûn,” can be found (2015, 84–85). An interesting case is a parody of the same poem that critiques the Young Turk’s establishment (Danişmend 2016, 124–25).

<sup>781</sup> Düyek refers to an eight-beat rhythmic pattern. In the final section of the song, the beat changes to 3/4, and therefore it was labeled as “düyek deęişim” [changing dük].

<sup>782</sup> Eyewitnesses stated that the makâm’s of the new Mehter songs were close to the tonality of Western music and were at times even harmonized (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1234).

<sup>783</sup> For the song’s structure and performance order, see Appendix A, Case Study 17.3.

to underline the message, which is to “thank God with prayers ...” The intuitive melody develops in a smaller ambitus and brings the vocal part of the piece to a conclusion. The finishing instrumental section puts the whole narration into a piece with the same beginning and ending.

The “Air of the Çanakkale Victory” is part of the productive output celebrating the victory at Gallipoli against the Entente. In the late Ottoman Empire, victories had become increasingly rare, and the few victories were highlighted in public events and educational institutions. It is uncertain if this song was actually sung at schools as the available school song anthologies did not provide any written evidence in this matter. The high demand for the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* scores from schools and bands, however, supports this thesis. Music performances at public events became more common, and also the number of lay bands grew increasingly in the years before World War I.<sup>784</sup> Alî Rızâ set the lyrics of Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V to music, transforming the poem into a song, which on the one hand had a high level of musical expression and on the other hand was performed by the prestigious Mehter band that had been newly revived. Although this score was a part of an institution that expressed the official position, it also wrote national history through commemorating a victorious event with a musical composition. In addition, it was the mouthpiece of the sultan, through which he could express his appraisal of the Ottoman army. Although the Gallipoli Campaign remained an important event that was expressed in the realm of music, this version did not survive in the years to come. The reasons for this are manifold. On the one hand, the song was composed by the Sultan himself, who was Emperor and Caliph at the same time. In the Turkish Republic, the Sultanate and Caliphate were abolished. On the other hand, the lyrics make reference neither to Turkish nor to Ottoman identity but exclusively to the Islamic one. As Caliph, the Sultan had declared Holy War in 1914 and therefore had to address a bigger community than just the Ottoman Muslim one.<sup>785</sup> It is very likely that, for these reasons, the “Air of the Çanakkale Victory” did not fit to the ideology that was shaped after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. In addition, the revival of the Mehter came to a standstill when the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* was closed down in 1935.<sup>786</sup> The interest in the representative power of the Mehter was seemingly never really erased in the national consciousness. Only seventeen years later, in 1952, was another “Neo-Mehter” band organized by the “Genelkurmay Başkanlığı” [General Staff Command], and on 29 May 1953 it gave its first concert to commemorate the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople.<sup>787</sup> This was also the case on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gallipoli Campaign in 2018.

<sup>784</sup> Aksoy and Behar, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e musıki ve batılılaşma,” 1234.

<sup>785</sup> Zürcher remarks that, after the declaration of the Holy War, other Muslims residing in the empire had to join mobilization (2010, 174).

<sup>786</sup> Kahramankaptan and Tansel, *Mehter’den alaturka’ya*, 46; Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane’den bando’ya*, 27.

<sup>787</sup> Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane’den bando’ya*, 28; Sanal, *Mehter musikisi*, 291. For the past- and present-day activities of the Mehter in national and international festivities, and their organization and performances, see O’Connell 2017, 100–126.

### 2.2.4 Cultural Appropriation

The national reading of history not only highlights the “Golden Ages” and successful periods of the nation’s history; it also tends to appropriate elements of the past in the quest to prove cultural continuity. Yekta’s narrative of Turkish music history has already shown how a shared musical heritage was appropriated and “Turkified.” His narrative had, however, remained incomplete. He spoke of the “golden age” and the “decline” of Turkish music, which was expressed, for example, in the lack of musical literacy. The decisive third step, that of “self-awareness” and “resurrection” of national music, which would have followed in the national narrative, is missing. Yekta’s mission was carried on by his fellows, especially by Hüseyin Sadettin Arel (1880–1955). He was probably one of the most influential musicologists in Turkey, and he achieved a milestone by legitimizing Ottoman music as part of the Turkish cultural patrimony. His essay *Türk musikisi kimindir?* [Whose is Turkish Music?] was one of his best-known works and was originally published in fourteen articles in the journal *Türklük* between 1939 and 1940. Later, it was reissued in the music journal *Türk Mûsikisi* [Turkish Music], and finally, it was published as a book in 1969 by the National Ministry of Education. His essay takes a stance against the official Turkish Republican narrative and claims that Ottoman music was not a product of foreign influence but of the Turkish people.<sup>788</sup> The multi-ethnic composition of the Ottoman Empire had become a real obstacle to establishing a narrative that would legitimize Ottoman music as genuinely Turkish. To highlight the Turkish origins of Ottoman music today, it is often referred to as “Osmanlı türk musikisi” [Ottoman-Turkish Music] instead of the more general term “Ottoman Music.” Arel’s chain of argumentation follows a known pattern that can be observed in many similar studies that argue from a nationalist reading. He reproached the foreign researchers for not having properly understood Ottoman music due to a lack of thorough knowledge. The missing background information, he concluded, derived from the fact that foreign researchers drew their far-fetched conclusions based on ancient Greek, ancient Persian, ancient Arab, and Byzantine sources. According to Arel, these sources were not apt for drawing scholarly conclusions on Turkish music. From the way Arel wrote his essay, it becomes evident that he was motivated by the need to defend and legitimize Ottoman music as a genuinely Turkish cultural asset. By doing so, he probably aimed to confront the anti-Ottoman policies in the first decades of the Turkish Republic and the orientalist’s arguments that Turks had adopted a music of foreign origin. He claimed that Turkish music originated amongst the ancient tribes in central Asia that had migrated and laid the foundations of the Hittite civilization in Anatolia, the Sumerian in Mesopotamia, and finally the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman civilizations. Hence, he dated Turkish music even before the ancient Greek, Byzantine, Persian, and Arabic civilizations. Hence, according to his thesis, Turkish music was the origin of the music of the

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<sup>788</sup> Aksoy, “Is the Question of the Origin of Turkish Music Not Redundant?,” 5.

entire Islamic world.<sup>789</sup> In other words, central Asian civilization was the mother of European civilization. Aksoy correctly observed that in the 1930s, the Turks saw themselves as the descendants of the Sumerians and Hittites. Consequently, Arel therefore spoke of the “Sumerian Turks.” Although Turkish musicology has overcome these dubious assumptions, it is important to realize that in the initial years of the Republic, these theories were widely accepted among Turkish and European archaeologists.

Arel’s book, *Whose is Turkish Music*, aimed to contest claims that Ottoman music, rather than being genuinely Turkish, was “borrowed” from other Middle Eastern cultures. This claim, which represented Turkish music in a derogative light, had already become a general thesis in the nineteenth century. In 1931, Ziyâ Şâkir quoted the former Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1909) in an article which was published in the gazette *Son posta* [Last Post]. Abdulhamid’s statement supported the orientalist’s thesis that had been propagated in the initial years of the Turkish Republic.

To be honest, I am not so fond of Turkish alaturca music. One becomes sleepy. I prefer alafraŋga music. I especially like operas and operettas. And do you want me to tell you something? The makâms that we call alaturca are not Turkish. They were adopted from the Greeks, Persians, and Arabs. They also say that the davul and zurna are Turkish instruments, but I have my doubts. These two instruments are said to be from the Arabs. I heard this from someone who travelled to Turkestan once. In the villages over there, the saz was the instrument that has been played ever since. Here, in the truly Turkish villages of Anatolia, the saz has always been played.<sup>790</sup>

In addition to Abdulhamid II, even Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, made a similar claim. He stated in an interview that Turkish music was of Byzantine origin and therefore neither national nor suitable for “progress and the spirit of the

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<sup>789</sup> It is necessary to remark that during the early years of the Turkish Republic, such claims had become official policy. Although Arel was against the national music policies, which rejected everything that was related to Ottoman music, he supported the nationalist thesis that was inspired by the “Sun-Language Theory” [Güneş Dil Teorisi].

<sup>790</sup> “Doğrusu, alaturka musikiden pek o kadar hoşlanmam. İnsana uyku getirir. Alafraŋga musikiyi tercih ederim. Bilhassa opera ve operetler pek hoşuma gider. Hem size bir şey söyleyeyim mi? Alaturka dediğimiz makamlar Türklere ait değildir. Yunanlılardan, Acemlerden, Araplardan alınmıştır. Türk çalgısı davulla zurnadır, derler ya: bunda da tereddüdüm vardır. Bu iki çalgı da Arapların imiş. Bir tarihte Türkistan taraflarında seyahat etmiş bir zattan tahkik ettim. O tarafların köylerinde eskiden beri çalınan çalgı sazmış. Bizde de Anadolu’nun asıl Türk köylerinde daima saz çalınmış,” quoted in Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1223. My translation. This anecdote, which coincides with the early Republican mindset, was based on Ziyâ Şâkir’s article “Abdülhamid’in Son günleri” [The Last Days of Abdulhamid], published on 1 September 1931 in the gazette *Son posta*. Ziyâ Şâkir’s supposed interview with Sultan Abdulhamid II is often quoted in secondary literature but should be approached carefully. Ziyâ Şâkir (1883–1959) was an active member of the Young Turk movement and joined the Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Greco-Turkish War. Given his political and ideological formation, it would be incautious to blindly believe his account of Abdulhamid’s statement. Abdulhamid’s comment was very well suited to the early Republican mindset, which sought to discredit Ottoman music as “un-national” for being of foreign and non-Turkish origin.

Turkish revolution.”<sup>791</sup> He and others expressed their reservations about Ottoman music since it was not representative of the Turkish people. During the Republican era, the political ideology focused more on the folk songs that were seen as the “true” music of the nation. Similar to the Herderian tradition, their national character was pronounced in the national tunes. Mustafa Kemal claimed:

Ottoman music does not have the power to sing the great reforms of the Turkish Republic. We will need in any case a new music, and this music will be a polyphonic music that draws on the essence of folk music. Now, if we come to what you have called habit: does the Anatolian villager listen to your Ottoman music? Has he ever listened? He does not have the habit of that music.<sup>792</sup>

Ottoman music had a difficult position in the initial Turkish Republic, which sought to break with the music of the Ottoman past. Defending Ottoman music against both nationals as well as foreigners was therefore a challenge that Arel had accepted. As the rhetorical question in Arel’s book title already insinuates, he aimed in his work to prove, once and for all, that all claims about the foreign origins of Turkish music were false. For him, Ottoman music had pure Turkish origins and had never been influenced by other musical cultures. He was dismayed that while other nations fought for their national music and defended it, Turkey would totally abandon its own.

It is true that many of the studies that Arel referred to were tendentious and written in a nineteenth-century orientalist spirit that was prejudiced against “Oriental music.” However, Arel himself wrote his essay in the same provocative way and from a biased point of view. He presupposed that Turkish culture had always been the dominant one.<sup>793</sup> Additionally, Arel applied his ideas of “Turkishness” and modern nationhood to periods when these concepts had not existed. His essay is structured in four sections. Each section is dedicated to the musical culture from which Turkish music had supposedly borrowed. For his study, Arel used a comprehensive bibliography from previous centuries and various languages. Although a meticulous study of Arel’s work cannot be carried out at this point, it is sufficient to pick out some of Arel’s arguments to understand the mindset in which Arel composed his writing.

In his section on Iranian music, Arel reverts to some of the arguments that Rauf Yekta had already mentioned. Arel complained that Persian music was studied mostly by foreign

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<sup>791</sup> Atatürk’s statement “Bunlar hep Bizans’tan kalma şeylerdir” [These are residues of Byzantium] confirmed the Byzantine origins of Ottoman music (Saygun 1980, 9).

<sup>792</sup> “Osmanlı musikisi Türkiye Cumhuriyetindeki büyük inkılabları terennüm edecek kudrette değildir. Bize yeni bir musiki lazımdır ve bu musiki, özünü halk musikisinden alan çok sesli bir musiki olacaktır. İtiyad dediğiniz şeye gelince, sizin Osmanlı musikinizi Anadolu köylüsü dinler mi? Dinlemiş mi? Onda o musikinin itiyadı yoktur,” quoted in Balkılıç 2009, 101; Oransay 1985, 40. My translation.

<sup>793</sup> Arel claimed that no occupied nation could ever evade the dominance of the prevailing nation. The Turks totally erased the music of the conquered territories, or they replaced the music with their own (Arel 1969, 8–9).

researchers and that they took the authors of the oldest sources to be Arabs and Persians rather than Turks. Arel claimed that the famous theoreticians Abdülkâdir Merâğî and al-Fârâbî were Turks and not Arabs, as Hammer-Purgstall had claimed for example.<sup>794</sup> Arel stated that this misinterpretation was due to the language that Merâğî and al-Fârâbî had used in their treatises. Persian and Arabic were intellectual languages, which were commonly used in treatises, similar to Latin in Europe. The previously-mentioned Kiesewetter, who had been criticized by Yekta for his negative statements about the Turks, is also mentioned in Arel's work in the same context. Arel pointed out the main Turkish contributors to the progress of music and culture to show that Turks were anything but uninterested in the muses.

In the section on Arabic music, Arel brought forth arguments that presented Arabic music as a corrupted residue of Turkish music. Whereas Arel fought against accusations of orientalism levelled against Turkish music, in the Arabic case, interestingly, he supported them. He referred to the writings of Jules Rouanet, Guillaume André Villoteau, and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, claiming that pre-Islamic Arabic music was unknown. Arel referred to a statement by Villoteau, who had claimed that Arabs were slaves to the Greeks and Persians and that Arabic music was therefore a corrupted version of ancient Greek and Persian music. However, Arel admitted to supporting Kiesewetter's argument that there was actually no connection between Arabic and Greek music and that Arabic music borrowed from the Persians.<sup>795</sup> Arel further mentioned two more important Arabic figures: İbn Haldûn<sup>796</sup> (d. 1406) and Corcî Zeydân<sup>797</sup> (d. 1914), who supposedly had claimed that Arabic music had come from Persian music.<sup>798</sup> Since Arel had shown in the first section of his book that Persian music was actually Turkish, he concluded that Arabic music therefore originated in Turkish music as well. Arel exposed the ideas of Rouanet to ridicule, who had spoken of an "Islamic music" that existed only among Muslims. Rouanet had also remarked on the lack of music notation in Islamic cultures. Arel affirmed that there was no such thing as "Islamic music" but only nations and peoples that were influenced by Turkish music.<sup>799</sup> The new historical theses, which in Turkey emerged especially in the 1930s, helped Arel to push further absurd claims of cultural continuity. Arel pointed out that ancient civilizations such as the Sumerians were already developed and progressive. He referred to Francis William Galpin (1858–1945), an English theologian and archaeologist, who in 1937 had claimed that the Sumerians had given rise to all other Western civi-

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<sup>794</sup> Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) was an Austrian orientalist, diplomat, and historian. Arel refers to his ten-volume work *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* [History of the Ottoman Empire], published between 1827 and 1835. Arel apparently had a Turkish translation made of his work. See Arel 1969, 12.

<sup>795</sup> *Ibid.*, 28–29.

<sup>796</sup> İbn Haldûn (d. 1406) was a historian, philosopher, politician, and statesman (Uludağ 1999, 20:8–12).

<sup>797</sup> Corcî Zeydân (1861–1914) was an Arabic writer, journalist and historian (Çelebi 1993, 69–71).

<sup>798</sup> Arel, *Türk musikisi kimindir*, 29–30.

<sup>799</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

lizations, such as Greeks and Egyptians as well as Assyrians and Babylonians.<sup>800</sup> According to the new Turkish History Thesis, the Sumerians were influenced by Turkic central Asian tribes. Therefore, Arel considered the culture of the Sumerians to be Turkish. Music notation in the Sumerian civilization was therefore proof that Turks also had used music notation long before other nations did. Hence, all the civilizations that followed were influenced by Turkish culture. Arel omitted several thousand years in his narrative and then continued his story with Islamic medievalism: el-Urmevî, Merâğî etc. In this period, he followed Yekta's narrative. Arel also replied to readers' letters that are also worth mentioning in this context. The readers are mostly anonymized. In reply to the question why foreign researchers came to remarkably different conclusions, Arel claimed that, either consciously or unconsciously, they had a biased approach. According to Arel, one could not expect other nations to support another nation's music in a similar way as a member of the same nation would.<sup>801</sup>

The section on ancient Greek music follows a similar scheme to the previous ones. Arel admitted that he was not an expert and that he could not provide the same expertise as many other foreign experts on ancient Greek music studies. His chapter on Greek music is basically a description of ancient Greek music theory, for which he used the commonly-known works of pioneer researchers such as Théodore Reinach (1860–1928), Maurice Emmanuel (1862–1938), François-Auguste Gevaert (1828–1908), Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894), and Hugo Riemann (1849–1919), among others. For Arel, the most important concern was to show, firstly, that there was no connection between Turkish and ancient Greek music, and, secondly, that modern Greek music was based on Turkish music. Arel's second claim was based on his idea that ancient Greek music had not survived due to the lack of cultural continuity in Greek music. Right at the beginning of his chapter, he stated, "Hence, there is no connection between the folk song of modern and ancient Greece."<sup>802</sup> Arel traced the development of the ancient Greek music theories and compared the compound tetrachords with the Turkish modes. He concluded that there was no significant correlation and therefore Greek music had not influenced Turkish music. Later in his argument, Arel reverts to the Sumerian thesis, this time by referring to Sir Leonard Woolley's (1880–1960) "Ur of the Chaldees" (1929). Woolley's quote, which is given as a footnote, suggests that Sumerians lived in Mesopotamia 3,500 years before Christ and were older than other hitherto known civilizations, and thus Sumerians had given rise to European civilization. As Arel understood it, ancient Greek civilization had derived from the Sumerian, which in turn again was influenced by the Turkic tribes.

<sup>800</sup> Francis W. Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians and Their Immediate Successors the Babylonians and Assyrians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937). Arel accidentally referred to the author as "Gallin." Arel indeed performed fragments of a Sumerian hymn, which had been reconstructed by Galpin. In 1951, he compared it to a hymn, which İtrî Mustafâ Efendi (d. 1712) had composed and dedicated to the Prophet (Greve 1995, 67).

<sup>801</sup> Arel, *Türk musikisi kimindir*, 70.

<sup>802</sup> "Zira, bugünkü Yunanistan'ın halk musikisile eski Yunan musikisi arasında hiçbir münasebet yok." *Ibid.*, 86.

In the last section, Arel replied to the question of why Turkish music was not influenced by Byzantine music. At the beginning of his treatise, he discredited the work of the already-mentioned Stephen Georgeson Hatherly (1827–1905) and his *A Treatise on Byzantine Music* (1892). Hatherly became the same figure for the Turks as Fallmerayer had become for the Greeks. This was a result of Hatherly's biased and anti-Turkic stance. Although a British citizen, he converted to the Greek Orthodox religion, started a career in the church, and became a high priest. As Yekta had disputed before, Hatherly had refuted any Turkish contribution to architecture and music.<sup>803</sup> Additionally, on many occasions Hatherly showed that his expertise in Ottoman music was not only limited but also erroneous. This had led him to a series of wrong assumptions. It is needless to say that Arel took advantage of Hatherly's misinterpretations to discredit his work.<sup>804</sup> To support his thesis, Arel referred to studies by Egon Wellesz (1885–1974) and Hugo Riemann, who had worked on the history of Byzantine music and questioned cultural continuity. Arel mentioned the old Byzantine neume notation, which originally was invented as an aide-mémoire for reproducing a piece from memory. Throughout the Byzantine era, this notation was further developed; but it eventually became increasingly complicated until it had reached a stage when it was unintelligible and had to be reformed by Chrysanthos. Arel was aware of the ongoing discussions concerning the old Byzantine notation and Psachos' theory on stenography. However, Arel was obviously not an expert in this field and therefore he concluded that old Byzantine notation was nothing other “than a brain teaser that resulted from all summed problems of hieroglyphs, stenography, and diastematic notation.”<sup>805</sup> He expressed his incomprehension as to why Greeks would still insist that Greek Orthodox church music and Byzantine music were the same in spite of the break in musical transmission. In order to give his account a more objective and authentic touch, Arel directed his questions on Byzantine music to Angelos Voudouris (1891–1951), a Greek Or-

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<sup>803</sup> Hatherly, *A Treatise on Byzantine Music*, 111–19.

<sup>804</sup> It is necessary to remark that Arel probably misinterpreted Hatherly. It is legitimate to say that Hatherly had a biased view of and approach to Turkish music. To assume that Turkish songs originally had Greek lyrics is false. The songs that he used as examples were taken from Guatelli's undated song anthology, which was arranged for solo piano. In Guatelli's original printed score, the songs were provided without the lyrics. Since Guatelli neither indicated the first hemistich of the song nor gave the makâm or mode, it must have been almost impossible for Hatherly to identify the pieces solely from the piano arrangement. Hatherly had to come up with an explanation as to why he himself did not indicate in his example the song lyrics in Turkish, whereas he had done so for the Greek songs. His official pretext was that the Arabic alphabet worked from right to left and that writing the text syllables below the notation that went from left to right would have caused confusion. This is, however, untrue because it is possible to put syllables below the notation even in the Arabic alphabet. The truth is that Guatelli's original was without lyrics, and Hatherly probably had nobody at hand who could have identified the songs and written down the lyrics with Arabic letters. Hence, he simply adopted Guatelli's score and claimed that the songs originally had Greek lyrics: “The whole of the so-called Turkish songs no doubt once possessed Greek words [...]” (Hatherly 1892, 119). If Hatherly had been aware of the numerous printed Ottoman music scores of the late nineteenth century that had text underlay in the Arabic alphabet, he would probably have revised his statement.

<sup>805</sup> “İster hiyeroglif, ister stenografi, yahut aralık yazısı olsun, şurası muhakkaktır ki eski Bizans notası hem hiyeroglifin, hem stenografinin, hem de aralık yazısının bütün zorluklarını bir araya toplamış bir ‘Kafakıran’ dan başka birşey değildir” (Arel 1969, 189).

thodox cantor who was born in Gallipoli. Voudouris was remarkably diplomatic and careful in his replies. He drew on the Greek national narrative of cultural continuity, claiming that Byzantine music had survived in the church rituals and had existed continuously since the conquest of Constantinople. He further affirmed that the similarities between Turkish and Greek church music were due to the fact that both were influenced by Anatolian music. When Arel asked if he knew that Turks took their music not from Anatolia but from central Asia, Voudouris evaded his question, saying that he was not familiar with this topic and that further studies had to be done. Additionally, Arel briefly described the three most important stages of Byzantine notation according to Wellesz.<sup>806</sup> He concluded that continuity in Byzantine notation had already been interrupted because the old sources could not be decoded and that the influence of Turkish music had only wielded the “final blow.” Arel concluded his work with numerous references to quotes by foreign scholars that confirmed his thesis. All of the statements either questioned continuity in Greek music or emphasized the influence that Middle Eastern music had on Greek music. Arel’s bias was also often expressed in the terminology and metaphors that he used. He represented the relationship between Turkish and Byzantine music as a “wrestling match,” which Turkish music “won.”<sup>807</sup> It is ironic that Arel reproached the supporters of Byzantine music for religious fanaticism, which supposedly had risen since the fall of Constantinople. He claimed that Turkish music had entered the Orthodox church and interfered in the relationship between God and the believers. He provocatively stated that the Byzantines locked themselves together with their priests into the church and execrated the “hostile Turks” in their rituals with melodies that they had received from the same. This cynical and provocative statement not only reflected Arel’s own fanaticism and desperate attempt to “save Ottoman music”; it also expressed his disdain for the Byzantine heritage, which for Greece was the key evidence to prove cultural continuity. In Turkey, Arel’s efforts bore fruit and Ottoman music was reintroduced to the State Conservatory in 1943, seventeen years after its abolishment.<sup>808</sup>

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<sup>806</sup> Wellesz classified the development of Byzantine notation into five periods: The first was the period of “Ephonetic Signs” (sixth century), the second was the period of “Early Byzantine Notation” (ninth century), the third was the period of “Middle Byzantine Notation” (twelfth–fifteenth centuries), the fourth was the “Period of Late Byzantine Notation” (fifteenth–eighteenth centuries), and the “New Greek Church Music” (nineteenth century onwards). See Wellesz 1923.

<sup>807</sup> Arel, *Türk musikisi kimindir*, 10–11.

<sup>808</sup> In 1926, the Music Conservatory in Istanbul underwent a process of reformation. The name was changed from “Dârülelhân” [House of Sound] into “İstanbul Belediye Konservatuvarı” [Istanbul State Conservatory], and the section for Turkish music was closed down (Balkılıç 2009, 98).

## 2.3 Case Studies

The previous chapter gave insights into the intellectual debates on Ottoman music and national identity. From the vast array of sources, this chapter will single out examples of songs that were used to foster Ottoman national sentiment. As was done in the chapter on Greek school song anthologies, this chapter will look at Ottoman school song anthologies, focusing in particular on the national ideology they transmitted. In order to compare the Ottoman and Greek school songs, this research will especially look at the national symbolisms, morals, and ethical and national values, and how they were expressed through music. Important pedagogical figures and their children's songs will serve as a point of departure to gain new insights into music education in schools in the late Ottoman Empire. Having analyzed the school songs, this chapter will present two more case studies, which were and still are important in today's corpus of Turkish national songs. The songs in question are the "Sevastopol" and the "Gallipoli" songs, which will be contextualized in their respective historical periods. The aim of this study is to show the historical traces of the songs in order to understand how they emerged and were changed and imbued with national meaning over the decades. The "Sevastopol" and "Gallipoli" songs can be considered a monument in Turkish collective memory. The fact that both examples have revealing connections with the Greek-speaking Ottoman subjects and Greek diaspora will give further insights into alternative readings of these highly nationalized songs. The sources that will be examined in this chapter are from different periods between the 1850s and the 1920s. This broad periodical frame helps trace the "mutation" of songs throughout the decades of political tumult.

### 2.3.1 School Education and Music in the Late Ottoman Empire

School education in the Ottoman Empire, as in other nations, underwent remarkable reforms from the 1850s onwards. The Ottoman Empire had to react to the vicissitudes and global trends that existed in the second half of the nineteenth century. After the Crimean War in 1856, westernization sped up in many realms of the Ottoman state. One of these realms was school education. Whereas the "islâhât fermânı" [The Edict of Reforms] allowed each confessional community in the empire to establish schools of science, arts, and industry under the supervision of a council,<sup>809</sup> the systematic establishment of a standardized Ottoman school had been neglected for many years. The Ottomans' efforts to reform the state system, to centralize administration, to standardize procedures, and to create officialdom were all measures that could be observed at the same time in many other parts of the world. The Ottoman state started redefining its role in society and aimed to reshape the relationship between authorities and subjects. The idea of introducing a state-controlled, centralized educational system that shaped the minds of the nationals in far-flung areas

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<sup>809</sup> Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 74.

was not only limited to the Ottomans but can be seen as a global trend.<sup>810</sup> In the Ottoman case, the reform of education resulted from the “Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizâmname” [Regulation of Education] in 1869. This regulation also served as a guideline for the state’s educational campaign, which was strongly influenced by the French Ministry of Education.<sup>811</sup>

The Ottomans had many reasons to reform or introduce an educational system according to Western models. They were aware of the fact that they had fallen behind other nations in terms of economic and military power. Superior education was seen as the “secret” that had paved the Western powers’ road to success.<sup>812</sup> The effort to launch a comprehensive and costly educational campaign meant investing in buildings, human resources, logistics, and learning materials. For the Ottomans, this effort was an investment in the future. They hoped that education would turn out to be the panacea for internal and consequently also external problems, and that it would assure competitiveness with other nations and rivals. Other competing groups that had constructed schools and set standards for school education gave further impetus to the Ottomans and urged them to react and take a stance on this matter.

Missionary schools run by other nations, for example, were the first to introduce Western European-style school education, and they served as a model for subsequent schools. The increasing number of foreign missionary schools between the years 1880–1890 were observed by the Ottoman state, and the increasing number of students gave rise to concerns.<sup>813</sup> Minority-run schools were another group that had been active and offered the latest state of the art in terms of schooling. They were well-organized and financed, and at times they invited Muslim children to join the classes as well. Ottoman society was organized according to ethno-religious groups. Hence, religious identity was important in the self-perception of the Ottoman people. The fact that well-financed schools run by Christians who also taught non-Christian Ottoman children was seen as a threat to the moral and religious entity of the Muslims in the population.<sup>814</sup> Compared to the missionary schools, the situation of the minority-run schools was different. Workers in the minority-run schools had a well-established network and knew the various languages necessary to communicate with the different communities within and outside the empire. Many of them had close ties to the societies of bordering nations, such as Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia, which had gained independence from the Ottoman Empire a few decades earlier.

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<sup>810</sup> Russia and Japan underwent a similar period of restructuring their educational systems according to the latest standards. During this process, the content of the classes was organized according to national aims (Deringil 1998, 110).

<sup>811</sup> Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 27–28, 113. These guidelines made elementary school compulsory, organized education, facilitated the formation of schools and other scholarly institutions, centralized education, classified schools into different levels, and established an examination system that would help students pass (Özden 2015, 86–87).

<sup>812</sup> Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 43.

<sup>813</sup> *Ibid.*, 50–56.

<sup>814</sup> Selim Deringil, “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1 (1993): 3–29.

Ottoman officials were aware that the school system of the minorities was superior and more developed than the Ottoman school system. In addition, it became more urgent to prevent schools from disseminating separatist and nationalist thought, which would jeopardize the balance in the multi-ethnic state. Non-Muslim schools were observed with mistrust and were strictly controlled. With the 1869 regulation of education, the inspection of non-Muslim schools became stricter. In 1880, the supervision of schoolbooks also became more stringent, and in 1887, an office was introduced that would control non-Muslim and foreign schools for the first time.<sup>815</sup> Language had also become an important element in creating a national identity. Hence, from 1894 onwards, lessons in Turkish were obligatory in non-Muslim schools.<sup>816</sup>

Although 1869 is often referred to as the date when educational reforms were decided upon in the Ottoman Empire, the construction of an educational infrastructure proceeded only with small steps.<sup>817</sup> The most impactful measures were taken in the 1880s, during the reign of Abdulhamid II. In 1884, numerous school buildings were constructed in the provinces of the empire. The architecture followed the neo-classical style of French prototypes and stood out from the regular architecture of the given location.<sup>818</sup> The results of other reforms led to the emergence of the “idâdî” [higher secondary/middle schools],<sup>819</sup> which made further funding necessary. In the same year, the Ottoman state approved the “Education Fund,” which was the basis for the construction of schools. The Ottoman state apparatus also underwent reforms, which led to the separation of the Ministry of Education and the Education Council (Meclis-i Maârif).<sup>820</sup> By 1903, the construction of the middle schools had been completed.<sup>821</sup> It is said that 10,000 schools were built during the reign of Abdulhamid II. However, the content of the lessons had to be adapted to the needs of the empire and therefore underwent a process of “Ottomanization” and “Islamization.” The multi-ethnic empire had to face the new emergent southeast European nation-states, whose populations were more homogeneous. In order to control the rise of nationalist sentiment among the minorities, the Ottomans had to inculcate an Ottoman ideology that would reinforce feelings of loyalty, belonging, and unity. They intended to achieve this by highlighting the Sultanate and Caliphate, religion, and language. The Sultan was, at the same time, the Caliph of all Muslims and, thus, he was the Islamic ruler. The Ottomans believed that Islam would create strong ties among the Muslims of the Middle Eastern provinces. Ottomanism

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<sup>815</sup> Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 105.

<sup>816</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>817</sup> During the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) a few schools were opened: Galatasaray Sultânîsi (1868), Dârüşşafaka Sultânîsi (1870), Mahrec-i Ahkâm (1862), Lisân Mektebi (1864), Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye-i Mülkiyye (1867), Kaptan ve Çarkçı Mektebi (1870), Mekteb-i Hukûk (1870), and the female teachers’ school Dârülmualimât (1870) (Özden 2015, 67, 96).

<sup>818</sup> Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 115.

<sup>819</sup> Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 95.

<sup>820</sup> Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 124.

<sup>821</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

and the Turkish language also became important factors that would strengthen national feelings throughout the empire. Similar to other nations, the Ottomans had understood the importance of language in creating feelings of national unity.<sup>822</sup> The feeling of national belonging was hence supported by assimilation and inculcation of Ottomanism.

The teachers were scholars of Islam, such as the *ulemâ* social class, and educators who were influenced by European educational methods. However, they emphasized Islamic and Ottoman values in the classes.<sup>823</sup> Topics with religious content had an important place in schoolbooks. Teaching religious traditions equaled sustaining national morals.<sup>824</sup> The emphasis on Islamic values created stronger ties among the Muslim communities of the empire and shaped an identity that ended in Islamic nationalism. Although French had become indispensable in elite schools such as the Galatasaray Lycée, the content that was taught had to undergo a process of revision. The world view presented in Western school education did not always match the Islamic or Ottoman one. Therefore, any lesson content that was diametrically opposed to the official views or morals of the empire had to be censored or “modified.” The situation drastically changed in the years after 1908, when the Young Turks were in power. Although Ottomanism was still the official policy, Pan-Turkist and Pan-Islamic notions became more dominant. In particular, the years after the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 had severe consequences and reinforced Turkish nationalist thought to the detriment of Ottomanism.

### Late Ottoman School Songs

As was shown in Chapter 1.4.1, school music for Greeks and the Greek-speaking community in Istanbul had been used as early as the 1870s. However, the same cannot be observed in the Ottoman case. Compared to the Greek community in Istanbul, and also to school song anthologies that had been numerous since the 1870s, similar anthologies did not seem to exist at Ottoman schools. This is striking because in the same period there were already history books available for school education.<sup>825</sup> The reasons for the lack of Ottoman school music anthologies may be many. It is remarkable that, whereas other musical works were published, school song anthologies appeared relatively late. In the same decade, the first theories of Western music to be published in Turkish and the first methods for learning instruments or reading musical notation appeared.<sup>826</sup>

<sup>822</sup> Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 99.

<sup>823</sup> Ali Suavî Efendi (1839–1878), for example, was the appointed director of the “Mekteb-i Sultânî” in Istanbul. This school was Franco-Ottoman in response to the demands of the French. Suavî changed the westernized orientation of the school and highlighted Islamic morals instead. Curricula that taught Western scholars, Latin, and philosophy were reduced, whereas the study of Islamic principles was more heavily stressed (Fortna 2002, 110).

<sup>824</sup> Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 110.

<sup>825</sup> Çıkar, *Von der osmanischen Dynastie zur türkischen Nation*, 32–38.

<sup>826</sup> The following gives a selection of those volumes: Kânûnî Şamlı Hasan’s *Miftâh-ı nota* (1291/1874), Remzî’s *Usûl-i nota* (1292/1875), and Hacı Emîn’s *Nota muallimi* (1302/1886). Hacı Emîn Efendi or Notacı Emîn Efendi (1845–1907) founded the first publishing house for printing notation in 1873. For the first time, he pub-

The first school song for children that has been found in the Ottoman context was published in the journal *Çocuklara kırâat* [Reading for Children] as song lyrics without any musical notation. The song was published in 1299/1882 under the title “Mektep şarkısı” [School Song].<sup>827</sup> Another song was mentioned in the journal *Çocuklara rehber* [Children’s Guide] and was also printed without notation in the year 1896.<sup>828</sup> The song and poem collection *Çocuklara neşîdeler* [Poems for Children] was published in 1911 and contains, besides poems, some of the popular school songs that existed at that time. In the foreword, the director of the “Dârümuallimîn” [Teacher’s Training College], Satı Bey (1880–1968), underlined the importance of the collaboration of instructors, poets, and musicians to compose songs that would shape the ethical and patriotic spirit of children.<sup>829</sup> The first two known school songs with notation are from 1909. They were included in the article “The Importance of Poetry and Music in Teaching and Education”<sup>830</sup> in the *Journal for Elementary School Education* with songs composed by Kâzım Uz<sup>831</sup> and lyrics by Tevfik Fikret.<sup>832</sup> The two songs that were printed in this article were titled “Hep kardeşiz” [Always Broth-

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lished pieces by the composers Ârif Bey (1831–1885), Şevkî Bey (1860–1890), and Rifat Bey (1820–1888) (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1230).

<sup>827</sup> Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı’da çocuk müzikisi*, 239. The song was sent by Hacı Yusûf Efendizâde Sadî to the Şemsi Efendi School at Thessaloniki. The song was performed to a melody that was composed by Şemsi Efendi himself (ibid.). It starts with the first line, “Biz mektebi takdîs ederek kabe deriz hep” [Consecrating our school, we call it “Kaaba”].

<sup>828</sup> Ibid.

<sup>829</sup> These poem and song collections are structured in chapters according to the poem’s content. As was observed in the Greek songs, the poems are categorized into ethical poems, school poems, patriotic poems, and poems dealing with nature and ethics. In this way, the organization of the anthology followed trends that already existed elsewhere in Europe at that time.

<sup>830</sup> Satı Bey, “Şiir ve müzikinin tâlim ve terbiye’de ehemmiyeti,” *Tedrisât-ı iptidâî mecmûası*, no. 1 (1325/1909): 3–19. This article is based on the conference talk at the teachers’ school.

<sup>831</sup> İsmâil Kâzım Uz or Muallim Kâzım Bey was born in 1873 in Istanbul. At an early age, he became a student of the Dârüşşafaka, a school for impoverished and orphaned children, where he learned music from Zekâî Dede. He became a civil servant at the Post Office but continued his activities in the field of music, including composing and teaching. Later, he was transferred to the Ministry of Education and spent forty years in public schools teaching music and mathematics. After his retirement, he dedicated himself completely to music and became head of the Dârülmüsikî [House of Music], which he had founded in Istanbul-Koska. He died on 9 January 1943 in Istanbul (Rona 1960, 126–27; Öztuna 1990, 2:463–65). As a Turkish musician and school-teacher, he also wrote many instructive books on music and theory. He published a music dictionary with the title *Ta’lîm-i müsikî yâhûd müsikî istilâhâtı* (1894) [Instruction in music, or Music Terminology], which opened a way for him into the Ottoman Imperial Band. Other instructional books for music education were *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (1330/1914) [School Songs with Notation], *Müsikî nazariyatı* (1339/1923) [Theory of Music], *İptidâî nota dersleri* [Preliminary Notation Classes] (first ed. 1332/1916) and *Osmânî gençlerine tuhfe* (1333/1917) [Gift to the Ottoman Youth].

<sup>832</sup> Tevfik Fikret (1867–1915) was an important poet of the late Ottoman Empire. He worked in various positions as an official and also as a translator and editor of Ottoman journals, such as the *Malûmât* and the *Servet-i fûnûn*. He supported a process of renewal in the Ottoman literary scene and also translated poetic works from French into Turkish. He was a critic of Sultan Abdulhamid II and praised the failed assassination attempt that Armenians had undertaken. In the Second Constitutional Period, he taught at the Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânîsi as well as at the Dârülfünûn and the Dârümuallimîn [Teacher Training College], which he reorganized to the latest pedagogical standards. Due to intrigues and political tensions, he had to withdraw from his positions (Uçman 2012, 41:9–13).

ers] and “Küçük asker” [Small Soldier]. The composer Kâzım Uz also included these songs in his song anthology *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (1330/1914) [School Songs with Notation] and *İptidâî nota dersleri* (1333/1917) [Primary Notation Lessons] for primary and high schools.<sup>833</sup> School songs were not only included in school song anthologies but also in music theory textbooks that were made for use in schools. Sâhib’s *Telhîs-i mûsikî* (1330/1914) [Summary of Music] is a good example of this, where the elements of music that were introduced in each chapter could be practiced in a song. Whereas most of the Ottoman school song anthologies reinforced national identity, the songs in *Telhîs-i mûsikî* mostly highlighted other values, such as respect for one’s elders, love of music and nature, and other topics related to school life.<sup>834</sup>

The idea that school songs being included in children’s education could be beneficial for the nation and society seemed to have been recognized at a much later stage in the Ottoman Empire than by its European neighbors. When Satı Bey described in an article the effect that music had on children, he used words that were similar to those of Tantalidês. Satı Bey stated that music helped children to control the energy of the voice. Further, music helped them to be tidy and docile and to calm down. Music added harmony, interest, and esthetic appreciation to a child’s life, and it complemented cognitive abilities with emotional ones. He further claimed that learning song lyrics had a positive effect on children since they helped them memorize the melody.<sup>835</sup> Another article titled “Mûsikî ve mekteplerimiz” [Music and Our Schools] was published in 1916 in the journal *Muallim* [Teacher] by Mehmed Emîn Bey. He recognized how powerful music was for children, stating that it could be used to achieve national and religious education.<sup>836</sup> In 1873, the Dârüşşafaka, which followed the unsuccessful Dârüleytâm,<sup>837</sup> was founded to educate poor children and orphans. Also, Zekâî Dede<sup>838</sup> seemingly offered the children music classes from 1884 until his death.<sup>839</sup> The classes were carried out in a traditional fashion and fo-

<sup>833</sup> Cf. first piece in Uz 1330/1914.

<sup>834</sup> Cf. Appendix B, Table 2.

<sup>835</sup> Satı Bey, “Şiir ve mûsikinin tâlim ve terbiye’de ehemmiyeti,” 3–19; Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı’da çocuk mûsikîsi*, 19–20.

<sup>836</sup> Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı’da çocuk mûsikîsi*, 19–20.

<sup>837</sup> Dârüleytâm was a school for adolescent orphans. It placed more emphasis on music teaching compared to other elementary and middle schools (Özden 2015, 92–93). A picture of the Dârüleytâm can be found in Çağlar 2015, 105.

<sup>838</sup> Zekâî Dede was born in 1240/1824 in Istanbul-Eyüp and was an important music instructor, musician, and composer of his time. He was familiar with staff and Hampartsum notation but continued teaching music with the traditional meşk system. He worked at the Dârüşşafaka as a teacher but was also active at the Bahariye Dervish Convent. He died in 1897 in Istanbul (Özcan 2013, 44:195–96). For Rauf Yekta’s biography on Zekâî Dede, see Rauf Yekta, *Esâtîz-i elhân*, ed. Nuri Akbayar, Pan Yayıncılık 43 (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2000).

<sup>839</sup> Mehmed İzzet et al., *Dârüşşafaka: Türkiye’de ilk halk mektebi* (Istanbul: Evkâf-ı İslâmiye Matbaası, 1927), 77. Music as a school class was introduced for the first time in the year 1293/1870. Two students were invited every year to recite from the Koran. Candidates who had remarkable voices were admitted to music classes. The music classes of the Dârüşşafaka consisted of two categories. One was more formal and included gen-

cused more on practice than on theory. However, not all students could take part in music classes. Only newcomers that were gifted in reciting the Koran were taught in music.<sup>840</sup> The concept and methodology of music classes were therefore very different from those of “modern” schools and music education that were meant for all children. This European concept of school song education for the “masses” seemed to have existed mainly in the years after the Young Turk Revolution. The same was probably true of the “Mahalle mektepleri” [district schools], which were basically elementary schools that were also referred to as “Sıbyan mektepleri” [primary schools]. They emerged in several districts of the city and gave poor children a general education. In those schools, children generally learned religious hymns according to the meşk education.<sup>841</sup> However, elementary school children were taught not only religious hymns but also more popular and patriotic songs such as “Ey gâziler” [O Muslim Fighters] and the “Sevastopol Song.”<sup>842</sup> A more modern music education was probably taught in the Imperial Military Band. It had a music band for children called “Sıbyan Mûzıkası,” which was a boys’ military band founded in 1888.<sup>843</sup>

Thus, Ottoman school song anthologies, unlike their Greek equivalents, were seemingly printed only after the proclamation of the Second Constitution. This was possibly connected to the political circumstances, which abruptly changed in this period. The reasons for this delay may be numerous. Firstly, the meşk education was still very common in the nineteenth century; therefore, music notation was not needed in classes, and songs were taught directly to the students by the teachers. Secondly, the lack of suitable pedagogic personnel to design modern school song anthologies could be another reason for this delayed development. It is unlikely that missing technical equipment or financial reasons were responsible for the late emergence of Ottoman school song anthologies. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was possible to find many printed publications

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eral music theory and solfeggio, which at that time was conceived as new and progressive. At the same time, the more traditional “face to face” class taught according to the meşk was also offered. In both cases, music notation was used.

<sup>840</sup> Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı’da çocuk müzikisi*, 37–39; Yektâ, *Esâtîz-i elhân*, 34–35. The school was founded by Esad Pasha based on the model of the French “Prytanée Militaire de la Flèche.” Also, the instruction books that had been used were translated into Turkish (Özden 2015, 101–2).

<sup>841</sup> There were, for example, anthologies of such religious hymns printed without musical notation in 1909 with the title *Mektep ilâhisi*.

<sup>842</sup> Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı’da çocuk müzikisi*, 33, 36. Ülkütaşır described in an article the rituals of school enrolment at the primary schools. When a child was enrolled, the ritual was accompanied by religious songs (ilâhî) and patriotic songs that had become popular, such as “Ey gâziler” and the “Sevastopol Song” (Ülkütaşır 1949, 17). The “Sevastopol Song” and “Ey gâziler” will be dealt with separately in more detail in Chapters 2.3.6 and 2.3.9.

<sup>843</sup> The “Sıbyan Mûzıkası” [Boys’ Military Band] was the military band of the marines directed by François Lombardi (1865–1904). Lombardi was an Italian composer of French origin and a teacher of European music theory. A photo of the “Sıbyan Mûzıkası” together with Lombardi was printed in issue 27 of the journal *Malûmât* (1313/1897). Lombardi founded the Boys’ Military Band together with the violin player of the Mûzika-yı Hümayûn, Bedri Bey. The students in the Boys’ Military band later became musicians on the Ertuğrul battleship. The band was, however, soon dissolved, since the instrumentalists had to serve at the front in World War I (Gazimihal 1955, 205; Üngör 1966, 38; Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1225; Kutlay Baydar 2010, 56–58).

of Western and Ottoman music, arranged for piano and other instruments. In addition, numerous methodologies for music theory and instruments had been published. This approach to learning music by reading an instructional book instead of consulting a teacher can be seen as a new phenomenon in Turkish music education.<sup>844</sup> The first printed music methodology of this kind was *Miftâh-i nota* (1291/1874) [Key to Notation], which was followed by several more: *Usûl-i nota* (1292/1875) [Method of Notation], *Nota muallimi* (1302/1886) [Teacher of Notation], *Îrâe-i nagamât* (1304/1888) [A Guide to Tunes], *Solfej yâhûd nazariyât-ı mûsikî* (1306/1890) [Solfeggio or Theory of Music], and *Kütübhâne-i mûsikîden nazariyât-ı mûsikî* (1899) [Music Theory]. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, this trend continued: *Rehber-i mûsikî* (1321/1905) [Guide to Music], *Muhtasar risâle-i mûsikî* (1325/1909) [Short Treatise on Music], *Risâle-i mûsikî: notanın talîm ü kırâatı* (1326/1910) [Music Treatise: Instruction in Reading Notation], *Mebâdî-i mûsikî* (1326/1910) [Principles of Music], *Medhal-i mûsikî* (1330/1914) [Introduction to Music], *Solfej yâhûd nota dersleri* (1330/1914) [Solfeggio, or Notation Lessons], *Telhîs-i mûsikî* (1330/1914) [Summary of Music], *Tedrîsât-ı mûsikî* (1330/1914) [Instruction to Music], and *Mûsikî nazariyâtı* (n.d.) [Theory of Music]. In the same period, music histories also appeared, such as the history of European music in *Târîhçe-i fenn-i mûsikî* (1310/1894) [The History of Musical Science] and for Ottoman music, *Esâtîz-i elhân* [Masters of Sound] in three volumes.<sup>845</sup> School song anthologies that were prepared for use in schools are *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (1330/1914) [School Songs with Notation], *İptidâî nota dersleri* (1914) [Primary Notation Lessons], and *Mektebde vatan türkûleri* (n.d.) [National Songs for Schools]. In this context, it is also relevant to recognize some of the children's poetry anthologies, of which some poems served as lyrics for songs in school anthologies such as *Çocuklara neşîdeler* (1328/1912) [Poetry for Children], *Kızıl elma* (ca. 1330/1914) [Red Apple], *Şermîn*<sup>846</sup> (1330/1914) and *Çocuk şiirleri* (1330/1914) [Poems for Children]. These examples show that instructional books for music education had already existed prior to the twentieth century. School song anthologies, however, were printed only in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The years 1913–1915 are especially striking because it is the period when most of the school music books were published. Many music schools were funded by the Ministry of Education and music classes were intended for all Ottoman children. This is also the period when many foreign music instructors started working as teachers, probably partly to cope with the lack of suitable pedagogic personnel.<sup>847</sup>

<sup>844</sup> The volumes *Ûd muallimi* (ca. 1900/1901) [The Oud Teacher]; *Hocasız ud öğrenmek usûlu* (1910) [The Method to Learn the Ud Without a Teacher] by Ali Salâhi; *Usûli talîm-i kemân* (1913) [Methodic Instruction for Violin] (1913) by Seyyid Abdülkâdir Töre are only a few examples of this.

<sup>845</sup> The three volumes of *Esâtîz-i elhân* were written by Rauf Yekta and can be considered the first printed, scholarly biographies of famous Ottoman musicians. Each of the volumes focuses on one composer: The first volume deals with Zekâi Dede Efendi and the second volume with Abdülkâdir Merâğî, both published in 1900. The third volume is on Dede Efendi and was published in 1922.

<sup>846</sup> “Şermîn” is the name of a female character.

<sup>847</sup> Özden, *Osmanlı maârifî'nde mûsikî*, 118–19.

The Ottoman military band musician Zatî Arca<sup>848</sup> had already asserted in his letter to the Ministry of Education the importance of music education and the lack of a working teaching system, which was due to the paucity of qualified teachers.<sup>849</sup> The organization of the “Muallim Mektepleri” [Teachers’ Colleges] was the first response to solve this problem. Another urgent issue was instructive books for music teaching. The increasing number of books for music classes occurred at the same time as the foundation of the Dârülbedâyi, which also had a music department for Western and Eastern music. It was an important institution which was the predecessor of the later Turkish conservatory, Dârülelhân. It was organized by important Ottoman music teachers, who would have educated the next generation of musicians if it had not been closed down in 1916 due to World War I.<sup>850</sup>

The numerous book publications in the first quarter of the twentieth century coincided with the imposition of official guidelines for music education in schools. One dated from 1914 was made for the Teachers’ College. Another, which dated from 1915, described the program and content for music classes in schools.<sup>851</sup> From the guidelines for music education in schools, it becomes evident that music classes played only a marginal role in the entire school curriculum. Music classes were once a week for two hours. The content consisted of elementary music theory. This included reading notation in the treble clef, rhythmic values, rest signs, accidentals, etc. The newly learned elements were supposed to be practiced with short songs that were written specifically for this purpose.<sup>852</sup> The instruments that were used to accompany the classes were the piano and the *kânûn*. The more advanced school classes learned harmonized melodies, transposition, and memorizing songs and lyrics.

If the school song anthologies are considered in their historical context, then it is possible to recognize a common character in how they were conceptualized. The idea of using school songs not simply to teach children but also to shape the infant character derives from the nineteenth-century European school music tradition. However, in the Ottoman case their content was adapted to contemporary and moral needs. In 1913, the edu-

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<sup>848</sup> Mehmed Zati Arca (1864–1943/1951) was a musician in the Ottoman imperial military band *Mûzika-yı Hümâyûn*, which he joined in 1872 at the age of eight. His music teachers were mostly foreigners. He learned violin, flute, and clarinet with Pasqualli. Later, during the era of Abdulhamid II, he learned piano with the Spanish musician D’Arenda (1846–1919), and Guatelli Pasha (d. 1899) taught him music theory and harmony. Hacı Arif Bey introduced him to Turkish music. Zati Arca founded a choir, which he also directed. He was active in several music projects until the Second Constitutional Period. When the Young Turks came to power in 1908, he lost all his military ranks and was forced to hand his choir over to Saffet Atabinen (1858–1939). Until 1923, he worked at public schools in Üsküdar and Erenköy in Istanbul. He was an important music instructor and published books about music teaching. He composed both Western style and makâm-based marches (Tuğlacı 1986, 117–18; Öztuna 1990, 1:66–67).

<sup>849</sup> The most important arguments of Zati Bey’s letter have been outlined in Özden 2015, 81–82.

<sup>850</sup> Paçacı, “Mûsiki taliminden müzik terbiyesine,” 12–13. The branch for Western music was closed down completely and the branch for Turkish music dedicated itself to creating a corpus of Ottoman music.

<sup>851</sup> A complete transcription of the guidelines into the Latin alphabet can be found in Özden 2015, 108–12.

<sup>852</sup> Good examples of these types of instructional school music books were M. Sahib’s *Telhis-i mûsiki* (1330/1914) and Kâzım Uz’s *İptidâi nota dersleri* (1333/1917). The methodology combined the musical topics of each chapter with a song.

cational principles in the Ottoman Empire followed nationalist ideas and drew on the Turanist ideology.<sup>853</sup> The school songs show the centralized and militarized character that existed in school education, and that became dominant towards the last years of the empire. National elements and virtues were expressed both in the music and in the lyrics. The songs thus reinforced the building of a national Ottoman, or Turkish, Muslim identity. The transmission of national meaning was, of course, achieved better and more clearly by the lyrics of the songs than by the music itself. The music, however, contributed considerably and facilitated the inculcation of the content of the lyrics. The melodies are catchy and simple. They draw on traditional elements such as popular rhythmic patterns and makâm-based melodies. One of the volumes used for this study<sup>854</sup> is *Bilumûm mekteb-i Os-mânîyeye mahsûs mekteb marşları* [All School Marches for Ottoman Schools], which was published in Istanbul by the editor Şamlı Selim.<sup>855</sup> The title page of the volume does not indicate any publication date, but from the content it is possible to date it back to the years between 1909 and 1914. Kâzım Uz's *İptidâî nota dersleri* (1914) [Primary Notation Lessons] and Sâhib's *Telhis-i mûsikî* [Summary of Music] were designed to teach elementary music theory. School songs served, however, to apply the newly learned elements of music. Some of the songs also had patriotic content. Uz had already published, around 1911, a school song anthology with the title *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* [School Songs with Notation]. These few volumes confirm that the first school song anthologies with notation must have been published shortly after 1908.

### 2.3.2 “Marş-ı Sultânî” [Emperor's March]

Hymns to the emperor had already become part of many nineteenth-century school song anthologies. The previous chapters have already shown that similar tendencies did indeed also exist in the Greek song anthologies. Likewise, hymns to the emperor seem to have played a vital role in the context of Ottoman school education. These hymns not only praised the emperor's figure as the legitimate ruler of the nation, as well as his achievements and pomp, but they also stressed the relationship between the emperor and his subjects. This was not only the case in Ottoman-Turkish sultan's hymns but it was also practiced in Ottoman-Greek song anthologies that dedicated hymns in Greek to Ottoman emperors.<sup>856</sup> The following case study will deal with the “Marş-ı Sultânî” [Emperor's March], which seems to have belonged to the standard repertoire of official Ottoman

<sup>853</sup> Erol Köroğlu, *Türk edebiyatı ve birinci dünya savaşı 1914–1918: propagandanın milli kimlik inşasına*, Araştırma-İnceleme Dizisi 164 (Istanbul: İletişim, 2004), 140–43.

<sup>854</sup> The school song anthologies that were available for this study have been listed, and the percentages of patriotic songs are also indicated. Cf. Appendix B, Table 2.

<sup>855</sup> Şamlı Selim Kutmânî (ca. 1876–1924/1930) was born in Jaffa and came to Istanbul around 1900. As an oud player, he gave music classes and opened a music shop. He edited, printed, and sold Ottoman music scores. His shop was in Istanbul-Vezneciler 73, at the Beyazıt Square 139 (Alaner 1986, 199–201).

<sup>856</sup> See Keivelēs, *Mousikon apanthisma*, 2:3–7.

songs.<sup>857</sup> The lyrics of this piece praise Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V (r. 1909–1918) as ruler of the Ottoman nation. His reign falls into the period between the restoration of the constitution and the end of World War I.

The “Emperor’s March” was included in various printed song collections.<sup>858</sup> In the Ottoman school song anthologies, this piece had a striking position in the volumes as a whole, for it appeared as one of the first songs. In the anthology *All School Marches for Ottoman Schools*, the “Emperor’s March” follows the official, instrumental Ottoman national anthem and thus can be considered one of the opening pieces and the introduction to the anthology.<sup>859</sup> The “Emperor’s March” was composed by İsmâil Hakkı Bey,<sup>860</sup> a well-known Ottoman musician of this time. There is no certain information about the author of the lyrics. One source attributed the song lyrics to a certain Florinalı Nâzım Bey.<sup>861</sup> As the title of the song suggests, it belongs to the genre of national marches and thus is one of the patriotic songs that were composed in the so-called *alafranga* style. The musical characteristics of this song draw clearly on European models. This is evident in the straight time measure and the key signature indicated as *makâm râst*, which here equals G major. Another characteristic of this song is its strict symmetrical structure. Both instrumental introduction and the song’s music sections were composed symmetrically, and the lyrics follow this symmetry. The song is composed of eight-measure units that structure the song’s sections.

As in many other marching songs, the melody starts with an upbeat. In this case, the upbeat introduces the beginning of each hemistich throughout the whole piece. The song’s structure also follows popular models that had been widely used in other marches, as will be shown later. This piece starts, for example, with an instrumental introduction, which

<sup>857</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 8. A recording of this song can be found on track 38 of *Orchestre du Yacht Imperial Erthogroul 2021*.

<sup>858</sup> The song appears in Hüseyin İkbâl Kütüphanesi 1327/1911, 61; Şamlı Selim, *Hürriyet nota mecmûası*, 12; *Bil’umûm mekteb-i Osmâniye’ye mahsûs mekteb marşları*, vol. 1, 4–5.; n.a.; *Mektebde vatan türküleri*, 1900–1909, 3. Karl Hadank also included this piece in his study of the music of the Young Turks. See Hadank 1919, 79–81.

<sup>859</sup> The same applies to the volume *Mektebde vatan türküleri*, where it also appears as the first song.

<sup>860</sup> İsmâil Hakkı Bey (1866–1927) was one of the most active musicians and music instructors of the late Ottoman Empire. Although he was a performer of traditional Ottoman music, he also composed numerous pieces in Western style. Among them were many songs with patriotic topics, such as the Emperor’s Hymn “*Tac-ı hürriyet*,” “*Ordumuz etti yemin*” [Our Army Took an Oath], or songs dedicated to victorious military campaigns. He also played an important role in the revival of the Mehter bands, for which he composed new Janissary music. He completed his musical training at the Imperial Music School as a student of Zafî Arca, who introduced him to musical notation. Later, he taught music theory at the private music school “*Mûsikî-i Osmânî Mektebi*” [Ottoman Music School], from where important Ottoman musicians arose. The lyrics of the songs that were taught at this school were published in one volume in Istanbul in 1909. The song anthology contained songs not only in Turkish but also in other languages such as Bosnian, Albanian, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Serbian. In the years of the Turkish Republic, he continued teaching music at the *Dârülelhân Conservatory* until his death. Besides being a singer, musician, and composer, during his lifetime, he published music theories for schools as well as numerous music scores. He composed a “*March of Independence*” in the initial period of the Turkish Republic. For further reading on İsmâil Hakkı Bey, see Rona 1960, 65–71; İhsanoğlu 2003, 194–95; Öztuna 1990, 1:402–13; Tuğlacı 1986, 158–65; Üngör 1966, 128–29.

<sup>861</sup> İkbâl Kütüphanesi sâhibi Hüseyin, *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*, 61.

is repeated before it proceeds to the A-section. The A-section has two subsections with eight measures each. Each of the eight-measure units includes one hemistich that is sung to a melody which develops within the octave ambitus  $G_4$ – $G_5$ . As usual in this genre, the middle or B-section changes tonality, in this case from G major to G minor, where  $v_3$  of the stanza is performed. The last two hemistiches of the C-Section, which in some of the editions were labeled “nakarât” (refrain), draw on melodic material from the A-section. The melody, however, was set one octave higher and connects to the instrumental beginning that brings the song to a conclusion.

The lyrics that were given in school song anthologies seem to contain only the first of the three stanzas which were printed in the volume *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*.<sup>862</sup> The lyrics to this song were also composed in a symmetrical and structural fashion. The hemistiches all consist of exactly fifteen syllables, whereas the rhyme scheme is in line with the song’s compositional structure.<sup>863</sup> The first hemistich already alludes to an important word that in the Second Constitutional Period had gained an important meaning, which is “hürriyet” [liberty].<sup>864</sup> In the time of the Second Constitutional Period, there were three more key words: “adâlet” [Justice], “müsâvat” [Equality], and “uhuvvet” [Brotherhood]. The sultan was not an absolute monarch anymore; his powers were limited, and the figure of the emperor resembled more of an enlightened ruler. In the lyrics, the emperor is not only praised as the legitimate ruler of the nation; he is also the bearer of the liberty crown, as stated in  $v_1$ .  $V_2$  deals with his place in the Ottoman dynasty and  $v_3$ , which is sung to the B-section, underlines his deep affection for the nation that illuminates his mind. The last two hemistiches, which are performed at the end of the stanza as a refrain, use a formula that can be found in many other emperor’s hymns. The phrase “Long live ...” could also be found in the example of the Greek emperor’s hymn (see Chapter 1.4.3) “zēt’ho vasilév” [Long live the Emperor] or the German “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser” [Good Save Francis the Emperor]. Behind the lyrics are poetic patterns that structure the song. Firstly, it has the rhyme scheme (abbcc), which is parallel to the sections of the musical structure.

There were several more popular Ottoman patriotic songs that highlighted a common Ottoman national identity and were printed in various song anthologies.<sup>865</sup> They seemingly did not enter the school songs’ repertoire. The sultan’s hymn, however, seemed to have formed part of Ottoman school song anthologies both in Greek and in Turkish. Music in state school education aimed to contribute to the formation of young Ottoman subjects that would, one day, contribute to Ottoman society. The “Emperor’s March” was a song that had representative function. It aimed to present the emperor to a national and also

<sup>862</sup> İkbâl kütüphanesi sâhibi Hüseyin, ed., *Mektebde vatan türküleri* and *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*.

<sup>863</sup> Cf. “Rhyme” and “Section” columns in Appendix A, Case Study 8.2.

<sup>864</sup> For the song lyrics of the “Marş-ı Sultânî,” see Appendix A, Case Study 8.3. There were numerous compositions from the same period that were titled “Hürriyet marşı” [Liberty March] or even whole song anthologies that were titled *Hürriyet nota mecmûası* (n.d.) [Collection of Songs of Liberty].

<sup>865</sup> A collection of these songs can be found in the anthologies Şamlı Selim, ed., *Hürriyet nota mecmûası* (n.p., n.d.); İkbâl Kütüphanesi sâhibi Hüseyin, ed., *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Istanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1327/1911).

international public. Therefore, the musical language that it used was more universal and could also be understood by non-nationals. Compared to other Ottoman school songs, the poetic language is archaic and difficult to understand. Besides the symmetries of the melodic sections that coincide with the rhyme scheme of the poem, the lyrics have prosody in the *arûd* meter.<sup>866</sup>

### 2.3.3 “İzciler marşı” [Boy Scout’s March]

The relationship between the emperor and his young subjects is a topic in the “İzciler Marşı” [Boy Scout’s March].<sup>867</sup> Boy Scout activities started in the Ottoman Empire particularly after 1908 and were part of the politics of the CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) that aimed to mobilize manpower for war.<sup>868</sup> The Boy Scout activities aimed to form and prepare teenagers aged between twelve and nineteen years both physically and mentally for military service.<sup>869</sup> Good physical training for the Ottoman youth became an important issue after the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan Wars. The defeat was not seen as a militaristic failure, but rather as a result of the poor physical condition of the soldiers. The same applied to their psychological state: they lacked a clear patriotic profile. The well-known Turkish educator Ethem Nejat (1883–1921) supported militaristic education in school when he claimed in 1913: “Our children must begin to be soldiers even when they are still at school. They must be educated in a soldierly way. They must be inculcated with sentiments of vengeance and revenge. The whole nation must be living for vengeance and revenge.”<sup>870</sup> The ideal character of the Boy Scout is clearly reflected in the Boy Scouts’ songs that were apparently taught not only in the Ottoman capital but also in other provinces of the empire. The Boy Scout organization was a realm of the “Türk ocağı” [Hearth of the Turks], which was founded in 1911 as an educational tool. As a think tank for patriotic ideas, the organization disseminated and taught theories on race and cultural heritage to the people. The “İzciler” [Boy Scouts], as they were called in Turkish, were closely connected to the Turkish Hearths and were organized in a very militaristic way. Enver Pasha (1881–1922), who admired the German militaristic youth organizations, designed their Turkish equivalent by drawing on existing British and German models. In the initial phase, the Boy

<sup>866</sup> For the prosody of the “Marş-ı Sultânî,” see Appendix A, Case Study 8.4.

<sup>867</sup> Şamlı Selim, *Bil’umûm mekteb-i Osmâniye’ye mahsûs mekteb marşları*, n.d., 1:10–12. Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 9.1–9.2.

<sup>868</sup> Mehmet Beşikci’s book gives important insights into the Ottoman youth organizations and their development between their decisive years of 1909 and 1918. For further reading, see Beşikci 2012, 203–47.

<sup>869</sup> Children were included in the general mobilization and had to work in the mines and fields. Through the Boy Scouts, they underwent military training and were ready to serve as paramilitary forces at the front. Hence, children were actors in times of total war (Maksudyan 2019, 10). Boy Scout activities had also started in other Ottoman ethnic communities soon after 1908. They were, however, suspended and forbidden from 1914 to 1918 when the Young Turks were in power (Ibid., 90–92). By 1914, it was compulsory for Ottoman children to partake in the activities of the Ottoman Strength Association, and by 1916, all Ottoman children, regardless of their ethno-religious background, had to join the Ottoman youth organizations (Köroğlu 2004, 142–43).

<sup>870</sup> Ethem Nejat quoted and translated according to Beşikci 2012, 212.

Scouts were organized by Harald Parfitt. During World War I, German educators such as Colmar von der Goltz,<sup>871</sup> who was a student of Colonel von Hoff, organized the Turkish youth societies. Landau quotes a British intelligence report that described the militaristic organization of the Turkish Boy Scouts as follows:

The members of this organization received a military training, fitting them for eventual employment as N.C.O.'s [Non-commissioned officers]. Their badges, scout-names and titles were purely Turkish and pre-Islamic. Ali and Mehmed became Aksonkor and Timurtash. The "white wolf", which gave birth to Oghoz, the legendary ancestor of the Turkish people, figured, in spite of the Islamic prohibition, on standards of the İzcis, who were led by their Başbuğ (Emir), and marshalled by Ortabeys and Oymakbeys; said prayers not to Allah, but to Tanrı [God]; were taught to regard all Turanians as their brethren; and cheered, not the Khalif or Padishah, but the "Hakon" of the Turks.<sup>872</sup>

The "Boy Scout's March" consists of six stanzas that are separated from each other by the refrain. A characteristic of the Boy Scouts' song is the use of group dynamics, which is clearly expressed in the performance instructions "tek" [alone] and "hep beraber" [all together]. Some verses of the stanzas are sung by one person. The refrain that animates the Boy Scouts to go to war and seek victories is sung by the entire corps or by one person followed by the others. The composer Hekîmoğlu Nezîh Bey<sup>873</sup> (d. 1925?) opted for a melody that corresponded to Western tonality and marching rhythms. The makâm nihâvend, as it is given in the score, corresponds with the key of G minor. The piece is structured in four sections. The repeated instrumental introduction, which is based on the melody of the B-section, explores the piece's entire melodic ambitus G<sub>4</sub>-A<sub>5</sub>. The stanzas are composed of two distiches, and each of the distiches is performed in one musical section. The two distiches are followed by the refrain, which bears the instruction that it is to be sung by the entire group. In this way, it creates an interesting contrast to the A- and B-sections of the piece, which are sung solo. The song's marching character is reinforced by the militaristic rhythmic patterns ♩♩♩♩ | ♩♩♩♩ (mm. 11-15) and ♩♩♩♩♩♩ | ♩♩♩♩♩♩ (mm. 19-22). Whereas the rhythmic pattern is quite homogeneous throughout the entire piece, the melodic progression is more challenging. The ascending melody in the A-section starting on D<sub>4</sub> only reaches G<sub>5</sub> after six measures. The melody in the B-section of the piece creates a contrast to the A-section because, firstly, it is a descending melody, and secondly, it has

<sup>871</sup> Colmar von der Goltz's (1843-1916) work *Das Volk in Waffen* (1883) [The Nation in Arms] was translated into Turkish in 1884, and in 1888 the second edition had already been printed. He was the founder of the "Jungdeutschland-Bund" [League of German Youth], which emerged around the same period with the aim of militarizing German youth (Ibid., 217).

<sup>872</sup> Quoted according to Landau 1981, 41 (additions in square brackets are mine).

<sup>873</sup> Hekîmoğlu, Nezîh Bey (d. 1925) was a Turkish musician who was known for his patriotic songs. One is the "Boy Scout's March," with lyrics by Ahmed Avvâd Bey. Another march published in the same year starts with "Türk yurdu üstüne düşman at salmış" [The enemy sent out a horse towards the Turkish homeland]. The "Plevne March" was also published. See Öztuna 1990, 2:118; Şamlı Selim, ed. n.d., vol. 1, 12; vol. 2, 3, 5.

chromatic progressions introducing  $F\sharp_5$  and  $E\flat_5$ . The refrain section has a much smaller ambitus  $G_4-E\flat_5$ . This is probably for practical reasons. The stanzas were probably sung by a scout who was more confident and trained in singing and who was able to perform the wide ambitus and chromatic tones, whereas the refrain could also be sung by the less trained singers in the scout group.

The message of this Boy Scout song is very clear. The song draws on the humiliating experience of the Balkan Wars and therefore rouses Ottoman scouts to reconquer the lost territories. The song ends with an oath to take revenge. The Boy Scouts in this piece represent themselves as self-confident, and they do not fear falling as martyrs for the sake of the nation. The heroic attributes of the children, as they are represented in this song were part of Ottoman war propaganda. Children were portrayed as ideal citizens that incorporated the virtues of Ottoman nationalism, which is also expressed in comradeship, sacrifice, patriotism, and revenge. “Strong, sound, and patriotic” are often-used attributes to describe the ideal Ottoman youth.<sup>874</sup> It is likely that these songs were also taught in the state orphanages to destitute children who had lost their parents in the Balkan Wars or other campaigns. In such state-run institutions, they had to undergo military training.<sup>875</sup> Scouts performed these songs at public events, such as at official ceremonies, inaugurations, and anniversaries. They walked alongside soldiers singing military songs.<sup>876</sup> Malek Sharif referred in his work to an anecdote that related a scene of a Boy Scout group from Lebanon that once performed at Friday’s prayers in Istanbul. In this anecdote, the children wanted to welcome Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V with a brief musical piece.<sup>877</sup> However, the Boy Scouts also played in other public ceremonies and represented the Ottoman youth and future of the nation.<sup>878</sup> The Boy Scout song laments in stz. 3 the Ottomans’ loss of Ioannina, Kosovo, Crete, and Thessaloniki in 1912 and 1913. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that this piece was composed around the year 1913. This assumption is further supported by the date that the scout movement started and became institutionalized in 1913 as the “Türk Gücü Cemiyeti” [Turkish Strength Association].<sup>879</sup>

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<sup>874</sup> “Kavi, sağlam ve vatanperver” (Toprak 1985, 2:534).

<sup>875</sup> Maksudyân, *Ottoman Children and Youth during World War I*, 87.

<sup>876</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>877</sup> The use of these kinds of nationalist Ottoman songs was apparently not only restricted to the Ottoman capital but they were also used in other Ottoman provinces. Sharif’s account of the Boy Scouts from Lebanon suggests that this repertoire was also taught in the Arabic regions of the empire (Sharif 2019, 78–91).

<sup>878</sup> Nazan Maksudyân, “Children and Youth: Ottoman Empire,” ed. Ute Daniel et al., *1914–1918-Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, March 27, 2015, 11.

<sup>879</sup> The rise of Ottoman youth organizations was inspired by British and German models and were adopted in the Ottoman Empire to form a militarized Ottoman youth. Firstly, the scout societies started in the Ottoman capital but were soon also established in many other Ottoman cities between Adrianople and Baghdad. Between the years 1916 and 1917, there were 706 branches of the so-called “Genç dernekleri” [Youth Associations] that were successors of the earlier scout associations. They had started in the Ottoman Empire around 1909 as a realm of the Young Turk movement. Enver Pasha adopted the model of German youth organizations with the support of von Hoff. The idea was to raise a generation that was physically strong and

The songs often talk about reconquering the lost provinces, which shows that the defeat in the Balkans was taken as a national humiliation. The grief-stricken content of the school songs passed on the responsibility of protecting and saving the nation from the enemy to the children and young adolescents. The songs also provoked feelings of hatred and motivated people to take revenge for the atrocities committed in times of war. As had become clear in Ethem Nejat's statement quoted above, revenge was an important aspect of nationalist school education. Many of the school songs foster feelings of revenge that are also often combined with lamentation and despair. The fate and fall of the nation were firstly expressed as lamentation, then inverted into a strong expression of hatred towards the "other." This is significant as the loss of the Aegean Islands and Balkan provinces during 1911–1913 had led to the expulsion of the Muslim population, who were forced to migrate to the Ottoman mainland. This had become a traumatic experience for the Ottoman nationals and led to a crisis regarding Ottoman national identity.

### 2.3.4 "Rumeli marşı" [Rumelia March]

The metaphorical representation of the nation as a mother seeking the help of her children can be found in both Greek and Ottoman school songs.<sup>880</sup> This mother-child metaphor is transferred to the nation-citizen relationship in the "Rumelia March."<sup>881</sup> The "Rumelia March" was composed by Hâfız Mustafâ Efendi, a music instructor who also composed other nationalist school marches.<sup>882</sup> It deals, as the geographic reference of the title suggests, with the loss of the Rumelian provinces.<sup>883</sup> The first two verses of the song, "Rumelia had mountains so beautiful, now they are weeping," introduces the song's basic mood. In a 3/4-time signature, the melancholic notions of the song are further reinforced by the A minor key and the stable rhythmic pattern ♩ | ♩. which continues throughout the entire piece and, in a way, evokes "weeping." The slow and even, melodic progression within the main ambitus of a sixth A<sub>4</sub>–F<sub>5</sub> stresses the piece's lamenting character. The piece has

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healthy, patriotic, and trained in warfare. The scouts served as paramilitary groups and were engaged in the Ottoman wars. Young Ottomans from the age of twelve, regardless of their confessions, had to take part in these scout groups. At the age of seventeen, the young scouts already belonged to the advanced groups. The aim of the youth societies, especially of the "Türk Gücü Cemiyeti," was to realize the Turkish nationalist ideology of the Turan (Toprak 1985, 2:531–36).

<sup>880</sup> This is, for example, the case in the song of the Greek Revolution "Ô paidia mou orphana mou" [O my children, my orphans], where the narrator, personified as the nation, calls on its children to fight for liberty. It appears among others in various song anthologies, such as in Gellēs 1948, 111–12; Sigalas 1880, 35; Artemidēs 1905, 9–10. Another example is the last stanza of Sakellaridēs' song "Olē doksa" dedicated to 25 March. Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 7.

<sup>881</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 10.1 and 10.2, based on Şamlı Selim n.d., 2:12.

<sup>882</sup> There is not much known about the composer. Hâfız Mustafâ Efendi was a music instructor. Besides the "Rumelia March," he also composed other pieces, such as the "Caucasian March."

<sup>883</sup> The Ottoman music research project OMAR at the Istanbul University provided a recorded performance of the first two stanzas. See <https://osmanlimuzigi.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/content/kayitlar/rumeli-marsi> (accessed 22 Apr. 2022).

three sections: an A-section (mm. 1–8), B-section (mm. 9–8), and the refrain (mm. 17–24)—the latter being a quote from the A-section but with different lyrics. The even character of the rhythm and melody, as well as the repetitive sequences, shape the simple melody. The score can be sung at sight and memorized easily thanks to its even and limited rhythmic as well as melodic organization.

The “Rumelia March” has six stanzas, each consisting of two distiches. Each stanza is concluded by a refrain. The lyrics support the lamenting character of the music. Metaphorically, the song depicts the nation, “Vatan,” which is deprived of and cut off from its children. It is left behind, abandoned to the atrocities of the enemy. Grief dominates the homes. The “mother nation” seeks help and counts on her children. The refrain at the end of each stanza reinforces the motivation of the “children” to save the “mother” nation. The piece ends with the children’s oath to sacrifice their blood to restore the nation. Invocation of the mother-child relationship aims to reinforce the emotional ties between the nation and its subjects. It is intended to provoke a sense of responsibility and feelings of guilt. The “children” are incited to fight, risking their lives for “the sake of the mother” that had raised her children but now needs help. The “Rumelia March” is melancholic but does not invite people to “march” in the literal sense of the word. It is a song that laments the lost homeland. This character is also expressed in the music by a balanced ratio of melody and song lyrics, which have a one-to-one ratio of notes and text syllables. Each section contains two verses with eight syllables each. This balance between melody and lyrics is further supported by the emphasis of the rhyme scheme that coincides with the longer note values (e.g., mm. 4 and 8).

### 2.3.5 “Millî marşı” [National March]

In the late nineteenth century, soldiers’ songs became a recognized category of patriotic songs in Europe and elsewhere. Albeit at a much later stage, the Ottomans followed this tradition and included soldiers’ songs in the school music repertoire. As mentioned before regarding the “Boy Scout’s March,” Ottoman adolescents were inculcated with patriotic ideals and had to adopt the identity and responsibility of soldiers. The fact that soldiers’ songs entered school song anthologies shows that patriotic songs of this sort contributed to and supported the militaristic education of the youth. The songs drew on topics that were characteristic of young soldiers, such as warfare or bidding farewell to the family to fall as martyrs for a “good cause.” The farewell songs provided a solution to the moral dilemmas faced by the young men that had to go to the war front: firstly, take care of the family, secondly, stay loyal to the nation, and finally, overcome the fear of death. The first-person narrator in the “Millî marşı”<sup>884</sup> [National March], for example, is about to be-

<sup>884</sup> Şamlı Selim, *Bil’umûm mekteb-i Osmâniye’ye mahsûs mekteb marşları*, n.d., 2:10. In another manuscript source, it was referred to as “Osmânlı Millî Marşı” [Ottoman National March]; n.a., “TR-Am 06 Hk 2400” (Manuscript, Ankara, 1333/1917), 10.

come a soldier because “the enemy bared its teeth again.” This piece in the popular makâm hüzzâm was composed by İhsân Hanım, a female Ottoman composer.<sup>885</sup> İhsân Hanım’s “National March”<sup>886</sup> has five stanzas, each one consisting of five hemistiches.<sup>887</sup> The entire poem is a homogeneous composition with a regular rhyme scheme (aaabb), or derivations of it, and a regular fifteen-syllable structure in each hemistich.

The narrator represents the ideals of a soldier, who was conscripted into the army to defend the “wounded” nation against the enemy. In the refrain, the content of which changes slightly, the narrator bids farewell to his mother, and he clearly states his reasons for going to war. The reasons are mostly linked to “manly” virtues such as bravery and loyalty.<sup>888</sup> The narrator, who represents an ordinary soldier, lives in two different worlds of duties: the first is loyalty to the nation, and the second is his family. He refers to the destitute condition of his homeland, which is expressed, for example, in the “sad drumbeats” (stz. 3, v3). As a brave “child of a Turk” and of a “world conqueror,” he does not fear death (stz. 2, v2). He stands up for moral values and will not allow the enemy to take the land of the “ancestors.” Similar to many other songs of this genre, feelings of revenge also play an important role here (stz. 4, v5). These strong statements of national and manly pride that characterize this honorable narrator are juxtaposed with flowery language that expresses the soldier’s relationship with his family. In these sections, the narrator uses remarkably poetic expressions such as “rose-faced” (stz. 4, v2) and “velvet-eyed” (stz. 5, v1) or asks his beloved one, “Why have the blooming roses on your cheeks faded away?” (Stz. 5, v2). The poetic language is only used in addressing the female members of his family, such as his mother and wife. There is no mention of the male family members, such as fathers or brothers. The poem was written in vernacular language and can be easily understood.

İhsân Hanım’s musical composition has some interesting features that will be looked at more closely in the following sections. Although the title of this piece classifies it as a “march,” the song’s musical disposition is more reminiscent of a popular vocal genre such as the şarkı. As seen in the Greek case studies or in the Ottoman emperor’s hymn, marches usually stress the first and third beats. In this song, however, the hemistiches mostly start with syncopations. Thus, from a musical point of view, this song was not made for march-

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<sup>885</sup> The same volume includes another of her songs titled “Gök sancak marşı” [The March of the Sky-Blue Banner], which reflects Turanist ideology. The volume, however, does not reveal any further information about the composer. It is therefore uncertain whether this piece was composed by İhsân Sabri Hanım or İhsân Râif Hanım (1877–1926). The latter composed, in 1908, the “Nidâ-yı Hürriyet Marşı” [March of Proclamation of Liberty] dedicated to the Second Constitution (Atalay 2018, 108–15). Üngör listed İhsân Râif Hanım and İhsân Hanım separately and attributed the “Millî marş” to a woman called İhsân Hanım (1966, 52). For İhsân Râif Hanım, see also Öztuna 1990, 1:383.

<sup>886</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 11.

<sup>887</sup> The lyrics of the “Millî marş” are provided in Appendix A, Case Study 11.3.

<sup>888</sup> Manhood and manliness had become important virtues that were propagated in school education. Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, underlined the importance of these virtues for the defense of the nation (Beşikci 2012, 211–12).

ing. The label “marş” in this piece probably alluded more to the topic of the lyrics with their patriotic content, i.e. it may be seen as a reference to the subject matter of the lyrics rather than to its musical characteristics. Military band marches, although popular in the Ottoman Empire, still formed part of the alafra $\mathring{a}$  repertoire and were considered “imported” from Europe. In this case, however, İhsân Hanım made use of musical elements which are more characteristic of alaturca music.

The song has three sections, which have all a symmetrical structure.<sup>889</sup> Each of the song’s hemistiches corresponds to eight measures in the notation. As can be observed in the previous song, the symmetrical structure of the song is created by the melodic and poetic structure. The rhyme scheme (a $\mathring{a}$ ab) structures the musical sections into smaller units. There is also a certain interconnectedness in the melodic and rhythmic materials in the musical sections. The most striking one is probably the syncopation ♩ | ♩ almost every time a new hemistich is introduced (i.e. in mm. 9, 17, 21, 29, 37), whereas the end of the verses are marked by sixteenth notes ♩ | ♩ and the finalis (Example 9).

The image displays three lines of musical notation in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Each line consists of two staves. The first staff of each line shows the beginning of a verse with a syncopated rhythm (a quarter rest followed by a quarter note, then two eighth notes). The second staff shows the ending of the phrase with a series of sixteenth notes followed by a quarter note. The lyrics are written below the notes.

v2. Zan - bak ten - li bir ker - re

v4. Kal se - lâ - met ya - kı - şır

v5. Merd\_ o - lan lar çar - pı - şır

**Example 9** Left: syncopation of the beginning of a verse.  
Right: the ending of the phrases.

These rhythmic and melodic characteristics of the music organize the sections of the piece clearly and thus facilitate its learning and singing. The A- and B-sections are separated by an instrumental interlude. It prepares the transition from the A- to the B-section and helps the performers to sing the melody in the higher octave. Such a change of register, or even modulation to a different mode, is characteristic of the “middle” section which often can be found in Ottoman music. This is also why the B-section stands out in terms of ambitus and register. Another musical feature that emphasizes the pieces’ traditional character is the use of the makâm hüzzâm. The characteristic pitches of makâm hüzzâm correspond to

<sup>889</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 11.2.

the pitches *kürdî* ( $A_{\sharp 4}$ ), *hisâr* ( $E_{\flat 5}$ , here:  $E_{\sharp 5}$ ), *evc* ( $F_{\sharp 5}$ ), and *sünbüle* ( $A_{\sharp 4}$ ), which have all been used. However, the finalis *segâh* ( $B_{\flat 4}$ ) was given in İhsân Hanım's score as  $B_{\sharp 4}$ .<sup>890</sup>

The analysis so far has pointed out the features that turn this "march" into an alaturca song. Usually, important characteristics of Ottoman songs are mode (makâm) and the underlying rhythmic cycle (usûl). In this case, the heading of the piece did not indicate any usûl. The rhythmic disposition of this piece, however, underlines its popular character. The rhythmic organization of the melody coincides with the usûl *düyek*, which has the pattern  $\text{♪♪♪}$  and which is often used in popular Ottoman songs.<sup>891</sup> In Example 10 below, the refrain section of the "National March" is provided for a better understanding of the usûl *düyek*.

**Example 10** The refrain section of the "National March" underlaid with the usûl *düyek*. The arrows point to the instances where the usûl beats coincide with the rhythm of the melodic line.

There are many instances where the rhythmic values of the melody and of the usûl coincide. The musical elements that İhsân Hanım used correspond to popular Ottoman music. She set patriotic lyrics to a song that is characterized by traditional features such as makâm, usûl, symmetries, and a middle section (B-section) that modulates. By doing so, the song might have appeared more familiar to Ottoman school students than patriotic songs based on European melodies, like those in nineteenth-century Greek case studies. Additionally, the playful usûl *düyek* and the use of vernacular language reinforce the piece's traditional character. Thanks to these features, it was probably much easier to access and learn this song including its lyrics. The recipients of this song were familiar with all the musical characteristics mentioned. It is likely that this piece only circulated in the realm of school song anthologies, since this song could not be found in any other song book.

<sup>890</sup> The use of the comma signs to indicate the exact pitch had not been standardized yet. In music sources printed before the introduction of the Ezgi-Arel-Uzdilek system, the use of the accidentals in staff notation was limited to the normal flat and sharp signs. Therefore, pitch signs indicated in printed editions before the 1920s do not correspond with those that are being used nowadays.

<sup>891</sup> In Ottoman music, the usûl is usually indicated by the onomatopoetic syllables "düm" (here "D") and "tek" (here "T"), which indicate the low and high beats of the drum. The usûl is normally indicated in the title of the pieces but is generally not indicated in the notation.

### 2.3.6 “Ey gâzîler” [O Muslim Fighters]

Another more popular soldiers’ song of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was “Ey gâzîler yol göründü”<sup>892</sup> [O Muslim fighters, it is time to depart]. At that time, it was apparently performed by the soldiers when a new recruit was picked up from home to join the army corps. This image is also displayed in an engraving, which was printed in the volume *Çocuklara neşideler* (1912) [Poems to the Children]: the new recruit says farewell to his loved ones in front of his home, whereas in the background, a Janissary band is waiting and performing this song.<sup>893</sup> The popularity of “Ey gâzîler” was not only limited to the school song anthologies; it was also printed in various other music related sources. Rauf Yekta used this song in his article on Turkish music, for example, as a case study to introduce the seven-beat usûl pattern of devr-i Hindî (Example 11).

The image shows two musical examples. The first example, labeled 'v1.', features a vocal line in 7/8 time with the lyrics 'Ey ga - zi - ler yol gö - rün - dü'. The second example, labeled 'v2.', features a vocal line with the lyrics 'yi - ne ga - rip se - ri - me'. Below each vocal line is a bass line representing the 'Devr-i Hindî' rhythm, which is a 7-beat pattern. The notation includes a treble clef, a 7/8 time signature, and various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

**Example 11** Example 11 Beginning of “O Muslim Fighters” together with the usûl devr-i Hindî according to Yekta (1922, 1034).

<sup>892</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 12.1. The translation of the title in English may need further clarification. “Gâzi” is an Arabic term and means “Champion of Islam,” or “one who fights on behalf of Islam.” The expression “yol göründü” is Turkish and literally means “The path/way has appeared.” In the nineteenth edition of the *Red-house Dictionary* (2011), this term is translated as “to be necessary for one to go on a journey.” In the context of the song, it is the Muslim soldier who is obliged to depart, and, in this context, go to war.

<sup>893</sup> Ali Ulvi Elöve. *Çocuklara neşideler*. Istanbul: Tanin Matbaası, 1328/1912, 57–58.

Yekta's article allows us to deduce some details about the meaning that this song had in the first quarter of the twentieth century. He claimed that "Ey gâzîler" was an old song by an unknown composer and pointed to the great sentiment this provoked when it was accompanied by military bands. Yekta reported a personal experience in the first year of the Greco-Turkish War (1896–1897). He witnessed a group of soldiers that had met on departure for the battle front at the Istanbul train station.<sup>894</sup> He himself was astonished at the emotional impact it caused when musicians started singing this song. He stated that this song was of the same value to the Turks as the "Marseillaise" was to the French.<sup>895</sup> In the year 1913, when Yekta wrote his article, patriotic songs—both new and old—celebrated a comeback and were propagated. The popularity of this song in the first quarter of the twentieth century is further confirmed by three recordings that were made in Thessaloniki.<sup>896</sup> Yekta's claim that "Ey gâzîler" was much older is correct. The lyrics of "Ey gâzîler" had already been written down earlier by the Hungarian folk song researcher Ignác Kúnos (1862–1945) in the year 1889 with a Hungarian translation.<sup>897</sup> Additionally, this song was also included in the first printed Turkish folk song anthology of Stavros Stavridēs, who printed the lyrics in Turkish with Greek letters.<sup>898</sup> The song caught the attention of Ottoman printing houses only at the beginning of the twentieth century. The lyrics were also included, for example, in the song anthology *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*<sup>899</sup> (1911) [Songs of the Nation and Freedom]. Yekta's version of the song lyrics was also printed, together with other martial songs, in a collection of patriotic soldiers' songs published in 1917 as a loose sheet. The song appears in the left-hand column of the sheet, which has the title "Yeni ve mükemmel ordu ve Sivastopol marşları" [New and Excellent Military and Sevastopol

<sup>894</sup> This song was also sung when the Ottomans entered World War I. It is possible to find a quote from the song lyrics in Orga's book. The scene describes young men who say farewell to their families on the eve of departing from home and going to the front. According to this description, the new recruit was handed the Turkish flag, and the ceremony was accompanied by the praise to the sultan, "Long Live the Emperor" (Orga 2006, 71, 74).

<sup>895</sup> Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922, 3033–34.

<sup>896</sup> Kalyviōtēs claimed in his book that the first recording of this song was made in 1910 as an instrumental version by the military band of the 24<sup>th</sup> regiment of the infantry. In 1911, two more versions with lyrics were recorded by the singer Husni Efendi and a woman called Roza with the nickname "Vasilissa" (Kalyviōtēs 2015, 128–30, 181). Another recording was made by Hâfız Yaşar Bey for Orfeon Records (Cat. No. 11564).

<sup>897</sup> Ignác Kúnos, *Oszmán-Török Népköltési Gyűjtemény* (Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1889), 341–42.

<sup>898</sup> There is not much known about Stavros Stavridēs. He was an Ottoman intellectual from Zincidere close to Kayseri, and he apparently also resided in Istanbul. He knew Greek and Ottoman Turkish. His song anthology *Anatol türküleri* [Anatolian Folk Songs] is his only known work. It was published in 1896 and is considered the earliest Turkish folk song anthology to be printed in the Ottoman Empire. His work was published in the gazette *Anatoli*. As can be deduced from the preface to the song anthology, his motivation was to serve his homeland and write down folk songs in order to pass them onto future generations. The list of subscribers includes 540 names, which reflects the great interest that there was in this work. For further reading, see also the foreword written by Balta in Stavridis 2017, 13–27. A facsimile of "Ei kaziler" can be found on p. 50. In the new edition, the song was given with a transliteration from Greek to Latin alphabet on pp. 82–83.

<sup>899</sup> İkbâl Kütüphânesi sâhibi Hüseyin, *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*, 26. First edition was already published in 1910–1911. See also İhsanoğlu 2003, 274.

Marches].<sup>900</sup> Almost none of the mentioned sources provide any musical notation. Those that do provide notation are printed sources, such as Yekta's article on Turkish music and one piano arrangement in alafanga style edited and published by Şamlı Selîm.<sup>901</sup> In addition, the same piece appears in two manuscript sources that were probably written before 1928. It was also included in the school song anthology *Mektebde vatan türkûleri*<sup>902</sup> [National Folk Songs for Schools], which also makes this song relevant as a case study.

There is no certain information on the genre of the song. It is often referred to as "türkü" [Turkish folk song] but also as "march." Although Yekta used this song in his work to introduce the *usûl devr-i Hindî*, other sources suggested alternative *usûls*. Among the older sources, Yekta's version is actually the only one that indicated a seven-beat rhythm for the entire piece. Today's well-known versions use an alternate rhythm changing between a 7- and 2-beat *usûl*. Şamlı Selîm's rearrangement for piano was probably made for easier performability and given in a 2/4-time signature.<sup>903</sup> This also made it accessible to the upper social class that enjoyed playing and singing national airs on the piano. The heading of the piano score, which was very likely published before World War I, indicates "Ey gâzîler. Eski klasiklerden" [O Muslim Fighters. From the Old Classics]. The title supports the thesis that this piece had been considered a "classic" and had been probably "re-discovered" among the old songs.

Yekta's comparison of "Ey gâzîler" and the French "Marseillaise" is striking, since the songs' characters and topics differ considerably from each other. The "Marseillaise" is a call to arms to oppose tyranny and die for liberty. However, the lyrics of "Ey gâzîler" are, except for the first line, a love song about farewells and longing. In Kúnos' version, which is the most all-encompassing one, the narrator expresses in one extra stanza his sufferings because of the lover's disloyalty and cruelty. The song was generally known as a demotic air that dealt with the separation of the soldier from his loved ones and his longing for home while he was on campaign.

Yekta's version has two stanzas with three distiches each.<sup>904</sup> The first two distiches are sung to the same melody, whereas the last distich forms part of the refrain that concludes each stanza. The first stanza deals with the separation of the soldier from his beloved, whereas the second stanza relates the narrator's inner longing while they are separated. In addition to having two more stanzas, Kúnos' version considerably changes the last distich of each stanza. Whereas the first two stanzas roughly correspond to Yekta's

<sup>900</sup> Kosovalı Recep Hilmî, ed., "Yeni ve mükemmel ordu ve Sivastopol marşları" (Necmî-i İstikbâl Matbaası, 1333/1917), National Library Ankara.

<sup>901</sup> The version edited by Şamlı Selîm for some reason did not provide the lyrics for the refrain.

<sup>902</sup> Hüseyin İkbâl kütüphanesi, *Mektebde vatan türkûleri*, 35–36.

<sup>903</sup> The lyrics of this version are reproduced in Appendix A, Case Study 12.3. As usual in alafanga rearrangements, the piece lost its modal and rhythmical characteristics. The lyrics in this edition have taken up some of the distiches that were provided in Kúnos' edition (cf. Appendix A, Case Study 12.4, stzs. 1 and 3). It is likely that this alafanga arrangement was probably edited for a broader and international public since the lyrics were provided in the Latin alphabet as well as the Arabic.

<sup>904</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 12.2.

version, the last two stanzas give more details on the lover's character and also insinuate some more intimate details of her physiognomy. Stz. 3 relates how the narrator fell prey to the lover's playful charms. The narrator's longings were, however, not fulfilled; instead, he remained a "slave" to her unfaithful games. Stz. 4 tells of the roses in the lover's garden and mentions some more intimate details, such as beauty spots. In a nutshell, the piece "Ey gâziler" as presented in Yekta and Kúnos is a story of a soldier and his unfulfilled love for an unfaithful lover. In this context, the patriotic content of the song does not really become evident.

As shown in the Greek case studies, popular melodies were sometimes sung to new lyrics that disseminated a political idea more efficiently. This was also a practice used in Ottoman songs. The above-mentioned sources showed that the melody of this song made a comeback in the years before World War I. While this piece was known as a soldiers' song on the one hand, it was set to new lyrics on the other. The school song anthology *Mektebde vatan türküleri* [Patriotic Folk Songs for Schools], for example, rewrote all the lyrics and filled them with more chauvinistic content. The song's title, "Ey gâziler" was given as "Cenk türküsü" [The Folk Song of War]. The editor indicated in square brackets: "[The song] was reedited to be sung to the old patriotic song."<sup>905</sup> The lyrics were recomposed by Sâdık Vicdânî (1866–1939), an Ottoman intellectual and writer who published many articles, books, and poems on religion, moral questions, and society. He worked in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire, as well as in the Rumelia provinces.<sup>906</sup> The loss of Rumelia, which had triggered a national crisis, is also processed in Vicdânî's version of "Ey gâziler."

The new lyrics follow partly the poetic disposition of the "original." In Yekta's example, each stanza consisted of two distiches sung to the same melody plus one distich refrain. In Vicdânî's version, each stanza has four distiches plus two distiches in the refrain. In both versions, one distich corresponds to fifteen syllables. Therefore, Vicdânî's lyrics fit the melodic structure of the tune. Example 12 gives a visual representation of the relationship between the two versions: Yekta's and Vicdânî's. The melody is underlaid with the first stanza of each of the two versions, and it can be concluded that Vicdânî's version is a good fit to the melody of the well-known version, albeit with different content.<sup>907</sup>

Vicdânî adopted only the first hemistich of the original; all other five stanzas are a crude hymn to warfare and violence. The narrator in Yekta's example expressed his intimate thoughts about his beloved one, whereas in Vicdânî's song he was completely replaced by an exuberant soldier eager to go to the front. The main topic of this reinvented version of the song is the Turkish reconquest of Rumelia.

<sup>905</sup> "Beste-i milli-i kadîmî ile terennüm edilebilecek sûretde tertîb edilmiştir."

<sup>906</sup> Semih Ceyhan, "Sâdık Vicdânî," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2008).

<sup>907</sup> A translation of Vicdânî's first stanza is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 12.5.

A-section



Yekta: Ey gâ - zî - ler \_\_\_\_\_ yol\_ gö - rün - dü \_\_\_\_\_  
 Vicdâni: Ey gâ - zî - ler \_\_\_\_\_ yol\_ gö - rün - dü \_\_\_\_\_

v2. yi - ne ga - rip \_\_\_\_\_ se - ri - me  
 yi - ne hu - dut \_\_\_\_\_ bo - yu - na

v3. Dağ - lar taş - lar \_\_\_\_\_ da - ya - na - maz \_\_\_\_\_  
 Çok - tan be - ri \_\_\_\_\_ has - ret\_ i - din \_\_\_\_\_

v4. be - nim â - hû \_\_\_\_\_ za - ri - me  
 tat - lı Tu - na \_\_\_\_\_ su - yu - na

Refrain



v5. Kal se - lâ met \_\_\_\_\_ naz - lı\_ yâ - rim \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ey Ru - me - li \_\_\_\_\_ coş - tu\_ gel - di \_\_\_\_\_

v6. bir ya - na sen \_\_\_\_\_ bir de ben \_\_\_\_\_  
 A - na - do - lu \_\_\_\_\_ im - dâ - da \_\_\_\_\_

Example 12 Yekta's and Vicdâni's first stanza of "O Muslim Fighters" in one score.

### 2.3.7 Songs on Pan-Turkism and Turanism

With the rising influence of the Young Turks in the Ottoman state apparatus, the ideology of Pan-Turkism and Turanism became more widespread. Pan-Turkism was an irredentist movement that sought to unify all peoples of alleged Turkic origin, both within and outside the frontiers of the nation.<sup>908</sup> At first sight, “Turan” or “Turanism” reflected a very similar idea to Pan-Turkism. Landau, however, distinguishes between those two ideologies. Whereas Pan-Turkism aimed to unite a group of people that was defined by cultural and/or racial elements, Turanism aimed to reunite the peoples that had their common origins in Turan. Turan is therefore a vague geographical reference to the steppes of central Asia between China to the east, India, Tibet, and Iran to the south, and the Caspian Sea to the west.<sup>909</sup> The most important figure who studied Turanism and central Asian languages was the Jewish-Hungarian orientalist Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913). He proposed to the idea that the Turkic group were of one race and that they could form a large territory if they united together.<sup>910</sup> Although Vámbéry’s Turanism also included Finns, Hungarians, and Estonians, the Turkish version of Turanism, which is represented in the poems and school songs, is mostly limited to the Turks.

Turanist ideology can also be found in school songs such as the “Yeni turan marşı” [The New Turan March] and the “Gök sancak marşı” [The March of the Sky-Blue Banner]. “The New Turan March” speaks of the idealized homeland of the Turkic people in central Asia, far beyond the Ottoman national borders. Turanism as a political ideology envisioned a union of Turkic people that would join together and give rise to the Turan.<sup>911</sup> The “New Turan March,” which was apparently also taught at Ottoman schools, drew on this ideology and propagated it among the students. In two stanzas, the narrator expresses his longing for the homeland, “Turan,” and the resurrection of the new state called “New Turan.” The song deals with longing and searching for this “imagined nation.” In the last

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<sup>908</sup> Irredentism is a phenomenon that describes the “ideological or organisational expression of passionate interest in the welfare of an ethnic minority living outside the boundaries of the State peopled by that same group. Moderate irredentism expresses a desire to defend the kindred group from discrimination or assimilation, while a more extreme manifestation aims at annexing the territories that the group inhabits” (Landau 1981, 1).

<sup>909</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>910</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–2.

<sup>911</sup> The ideology of Turanism was introduced into the Ottoman Empire by the emigration of the Tatars from Kazan, the Crimea, and Azerbaijan after 1908. The common roots of Turkic people served as a unifying factor to create one big empire. This ideology was used, similar to the “Megalē Idea” in Greece, for irredentist aspirations in the Caucasus (Zürcher 2010, 216). The Turkish national poet Mehmed Emin Yurdakul (1869–1944) wrote in his poem “Ay türk uyan” (1914) [O Turk wake up] about the future Turkish empire that would emerge from the union of all Turkic tribes of Russia, Azerbaijan, Khiva, Bukhara (in Uzbekistan), and other regions (Heffening 1916, 204). A similar glorifying nationalist color can be found in Ziyâ Gökâlp’s introductory poem “Turan” to the anthology *Kızıl elma* (1330/1914) [The Red Apple]. There, he stated that for the Turks, the nation was neither Turkey nor Turkestan, but a big, limitless country called Turan: “Vatan ne Türkiyedir türklere, ne Türkestandır. Vatan büyük [...] bir ülkedir: Turan”

stanza of the poem, the narrator addresses the future homeland and asks the “Turan” to show the path to reunification.

Similar to İhsân Hanım’s “National March,” the “New Turan March”<sup>912</sup> also makes use of popular musical elements, which make it more accessible. The song is in makâm uşşâk, and the underlying rhythmic pattern is again düyek. Although the information on the usûl is not explicitly given, it can be deduced from the coincidence between the beats of the usûl and those of the melody line (Example 13).

The image shows a musical score for the beginning of the "New Turan March." It consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef melody line with the lyrics "v2. Al - tı - yüz yıl biz a - ra - dık". The lower staff is a bass clef line labeled "Düyek" with a "D" above and a "T" below, showing a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes. Arrows point to the top staff at the beginning of each measure, indicating where the usûl beats coincide with the melody.

**Example 13** Beginning of the “New Turan March.” The arrows point to the instances, where the usûl beats coincide with the rhythm of the melodic line.

The piece is structured in three sections; however, they have different proportions. The B-section has eight measures instead of four, with v2 being performed a second time to a different melody. The whole B-section is repeated once, which means that v2 is performed four times. Thus, v2 of each stanza has more weight than the other hemistiches. Stz. 1, v2 refers to the 600-year-long search for Turan. The same melody of the B-section is sung in the second cycle to stz. 2, v2, which refers to the gilded imperial tent of the “Great Emperor.” For some reason, the editor of the song anthology did not set v4 to music. It is likely, however, that v4 was sung in the second repetition of the C-section, as suggested in the arrangement of the current volume.<sup>913</sup>

Another school song that draws more aggressively on the ideology of Turanism is the “Gök sancak marşı”<sup>914</sup> [The March of the Sky-Blue Banner] composed by the already mentioned İhsân Hanım. This song also appeared among the *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder*<sup>915</sup> [Soldiers’ and Folk Songs of the Young Turks] compiled by the German orientalist Karl Hadank (1882–1945). Hadank pointed in this article to the outstanding role of “Türkentum” [Turkist Doctrine], which in this song is more dominant than the Ottoman-Muslim ideology. The lyrics of this song, which were also included in the Ottoman school song anthology, drew in two stanzas on important stages of Turkism and Islam. In

<sup>912</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 13.1 and 13.2 based on Şamlı Selîm (n.d. 2:8).

<sup>913</sup> See Appendix A, Case Study 13.1, mm. 14–17.

<sup>914</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 14.1 and 14.2 based on Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 2:9).

<sup>915</sup> Hadank, *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder*, 81–84.

stz. 1, the narrator refers to the ancestors who had walked beneath the same flag and who marked the beginning of the Turkic dynasty. In this way, the narrator highlighted continuity with the past and alluded to the origins of the Turkic Khaganate. At the same time, the narrator appropriated the geographical dimension of the Turan as Turkish territory, which clearly reveals irredentist sentiments. This strongly Turkist idea is complemented by some Islamic elements, such as the constant prayer to “Allah,” whose name the narrator has in mind. (stz. 1, v6). Stz. 2 reinforces the Turkist stance even more strongly by highlighting the supposedly common origin of the Turkic people, which is the Uyghur people. The narrator reaffirms territorial claims that (central) Asia is Turkish. Hadank was correct when he observed that in this song the Ottoman dynasty played only a marginal role. The B-section relates how the banner of the Ottoman dynasty was obtained. The refrain actively calls for Turks to follow this irredentist military mission. It asks the “golden army” to overcome mountains and take by violence the territories where the Turkish flag would be hoisted.

From a musical point of view, the “March of the Sky-Blue Banner” reflects only to a certain extent the martial content of the lyrics. However, it also makes use of elements that clearly contradict the homogeneous character of the piece. As shown in previous case studies, especially in some of the Greek ones, marching songs adopt particular musical elements to create a symmetrical and homogeneous melody. Besides a straight time signature, these were, for example, a simple melody and repetitive rhythmical patterns that help stress the first and third beats and that coincide with the poetic meter. These characteristics can be found to some extent in the A- and B-sections of this piece. The rhythmic organization of the melody allows the first and third beats to be stressed. The melody of the two sections is mostly formed by the broken G major triad that also evokes a signal motif, which is often used in martial contexts. The B-section is basically built on the same melody as the A-section, but the melody in the B-section was rhythmically augmented. This augmentation brings the piece’s structural symmetries slightly out of balance. In the A-section, each hemistich is sung to two measures, whereas in the B-section and the refrain, each hemistich is sung to four measures. The ratio between note and text syllables corresponds almost to one-to-one and has been maintained in the A- and B-sections of the piece. In addition, the rhymes of each couplet are also reflected in the music by longer note values and, thus, contribute to the homogeneous character of the piece (Example 14).

However, the clear organization of rhythmic values in the A- and B-sections are, strangely, not continued in the refrain. Mm. 13–18, in particular, make use of syncopations that are diametrically opposed to the meaning of the words. Whereas the lyrics call people to “walk” or “march,” the melody starts with a syncope that goes counter to the marching rhythm because it stresses the second beat with longer rhythmic values, as in m. 13 (Example 15).

From the musical point of view, the refrain uses material from the former sections, varying them rhythmically and changing their character. Since the music and the content of the lyrics deviate from each other, it is possible to assume a pedagogical aspect behind this rhythmic variation. Since the student could become familiar with the melodic phrases

v1. Gök san-ca-ğım al - tın-da

v3. Al bay-ra-ğım al-tın-da

v4. Bü-yük e-mel ru-hum - da

v8. be-nim i-çün şan kav-ga

v6. Al-lah a - dı di lim - de

v7. Tü-fek de-mir e-lim-de

**Example 14** Excerpts from the “March of the Sky-Blue Banner” that show the one-to-one ratio of syllables and melody: v4, v6, v7, v8 show the rhythmic augmentation, and the arrows indicate the coinciding rhymes at the end of each phrase.

v9. Yü - rü - yün \_\_\_\_\_ dağ - lar e - ğil - sin

**Example 15** Syncopation of the melody.

in the A- and B-sections, in the refrain it was possible to practice a similar melody with varying rhythmic values. Another strange element of this piece is the ending. Although the melody suggests  $G_4$  as finalis, the refrain ends on  $C_5$  and has an open ending. It is not certain whether other sections are supposed to be performed again in order to end the song on the finalis. In conclusion, “The March of the Sky-Blue Banner” represents a clearly Pan-Turkist and Turanist ideology, which is clearly expressed in the lyrics. The basic musical material is introduced in the A-section, whereas the B-section and refrain can be read as variations to practice different rhythmic values via augmentation and syncopation as well as chromatic pitches as in the refrain. In this way, the song combines elements of music lessons that, for example, practice a similar melody with augmented rhythmic values but, at the same time, the lyrics fulfill the ideological purpose.

### 2.3.8 School Songs on Ottomanism

Although there were Turkist movements such as Turanism and Pan-Turkism, Ottomanism had remained the official policy in the Ottoman Empire since 1876. Ottomanism guaranteed equal rights to Muslims and non-Muslims in exchange for loyalty to the ruling Ottoman dynasty. Ottomanism sought to level out the ethnic and confessional differences and highlight common ground instead. By doing so, it sought to foment a sentiment of Ottoman na-

tional identity and belonging as a response to rising national ideologies in the neighboring countries. Notions of Ottomanist ideology can also be found in many school songs of this period. In particular, those songs that were composed in the context of the restoration of the Second Constitution in 1908 emphasized Ottoman patriotism among the different confessional communities. During this period, there was a new wave of national marches and popular songs being composed, which initially reinforced the Ottomanist national sentiment.<sup>916</sup> The lyrics of songs that were dedicated to the Second Constitution were printed in song anthologies as well as sheet music, not only in Ottoman-Turkish but also in Greek and Armenian.<sup>917</sup> The slogans of the songs evoked the principles of the French Revolution such as liberty, equality, and fraternity, which were also presented in some of the Ottoman school songs. Kâzım Uz's school song anthology *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (1330/1914) [School Songs with Notation] contains many of these songs, such as "Millî Osmânî şarkısı"<sup>918</sup> [National Ottoman Song], "Hep kardeşiz"<sup>919</sup> [Always Brothers], and "İstikbâl askeri" [The Future Soldier]. The song "Always Brothers" emphasized the equality and common ideals of the school students. As mentioned before, it had also appeared in the *Journal for Elementary School Education*. Satı Bey had praised the originators of this song, Tevfik Fikret (1867–1915) and Kâzım Uz (1873–1943), composing the lyrics and music respectively. Satı Bey claimed that the recurrent refrain had a great moral and emotional impact that facilitated memorizing this song. Furthermore, he asserted that learning this song from their childhood helped the children overcome their differences, and that in this way equality could be encouraged in the "heart of the nation."<sup>920</sup>

Whereas notions of belonging and national identity in the previous case studies were often reached by pointing out the differences between the "self" and the "other," the song "Always Brothers" highlights the similarities and shared morals of Ottoman children. The lyrics are written from the point of view of an Ottoman school student who underlines common values and ideals, regardless of social, economic, or religious differences. The narrator, who writes in first-person plural, presents himself and his comrades in the refrain section of the song as equal students and brothers. They share one common interest, which is "ilim aşkı" [love for the sciences], without discriminating against each other. The song also reinforces the students' sense of belonging to the same nation. Stz. 2, for example, points to the same cradle and homeland and to the one flag that they share. Stz. 3 represents the students as God's creation, with a father and a mother, and as children of the same nation. In this way, the song underlines the common origins and national background of the students. This sense of equality is also reinforced by the repetition of spe-

<sup>916</sup> Gazimihal, *Türk askeri muzikaları tarihi*, 204.

<sup>917</sup> See Johann Strauss, "Ottomanisme et activité littéraire chez les non-musulmans à Istanbul après la révolution Jeune-Turque," in *Penser, agir et vivre dans l'Empire ottoman et en Turquie*, ed. François Georgeon, Nathalie Clayer, and Erdal Kaynar, Collection Turcica, XIX (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 171–97.

<sup>918</sup> Kâzım [Uz], *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (Istanbul: Kütüphâne-i İslâm ve Askerî, 1330/1914), no. 3.

<sup>919</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2. This piece is provided in Appendix A, Case Studies 15.1 and 15.2.

<sup>920</sup> Satı Bey, "Şiir ve mûsikinin tâlim ve terbiye'de ehemmiyeti," 8.

cific verses. Stz. 1, v1 states “We are neither pashas nor rulers,” and in v3 “separation is unknown to us” is repeated twice. In stz. 3, v4, “We do not differ from each other, we are equal” is repeated three times. Moreover, the last lines of the refrain, which change in each stanza, reassert the shared identity of the students. This type of Ottoman songs evidently stressed shared Ottoman values and aimed to overcome differences between the confessional groups and were characteristic of songs of the early Second Constitutional Period. In fact, Uz remarked in a footnote that this song was composed in 1325/1909, which is one year after Sultan Abdulhamid II was dethroned and the Second Constitution passed.

From a musical point of view, the song makes use of elements that are characteristic of Ottoman music. In the analysis, the song was divided into three sections. The A-section is supposed to be performed with the first three verses of stzs. 1–3. The refrain section, however, is mostly identical, except for v5, where one word, “mektebli” [school student], is changed for “osmânî” [Ottoman] and then “insanîz” [Human]. The refrain is followed by an instrumental interlude that connects back to the A-section. The most striking feature of this piece is the use of chromatic pitches and the descending nature of the melody. The melodic characteristics derive from the underlying makâm which was not indicated in the heading of the piece. From the A-Section that starts with D<sub>5</sub> and that uses chromatic pitches such as C<sub>#4</sub>, E<sub>b4</sub>, F<sub>#4</sub>, and B<sub>b4</sub>, it is possible to deduce that this piece was composed in makâm şedd-i arabân. The fact that the piece ends on the finalis D<sub>4</sub> (m. 18) additionally supports the suggested makâm mentioned above.<sup>921</sup> “Always Brothers” is one of the few songs in the Ottoman school song collections that were not directly related to any martial content. Whereas many of the songs drew on Turkist and Turanist ideology, there were only a few that mostly corresponded to children’s songs in today’s sense.<sup>922</sup>

The above-mentioned school songs were all taken from anthologies that were designed for school education. It is not known for sure whether the songs were really taught in schools or if the teachers followed other methods of music teaching during classes. There is evidence, however, that these songs were in fact taught. Özden found notes from music classes at various preparatory and secondary schools in archival materials. Many of the documented song titles that were taught there actually coincide with the titles that appear in the above-mentioned school song anthologies. Özden, for example, listed the marches sung at school at Kastamonu in the Black Sea region and separated them according to the school grades. One gets the impression that the songs in the school song anthologies had been recently composed solely for the purpose of inculcating national ideology. Compared to the Greek case, in the late Ottoman Empire, there was, seemingly, a relatively restricted repertoire of school songs. Many of the titles that Özden listed in his book also

<sup>921</sup> It is likely that the editor of the original unintentionally left out the accidentals in m. 20. In the version that is given in Appendix A, the supposedly omitted accidentals were given in brackets.

<sup>922</sup> Şamlı Selîm’s volume had two songs that had no martial or militaristic topics. Both songs are titled “Çocuk şarkısı” [Children songs] and deal with children’s lives (Şamlı Selîm n.d. 2:13–14). Kâzım Uz’s school song anthology also provided two more children’s songs that are about learning and working (Uz 1330/1914, nos. 6 and 8).

appear in the printed school song anthologies.<sup>923</sup> Furthermore, the songs in the printed edition could also be found in one hand-written school song anthology, which also provided the song titles translated into French.<sup>924</sup>

As Satı Bey pointed out in his introduction, the successful synthesis of poetry and music and its positive influence on children's formation was effectively implemented through the school song anthologies. The school song repertoire reflected instructional ideas on education that existed at that time and were adopted from Western models. Besides the school songs, the anthologies also contained a few pieces that belonged to the official repertoire of the Ottoman state. These were, for example, the "Emperor's March" and the Ottoman national anthem. In this way, young people became acquainted not only with the songs that were composed for school children but also with those that were considered relevant to maintaining a nationally "healthy" and loyal Ottoman society. Another remarkable aspect is the organization and design of the school song anthologies edited by Şamlı Selim. The lyrics in the text underlay were mostly given both in Ottoman and Latin alphabets. The transliteration to the Latin alphabet probably followed the phonetic rules of pronunciation. Many of the syllables have been given incorrectly, to such an extent that the words are actually no longer intelligible. Whether this was due to the editor or to a lack of technical capability cannot be clarified at this stage. The percentage of patriotic songs on the eve of World War I was very high. Although from today's point of view the songs' content seems extremely militaristic and nationalist, in their historical context they seemed to have followed an existing trend, which was "translated" into the nation's own cultural sphere.

### 2.3.9 The "Sevastopol Song"

The next case study is about a historical song that still enjoys popularity in Turkey today. It was considered in this study because it clearly shows how songs may be recontextualized by human agency and imbued with nationalist thought and meaning. The "Sevastopol Song" left many vestiges in history that are worth looking at and trace its transformation

<sup>923</sup> Özden, *Osmanlı maârifi'nde mûsikî*, 146–52, 226. These listed songs are "Harbden avdet" [Return from War], "Mevlevî marşı" [March of the Mevlevî], "İzciler türküsü" [Boy Scout Song], "Sabah sesleri" [Morning Sounds], "Yaşamak için" [For Living], "Yaz marşı" [Summer March], "Yeni Turan" [New Turan], "Sancak marşı" [March of the Banner], "Asker duası" [Soldier's Prayer], "Kafkas marşı" [Caucasian March], "Asker marşı" [Soldier's March], "Millet marşı" [People's March], "Rumeli'nin dağları" [The Mountains of Rumelia], "Kafkas türküsü" [The Song of the Caucasus], "Tayyâre marşı" [Airplane March], "Saat manzumesi" [The Clock Poem], "İzci marşı" [Boy Scout March], "Mektep neşidesi" [School Poetry], "Donanma marşı" [The Naval March], "Zafer marşı" [Victory March], "Osmanlı marşı" [Ottoman March], "Çanakkale Marşı" [Çanakkale/Gallipoli March].

<sup>924</sup> The manuscript was probably compiled around the year 1333/1917. It has three sections: one very brief section on music theory, one with song lyrics, and one with music notation with lyrics given as block text and text underlay. The song titles were given in Ottoman as well as in French. From the seal at the beginning and end of the manuscript, it is evident that it belonged to the "Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânîsi," which is today known as the "Galatasaray Lisesi" [Galatasaray High School] (I thank Neslihan Demirkol for helping me decipher the Ottoman seal). The manuscript is kept at the National Library Ankara and has the call number 06 Hk 2400.

throughout the vicissitudes of the late Ottoman Empire. The historical background of this song is the Crimean War (1853–1856), which was fought between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. The tensions between the Ottoman Empire and Russia increased in the middle of the nineteenth century for various political reasons.<sup>925</sup> Efforts to find a diplomatic solution to this conflict failed, and Russia occupied Ottoman territories. As a reaction to the occupation, the Ottomans declared war on Russia on 4 October 1853 and crossed the Danube River, occupying Oltenița. When Russia moved its fleet from Sevastopol and destroyed the Ottoman fleet in Sinope, it was a great setback for the Ottomans. This led England and France to join the war on the side of the Ottomans. The Crimean War ended in March 1856,<sup>926</sup> with the occupation of the Crimean city of Sevastopol.<sup>927</sup>

The Crimean War had repercussions in the arts and music. Musicians, moved by the circumstances of war, composed works that drew on persons, places, or events that were related to the campaign.<sup>928</sup> The Ottomans made use of past victories to agitate national sentiment every time the nation was about to enter a new military confrontation with Russia. Namık Kemal, for example, who was a prominent intellectual of the so-called Young Ottoman movement, wrote a theater play with the title *Vatan yahûd Silistre* [Fa-

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<sup>925</sup> Firstly, the power of the Ottoman Empire had weakened, and it had been involved in numerous unsuccessful military conflicts on various fronts from the Balkans to Egypt. Additionally, the aspirations of the Balkan peoples for independent nation-states had become a vision that was possible to realize. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire became gradually integrated into the European market, and it therefore came into competition with Russian exports of raw materials and other goods. In view of the Ottoman Empire's status as a crumbling state, European nations had to position themselves and find a way to face the "Eastern Question" (Badem 2010, 46). It was less a question of whether the Ottoman Empire was going to dissolve than of when it was going to happen. The Ottomans were involved in interest conflicts between Tsarist Russia and Bonapartist France, both of which sought to secure rights in the Holy Land for Catholic and Orthodox Christians, respectively. The conflict between the Ottomans and Russia entered the decisive phase when Tsar Nikolai I requested the protectorate of the Orthodox subjects, including the administration of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (Badem 2010, 83). The Ottomans rejected the Russian request. Despite the many diplomatic efforts, including by many European nations to come to an agreement, when Russia's ultimatum to fulfill its demands remained unanswered by the Ottoman side, Russia started occupying the Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia.

<sup>926</sup> Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853–1856)*, 46–98.

<sup>927</sup> Sevastopol, on the Black Sea, had a strategic position for Russia since it was a strong naval base, but it was not strong enough to tackle the allied fleet of the adversary (Badem 2010, 62). On 14 September 1854, the allies started to occupy the Crimean Peninsula. On 17 October, allied forces started bombing Sevastopol and continued until 25 October without any success. This was the starting point of an occupation that lasted 249 days, with artillery fire from the sea and brutal trench warfare (Badem 2010, 270). The siege of Sevastopol turned out to last longer than the allies had imagined at first. After one year, and after three major battles in Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, the Russians started withdrawing on 9 September 1855. In modern historiography, the fall of Sevastopol is mainly seen as an achievement of the French troops, which led the Crimean War to its final phase and to peace negotiations. On 29 February 1856, the peace treaty was signed in Paris, and on 27 April of the same year, Russia withdrew its troops from Moldavia and Walachia (Badem 2010, 285).

<sup>928</sup> Emre Aracı arranged and performed some of these pieces, which were recorded and published (Aracı et al. 2002). Many of these pieces were also published in English and French newspapers. Two of them, for example, were composed by a person called Ida, or Saide, who was a Hungarian student of Carl Czerny (1791–1851). She married Ömer Pasha (1806–1871) and came to Istanbul to teach his children piano. After they divorced, she moved to Paris (Aracı et al. 2002, 24). Some of her pieces, like the "March of Oltenitza" in D minor composed in 1855, or the "March of Silistre" in F major composed in 1855, were also published in English newspapers such as *The Illustrated London News* (Aracı et al. 2002, 13).

therland or Silistra]. Namık Kemal's ideas of nationalism were different from those of later decades. He presented the Arabic term *vatan* [Motherland] in an Ottomanist light. He intended to find ways to promote the emotional bond between the citizens and the multi-ethnic nation. Although Young Ottoman thought was heavily weighted towards Islamic principles, intellectuals, such as Namık Kemal, aimed in his early years to evoke a sense of Ottoman patriotism that also extended full citizenship rights to the non-Muslim population. Namık Kemal had written a play set in the times of the Crimean War before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, which ended in a fiasco for the Ottomans.<sup>929</sup> From the end of the Crimean War onwards, the “Sevastopol Song” played an important role in times of national crisis, such as when the Ottomans had to draw on past victories to motivate their soldiers and people during World War I in campaigns against Russia. After World War I, the song became popular in Turkey as an expression of national pride and glory. It became a witness to an important historical event and gave credit to the heroism of Turks during times of war.

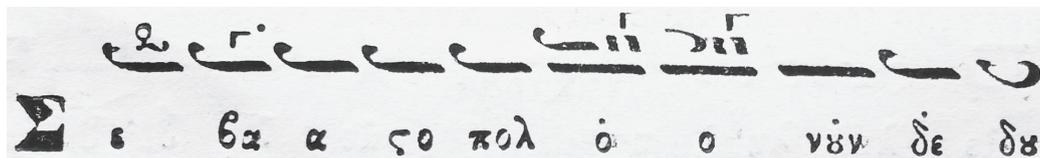
More than a hundred years after the Crimean War, the “Sevastopol Song” is still listed in the Turkish music corpus among the oldest known marches. Although this song holds an important place among the historical national songs of Turkey, it was also received in the non-Muslim Ottoman communities. It was first printed and published in an Ottoman-Greek song anthology by Keivelēs in 1856. The volume's title is in Turkish and Greek: *Apanthisma ē medzmouai makamat*<sup>930</sup> [Anthology or Makâm Anthology]. The whole volume is in Ottoman Turkish with Greek letters. This means that the earliest known version of the song was initially handed down in Chrysanthine notation in a printed volume that was published in 1856 in Istanbul, shortly after the Crimean War (Figure 5). Because of the song's temporal proximity to the Crimean War, it is very likely that it had originated from the victorious outcome of the campaign for the Ottomans.<sup>931</sup> Kappler had already re-

<sup>929</sup> The second act of the play is set during the siege of Silistra close to the Danube River, where the Turkish volunteers hear the military band music of the enemy troops from far away. Based on its melody, the volunteers spontaneously sing the song together that later became known as the “Silistre marşı” [March of Silistra] or “Vatan Marşı” [March of the Motherland]. The composer of the melody is unknown.

<sup>930</sup> Iōannēs G. Zōgraphos Nikaeōs [Keivelēs], ed., *Apanthisma ē medzmouai makamat* (Istanbul: Thaddaiou Tividisian, 1856), 246–48. For an excerpt from the original, as well as a tentative transcription into staff notation, see Appendix A, Case Studies 16.1–16.3. I am indebted to Achilleas Tigkas for revising my transcription from Chrysanthine notation.

<sup>931</sup> At this point, it should be mentioned that in the same year, 1856, another short song anthology in Chrysanthine notation was published in Athens. The song anthology has six songs in total. The first three songs are by the Istanbulite Aleksandros Soutzos (1803–1863) and were published in the context of the Crimean War. The songs included in this anthology are battle songs such as “Tekna gnēsia Ellēnōn” [Pure Children of Greeks], “Stēn palamēn kai palēn to spathi” [The Sword again in the Hand], and “Polemon eis tous apistous” [War to the Infidels]. The last three songs are love songs by the Istanbulite singer Sōtērios Vlachopoulos (d. 1870) (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:382). The fact that the Crimean War led to musical output among the Greeks is due to their participation in the war as volunteers. Although officially Russia had occupied the Principalities of Wallachia, among their troops were also numerous Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian volunteers. The Crimean War was an important event in the Balkans. Many Balkan ethnic groups aspired to become independent or expand their territories by pushing back the Ottomans. The Greeks saw themselves as moving a step closer to the “Great Idea” by uniting Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus. Todorova provided primary sources from Greeks who had joined the war and published their memoirs. One of those was Aristeidēs Chrysovergēs, who wrote about the

marked that the song held a special position within the above-mentioned Ottoman-Greek song anthology. In his study of the şarkı repertoire, he found it remarkable that a historical song that was associated with a political event would be included in a song anthology that normally contained Ottoman art and popular music.<sup>932</sup>



**Figure 5** Excerpt from the “Sevastopol Song,” printed in Chrysanthine notation in 1856. For a tentative transcription, see Appendix A, Case Study 16.2.

This example shows that the “Sevastopol Song” had reached such a high level of popularity that it appeared among other popular Ottoman songs edited for an Ottoman-Greek readership that was familiar with Chrysanthine notation and understood Turkish. The song could also be found with similar lyrics in a manuscript in Hampartsum notation in Turkish, written in the Armenian alphabet (Figure 6). This shows that this piece was also known among some Ottoman-Armenian musicians.<sup>933</sup>

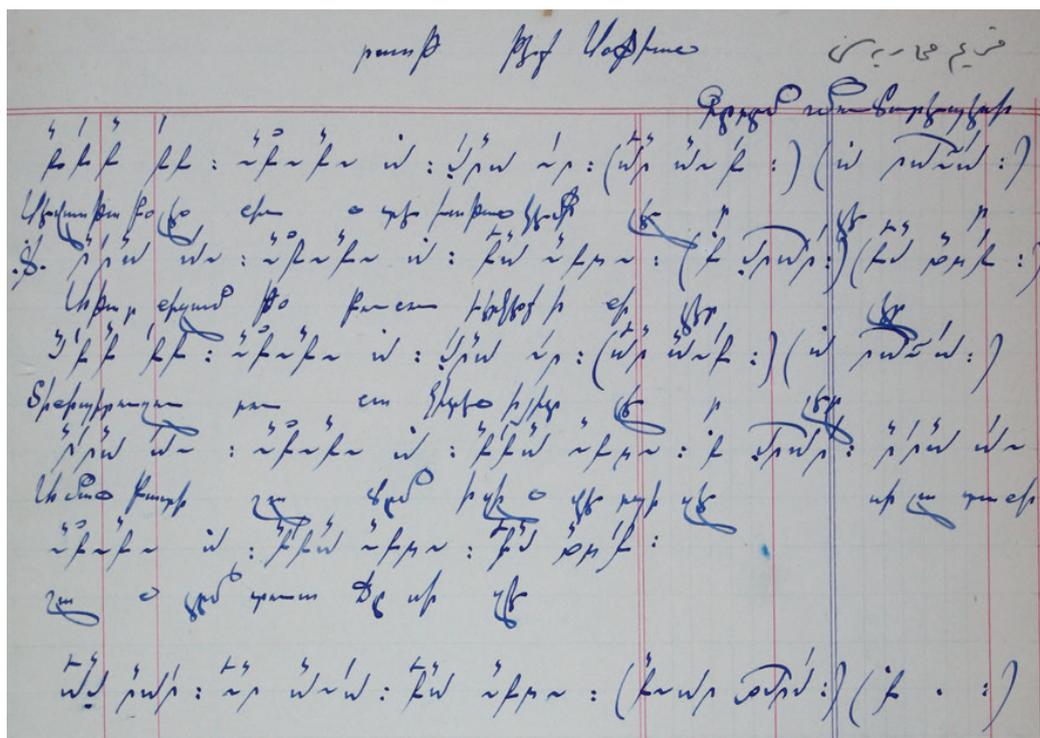
Both the score and lyrics correspond largely to the lyrics and melody that exist even today. Below the heading, which indicates makâm râst and the usûl *tek sofyan*, the scribe also briefly indicated the historical context “Kırım muhârebesi” [Crimean Campaign]. The lyrics of this version describe how young men are going to war for the sake of Islam. Although the score does not provide any date, the ideas in the lyrics of this song, as well as other similar manuscript sources, suggest that this notation dates approximately to the early twentieth century. Both examples show that the “Sevastopol Song,” in addition to being popular for several decades from 1856 onwards, was also circulated among the various ethno-confessional groups of the Ottoman Empire.

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Greek volunteers in his book *The History of the Greek Legion* (Todorova 1992, 136). The majority of the Greek participants were from the former Ottoman territories and consisted of two battalions with about 637 volunteers (Todorova 1992, 144).

<sup>932</sup> Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik in Griechisch-Osmanischen Liedanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 55, 607–9.

<sup>933</sup> A transcription of the score and lyrics is provided in Appendix A, Case Studies 16.4 and 16.5. The manuscript is stored at the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives under the call number TRT.MD.d 428. The manuscript belongs to the Leon Hancıyan Collection. The “Sevastopol Song” can be found on p. 68. It is written in Hampartsum notation with lyrics in the Turkish and Armenian alphabets. Leon Hancıyan (d. 1947) was an important composer, singer, and music instructor who, especially in the years after 1908, contributed considerably to the formation of music pedagogical institutions, such as the Dârülbedâyi, Şark Mûsikisi Cemiyeti [Eastern Music Society], and the Dârülelhân. Besides his activities as a music teacher, he knew Hampartsum notation and was the First Cantor at the Armenian church (Zilciyan 2016, 531).



erator in Şumnu sent on that day the first telegraph from Şumnu to Istanbul as follows: “The allied forces have entered Sevastopol”. Meanwhile our troops were entering the city, the military band played the following march, whose score is not available anymore in our days [...]. The joy about victory spread out at once in all of Istanbul, and driven by the excitement of these days, our famous composer Rifat Bey who played in the Mûzika-yı Hümâyûn [The Ottoman Imperial Band], composed the “March of Sevastopol”. In a short period of time, this march spread through the whole of Istanbul, and further through all the nation, and was sung as a custom during school opening ceremonies in the provinces and in Rumelia. It is one of the oldest marches that we have.<sup>935</sup>

This quote gives a short and incomplete account of the historical events around the background of the Sevastopol Campaign. According to Üngör, the “Sevastopol Song” was a spontaneous expression of joy at the victorious Crimean War. According to this account, the victory inspired Rifat Bey to compose this march, which gained popularity in the following years. However, the attribution to Rifat Bey made by Üngör is problematic because he did not provide any source or reference for his statement. There are also other claims and remarks on the genesis of the “Sevastopol Song.” Ülkütaşır supports Gazimihal’s (1900–1960) thesis, claiming that the instrumental introduction to this piece was added in later sources by Ottoman music directors, and that the composer of the piece was actually unknown.<sup>936</sup> Likewise, Yekta considered the “Sevastopol Song” to be a historical, anonymous song that was sung by Ottoman marines during the Crimean War. This assumption is legitimate, as primary sources have not shown an attribution either to any lyricist or to any composer. In his introduction to Turkish music, Yekta used this piece as a case study to introduce the *usûl düyek* (Example 16).<sup>937</sup>

<sup>935</sup> “31. Padişah, Abdülmecit I (1839–1861) in, 1853 yıllarında Osmanlı ordu ve donanmasını kuvvetlendirme gayretleri Rus çarı I. Nikola’yı endişelendiriyordu. Ruslar harp bahanesi aramakta idiler. Nihayet 23 Ekim 1853’te Rusya’ya karşı savaş açıldı. Bu savaşta İngiliz ve Fransızlar da bizimkilerle birlik oldular. Türk donanması Kırım’a çıkmak üzere Sivastopol önünde toplandılar. Burada çok kanlı savaşlar oldu. Kırım savaşı adı ile anılan bu savaşta Ruslar yenilgiye uğradılar. Bu savaş sıralarında Türkiye’de ilk telgraf tesisleri kurulmakta idi. 29 Ağustos 1855’te bitirilen İstanbul–Şumnu hattında, o gün, Şumnu’dan İstanbul’a ilk telgraf şöyle çekilmişti: ‘*Asakir-i müttefika Sivastopol’a girmiştir*’. Kıtalarımız şehre girerken ordu müzikamız, bugün elimizde notası bulunmayan şu marşı çalmıştır [...].

Zafer sevinci İstanbul’a derhal yayılmış ve o zaman Mûzika-yı Hümâyûn’da bulunan ünlü bestecimiz Rifat bey o günlerin heyecanile ‘Sivastopol Marşı’ nı bestelemiştir. Marş kısa zamanda bütün İstanbul’a, hattâ bütün yurda yayılmış ve bir ara büyük vilâyetler ile Rumeli’de okula başlama törenlerinde söylenmesi âdet olmuştur. Elde mevcut marşlarımızın en eskilerindedir.” (Üngör 1966, 169–70). Italics according to Üngör.

<sup>936</sup> Şâkir M. Ülkütaşır, “Türk halk edebiyatında Sivastopol muharebesi,” *Türk Kültürü* 15 (January 1964): 25; Suphi Saatçi, ed., *Kerkük’ten derlenen olay türkûleri*, Halk edebiyatı dizisi 3 (Istanbul: Anadolu Sanat Yayınları, 1993), 66.

<sup>937</sup> Yekta, “La Musique Turque,” 1922, 3029.

**Example 16** The first two measures of the “Sevastopol Song” with usûl düyek according to Yekta (1922, 3034).

The earliest written evidence of this piece is the previously-mentioned version of the Ottoman-Greek song anthology by Keivelēs from 1856.<sup>938</sup> Chronologically, the Ottoman-Greek version of 1856 is followed by a version by Ignác Kúnos (1862–1945). He included the lyrics of the “Sevastopol Song” in his collection of Turkish folk songs (1889).<sup>939</sup> The song had a revival in the years before World War I, when the tensions between Russia and the Ottoman Empire again increased. It was during this period that the first recordings of this piece were made. The earliest recordings of this song were probably made by the Ottoman military bands after 1908.<sup>940</sup> The recording, which can be found in the discography to this study, was made by the Odeon Orchestra in the first quarter of the twentieth century.<sup>941</sup>

Many sources claim that the “Sevastopol Song” gained popularity both in Turkey and in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Üngör, for example, stated that it had reached as far as Rumelia in the Balkans, and Saatçi even provided variants that he had collected from folk bards of Skopje as well as Kirkuk in today’s Iraq. Gazimihâl showed this song as a historical folk song in his book on Turkish folklore.<sup>942</sup>

The popularity of the “Sevastopol Song” assumed by the above-mentioned researchers is remarkable, especially because in a 1920s source this song was considered a “for-

<sup>938</sup> Öztuna dates this song to the year 1854 without giving any reference. Possibly, he took the starting year of the Crimean War as the year in which the song originated. See Öztuna 1990, 2:234.

<sup>939</sup> Kúnos, *Oszmán-Török Népköltési Gyűjtemény*, 354–56. Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.6.

<sup>940</sup> Ülkütaşır, “Türk halk edebiyatında Sivastopol muharebesi,” 25.

<sup>941</sup> Odeon Records, Catalogue number: 46951. The label does not provide any composer name, recording date or location. The song is titled “Marche Sevastopol. Orchestre Odéon.” For a recording, consult Odeon Orchestra and Mızıka-yı Hümayun Orkestrası 1999.

<sup>942</sup> For Gazimihâl, this music genre formed part of an oral culture that was passed on from generation to generation: “Bir kısım türküler de tamamen mahallî olup mühim hadiseler üzerine çıktıkları için nesilden nesille yaşayıp giderler. Yalnız çıktıkları yerler ehlisini müteessir etmiş vakaları terennüm ettikleri için hariçte bilinmezler. Bunların birini Sinop’ta M. Şâkir beyin yardımıyla ele geçirdik: 1852 de Sinop’ta gemilerimizin düşman tarafından yakılması üzerine çıkarılan türkü [...] Sivastopol’un tarafımızdan bombardıman edilmesi üzerine çıkan *Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler* türküsünün mukabilidir. v.s.” [Some of the türküs are completely regional, and because they originated from important events, they were passed on from generation to generation. [Those songs] are not known elsewhere but in the place where they had originated, because they deal with events that grieved the population. We could note down one of those songs with M. Şâkir Bey in Sinope: This türkü came into being in 1852 when, in Sinope, our enemy set our ships on fire [...] whereas the bombing of Sevastopol gave rise to the türkü “The ships lying off Sevastopol,” which is its opposite equivalent etc.] (Köseihal 1929, 55).

gotten tune.”<sup>943</sup> The “Sevastopol Song” was printed as issue 136 of the sheet music collection in *Müntehabât mûsîkî* [Selected Music], which was edited and published by İskender Kutmânî’s, better known as Şamlı İskender.<sup>944</sup> It is, however, difficult to find out the exact publication date of this issue since it was not indicated. The song is also listed in İskender Kutmânî’s song catalogue published in 1918, which therefore may serve as a point of reference. In this catalogue, the “Sevastopol Song” was categorized under the section “marşlar” [marches]. The heading of the score in *Müntehabât mûsîkî* gives the information “Elhân-ı mensîyeden: Sivastopol” [From the Forgotten Tunes: Sevastopol]. This is remarkable because the previously mentioned sources had highlighted its popularity. Unlike the earliest publications, Kutmânî’s version has an instrumental introduction of eight measures before the main melody starts.<sup>945</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that Üngör’s version derived from a version similar to that of Kutmânî from the early twentieth century. The melody develops in the ambitus of a fifth G<sub>4</sub>–D<sub>5</sub>. Although the performance order slightly changes across the different sources, the lyrics are always sung to the same musical sections. One stanza consists of five verses. V<sub>1</sub> and v<sub>3</sub> are sung to melody A, whereas v<sub>2</sub>, v<sub>4</sub>, and v<sub>5</sub> are sung to melody B. The limited use of melodic materials, the relatively small ambitus of the melody, and the diatonic character of the song are characteristic of the simplicity of this melody. The version in Keivelês (1856) treated the “Sevastopol Song” as a common Ottoman secular song (şarkı). This becomes evident from the terminology that was used for the different sections of the piece, such as “Miyân” [Middle section] or “Nakarât” [Refrain] as presented in Table 5.

In most of the available historical sources, the melody starts with the repetition of the same pitch. Üngör’s edition shows a fourth leap to the main pitch of the song, which is further marked by the syncopation of the rhythmic motive ♪♪ (Example 17).

**Example 17** Beginning of the “Sevastopol Song” according to Keivelês (left) and Üngör (right).

<sup>943</sup> Kutmânîzâde Şamlı İskender, ed., *Müntehabât: Sivastopol*, vol. 136 (Istanbul: n.p., n.d.). In the catalogue of the *Müntehabât mûsîkî* (1337/1921) [Selected Music], the song is listed under “marches” on p. 51 with the song incipit “Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler,” but without any attribution to a composer.

<sup>944</sup> İskender Kutmânî was the son of Tevfik Kutmânî and died in 26. 1. 1960. İskender Kutmânî seemed to have been an oud player, given that in many of his editions he is referred to as “Udıcı Şamlı İskender.” Tevfik had opened a music shop in the Vezneciler district of Istanbul, where he sold music scores and instruments. After Tevfik’s death, the shop was taken over by his son. According to Öztuna, they were Orthodox Christians of Arabic origin (Öztuna 1990, 2:392). In the *Müntehabât* series, İskender Kutmânî published numerous issues of sheet music, each containing one or two pieces, sometimes instrumental but mostly vocal music. Among them are songs from the older and newer repertoires of diverse music genres.

<sup>945</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.7.

**Table 5** Performance structure of the “Sevastopol Song” according Keivelēs (1856). See also Appendix A, Case Study 16.2.

Stanza	Verse	Melody	Structure	Measure
1	1	A	A	1–8
	2	B		9–15
	3	A	Miyân [Middle section]	16–23
	4	B	Nakarât	24–30
	5	B	[Refrain]	31–37

At this point, it is important to shed further light on the musical genres in which this song has been categorized. This will help clarify why this song was treated in some sources as a “şarkı,” in other sources as “marş,” and eventually became a “türkü.” It has been mentioned before that the genre “marş” in Turkish has had other uses besides the musical genre that is often performed by military bands. Although European marches were introduced in the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century, in the course of time, “marş” in the Ottoman Empire took on new characteristics. It became, for example, established as a literary genre with patriotic content that praised persons, nations, and/or victories. Likewise, “marş” was also performed with traditional Ottoman instruments. Whereas in the earlier nineteenth century, marches in Turkey seemed to have existed exclusively in major and minor keys, in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the melodies were based on makâm music. This did not mean, however, that these songs were treated as a traditional music genre. They remained part of alafranga music and became popular in the latter nineteenth century. Not only the music, but especially the content of the lyrics played an important role in categorizing a song as a “marş.” A corresponding term that was also used in Turkish was “Millî şarkı” [Patriotic Song], which was often used synonymously.

The “Sevastopol Song” is a product of the victorious military campaign that was launched against Russia. Therefore, it seems logical at first sight to contextualize this song as one that would praise Turkish victories, and therefore it received its place in Turkish collective memory. A closer look at the lyrics of the “Sevastopol Song” in the Keivelēs (1856) edition suggests an alternative reading of it.<sup>946</sup> This earliest version of the “Sevastopol Song” describes a scene that is not typical of a song that praises patriotism. The song relates, from a soldier’s point of view, the impact of the bombardment at Sevastopol. Stz. 1 presents a very desolate scene of war. The ships lying off Sevastopol are constantly under heavy fire. The narrator is obviously impressed by the artillery, which also hits him in the

<sup>946</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.3

chest. Whereas in the refrain section, one would expect some heroic action or call to arms, instead the narrator requests the Emperor to accede to the supplications of the mothers and give him furlough to go to his native place. Stz. 2 praises the Emperor and his power. It also makes reference to the historical figure Ömer Pasha,<sup>947</sup> who is waiting in Bucharest, while the allied powers,<sup>948</sup> among them a group of 6,000 Ottoman soldiers, are directly involved in the siege of Sevastopol. Stz. 3 refers to the city's cove in the formulaic expression "In Sevastopol, there is a small sea," which can be found with other city names in many other songs in Turkish.<sup>949</sup> Nevertheless, the Russian artillery is threatening, with cannon balls raining down. The last line, which refers to the Arabic origins of the commander, is also remarkable because it possibly alludes to the Egyptian squadrons that served in the war. Reference to non-Turkish groups that contributed to the victory would be omitted in the editions that appeared seventy years later. The last stanza describes a similar scene to stz. 1: The ships lying off Sevastopol. The situation seems unchanged because cannon balls are audible in the skies and perceptible on the ground. The closing line of the stz. 4 is anything but positive: when the old soldiers fall, they will be replaced by new ones. The message this song conveys is pessimistic and can be summarized in a few words: the narrator, who could be any of the (young) soldiers, holds out under heavy artillery fire, thinking of home and waiting for death to come. The refrain that is repeated after each stanza does not necessarily represent any features of manhood or bravery, as one would expect from patriotic songs.

The desperate situation of the Ottoman soldiers also became a frequent topic in secondary literature. Badem, for example, showed that many of the soldiers in the reserve unit were young men without experience in warfare. They were also in a difficult position among the allied troops and faced discrimination. Their ill-treatment reached such an extent that they were accused of cowardice.<sup>950</sup> The circumstances of the war that brought diseases, hunger, and misery were another reason for the desperate mood that is expressed in parts of this song. Zürcher came to similar conclusions when he referred in his book to the "Sevastopol Song." He considered the song to be a credible expression of the low morale of the Ottoman soldiers after a series of military defeats. Not only open warfare but also military encounters with rebels in the Balkans and in Arabia had led to attrition in

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<sup>947</sup> When the troops left for Sevastopol, Ömer Pasha stayed in Bucharest to fight eventual Russian offensives. He was apparently not very interested in joining the occupation of Sevastopol and stayed in Bucharest, where it was far more peaceful. He asked for leave to come to Istanbul to pass the winter, which was not granted. It seems that Ottoman pashas often wanted to spend the winter in Istanbul (Badem 2010, 190). He had to leave for Crimea in 1854, where 55,000 Ottoman, 120,000 French, and 32,000 British soldiers had gathered for the final assault.

<sup>948</sup> Badem claimed that the naval forces consisted of 350 ships with around 30,000 French, 25,000 British and 5,000–6,000 Ottoman soldiers. Out of the ten Ottoman battalions, there were eight with new recruits—young men aged 20–25 years—who served as a reserve unit. The number of Ottoman soldiers compared to the allied troops was very small, and they did not participate in the final victory of the campaign (Badem 2010, 189).

<sup>949</sup> This is the case in the "Gallipoli Song," for example, which will serve as a case study in the following chapter.

<sup>950</sup> For more information on the discrimination of Ottoman troops during the campaign, see Badem 2010, 274.

the Ottoman army. Those soldiers who could not afford to buy off their conscription to the Ottoman army were sent to the battlefields, which equaled a death sentence.<sup>951</sup> In Keivelēs' (1856) version, no real feelings of heroism nor other national values such as fatherland, religion, or God are present. It is the expression of young and fearful men.

The Hungarian linguist and Turcologist Ignác Kúnos included the "Sevastopol Song" in his research, which he published in 1889.<sup>952</sup> The main difference to the version from 1856 is the number of stanzas that Kúnos provided. Another important aspect that both versions have in common is the underlying sentiment expressed by the narrator. Similar to Keivelēs' version, stz. 1 talks about the ships off Sevastopol that are being bombarded, and states that "young men die before their time has come." Stz. 2 alludes to soldiers who are reservists and have to pass the winter in the Balkans. Stz. 3 is the only one that draws on an amorous topic. Stz. 4 describes a row of willows, which are typically planted in cemeteries. Furthermore, it refers to the soldiers and the beloved ones at home who are waiting for letters. Stz. 5 is a formulaic stanza that exists in similar forms in other Turkish folk songs. In Kúnos' version, the stanza clearly draws on martial topics such as the Turkish flag and the departure to the front, as well as trumpets and drums. Stz. 6 describes the way soldiers were conscripted to the Ottoman army by casting lots.<sup>953</sup> Those who have drawn a lot hang their heads, mothers and fathers fall desperate on the streets. Similar to stz. 5, the last stanza contains formulaic phrases that are used in a similar way in other songs, such as in the "Gallipoli Song."<sup>954</sup> In this version, the refrain, which Kúnos labeled with the letter "B," has slightly different content. The soldiers are sick of waiting; therefore, they ask to either be given furlough or to finally start capturing Moscow and handing it over to the Emperor. As the topics in the individual stanzas have shown, this song deals with homesickness and despair of being sent to war. The narrator bears witness to the cruelties of war and the young men who lose their lives.

The "Sevastopol Song" changed its message and character in the period of the Second Constitution, and on the eve of World War I when it experienced a revival. The lyrics of the song were printed in the volume *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı* [Song[s] of the Nation and Freedom],<sup>955</sup> published between 1909 and 1913 as a second edition. These years coincide with the period when Turkish militarism and nationalism had reached new heights. Although the song anthology *Songs of the Nation and Freedom* does not have any music notation, it still gives information that is relevant for this study. Firstly, the lyrics were not written down just to be read as a poem. They followed the tradition of Ottoman song text

<sup>951</sup> Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building*, 185–87.

<sup>952</sup> Kúnos, *Oszmán-Török Népköltési Gyűjtemény*, 354–56. See Appendix A, Case Study 16.6.

<sup>953</sup> The conscription of young men to the Ottoman army via lot casts is also the topic of the "Kur'a marşı" [The Military Conscription March] that starts with the line "Asker oluyorum ben" [I am becoming a soldier]. The song that can be found in various song text anthologies of the Second Constitutional Period was composed by İsmâil Hakkı Bey and was published around 1909.

<sup>954</sup> Compare, for example, Case Study 16.6, stz. 7 with Case Study 17.6, stz. 9.

<sup>955</sup> İkbâl Kütüphanesi sâhibi Hüseyin, *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*, 24. Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.8. Apparently, the first edition of this volume had already been printed in the years 1910–1911 (İhsanoğlu 2003, 274).

anthologies, which were compiled to be sung. This becomes evident from the indicated makâm above the lyrics, which in the case of the “Sevastopol Song” is not makâm cargâh, as given in Keïvelēs (1856), but makâm râst.<sup>956</sup> In this example, the “Sevastopol Song” has only one stanza:

**Table 6** The only stanza of the “Sevastopol Song” published in *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı* (1327/1911) [Songs of the Nation and Freedom].

Stz.	Turkish	English
1	Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler Atar nizâm topunu yer gök inler	The ships lying off Sevastopol Regularly fire cannon balls, and the ground and sky groan
	Sılaya gidenler benim yiğitler aman aman	Those who go home are my brave, young men, oh!
	[Nakarât]	[Refrain]
	Aman pâdişâhım izin ver bize	O Emperor, give us furlough
	Sılada nişanlımız duâcı size.	At home, our fiancées pray for you.

What is striking in this version of the song is the change in tone. The Turkish soldiers are not under fire anymore, but instead, it is they who are apparently bombarding the city of Sevastopol. In Keïvelēs (1856), the soldiers intended to evade the deadly situation at the war front by asking for furlough, while the weeping mothers implored the Emperor. In this version, fear and despair are no longer the topic. No frightened soldiers ask for furlough. Those who deserve to take furlough are all brave young men. At home, it is not their mothers, but their fiancées, who wait and pray for the Emperor’s success. There are no words about Ömer Pasha, no mention of artillery fire, no allusion to any Arabic commanders, nor to (poor) fallen soldiers who will just be replaced by new ones. This short version already underlines the heroic features of strong and brave men who are successfully bombarding Sevastopol.

A much higher level of patriotism becomes evident in a version of the song that was reissued in the context of World War I, when in 1914 new military confrontations occurred between Turkey and Russia.<sup>957</sup> A certain Recep Hilmî of Kosovo printed a series of various soldiers’ songs on a sheet with the title *Yeni ve mükemmel ordu ve Sivastopol marşları* [New and Excellent Army and Sevastopol Marches], mentioned earlier.<sup>958</sup> The sheet has photographs on the upper part of the page. In the center, there is a portrait of Sultan Mehmed V.

<sup>956</sup> The makâm râst is based on a diatonic scale and was preferred in the late Ottoman Empire for songs and music genres that were more associated with alafraŋga music.

<sup>957</sup> On 29 October 1914, the Ottomans, with German support, started naval maneuvers in the Black Sea, which was the Ottoman prelude to entering World War I.

<sup>958</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.9. No biographical data could be found for Recep Hilmî of Kosovo. His edition can be found at the National Library Ankara under the call no. 2007 AFIŞ 1138.

(r. 1909–1918), which is embedded in a scene of a battle campaign. National symbols such as the Ottoman flag decorate the picture in multiple ways. Among various soldiers' songs, there is also a piece called "Yeni Sevastopol marşı" [New Sevastopol March], which is a clear intertextual allusion to the older "Sevastopol Song." This is remarkable for several reasons: firstly, the Crimean War, which reached its peak with the occupation of Sevastopol, was one of the very few Ottoman victories. Therefore, this was a way to revive old victories and reinforce nationalist sentiment. Secondly, the "New Sevastopol March" had lines that drew on the old one. However, most of the stanzas were new and referred to contemporary events, persons, and conflicts. In other words, this song was recontextualized in light of the political tensions of the pre-World War I years. It triggered memories of old victories but was actually adapted to the new contemporary challenges. Unfortunately, this song was printed only as lyrics without any music notation. The twenty-nine stanzas of this version were all numbered.<sup>959</sup> The "New Sevastopol March" adapted the old song to the contemporary tensions that existed between Russia and Turkey, which in the end led to the Caucasian Campaign (1914–1918). In fact, although in its title line, the song arouses feelings attached to the siege of Sevastopol, the content of the song is more about protecting the Islamic population in the Caucasus. There are references to the cities of Batum and Ardahan, as well as to the Ottoman war minister Enver Pasha (1881–1922). The song makes several allusions to Islam, which is instrumentalized as a driving force to fight the enemy: "Moscow." The city of Moscow is personified and vilified. The song deliberately aims to provoke hostile sentiment towards the enemy by calling for revenge to be taken for murdered ancestors and dead children and fighting for God, fatherland, and Islam. It shows Ottoman war propaganda at its best. It is difficult to tell whether this song was meant to be sung or existed only as a poem. From stz. 7 onwards, each stanza has four verses instead of three, and the number of syllables in each verse varies. The refrain is indicated only at the beginning and left out in the other stanzas. The performance order is somehow vague. Some of the stanzas do, in fact, fit the melody of the song, but others do not because of deviating numbers of text syllables. Based on the fact that the other pieces published on the same sheet did actually exist as songs, it is likely that this extended nationalist version of the "Sevastopol Song" was also actually made to be sung.

Üngör's 1966 study and anthology of Turkish marches was the most comprehensive one that was available in the 1960s. Whereas in the 1920s Şamlı İskender considered the "Sevastopol Song" a forgotten tune, in 1966 this song had a defined history and composer, and both were of Turkish origin. It is symptomatic of the second half of the twentieth century that Ottoman history, and especially victories, were presented as the great achievements of the Turkish people. The "Sevastopol Song" was recontextualized and redefined during the vicissitudes of the nation. It had started as a song in an Ottoman-Greek song anthology in Chrysanthine notation. It is also plausible to interpret the Ottoman-Greek ver-

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<sup>959</sup> The stanzas were numbered in the original source. However, the numbering of the stanzas in some parts are erroneous. Stanza twenty was displayed as seventy, and stanza twenty-six is followed by twenty-eight instead of twenty-seven. It is not clear if this deviation was an editorial error or a result of censorship.

sion of the “Sevastopol Song” as parody, where the Ottoman victory was belittled, and the Ottoman soldiers were represented as cowards longing for their mothers. This allegation of cowardice against Ottoman soldiers was, in fact, current among the allied forces and would not have been far-fetched, considering that some Ottoman Greeks fought on the Russian side. However, it is not possible to know for certain whether the version given in Keïvelēs (1856) was a parody or a contemporary version that had been circulating at that time. During World War I, the song was instrumentalized to draw on past victories and revive hostile sentiment, especially against Russia in the context of the Caucasian Campaign. More than a hundred years after the Crimean War, Turkish historians and musicologists categorized the “Sevastopol Song” as a historical song that supposedly related to one period of the nation’s history. Ülkütaşır even went one step further and considered the “Sevastopol Song” appropriate for inclusion in the Turkish repertoire, as it mentioned all the characteristics that were required for a song to be integrated into that repertoire. In accordance with the ideology of early Republican Turkey, where the native Turkish people were considered the driving force of the nation, Ülkütaşır presented the “Sevastopol Song” as a historical folk song that had survived in the collective memory of the Turkish people. For him, songs and tales of the Crimean War were types of folkloric expression. Ülkütaşır concluded that the composer of the song was unknown and that it was a Turkish response to a historical event which had been processed and had survived in the collective memory. With this statement, he changed the song’s genre. In 1856, the “Sevastopol Song” had started as an Ottoman popular secular song (*şarkı*); around 1908, when nationalist sentiment reached a new peak, it became a march (*marş*); and in the 1960s, when national culture was defined by the musical output of the Turkish people, it was promoted as a folk song and was referred to as “*türkü*.” These two latter terms have political connotations with respect to their contemporary settings. The “*marş*,” as mentioned before, was a song with patriotic content. The “*türkü*,” which referred to the folk songs of the Turkish people, was one of the important political and cultural pillars in the ideology of the early Republican era.

Another striking detail in the twentieth century is that the “Sevastopol Song” was more about heroism and victory than anything else. Ülkütaşır and Üngör claimed that there were versions where the first stanza made reference to the Ottoman naval ship “Mahmudiye.”<sup>960</sup> The Mahmudiye was indeed active during the Crimean War but was less effective in the siege of Sevastopol. It was a wooden ship and could not endure the battle against Sevastopol, which was a stone fortification. After the first attack on the city, it was brought back to Istanbul for repairs with two other ships from the Egyptian squadron. On their way back, one of the Egyptian ships ran aground with 1,000 sailors drowning, including the commander.<sup>961</sup> The Mahmudiye seems, however, to have represented the “pride of the nation” as one of the biggest military ships at that time, and therefore it appears even in some versions of this song.

<sup>960</sup> “Atar Mahmudiye topu yer gök inler” [The Mahmudiye fires the cannonball in such a way that ground and sky groan]. Cf. Ülkütaşır 1964, 21; Üngör 1966, 170. Neither author indicated the original source for their lyrics.

<sup>961</sup> Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853–1856)*, 270.

Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) recorded this song, which has been classified as “türkü” under the repertoire number 10072.<sup>962</sup> This version is hand-written, and the lyrics were entered with a typewriter. The melody is clearly the same, apart from some minor variations. However, the lyrics underline manhood, comradeship, and martyrdom, which is possible to find in many national songs of the Republican period. The song describes ships firing cannonballs and brave, strong men going to serve the nation. In the refrain section, the narrator addresses his mother, asking her not to weep if he does not return from the front. Stz. 2 makes reference to the fallen heroes and ends in direct speech with the narrator addressing his mother: “Mother, mother, I will come back. If I do not, then I will die a martyr.”<sup>963</sup> This late interpretation of the “Sevastopol Song” highlighted Turkish martyrdom and heroism in the light of modern Turkish historicism.

Drawing on historical evidence, this case study has shown how this song was changed and adapted according to contemporary circumstances. By doing so, it proved that the historical song about Sevastopol was not a spontaneous outcome of a victorious campaign as suggested by Ülkütaşır and Üngör; it underwent a process of transformation and was forged into a national song. Soon after the Crimean War, the song gained popularity and appeared in an Ottoman-Greek song anthology, although it did not really fit with the repertoire that the anthology included. The song’s popularity was not diminished in the following years, as it was continually recorded in the following decades. The song made a comeback on the eve of World War I as a battle song and hence as a march. With the increasing militarization of Ottoman society and the growing tensions with other neighboring nations, the song was revived during the conflicts with Russia. In the Republican era, the focus of national songs shifted to folk songs. The depiction of the events in the “Sevastopol Song” was perceived as a spontaneous expression of joy at the victorious outcome of the campaign. It entered the corpus of historical folk songs that further expressed heroism and bravery. In this way, the “Sevastopol Song” satisfied all the needs and prerequisites of national virtues: heroism, power, manhood, and victory. It had started as a lament, expressing the mourning of hopeless men in war, and was converted into a folk song of Turkish collective memory that praised a heroic and victorious past. Today, this song is perceived as a part of the collective memory that draws on historical events.

### 2.3.10 The “Gallipoli Song”

The Gallipoli Campaign was one of the last Ottoman victories. Before the Ottoman Empire entered World War I, it had been involved in various conflicts with different nations on all fronts and lost vast amounts of territory. The first Balkan Wars, from 1912 to 1913, had disastrous consequences for the Ottomans; they ended in the loss of Balkan territories and consequently led to the mass exodus of the Muslim population, who were forced to mi-

<sup>962</sup> The score has been downloaded and is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 16.10.

<sup>963</sup> “Anacığım anacığım gine gelirim. Eğer gelmez isem şehit olurum.”

grate to Istanbul and its surroundings. Hence, although the Gallipoli Campaign was one of the few Ottoman victories, it became the prelude to the history of the Turkish Republic.

However, in the newly founded Turkish Republic, Anatolia was the nation's starting point, not Gallipoli. After World War I and the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1923), the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed, with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as its first president. During his term of office, he sought to rebuild the young nation. At the same time, scholars dedicated themselves to writing a national history that did not focus on Gallipoli, but on Anatolia, whose people, according to modern Turkish historiography, had contributed to the victorious outcome of the Turkish War of Independence.

The Turkish War of Independence offered a far better basis for the nation's history of origin. It told the key story of Mustafa Kemal's resistance movement against the Ottomans, who had signed the Treaty of Sevres and handed over its sovereignty to the Western powers. Anatolia became the official birthplace of the new nation. Gallipoli, in contrast, played only a marginal role in Turkish historiography, which changed towards the middle of the twentieth century. During the Gallipoli Campaign, Mustafa Kemal was not well-known.<sup>964</sup> In 1918, he was mentioned in the magazine *Yeni mecmûa*, where he had given an interview. For the first time, he was presented as the savior of Çanakkale and Istanbul.<sup>965</sup> In the 1930s, the first years of the Turkish Republic, the Gallipoli Campaign and its narrative were reshaped and integrated into national historiography as the preliminary stage of the "national awakening." The last name, Atatürk [Father of the Turks], was bestowed on Mustafa Kemal in 1934. After Atatürk's death in 1938, followed by World War II and several political and economic changes, Turkey sought to redefine itself. Turkey became a NATO member and with the beginning of the Cold War, it had to turn, in terms of politics, towards the Western bloc. The government sponsored the construction of a monument to the Gallipoli Campaign in the southern part of the peninsula in 1939. However, it was not completed as the funding and donations stopped when the multi-party system was introduced, and CHP (Republican People's Party), Atatürk's party lost elections.<sup>966</sup>

At that time, Gallipoli had already become a destination for international memorial pilgrimage. Since the 1920s, relatives of allied soldiers have been coming to Gallipoli to commemorate their fallen.<sup>967</sup> France erected the first memorial on the Gallipoli peninsula, followed by Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. During this time of annual pilgrimage, the narrative of reconciliation between Turkey and the former belligerent nations, which is so essential today, was unknown. The attitude towards foreign pilgrimage changed, however, when Turkey's interest in memorializing the Gallipoli Campaign grew.

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<sup>964</sup> Ayhan Aktar, "Mustafa Kemal at Gallipoli: The Making of a Saga, 1921–1932," in *Australia and the Great War: Identity, Memory and Mythology*, ed. Michael J. K. Walsh (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2016), 150.

<sup>965</sup> Vedica Kant, "Çanakkale Children: The Politics of Remembering the Gallipoli Campaign in Contemporary Turkey," in *Remembering the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2015), 148.

<sup>966</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>967</sup> Pheroze Unwalla, "Between Nationalism and Reconciliation: The Turkish Government and the Dual Narrativization of the Battle of Gallipoli, 1923–2007" (Master Thesis, Burnaby, Simon Fraser University, 2008), 34.

With the increasing presence of such foreign pilgrims, Turkey had to react. It was not until 1944 that the Turkish government decided to construct its own Gallipoli Memorial. To achieve this, an architectural contest was advertised. Four architects, Feridun Kip, Doğan Erginaş, İsmail Utkular, and Ertuğrul Barla were ultimately tasked with constructing the Gallipoli Martyrs' Memorial. In 1952, the memorial's first committee met, and for the first time, a memorial event was held with British, Australian, and New Zealander delegations in attendance. In 1954, the monument's foundation was laid. Due to a lack of funding, the construction process was then delayed but continued after a call for financial support in the newspaper *Milliyet* brought in donations. The opening ceremony took place on 10 August 1960 and on 21 August the memorial was opened to the public.<sup>968</sup>

What began in 1952 with reconciliatory, mutual memorial celebrations changed drastically in the turbulent years of the 1960s and 1970s; deteriorating foreign relations with the USA, and the military coup in Turkey radicalized the Turkish Gallipoli narrativization. Past Ottoman victories became relevant in Turkey's history; defeats were interpreted as being a result of the Ottoman Empire's foreign elements. During this time, Gallipoli became a symbol of nationalist pride.<sup>969</sup> Since the 1950s, former Ottoman victories had been celebrated to praise the Turkish nation. Also, ceremonies commemorating the taking of Istanbul from the Byzantines were celebrated. The Gallipoli Campaign's story has been researched and reinterpreted. Scholars have found this topic a rich source of material, which fulfilled their needs when rewriting Turkey's history. In Turkey, the Gallipoli Campaign is seen as the preliminary round of the Turkish War of Independence, which followed World War I. At the Dardanelles, some Turkish protagonists, who were noted for their outstanding service in their duties, later played crucial roles in the Turkish War of Independence and its aftermath.

Gallipoli helped to combine the last Ottoman victory with Mustafa Kemal's first. The Turks see in the Gallipoli Campaign more than a mere victory; the Turkish people stress that in spite of difficult conditions, they succeeded in defeating an enemy that had the advantage of superior weaponry. Gallipoli thus became the apotheosis of the Turkish army's heroism. The national narrative represents Germans who supported the war with armaments, expertise, and troops as ignorant, conceited, and bad strategists. The Germans are held responsible for high numbers of casualties and for having used the Ottomans for their own political interests. This narrative does not share victory with former Ottoman allies but allows reconciliation with the ANZAC<sup>970</sup> soldiers who once opposed them and lost the war.

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<sup>968</sup> Bülent Sözeri, "Çanakkale'de tarihi buluşma," *Hürriyet*, March 17, 2003, <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/canakkalede-tarihi-bulusma-134118> (accessed 12 Nov. 2024).

<sup>969</sup> Unwalla, "Between Nationalism and Reconciliation," 82.

<sup>970</sup> "ANZAC" is the acronym for "Australian and New Zealand Army Corps." In Australia, commemorations of the soldiers who fell in World War I play a similarly important role in the national identity. For a good account of the Australian commemoration ceremonies, see Macleod 2017, 89–106.

Turkey's narrative of reconciliation with its former enemies was only possible as a result of its victory at Gallipoli. Owing to this circumstance, the transition from war to peace was smooth. Relations with the former belligerent nations normalized soon after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. Reconciliation with the ANZAC nations became a feature peculiar to the Gallipoli Memorial. In 1934, Atatürk honored the ANZACs in a letter addressed to the mothers of the fallen Australian and New Zealander soldiers. His words are on display at the Kemal Atatürk Memorial in Canberra:

Those heroes who shed their blood and lost their lives! You are now lying in the soil of a friendly country. Therefore, rest in peace. There is no difference between the Johnnies and Mehments to us, where they lie side by side here in this country of ours. You, the mothers, who sent their sons from faraway countries, wipe away your tears; your sons are now lying in our bosom and are in peace. After having lost their lives on this land, they have become our sons as well.<sup>971</sup>

Though Atatürk's letter is often cited to highlight the amity between the countries, it was more a private statement than a public one. This statement nevertheless created the basis for constructing the narrative of reconciliation for an international audience. However, this was one side of a double narrative. The other side of the coin was a national narrative that stressed camaraderie, bravery, and patriotism.

In today's Turkey, there is probably no other Turkish song that triggers such strong national sentiments and enjoys as much popularity than the "Çanakkale türküsü" [Gallipoli Song].<sup>972</sup> In addition to becoming a "musical monument" in Turkish collective culture, the song's popularity is attributable to the different notions it acquired from its emergence until today. Similar to the "Sevastopol Song," this song was classified in the primary sources into different musical genres. Some sources refer to it as "marş" [march], which, as previously mentioned, referred in late Ottoman times to military band marches as well as to songs with patriotic lyrics. However, this piece reached places beyond the limits of patriotism and entered the sphere of popular music, which at that time was referred to as "kanto" or "şarki." However, in the middle of the twentieth century, this song was claimed to be a Turkish folk song and was officially referred to as "türkü," one of the few that dated back to World War I.<sup>973</sup> This paved the way for the "Gallipoli Song" to enter the Turkish folk song repertoire. Today, it is one of the best-known Turkish folk songs. While it does

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<sup>971</sup> The words are according to the tablet, which is displayed at the memorial in Canberra. Mustafa Kemal had written this message in 1934 and asked Şükrü Kaya, the Minister for Interior, to pass it on to the Gallipoli pilgrims.

<sup>972</sup> In English, this piece is often referred to as "Gallipoli Song" or "Dardanelles' Song," and these names will be also used in this study. The correct Turkish reference would be "Çanakkale türküsü." The score was provided in Appendix A, Case Study 17.17.

<sup>973</sup> In 1921, Willi Heffening had already claimed that the genre of the "Gallipoli Song" varied every time he consulted a person on this issue. For some, it was a "şarki," whereas others saw it as a "türkü." Willi Heffening, "Türkische Volkslieder," *Der Islam* 13, no. 3-4 (1923): 247.

appear in recent school song anthologies, it has also become part of national rituals, such as the Gallipoli commemoration ceremonies.

Especially with the centenary of World War I in 2018, the international commemoration of the Gallipoli Campaign took place with more pomp than ever before.<sup>974</sup>

The “Gallipoli Song” (Example 18) evokes a mood of despair similar to the “Sevastopol Song” introduced in the previous chapter. It relates the horrors of war from the perspective of a soldier and is therefore set in a melancholic mood. The lyrics of the “Gallipoli Song” are displayed at the foot of a soldier’s statue at Gallipoli (Figure 7).



**Example 18** The beginning of the “Gallipoli Song” according to the TRT version. Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.17.



**Figure 7** The lyrics of the “Gallipoli Song” at the Gallipoli Memorial. A translation is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 17.4

The melody of the “Gallipoli Song” is characterized by the seventh leap, which leads the melody to the fifth  $D_4$  and back to the finalis  $A_4$ . This beginning is characteristic of this song, for it has an intervallic ambitus of a ninth within two measures, which is quite unusual for folk songs. Before this chapter analyzes the song’s meaning in the Turkish context, it is necessary to shed further light on its supposed genesis and early sources.

<sup>974</sup> For an account of the centenary of the Gallipoli Campaign, see O’Connell, *Commemorating Gallipoli through Music*.

### Supposed Genesis and Early Sources

As shown in the earlier chapter, the Gallipoli Campaign was a popular topic for Turkish composers during World War I. Kemânî Kevser Hanım's<sup>975</sup> score was the earliest known version of the song and was published as "Çanakkale marşı" [Çanakkale March] with block lyrics and notation. The editor Şamlı Selîm printed this version in a music journal called *Risâle-i mûsikîye* in the year 1915/1916, shortly before or during the Gallipoli Campaign.<sup>976</sup> Although the score provided much information, such as composer, lyrics, and editor, for some reason, the makâm was omitted, which is unusual. The usûl, however, was given as *düyek* in 4/4, which is often used in popular songs. Formally, the piece corresponds to the same two-part structure as the version that is known today. The melody, however, shows striking differences that change the song's character considerably, such as the characteristic seventh leap. The editor of the piece provided the first stanza as text syllables above the notation in both Latin and Arabic alphabets. In this way, this song could be read even by those who were not familiar with Ottoman Turkish in the Arabic alphabet. Below the score, the heading of the block lyrics states in bold letters "Çanakkale kahramânların hâtırası" [The/In memory of the Çanakkale heroes]. Each stanza consists of two hemistiches and one refrain, which was referred to as "nakarât." As in the "Sevastopol Song," each of the stanzas is dedicated to one topic but always ends with the same refrain. The mood that is transmitted in the lyrics is doubtful but also confident and fierce. The lyrics mainly describe the horrors of the war, which are expressed in most of the stanzas.

Another version was published by Destancı Eyüplü Mustafâ Şükrü Efendi,<sup>977</sup> probably around the same date as Kevser Hanım's. It has an image that depicts a map of the Gallipoli straits. The map is illuminated by the sun, which is placed on the top left of the sheet. The sun is followed by a portrait of Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V. On each side of the portrait are soldiers. Another picture of a firing cannon appears on the lower right

<sup>975</sup> Kemânî Kevser Hanım was a musician by training and one of the first female teachers to teach violin at the Ottoman State School Dârüelhân from 1915 to 1924. She appears in a group photo that was published in the *Journal of the Dârüelhân* in 1924 (see Öner 2021, 79). In a brief paragraph on the back of the score, Şamlı Selîm recommended the music school in which Kevser Hanım was working and briefly highlighted her pedagogical experience with students. Şamlı Selîm's recommendation also proved that she was seeking new students. Therefore, publishing (already) popular and national songs in a music journal was one way to advertise her name. The line beneath the music score supports this argument in so far as she expressed her respect for the fallen of the Gallipoli Campaign. In this case, her score may be seen as a keepsake for the fallen. The heading of the block lyrics below the score gives the title "The memory of the Çanakkale heroes." A facsimile was printed in Akdoğan 1991. Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 17.5 and 17.6.

<sup>976</sup> See Case Studies 17.5 and 17.6.

<sup>977</sup> Cf. Appendix I, Case Studies 17.7 and 17.8. There is not much information about the birth and death dates of Destancı Eyüplü Mustafâ Şükrü. Neither does the source show if he is the composer or editor of this song (Koz and Sabri 1993, 568). Üngör attributed this piece to a certain Destancı Mustafâ without providing any further information. It is unclear if he meant Mustafâ Şükrü (Cömert 2015, 105–8). A brief look at other published works by Mustafâ Şükrü reveals that he played a very active part in publishing graphics, lyrics, and ballads that praised Ottoman soldiers and victories in World War I. Other similar songs and ballads that he edited were, for example, "Edirne şarkısı" [The Song of Adrianople], "Alçak İngilizlerin Çanakkale bombardımanı ve kahramân topçularımızın müdâfaası" [The Çanakkale Bombardment of the Vile English, and the Resistance of Our Heroic Artillerymen], "Çanakkale Kabatepe muzafferiyet destânı" [The Ballad of the Victory at Çanakkale–Kabatepe], "Destân-ı şanlı asker" [The Ballad of the Glorious Soldier], among others.

side of the picture. Şükrü Efendi categorized this piece as “şarkı,” as is evident in his title “Çanakale şarkısı” [Gallipoli Song]. This version has fourteen stanzas but no notation. The organization of the lyrics is similar to Kevser Hanım’s version. Each stanza consists of one distich and one refrain. Therefore, the lyrics fit the musical form and melody of the “Gallipoli Song.” In this version, however, the refrain differs in each stanza, and the last syllable rhymes with that of the verses. The first lines of stzs. 1, 3, and 6 are similar to many other versions of the song. Other stanzas, however, take up only a few words or are new additions. Most of the stanzas reflect on the horrors of war. Besides these, there are other stanzas that express self-confidence, pride, and superiority. Stz. 11, for example, pays homage to the victory at Arıburnu, which reveals that this version was recorded after the battle at Arıburnu in 1915. The refrain in stz. 13 expresses pride when the defeated enemy is referred to as “stupid oxen” that “immediately run away.” Other images of the enemy are given in stz. 5, when they retreat and give up hope, in stz. 6, when the bullets rain on their shoulders, and stz. 7, when the earth is full of enemy corpses. The Turkish soldiers, in contrast, are described as victorious. Stz. 5 states that the arms of the “heroic” soldier never get tired; stz. 11 praises the Ottoman soldier as the grandchild of lions; and finally, in stz. 14, the narrator prays that the brave soldiers may be protected from evil. This juxtaposition of the virtues and achievements of the Turks against the enemy highlights the military superiority of the Turks. For Mustafâ Şükrü, it was seemingly important to select ballads and songs that would extol the few victories of the Ottoman military. These types of sources can be considered propaganda tools that were intended to strengthen the morale of Ottoman troops and society.<sup>978</sup>

The “Gallipoli Song” appeared to enjoy popularity among the people during the period of war, and it also caught the attention of German officers who were deployed in the surroundings of Gallipoli. The German Empire was an Ottoman ally and deployed an army that took part in the Gallipoli Campaign. One issue of the German journal *Am Bosphorus* [At the Bosphorus], published in 1918, gave a German translation of the “Gallipoli Song.” The article does not say much about the song’s background but simply provides the block lyrics. A more analytical investigation was made by the two German Turkologists Willi Heffening and Karl Hadank, who published two articles where they provided a study of the “Gallipoli Song.”<sup>979</sup>

<sup>978</sup> A similar approach can be observed in another example that should be briefly mentioned at this point. The same editorial published another sheet with texts of Ottoman World War I songs selected by Mustafâ Şükrü. The graphic in the top center depicts the combat from a soldier’s perspective while the enemy forces land on the shore. The title “Arıburnu sâhil muhârebesi destânı” [The Legend of the Arıburnu Battle] suggests that the graphic shows a scene from the battle at Arıburnu. There are four other block lyrics printed on this sheet. From right to left, the first song draws on the “Gallipoli Song” and is titled “Çanak kal’e şarkısı.” This time the makâm hicazkâr is indicated. The second song deals with the Caucasian Campaign and is therefore titled “Yeni karadeniz ve kaffas şarkısı” [The New Black Sea and Caucasian Song] in makâm hicazkâr. The third song is titled “Asker şarkısı” [Soldier’s Song] in makâm râst. The last piece is a lament or lullaby “Şehîd ailesi lisânından” [From the Tongue of a Martyr’s Family] titled “Uyu yavrum şarkısı” [Song of “Sleep my Child”].

<sup>979</sup> The two scores have been reproduced in Appendix A, Case Studies 17.9 and 17.10. Both scores have in the original source various stanzas that have not been provided in this study. The materials were limited to the information that was necessary to follow the chapter’s argument.

The German historian Dr. Karl Hadank published a study called *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder* [Soldier and Folk Songs of the Young Turks].<sup>980</sup> From 1917 to 1918, he was assigned to guard the main quarters of the Fifth Ottoman army, based at a small port on the southern Marmara Sea. He wrote that soldiers and children served him as a good source for writing down some of the folk songs. The popularity of the “Gallipoli Song” had caught his attention, and he admitted that he had not listened “[...] to any other song sung more often by Turkish soldiers and children than this [the Gallipoli Song] one.”<sup>981</sup> In his publication, he provided the score with seven stanzas in the Arabic alphabet, which he transcribed into the Latin alphabet, and he additionally translated the lyrics into German.<sup>982</sup> The score’s title, “Çanaq qalä marşy” [The Çanakkale March], and the melody given are exactly the same as Kevser Hanım’s. The song lyrics, however, were probably taken from other sources. The melody, title, and stz. 1, 3, and 8 match Kevser Hanım’s version, and it is possible that Hadank was aware of her edition. However, he did not make any reference to her. Whereas in many Turkish versions the lyrics dealt with both the horrors of war and also with national pride, the narrator in Hadank’s version deals only with the horrors of war. The dominant depressive mood of the song made Hadank believe that the song held a special position in the repertoire of the Young Turks.<sup>983</sup> Other songs that he discussed in his article are soldiers’ songs that express strong national sentiments of pride and triumph. In this context, he briefly refers to the bad living conditions of the Turkish soldiers, which were best represented in the “Gallipoli Song.” Ironically, in a Turkish-German dictionary that circulated among German soldiers, the Turkish word “asker” [soldier] was translated into German as “Hungerkünstler” [literally “hunger artist,” i.e. a professional faster]. Hadank admitted that in the case of the Turkish soldiers, this was “deadly serious.”<sup>984</sup>

The other German orientalist who dealt with this piece was Willi Heffening, who stayed in Turkey in the winter of 1917/18. In his article “Türkische Volkslieder” [Turkish Folk Songs], he provided a small, tentative score together with numerous stanzas.<sup>985</sup> The melody is intact in regard to form and melodic line but differs considerably from today’s version. It is uncertain if Heffening was familiar with notating music, but it is more likely that his source was familiar with another version of the song. Interestingly, he also intended to trace back the history and origin of the “Gallipoli Song.” He argued that the “Gallipoli Song” drew on a love song from the year 1889, which had changed over time.<sup>986</sup> It is,

<sup>980</sup> Hadank, *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder*, 68.

<sup>981</sup> “Kein Lied habe ich von türkischen Soldaten und Kindern so häufig singen hören wie dieses” (Hadank 1919, 72).

<sup>982</sup> A copy of the score can be found in Appendix A, Case Study 17.10.

<sup>983</sup> Hadank’s remark is important. He does not consider this piece a regular folk song but conceives it as a song of the Young Turks that were in power.

<sup>984</sup> Hadank, *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder*, 68.

<sup>985</sup> Heffening, “Türkische Volkslieder,” 236–67.

<sup>986</sup> Two more Turkish musicologists, Gazimihâl and Salcı, argued in the same way. See Akdoğu 1991.

however, difficult to trace his train of thought since he did not name any specific titles or sources. The only source he mentioned was the “Plevna-Lieder” [Plevna songs], which go back to the city of Plevna in today’s Bulgaria. It is likely that the similarities derived more from some distiches of the lyrics rather than the melody. In this point, he would be right because there are indeed some borrowings between the lyrics of the “Gallipoli Song” and the “Sevastopol Song.” However, his study had a more linguistic than musicological approach, and thus his arguments are based more on philological grounds.

### The “Gallipoli Song” as Popular Song

The “Gallipoli Song” overcame national and linguistic borders beyond the realm of Turkish music. Cömert, in his fascinating study, gave many examples from other nations where the melody of the “Gallipoli Song” also exists.<sup>987</sup> From today’s point of view, it may be hard to imagine that a song with such patriotic relevance entered the repertoire of other neighboring nations, some of them even being former enemies.<sup>988</sup> It is probably easier to understand this phenomenon if the “Gallipoli Song” is considered more a popular song than a national one. Whereas national songs gain their national relevance through human agency and propagation and tend to be more static, popular songs may circulate more spontaneously and freely and undergo changes during this process. Popular songs, once the melody gains acceptance, may spread easily and overcome national and socio-cultural borders. In the case of the “Gallipoli Song,” this process can be observed in a series of early gramophone recordings made in Greece, the USA, and Turkey. Ottoman-Greek singers that were well-known in the popular music scene, performed many songs in both Greek and Turkish. The recordings that will be presented here circulated mostly in the US market, but they also circulated in Greece. It is important to bear in mind that by 1923 many of the Ottoman-Greek, Armenian, and Jewish subjects had emigrated to the USA. The biggest group among the Ottoman emigrants was Greeks.<sup>989</sup> They continued the cultural life of

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<sup>987</sup> Eray Cömert. *Çanakkale türküsü: melodik varyantlar üzere analitik bir inceleme*. İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuvarı Yayınları 6. İstanbul: Cenkler Matbaacılık, 2015.

<sup>988</sup> A short documentary on the Gallipoli anniversary was broadcast on 18 March 2013 with Marika Papagkika’s recording of the “Gallipoli Song.” The announcer suggested that Papagkika was motivated to sing this song not only out of economic interests but out of personal conviction, having undergone the experience of World War I and the Greco-Turkish War. She further stated that for some contemporary listeners, it may have seemed strange that the “Gallipoli Song” was sung by an Ottoman-Greek woman. The program concluded that the “Gallipoli Song” expressed the shared grief that was experienced at the Gallipoli site. See <http://tv.haber.turk.com/tv/gundem/video/en-eski-canakkale-turkusu-rum-marikadan/85742> (accessed 30 Jun. 2022).

<sup>989</sup> Rıfat N. Bali and Michael D. McGaha, *From Anatolia to the New World: Life Stories of the First Turkish Immigrants to America*, History 54 (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2013), 64. The biggest outflow of Ottoman emigrants happened between 1905 and 1914 after the proclamation of the Second Constitution. In the Ottoman Empire, non-Muslim citizens had to perform military service but could gain exemption by paying a fee. Those who could afford to paid the exemption fee; others left the country, seeing that the Ottomans were at war on almost all fronts. Many refugees migrated to İstanbul because of natural disasters, such as earthquakes, but also because of the Balkan and Tripoli Wars (Bali and McGaha 2013, 94–95). After World War I and the Greco-Turkish War, there was a second wave of migration from the Ottoman Empire to the United States. It is estimated that until the outbreak of World War II, the number of Orthodox Greeks emigrating to the US had been rising considerably (Bali and McGaha 2013, 58–65).

their old homeland in their new one. Music and language were two of the important cultural elements that were part of daily life.<sup>990</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising to find recordings of singers with Greek or Armenian names performing songs in Turkish. The Greek community established many nightclubs where famous singers from their old homeland came to perform traditional and popular songs of that time.

The earliest known recording of the “Gallipoli Song” dates to the year 1923.<sup>991</sup> The US company Columbia Records released a recording with the title “Chanakale. Canto” sung by the Ottoman-Greek singer Marika Papagkika.<sup>992</sup> The word “canto” that appears on the label can be understood in this context in various ways. Besides the Italian meaning of the word “canto” [song, singing], there was also the Turkish equivalent “kanto,” a music genre that emerged in the late Ottoman Empire in the big urban centers.<sup>993</sup> “Kantos” were popular songs that were performed in pubs and other entertainment establishments, such as the “Café-chantant.” By the time Columbia Records published this piece, the “kanto” had started to become old-fashioned and was gradually being replaced by other entertainment music of the West, such as the Charleston, tango, and jazz.<sup>994</sup> Most characteristic of the “kanto” were female singers who were accepted in public places. The early Ottoman female singers were mostly Christian or Jewish, whereas male singers and performers could be of Christian, Jewish, or Muslim origin. The “kanto” did not always have a good reputation. It stood for music that developed in a suburban culture and represented loose morals with disreputable second- or third-rate performers.<sup>995</sup> From a historical perspective, however, the popularity of the “kanto” cannot be denied. Apart from the numerous “kanto” anthologies, numerous recordings of this genre were distributed by record companies in

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<sup>990</sup> Bali quoted an interview that was produced by Ahmet Emin Yalman for the Turkish newspaper *Vatan* [Homeland]. Yalman conducted an interview with Ottoman-Greek immigrants in the USA. It is said that Anatolian Greek families “[...] all speak Turkish. Including the little children born in America ... They sing Turkish songs, and while drinking peach brandy in the evening, they start dancing Turkish folkdances. They have plucked a little piece of home and brought it here to America ...” For the original quote, see Bali and McGaha 2013, 252.

<sup>991</sup> Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records: A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States, 1893 to 1942*, vol. 3, Eastern Europe (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 1200. The record catalogue number is “E-5283.”

<sup>992</sup> Marika Papagkika was born on the island of Kos in 1885 or 1890. She is considered to be one of the greatest singers of the early “rebetiko” songs before World War II. In 1913, she emigrated to the USA. She started a musical career there and became the wife of the Greek musician Giōrgos Papagkika, who is one of the performers in this recording. From the 1920s onwards, they performed in many entertainment clubs in New York and became established in the American-Greek diaspora (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 4:570).

<sup>993</sup> Kalyviōtēs elaborated in his book on the important role Ottoman Christians played in the local music and entertainment centers of Izmir. For Ottoman-Greek musicians and singers, music had a significant role in their daily lives. They contributed considerably to the establishment of Western-style music genres in Ottoman urban centers (Kaliviotis 2013).

<sup>994</sup> Selçuk Alimdar, *Osmanlı’da batı müziği* (Istanbul: Türkiye Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016), 502.

<sup>995</sup> Yılmaz Öztuna, “Kanto,” in *Büyük türk mûsikisi ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1990), 1:424; Alâeddin Yavaşca, *Türk mûsikisinde kompozisyon ve beste biçimleri* (Istanbul: Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı, 2002), 381.

Istanbul. Hence, the English explanation of the term “kanto” was “popular song,” as the record label suggests.<sup>996</sup> In addition to this, the set of instruments that were used on this recording also supports this assumption. The label lists the following musicians: Marika Papagkika (soprano), A. Zoumbas (violin), G. Papagkika (cymbals), and M. Sifneos (cello). The santur, which is one of the most important instruments of the band, is audible in the recording but was not mentioned on the label. Papagkika sang this piece in Turkish.<sup>997</sup> The target group of this recording was probably an audience that knew Turkish and had emigrated to the United States before, during, or after the Greco-Turkish War. However, it would be farfetched to claim that Papagkika identified herself with the “Gallipoli Song.” It is more plausible that this song was part of her repertoire as a professional singer of popular music. She recorded popular songs to meet the demands of the music market. The “Chanakale” song, which was released together with another popular song called “Sinanai,” were the only songs that she performed in Turkish in 1923. In August of the same year, she recorded two patriotic Greek songs, namely “Chaire Ellada” [Rejoice Greece] and “Bate syntrophoi sto choro” [Comrades, Join the Choir], among other Greek songs of national folk song genres such as klephtic.<sup>998</sup>

The popularity of the melody of the “Gallipoli Song” was not just an ephemeral phenomenon. More performances by popular rebetiko<sup>999</sup> singers were recorded during the years of the Great Depression in the USA. The “Gallipoli Song” was changed into a love song with the title “Katinaki mou gia sena” [My Dear Katinaki Because of You]. In this version, the first-person narrator laments his cruel fate for being in the underworld, having been murdered for his love for a woman called Katina. Kōstas Karipēs, the composer and arranger, rewrote the lyrics and rearranged the melody of the “Gallipoli Song.”<sup>1000</sup> In this way, he presented the song in a new light and probably matched the latest demands and tastes of the rebetiko music market.<sup>1001</sup> His new composition was easily disseminated, and this was not simply a consequence of famous record labels being interested in his new arrangement. The Greek performers who recorded this song were all well-known stars of the rebetiko scene. Roza Eskenazi’s recording was the first and was published by Columbia

<sup>996</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.11 (a).

<sup>997</sup> The performance order of this recording is shown in Appendix A, Case Study 17.12.

<sup>998</sup> The titles are given in Spottswood as “Haire Ellada” (Co 7000-F/89364-2) and “Bate syntrofi sto horo” (Co 7000-F/89365-1) and appear on the same page with the title “Chanakale” (1990, 3:1200). “Chaire Ellada” [Rejoice Greece], with lyrics by Miltiadēs Malakasēs (1869–1943) and music by the Greek national composer Manōlēs Kalomoirēs (1883–1962), is a hymn to Greece and her power to bring light and freedom. “Bate syntrophoi sto choro” [Comrades, join the choir] is a battle song expressing Greek expansion with a focus on Thrace and Izmir. Both songs were recorded by Papagkika in New York, among many other dance and popular songs.

<sup>999</sup> Rebetiko songs often deal with the “lost homeland,” poverty, unemployment, suppression, prostitution, and life at social flashpoints (Petropoulos, Emery, and Kanavakis 2000, 20). Although the “rebetiko” genre may also include this type of urban song, it was not labeled as such on the record label.

<sup>1000</sup> A transcription of these songs with the Greek lyrics can be found in Cömert 2015, 164–70, 486–91.

<sup>1001</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

Records in 1932.<sup>1002</sup> In the following years, two more recordings of the same piece, sung by Adōnēs Diamantidēs Dalgas and Rita Abatzē,<sup>1003</sup> were produced. Abatzē's recording was produced first by Odeon Records in Athens and was then also released by Columbia Records in the USA.<sup>1004</sup> Adōnēs Diamantidēs Dalgas,<sup>1005</sup> another distinguished singer, performed another version for His Master's Voice in Athens in 1933.<sup>1006</sup> Most of the performers were active in the music market in Greece, except for Papagkika, who lived in the USA.

Another intriguing recording that needs to be mentioned in this context is “Dōse mou tēn evchē sou” [Give Me Your Blessing], published probably around 1946 in the USA.<sup>1007</sup> The label of the record indicates a woman called Amalia as the singer and originator of the lyrics. Her family was of Jewish origin from Ioannina, where she was born Mazaltov Matsa. Since Ioannina was Ottoman until the Balkan Wars, it is very likely that in her childhood she came into contact with Jewish, Turkish, and Greek music. In 1912, she left for New York, and in the 1920s, she started a career there as a singer for record companies and in Greek coffee houses under the name “Amalia.” She performed songs in Greek and Turkish.<sup>1008</sup> Her first marriage, from which she had one daughter, broke down, and in 1926, after having converted to the Greek Orthodox religion, she married Gus Bakas. She was then known as Amalia Bakas (or Vakas) or simply as Amalia Hanım [Mrs. Amalia]. In a duo with her daughter, they became among the most sought-after performers on the Greek

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<sup>1002</sup> Roza Eskenazi was a Jewish Greek singer who recorded many “rebetiko,” “kanto” and folk songs in Turkish as well as in Greek. She was born in 1893 and immigrated to Greece after the Greco-Turkish War (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:238). Her performances were not only limited to Ottoman and Greek urban centers such as Thessaloniki, which had a vibrant Jewish community. She also performed in other nations that had a Greek diaspora. She died in 1980 in Greece. The documentary movie *My Sweet Canary* (2011) deals with her work during her lifetime. The recording of “Katinaki mou gia sena” was published by Colombia Records, no. DG 447/WG-611. The performers listed on the record label are D. Semsēs (violin) and Ag. Tompoulēs (oud). This recording also includes cymbals. See [rebetiko.sealabs.net](http://rebetiko.sealabs.net) (accessed 30 Jun. 2022). The song was republished in *The Underworld in Rebetiko Song Recordings*, track 8.

<sup>1003</sup> Rita Abatzē was born in 1913 in Istanbul and died in 1969 in Athens. She grew up in Izmir and immigrated to Greece after the Greco-Turkish War. She gave performances both in Greece and in the USA and recorded up to 400 titles of traditional and folk songs and rebetiko music (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:125).

<sup>1004</sup> The Odeon Records catalogue number is GA 1691. The recording by Columbia Records has the catalogue number G-7078-F/131181. Cf. [rebetiko.sealabs.net](http://rebetiko.sealabs.net) (accessed 30 Jun. 2022). For a sound example of this record, see Abatzē 1994.

<sup>1005</sup> Diamantidēs Adōnēs (or Dalgas) was born in 1892 in Istanbul and died in 1945 in Athens. His music career started in 1908, at the age of sixteen, as an oud player. In 1917, he launched a successful career as a singer and was soon discovered by record companies. He was given the last name “Dalgas” [wave] because his “sweet” voice being similar to the waves of the ocean. He recorded songs between the years 1926–1933 (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:78–79).

<sup>1006</sup> His Master's Voice AO-2078/OT-1456. It was republished on CD in *Great Voices of Constantinople: 1927–1933*. See Dalgas 1997, track 23.

<sup>1007</sup> This title was published by Metropolitan Phonograph Record Co. no. 162-B. The vocals are accompanied by the “Oriental Orchestra,” with I. Pappas playing the clarinet. The exact date of publication seems to be unclear. The year 1946 is mostly given as the date (cf. <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=o&recid=6687>, accessed 23 Apr. 2022). A picture of the record label is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 17.11 (b).

<sup>1008</sup> For Amalia's most popular titles, see Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:299. Kalogeropoulos gave 1890 as her birth year. Bali stated that in 1912, Amalia was fifteen years old (Bali and McGaha 2013, 278). Based on this information she must have been born in 1897.

café-music scene.<sup>1009</sup> In the recording, she adopted the melody of the “Gallipoli Song” but used new lyrics that had martial content. Considering the supposed release date, it is possible to interpret this piece as a reaction to the end of World War II and the liberation of Greece from Nazi Germany. Considering Amalias’ Jewish background and the deportation of the Jewish population from Ioannina, it is likely that this song can also be seen as a personal expression of joy. In times of war, the first-person narrator asks his/her mother for her blessings to join the war and fight for victory. In contrast to the “Gallipoli Song,” which reflected the soul of a depressed soldier, “Give me your blessing” is a song with a positive stance on war.<sup>1010</sup> The lively rhythms and the joyful instrumentation create positive and cheerful music that animates the listener to celebrate a victory that is taken for granted. The music genre that is given on the label is “syrto,” originally a Greek music genre that was used as an instrumental or vocal music genre in Greece and the Ottoman Empire. The syrto is also a group dance that exists in both even and uneven time measures. Vakas’ recording was not the first to consider this piece a syrto. The syrto had already been indicated for this piece earlier, when, on 22 October 1940, Columbia recorded an instrumental version in New York under the title “Tsanakale.”<sup>1011</sup> The performer is the Gus Gadinis Orchestra, consisting of John K. Clinaros (accordion), Kōstas Gadinēs (clarinet), and an oud player whose name was not mentioned. The instruments and the traditional interpretation of the melody give this air a serene character and invite the listener to dance.

The mentioned examples show that the “Gallipoli Song” was far from being just a genuinely Turkish national song. Nor was it only an expression of the depressed mood of the narrator. The examples show that the melody was transmitted beyond national borders and nationalist world views and remained popular until the late 1940s. This was possible due to the emergence and popularity of a nightclub culture where famous singers performed popular songs from their former homeland. The audience, who had suffered from wars and deportations, demanded and enjoyed the melodies of their homeland. The bilingual background of the singers, who were all born in important Ottoman urban centers, meant that they shared the same bitter destiny of a lost homeland as well as the same song repertoire with the audience. The fact that the Greek-speaking community adopted the “Gallipoli Song” is not very surprising because Ottoman Greeks also served during World War I. Although the Turkish national narrative has claimed for a long time that most of the soldiers at Gallipoli were Muslims, it turns out that Ottoman Christians also took part in the Gallipoli Campaign. Heffening, for example, mentioned in his article an oud player called Jorgy Çavuş [Officer Yorgi] who was a non-commissioned officer.<sup>1012</sup> Galli-

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<sup>1009</sup> Bali and McGaha, *From Anatolia to the New World*, 278–80. For a picture of Amalia Hanım and her daughter, see *ibid.*, 462.

<sup>1010</sup> The complete song lyrics are reproduced and provided with an English translation in Appendix A, Case Study 17.14.

<sup>1011</sup> Columbia 7210-F (CO 28952). See also Spottswood 1990, 3:1167. A copy of the record label is shown in Appendix A, Case Study 17.11 (c).

<sup>1012</sup> Cf. Heffening, “Türkische Volkslieder,” 243.

poli, which in Greek was called “Kallipolē” [The Good/Nice City], is situated in Asia Minor, where many Ottoman Greeks lived.<sup>1013</sup>

Even in the twentieth century, the “Gallipoli Song” can be found in various geographical regions of Greece. The song has especially been recorded in Thrace, a region close to the Turkish border.<sup>1014</sup> Additionally, the important contribution of the Greek scholar Markos Dragoumēs shed further light on other historical and cultural entanglements of the “Gallipoli Song.”<sup>1015</sup> In his field research in 1962, he recorded the “Gallipoli Song” at Anitseo, which is located on the Aegina Island in the Aegean Sea. The song was performed by a Greek woman called Angelikē Chaldaïou, who delivered the song in two stanzas.<sup>1016</sup> The melody and the lyrics that Dragoumēs provided fit the generally known Turkish version. The second stanza has a patriotic undertone but does not appear in the early recorded versions. The melody shows striking similarities with the “Gallipoli Song” but lacks the refrain, which would bring each stanza to a conclusion. Dragoumēs’ comment below the notation is also revealing. He refers to a primary source that dates back to the Greek Asia Minor expedition (1920–1922). In the summer of 1920, the allied troops under British command broke the resistance of the Kemalist forces and took the Dardanelles. During this time, the “Gallipoli Song” drew the attention of Greek soldiers. Dragoumēs claimed that, although this song was first performed in Turkish, it was soon adopted by Greek soldiers, who translated it into their native language. He quoted a Greek officer who, retreating from the Asia Minor expedition, recorded this song in Chrysanthine notation. The song’s heading stated: “The song that we heard during the Asia Minor Campaign 1920–1922, sung by Turkish, then by Greek soldiers.”<sup>1017</sup> This is a striking example because it shows the permeable borders of war fronts, where cultural exchange was possible. The soldiers not only listened to the song, but they even wrote it down in their own notation and performed it in their native language. Some of the Greek soldiers probably understood Turkish and so “translated” the song of the “other.” The reason for this may be, as Dragoumēs argued, that the song seemed to have expressed the desolate situation of men who were dying on the battlefields.<sup>1018</sup>

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<sup>1013</sup> Liman v. Sanders, the German commander-in-chief during the Gallipoli Campaign, claimed that the city of Gallipoli was heavily damaged during the campaign. He also wrote about various Ottoman Greeks who lived in that area.

<sup>1014</sup> One version was recorded on the LP *Dēmotika tragoudia tēs voreias Elladas* [Folk Songs of Northern Greece], released in 1987 in Thessaloniki. Another version was recorded on the LP *Keimēlia ēchou kai logou apo anatolikē Thrakē–anatolikē Rōmylia* [Treasures of Sounds and Lyrics from Eastern Thrace–Eastern Rumeia], released in 1993 (Cömert 2015, 552).

<sup>1015</sup> Markos Ph. Dragoumēs, *Aiginēs mousikē periēgēsis* (Athens: Philoi Mousikou Laographikou Archeiou, 2008), 285–86.

<sup>1016</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.15

<sup>1017</sup> Unfortunately, the original source could not be consulted for this study.

<sup>1018</sup> This topic was also processed in other realms of literature, such as in the work *Hē zōe en taphō* (1924) [Living in the Tomb] by Stratis Myrivilis. His book depicts the horrors of the Balkan Wars from the perspective of the first-person narrator. The misery in which the soldiers lived while they waited in the trenches, and in con-

What is probably the earliest Turkish recording of the “Gallipoli Song” was performed by İbrâhîm Efendi and seems to date back to the early 1920s.<sup>1019</sup> He performed the title “Çanakkale içinde” [In Çanakkale] in makâm uşşâk for Orfeon Records (no. 12751).<sup>1020</sup> He was accompanied by kânûn, oud, clarinet, and violin. This version includes many of the generally known Turkish lyrics with a few additions.<sup>1021</sup> Different to the Greek versions, İbrâhîm Efendi performed five stanzas in three blocks in total. The first block consists of stzs. 1–2, the second block of stzs. 3–4, and the third block of stz. 5 only. In this recording, the structure of the piece was slightly changed. Stzs. 2 and 4 have the same lyrics and therefore serve as a refrain that separates the blocks from each other. The refrain which would have been stz. 6 was, however, omitted from the third block. The piece ends after stz. 5 with a short instrumental coda. Stz. 3 stands out, for it breaks with the poetic symmetry by employing one incomplete distich. Usually, the distiches are highlighted by the same rhyme, which in stz. 3 is different. It seems that only v1 of the distich was performed, whereas v2, which should have ended with a word that would rhyme with “diken” [thorn], was omitted. Instead, another distich was added, which ends with the words “çarşı” [city] and “karşı” [towards]. This asymmetry probably derives from a miscalculation of the recording time. In stz. 3, v1, it probably turned out that the entire lyrics would not have fit the short recording time. Thus, the performer passed directly to the next stanza after v1. This would also explain why the symmetrical structure “Stanza-Refrain-Interlude” could not be accomplished after stz. 5. This assumption is also supported by the missing *taksîm*<sup>1022</sup> towards the end of the piece, which was prominent in the popular style of recordings in the Ottoman-Greek performances. This recording is a more popular *alaturca*-style performance, simple and with traditional instruments.

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stant fear of death in a senseless war, questions all notions of manhood and heroism. The book also gives some examples of cultural exchange between the enemy lines. While soldiers endured in the trenches, they also listened to the songs sung in the enemy trenches.

<sup>1019</sup> İbrâhîm Efendi was born in 1881 in Istanbul and is one of the most popular celebrities of the early twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. He learned music from Ziyâ Bey, Kemânî Aşkî, and Leylâ Hanım. The record labels refer to him as “Hanende İbrâhîm” [İbrâhîm the Singer]. He sang for Orfeon Records, where 50% of the recordings were made between him and his colleague Hafız Yaşar (Ünlü 2004, 188). İbrâhîm Efendi sang acclaimed songs of famous composers and musicians such as Bimen Şen and Ali Rifat Çağatay. His stage career began at the age of thirteen. At the age of eighteen, he started to sing for Odeon Records and continued for three years. In the following years, he also sang for other record companies. The thirty-two years in which he sang for record companies turned him into one of the most famous performers of his time (Niyazi 1933, 36).

<sup>1020</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.11 (d).

<sup>1021</sup> Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.16

<sup>1022</sup> *Taksîm* is a piece or musical section where the soloist improvises a melody. The melody is rhythmically free and focuses on the unfolding of the makâm.

### Revival of the “Gallipoli Song”

The “Gallipoli Song” was only one national song out of many that were dedicated to the Gallipoli Campaign. The above-mentioned sources showed, however, that the song continued to exist in the subsequent decades and circulated in other communities with continuously changing lyrics. The Turkish version became, as will be shown later, a “musical monument” to the Gallipoli Memorial. It is part of a specific memory culture that is made to be staged. It has a coded message for an addressee who is able to decode the message in its full context. Someone who is not familiar with this code would only listen to the tune, whereas those who are familiar with the code would read this song with the whole narrative that is attached to it. The “Gallipoli Song,” as it is contextualized today, was not, however, a spontaneous outcome of the national collective memory. It had fallen into collective oblivion and first had to be rediscovered in order to be reintroduced into national culture. The presentation of the “Gallipoli Song” in this new light fit the mindset and principles of the Republican era when folk song and culture became the most important carriers of national culture and, thus, of national identity. The “Gallipoli Song,” as a “first-hand residue” of World War I, became a “musical monument” that united the Turkish collective, and this was only feasible due to its recontextualization in a new narrative of reconciliation. This new narrative was carefully prepared, later ritualized, and implemented successfully, thanks to its international recognition among former conflict parties. Whereas the former Ottoman-Greek community developed this song as a popular song, in 1940s Turkey, it had to be revived and imbued with national meaning.

The “Gallipoli Song” entered the national corpus without drawing any public attention. In 1936, the National Ministry of Education carried out a survey of folk songs and folk dances with the help of the People’s Houses<sup>1023</sup> in sixty-seven provinces. Only one person sang the “Gallipoli Song” in Üsküdar. The performer stated that he had learned this song during World War I. In the same year, the Turkish musicologist Gazimihâl used the “Gallipoli Song” as a case study in his book.<sup>1024</sup> In 1937, Mustafa Salman, the instructor of the People’s House in the city of Balıkesir, indicated the city of Denizli as the place where he

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<sup>1023</sup> Üstel stated that in the year 1925, the “Cumhuriyet ve Halk Partisi” [Republican People’s Party] took control of the Turkish Hearths and planned to reorganize them and rename them “Halkevleri” [People’s Houses] (Üstel 1997, 223–25). The People’s Houses played an important role in both local and social life and in collecting, processing, and distributing activities to do with Turkish folk culture. As a successor of the Turkish Hearths, the People’s Houses introduced a new, European-centered lifestyle even in the provinces of Turkey. Founded on 19 February 1932, they also stimulated the study of folk culture and aimed to provide the people with more information about their national traditions. Once they had been founded, the number of People’s Houses increased rapidly. Each of the People’s Houses had its own journal, which helped to spread news and keep the audience up-to-date about upcoming events. The People’s Houses organized musical activities and entertainment events and provided a place where “modern” music and national folk songs could be performed on Western musical instruments and techniques. For further reading on the People’s Houses, see Saygun 1937, 1940; Balkılıç 2009.

<sup>1024</sup> Mahmut Ragıp Kösemihal. *Türk halk müziklerinin kökeni meselesi*. Vol. 8. Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları 3. İstanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1936, 46.

had recorded the “Gallipoli Song.”<sup>1025</sup> In 1945, the song was included in the music manual of the Village Institutes.<sup>1026</sup>

It was not until 1952 that the “Gallipoli Song” became known nationwide. It was included for the first time in the folk song collection *Yurttan sesler* [Voices of Homeland] by Muzaffer Sarısözen.<sup>1027</sup> The *Voices of Homeland* was also a radio program where folk songs of the different regions of Turkey were introduced and brought to the public.<sup>1028</sup> In 1983, almost twenty years after his death, his colleague İhsan Ozanoğlu (d. 1981) reported in an article about Sarısözen’s quest for the “Gallipoli Song.”<sup>1029</sup> Ozanoğlu wrote that he had written down the melody of the song from a woman living in the village of Verencik in Kastamonu, close to the Black Sea. According to him, at that time Sarısözen was looking for a song that dealt with the Dardanelles’ Campaign for a memorial event. Since Sarısözen was not successful in his quest, he asked Ozanoğlu, who then played and dictated the version he had collected.<sup>1030</sup> Given the fact that the song was unknown in Ankara, both concluded that the song had originated from Kastamonu where Ozanoğlu had recorded it.

It has already been mentioned how the Gallipoli Memorial gained importance during the 1940s and that for the first time, in 1952, a common commemoration ceremony with the former belligerent nations was held. It is possible that Sarısözen was tasked with finding a song that would have been suitable for this memorial event. The other information Ozanoğlu gave was essential for the records of TRT. The “Gallipoli Song” published by TRT in 1973 gave the same information that Ozanoğlu had stated.<sup>1031</sup> Sarısözen, who also or-

<sup>1025</sup> Mustafa Salman, ed., *Öz ses ve zevk kaynaklarımız*, Balıkesir Halkevi Yayınlarından 19 (Balıkesir: İl basımevi, 1937), 68.

<sup>1026</sup> Bedri Akalin, *Köy enstitülerinde müzik eğitimi kılavuzu* (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1945), 256. The remark above the notation shows that the song had been collected by some students. In 1940, Hasan-Ali Yücel, minister of education from 1938–1946, opened the so-called “Köy Enstitüleri” [Village Institutes], which he designed with the aim of improving the educational level in the villages (Çıkar 1997, 93). In this way, it was possible to spread the ideas of the Republican People’s Party on a larger geographic scale. The “Demokrat Partisi,” which came to power in 1946, abolished the Village Institutes.

<sup>1027</sup> Sarısözen, Muzaffer. *Yurttan sesler*. Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1952, 13. Muzaffer Sarısözen (1899–1963) was one of the most popular Turkish folk song performers and researchers of the twentieth century. At an early age, he had already come into contact with music and folk songs in his family. As a teenager, he had to serve in World War I at the Gallipoli front. After the war, he continued his musical career, studying at the conservatory. Sarısözen accompanied the first folk song research trips that were made in Turkey and came into contact with the most representative composers and musicologists of the early twentieth century. He became a popular figure as a performer and presenter of folk songs on radio and television. Sarısözen was the first to perform Turkish folk songs in unison with a choir, which after that became established as a common practice (Elçi 1997, 21–36). His anthology of folk songs in the volume *Voices of Homeland* was also intended to be used in school music education.

<sup>1028</sup> Turkish Radio and Television broadcast the program *Yurttan sesler* [Voices of Homeland]. Pieces from the various corners of the nation were performed by a special orchestra that was accompanied by a choir consisting of twenty-six men and women (Stokes 1992, 70).

<sup>1029</sup> İhsan Ozanoğlu, “Çanakkale Türküsü,” *Musiki mecmuası*, no. 389 (1982): 8–11.

<sup>1030</sup> For the original anecdote, see Cömert 2015, 89; Tan 2009, 72.

<sup>1031</sup> See Appendix A, Case Study 17.17.

ganized the radio program with the same title as his song anthology, contributed considerably to the dissemination of the song throughout Turkey. The “Gallipoli Song” was assigned the repertoire number 461 by the music office of TRT, which had defined the song’s origin clearly. The Black Sea region of “Kastamonu” is given as the place where the song was collected; Ozanoğlu is acknowledged as the provider of the melody, and Sarısözen the collector and editor.

In this way, the “Gallipoli Song” entered the national folk song corpus and, in effect, became an artifact of the Gallipoli Memorial. As a Turkish folk song, or “türkü,” that originated from the mouth of the people, it had the power to express the national sacrifice at the Dardanelles. Those who constructed the Gallipoli narrative broadened and elevated the song’s meaning to a national level. Within this narrative, the “Gallipoli Song” reinforced the authenticity of this version of history. The “Gallipoli Song” did indeed emerge and become famous during World War I. Its revival, however, followed a specific political agenda that defined the way the nation’s past should be remembered. The memorial contextualized the song in a narrative of national agony that had led to the birth of the new Turkish nation. It is probably no coincidence that none of the other Ottoman songs that had been composed to remember the victory at Gallipoli or mourn the fallen achieved the same national meaning as the “Gallipoli Song.” Most of them were even left to common oblivion. The “Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası,”<sup>1032</sup> for example, was written by the Sultan himself, and it was set to music by the new Mehter musicians. After the abolition of the Sultanate and Caliphate, it would not have been possible to use the former Sultans’ work for the new Republic. The “Gallipoli Song” was found to be the closest fit to the mindset of the Gallipoli Memorial that existed in the 1950s.

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<sup>1032</sup> See Appendix A, Case Study 17.1.



# 3

## Conclusion

The title of this dissertation alludes to the “forging” metaphor, which is probably an apt visual image to understand the idea of “national music.” Music served as raw material that was forged into the desired shape by human agency. Hence “national music” is not naturally inherent in the culture of the nation; it is “artificial” and “imagined,” as the nation itself is. However, the term is far more complex and has many various facets that have to be taken into consideration. As this study has shown, the term “national music” is versatile and has no established definition. Its notions change throughout time and adapt to dominant intellectual currents. Its definition is not final and may include or exclude elements according to contemporary esthetic requirements. This study has presented “national music” from a few different angles, both in the intellectual discourses and in the case studies. The Greek case studies showed that in the nineteenth century, harmonized Greek or German melodies were considered by some intellectuals to be “national music.” Some supporters of the harmonized Greek Orthodox church chant also seemed to conceive their new tetraphonic arrangements as a contribution to “national music,” although they were rejected later for being considered “unnational” or “foreign.” Other examples are the Greek commemorative songs dedicated to March 25, which followed the clear compositional rules of Western art music; and yet it would be odd not to consider them as Greek “national music.” At the beginning of the twentieth century, musicians of the New National School used folk songs as a source of inspiration for new compositions, which were considered “national music” as well. The same applies to folk songs and patriotic songs that were considered “national songs,” but it later turned out that they were sung to French melodies or also existed in neighboring countries. Sigalas’ volume *Anthology of National Songs* went so far as to even include hymns to the Ottoman Sultan and Muslim prayers, which he considered part of the Greek national repertoire. The songs in the Turkish case

studies were no exception. The “Sevastopol Song” and the “Gallipoli Song” changed their meaning according to political conflicts that were emerging. They were partly forgotten then revived and filled with new meaning that fit the political agenda of whomever was in power. Moreover, it turned out that both songs also existed in the Greek-speaking world. The definition of “national music” changed and followed contemporary global and local national ideologies. In the quest to define and shape ideas of a “national music,” Greece and Turkey followed different yet similar paths.

The most vital differences between the two nations result from the political and ideological conditions in the early nineteenth century, the impacts of which lasted until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The French Revolution and the spirit of the European Enlightenment had notable repercussions on Greece and the Ottoman Empire. Greece emerged as an independent nation-state from the Rumelian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It is impossible to consider Greek Independence without pondering the multiple, often mutual entanglements that derived from the revolutionary spirit that had expanded in all of Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. After the assassination of the first head of state, Kapodistrias, the succeeding emperors—King Otto of Bavaria and King George of Denmark—were all rulers of non-Greek origin. Hence, both contributed to the formation of the Greek state with their own cultural background and networks. During this period, many young Greeks were sent abroad to study at German, Austrian, French, English, and Italian universities. Additionally, the rise of archaeology and Byzantine studies intensified the ties between Europe and Greece. Greece was in contact with European economic centers, intellectual currents, and diaspora communities, which influenced the process of nation-state building. This new, crucial path that Greece followed was responsible for the major European influence in many musical realms, some of which were singled out in this study.

These included, for example, the Greek music debate, as well as the Greek school song anthologies of the latter nineteenth century. The Greek music debate started much earlier in Greece than the Turkish music debate did in the Ottoman Empire. This was due to the established network of societies and printing houses that the Greeks already had. Whereas the debates among the various interest groups were in full progress in the Greek-speaking world, on the Turkish side, comparable debates were found only at the end of the nineteenth century. One likely reason was the missing infrastructure whereby intellectuals could have come into contact to exchange ideas. This may now give the impression that Ottoman musicians were cut off from the latest debates about the synthesis of Western European and “Oriental music,” which, however, was not the case. The Ottomans did indeed follow the latest discussions on harmonizing “Oriental music,” as Guatelli’s scores have shown. It is likely that this group of progressive musicians that were able to follow international debates was probably smaller but expanded at the beginning of the twentieth century. The arguments regarding national music that were discussed in the journals at the beginning of the twentieth century sometimes referred to articles that had been published thirty years before.

Another crucial difference between the two nations was the use of school song an-

thologies. Greek school song anthologies followed European models, as can be seen in the volumes of Tantalidēs, Maltos, and Sakellaridēs. The methodological concept of these song anthologies followed those of the German-speaking pedagogical currents. This became evident not only in the methodological description but also in the numerous borrowed German melodies that were underlaid with new Greek lyrics. Remarkably, the same also applied to patriotic songs. In the latter nineteenth century, it was seemingly unproblematic to transfer and recontextualize, for example, songs from a specific German political and national context to Greek school songs. Although the songs' contents were changed, the Greek lyrics adopted their patriotic undertone. The lyrics were, however, not randomly set to the foreign melodies, but the meter and rhyme scheme normally fit the song's musical organization and structure, as has been demonstrated in the piece "The Young Soldier." This practice could only be observed in the Greek, and not in the Ottoman, case. Neither songs nor melodies adopted from the German student anthologies could be found, nor, seemingly, were any school song anthologies published in the nineteenth century. This was probably due to the political situation under Abdulhamid II and the lack of suitable personnel with the know-how to design school song anthologies. In contrast, Greece had a Bavarian emperor whose musicians transferred their musical knowledge and culture to Greece. The relationship between Greek and Bavarian musicians showed that there was an exchange that even endured the reign of King Otto. The Ottomans had also initiated a westernization program, but the emperor was no foreigner but remained the Sultan himself. In other words, the official cultural, religious, and political orientation did not significantly change. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Ottomans "skipped" this period when European melodies were included in school song anthologies. Besides, many of the Greek patriotic songs, such as those of Methfessel, derived from the 1848 Revolution, which the Ottomans surely rejected. This changed only when Abdulhamid II was dethroned, and the Second Constitution passed. Unfortunately, this period coincided with a great deal of political, ideological, and socio-cultural tumult. Although there was a brief comeback of Ottomanism, the loss of the Balkan territories destabilized the confidence of the various ethnic groups and strengthened the Turkist movement, which under the Young Turks' government had a major influence on the realm of education. The accelerating disintegration of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century led to a high degree of social militarization. Militaristic mentality and highly nationalist ideology entered the school song anthologies, instilling resentment and poisoning the minds of young children who in later years were sent to war. However, similar to Greece, the invention of school songs was not genuinely Turkish: its idea had been adopted from German models, and youth organizations were modelled with the cooperation of German military officers. Although the Ottomans did not borrow any German melodies, they did adopt the principles of school music education, filling the songs with national Ottoman, cultural, and musical language that the students were familiar with.

Another interesting phenomenon observed in this study was the further parallels in the way the two nations positioned themselves in the national music debates. Although the content of the music debate was different and controversial in both nations, the organ-

ization of the debate and the questions that were raised were the same. A probable reason for this is that both nations developed a new understanding of their music and conceived and measured it in national terms. This national viewpoint did not derive from the authors themselves nor from their musical or esthetic tradition. It was a result of European knowledge transfer, of Western scholarship, and of the Greeks' and Ottomans' self-positioning within the identity discourse, which automatically defined the "self" and the "other(s)." On the one hand, both nations aspired to mime and copy, to adopt and assimilate Western European models in many cultural, economic, and scholarly fields. Both nations sought to belong to the "civilized nations" and to follow the steps of what had been considered to represent progress, enlightenment, and civilization. On the other hand, this assimilation came at a high price. Firstly, it was necessary to give up, to a certain extent, what both nations considered their "own" culture, for it was harshly criticized and rejected by the European intellectuals with an orientalist stance. This triggered reactionary tendencies among the intellectuals of both nations.

As the chapters on the music debates have shown, the most striking similarity in the national debates was the trigger that, in both cases, derived from the orientalist and deprecatory standpoint of leading European musicians, musicologists, and travelers and from their attitude towards "Oriental music." The supporters of traditional music in both nations tended to argue constantly from a defensive position and, hence, in reaction to the claims of persons such as Fallmerayer, Hatherly, and Bourgault-Ducoudray. At the beginning of the twentieth century, both Greek and Turkish musicologists discredited the deprecatory claims of foreign researchers and reinforced the superiority of "Oriental music," highlighting its rich tonal inventory. This complex field of tension, between belonging to European civilization and yet not being forced to give up their "own national elements," remained a controversial topic that lasted throughout the twentieth century.

National identity becomes manifest in a sense of belonging and not belonging to a nation. This tendency of the "self" and "other" could also be observed in the nomenclature that writers often used to differentiate the music of the "self" and of the "other." The increasing influence of Western music in public life impacted the perception of the different music cultures that co-existed. Intellectuals of non-European nations could not speak simply of a "music" in general terms but had to determine a terminology that would differentiate the "self" from the "other." What was for Greeks and Turks their "self" was likewise called "Oriental music" by Western European intellectuals. Turks and Greeks, however, created their own terminology to distinguish the "self" national from the foreign "other." Debates in the Greek language, for example, used terms such as "kath' ēmas mousikē" [our music] or "ethnikē mousikē" [national music] to separate their "own" from Western music. Some Greeks referred to European music as "phrangoi" [Frankish] or "Music of the Franks," which had pejorative connotations.<sup>1033</sup> Another term that was used in this context was simply "italikē" [Italian] or "evropaikē mousikē" [European music], which insin-

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<sup>1033</sup> Cf. Philopoulos, *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyphōnikē ekklēsiastikē mousikē*, 68.

uated that Greeks did not always conceive themselves as Europeans. To differentiate their music from other Middle Eastern nations, they also used specific words such as “asiatikē” [Asiatic] or “aravopersikē” [Arabo-Persian], both of which were coined to differentiate the “self” from, for example, Ottoman music.

Similar tendencies could also be observed in the Ottoman debates on music. Although the Ottoman debates used the similar term “frenk” [Frankish] to refer to Western music, they mostly Turkified Italian expressions in the debates using “alaturca” or “alafranga.” By doing so, they distinguished between makâm-based music and Western diatonic, harmonized, and polyphonic music. The terminology that Greek and Turkish reformists likewise used to criticize their respective native music was adopted from the debates of Western intellectuals, and their terminologies shared similarities. Both described their music with attributes such as “monotone,” “backward,” “nasal,” “sick,” “barbaric,” “melancholic,” and “effeminate.” This analysis shows that the idea of the “self” and the “other” were constructed. The terminology that both nations used to refer to Western music and “Oriental music” were similar. However, when they had to refer to the “self” and the neighboring “other,” the terminology had to be refined within the realm of “Oriental music” in order to specify the differences between the musical similarities of the “self” and the “other.” These differences were ignored in the West.

For both Turkey and Greece, Western music was never seen as a potential threat which could challenge the origins of the national music culture. Their “own” music culture was seen as the cradle from which European music had developed. This differed, however, between Greece and Turkey. The similarities in the music theory and system of “Oriental music” initiated a challenge where both nations fought for ownership of the origins of their music. This was mainly achieved by appropriating the music culture and history of the other. The national reading of music history reduced the value of traditional music to its origins. In accordance with the ideology of its time, national music had to be genuinely “Greek” or “Turkish,” respectively, in order to be considered national or representative and worthy of protection. In Greece, Greek Orthodox church music has been seen as the most authoritative music to represent the Byzantine heritage from the medieval period until today. Thus, since the second half of the nineteenth century, this music has been called “Byzantine music”—a term that not only refers to the music that was played in the Byzantine Empire but also suggests that the music of that time is identical to that of today. The Turkish case was less successful in this regard. The cultural revolution in the Turkish Republic showed that the key stakeholders were not moderate conservatives, such as Rauf Yekta, but revolutionary reformists. The Kemalist policies put an end to Ottoman music culture since it was considered to be music of foreign origin and hence non-national. For forty years, a handful of Turkish musicologists opposed this stance and tried to convince the public of the national importance of Ottoman music. Arel’s essay served as one example that aimed to legitimize Ottoman music as genuinely Turkish in order to restore its reputation. Appropriation of the music culture was also key to validating nationalist argumentation to convince the public that Turkish music was not foreign—as had been claimed by the Kemalist thinkers—but of Turkish national origin.

The discussions around Greek and Ottoman music centered around the question of the legitimacy of their respective traditional music. As a reaction to the claims of foreign researchers that cast doubt on cultural continuity, it became vital to “prove” in a scholarly way the music’s national origin, and that it had not been influenced by foreign cultures through the centuries. In some cases, the roots of the national music were located in the pre-Christian age. However, it is a remarkable parallel that both nations located the first vestiges of their national music in the early medieval period. The late nineteenth-century articles and music historiographies put forth the thesis that Greek ecclesiastical music had originated from John of Damascus, who is regarded as the father of Greek Orthodox church music. During the same period, Turkish musicologists such as Rauf Yekta related the origins of Turkish music to names such as al-Fârâbî and other Persian-speaking intellectuals who lived in various places in central Asia and were therefore considered Turks.

Another important “setback” in the national music debate in Turkey concerned the field of musical literacy. Although at first sight, this topic seems to be irrelevant, a closer look and comparison reveals that it had turned out to be an obstacle in the Turkish case. The lack of a “national” Turkish music notation complicated the ability to bring forth arguments for Turkish cultural continuity. Whereas the Orthodox Greeks could look back at a musical heritage that had been handed down in a variety of neume notations, Ottoman music remained a musical culture that, until the middle of the nineteenth century, had been transmitting the music mainly orally. The Ottoman Greeks and Armenians reformed their notation in the light of the nineteenth-century Enlightenment movement and disseminated it among their communities. In the Ottoman case, there were only a few examples where an alphabet notation was used, such as in music treatises that had the purpose of exemplifying music theory. Besides the fact that many of these treatises were attributed to Persian or Arabic authors, the alphabet notation was never intended as a medium to conserve or perform a corpus of music. Furthermore, Ottoman musicians in nineteenth-century Istanbul started using staff notation. The (Armenian) Hampartsum notation had no national significance in Yekta’s eyes. His attempts to revive an old alphabet notation did not bear fruit. In the twentieth century, staff notation, with its extended repertoire of accidentals, became the only accepted way to notate down Ottoman music. Yekta’s understanding of musical notation as an element of national culture derived from a national reading of music history. It is likely that progress and modernity in the field of music during the Tanzimat era were probably also linked to musical notation. The abolition of the Janissary band and the beginning of a European-style military band, as well as the introduction of staff notation, were considered new and modern achievements. Additionally, the early Ottoman printed music sources that were not in Chrysanthine notation were in staff notation. Ottoman popular and secular music being printed in staff notation might have been a sign of progress that also made the national music accessible to an international audience. It is therefore possible to conclude that the idea of an “Ottoman national notation” is quite a late phenomenon, especially because Ottoman musicians for a long time rejected the idea of using any notation and insisted on passing on their reper-

toire via oral transmission. Whereas this impressive and relatively stable means of musical transmission had endured throughout the centuries via oral culture, in the fin-de-siècle the lack of musical notation, which had been alien to Ottoman music, caused Yekta great dismay.

This study has also observed some interesting parallels and differences in regard to patriotic songs. One important parallel that stood out in the comparative perspective was the subject matter of the songs. The patriotic songs of both nations drew on the same elements to reinforce national sentiment. These songs can be roughly subcategorized into songs that praise the nation and its virtues (“Love for the Homeland”) and soldiers’ songs (e.g. “National March” by İhsân Hanım), with both subcategories being made to incite strong feelings of national sentiment. Creating the “other” and demonizing it was an efficient way to draw a clear line between the “self” and the “other.” The image presented of the “self” was in line with national virtues that were the same in both cases, such as loyalty to the emperor, manhood, martyrdom, love for the nation, revenge, justice, and trust in God. Additionally, farewell songs that dealt with the separation of the soldier to fight at the front were also presented in both “The Young Soldier” and “Ey gâzîler.” Another interesting element was the oath, which was especially and extensively used in the Greek case. Christianity was an important driving force in the Greek national narrative, therefore the “oath on the cross” highlighted the Christian virtues of the God-given national mission. In the Ottoman case, the “oath” in patriotic songs usually did not have any religious connotations.<sup>1034</sup> Other important key words in the context of Greek patriotic songs were “slavery” and “freedom” from “tyranny,” which in the Ottoman-Turkish context are absent. The above-mentioned topics are also evident in the patriotic songs that emerged in the context of the revolution in Germany and France. Such topics as the noble brigands that found their Greek equivalent in the figure of the Klepht, or the righteous battle against tyrannical rule, were borrowed from the literature of European revolutions. This study pointed to the cultural entanglements of Greek poets who had spent time abroad in Germany or collaborated with Bavarian musicians in Nafplio and Athens. In Europe, the battle songs belonged to the standard repertoire of patriotic songs and it is likely that Greek and Ottoman lyricists likewise borrowed—intentionally or unintentionally—elements and other features from the European “revolutionary literature,” adapting them to the respective socio-cultural context.

Not only features of the “revolutionary literature” but also features of the music were transferred from European to the respective Greek and Turkish contexts. Whereas in the Greek case the principles were adopted one-to-one in the 1870s, in the twentieth century, both nations tended to translate the methodological principles into the native, popular musical language. In musical terms, these principles were, for example, simplicity of the melody as well as symmetries that not only shaped the song’s structure but also created the symmetrical relationship between melody and lyrics. Most of the songs had rhyme

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<sup>1034</sup> See, for example, “Ordumuz etti yemin” [Our Army Took an Oath] with lyrics by Mehmed Celaleddin in İkbâl Kütüphanesi sâhibi Hüseyin, *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*, 37.

schemes and meter, which further facilitated memorizing the songs. Another noteworthy point was the use of popular music elements in the rhythmic disposition of the piece as well as in tonality. Except for the “Emperor’s March,” the Ottoman school songs showed features typical of popular music. They had makâm-based melodies and were composed on the simple and popular rhythmic pattern of the *usûl düyek*. These popular features, with which Ottoman children were familiar, facilitated access and, hence, made the songs easier to learn.

In this context, it is necessary to refer to the Boy Scout associations that were established and used in both nations for nationalist aspirations during the same years, from 1909–1920. The numerous military confrontations that Greece and the Ottoman Empire engaged in with different nations led to a governmental crisis. During the governance of the Young Turks on the east side of the Aegean and Venizelos on the west side of the Aegean, the societies underwent a process of militarization. This process was further reinforced by the irredentist ideology of the Greeks and Turks which inevitably led to even more military conflicts. Hence, children—among them many orphans—were trained in a soldierly manner in Boy Scout associations that prepared them for the front. The Turkish “Boy Scout’s March” reinforced hatred for and revenge against the “other” and accentuated martyrdom for the sake of the nation. The march used group dynamics which additionally reinforced the national group identity of the “small soldiers.” Feelings of revenge and glorification of war in the light of the “Great Idea” could also be observed in the lyrics of Greek school songs. The lyrics of the Greek “Boy Scouts’ March” gave revealing insights into the nationalist values that children were exposed to. To grasp the Greek Boy Scout songs and activities in more detail, a thorough musical analysis of the march “Be Prepared!” is still pending. Greek and Ottoman children during this period were not only victims of a militarized ideology that was ready to sacrifice the nation’s offspring; they were turned into agents that were directly or indirectly involved in total war.

The power of music was also used to accompany and reinforce the evocative functions of commemorative ceremonies. Unlike immobile monuments that were raised to commemorate specific persons or events, music was able to spread and recall a predefined historical context even if performed in a distant place. The “Gallipoli Song,” which starts with a leap of a seventh and has the ambitus of a ninth within the first two measures, is certainly not a melodic line that can be found easily—if at all—in European folk songs. In the Turkish context, however, although the folk song gained importance only in the early 1920s, in the 1950s it had already become a symbol of the Gallipoli Memorial. Although the “Gallipoli Song” had probably started as a folk song, it became an element of a memorial culture into which it was purposely inserted. It was an artifact that supported the Turkish narrative about the Gallipoli Campaign. The commemorative ceremony has ritualized a specific, determined narrative that has been accepted in the collective remembering. The “Gallipoli Song” is treated as a “survivor” of the campaign, an event so unique and horrible that the entire nation dedicated a commemorative site to it. This gave the “Gallipoli Song” a special position within the corpus of Turkish folk songs. The song was, in a way, appropriated and recontextualized as a part of the Turkish Gallipoli narrative. This case study

showed that the remembered past in the context of Gallipoli had been not just one but multiple narratives of the same story. Since the process of change is inherent in the folk song and the popular song, it was not surprising to find the melody of the “Gallipoli Song” in other neighboring nations. This example showed that if the song’s melody is popular and accepted by the audience, no national borders can stop it from being passed on. Hence, the numerous recordings of the same melody in Greek and Ottoman-Greek recordings proved that the “Gallipoli Song” was not the sole survivor from the days of World War I and that many other versions existed in other musical contexts. The idea that the “Gallipoli Song” was a “national song” assumed that it drew on a national topic. The same could also be proven in the case of the “Sevastopol Song.” The sources showed that the song was known in various Ottoman communities, starting with the Ottoman-Greek, Ottoman-Armenian, and also Ottoman-Turkish communities. In Keiveleş’ song anthology, it had started as a comparatively innocent song. The fact that it later became a national song is due to the fact that it was revived and recontextualized every time the Ottoman state was in danger of going to war with Russia. The comparison of the different primary sources has shown how the song’s content was gradually modified and loaded with nationalist content to such an extent that the earliest version seemed alien compared to the later ones. The career of the “Sevastopol Song” is paradigmatic of how songs with apparently national content are contextualized and recontextualized according to the contemporary dominating ideology. This also explains why the song changed genres from “şarkı” [common secular vocal song] to “marş” [march] and, similar to the “Gallipoli Song,” eventually became a “türkü” [Turkish folk song] in the era of the Turkish Republic. Even if it started as a song of a hopeless war, the later versions of the song are full of nationalistic hubris. The song’s metamorphosis was not a natural process but a result of intentional modifications that resulted from times of war.

Since this study has concentrated on music and national identity “only” in Greece and Ottoman Turkey, it would be relevant to know how other Balkan nations with similar musical traditions dealt with this issue. In fact, Greece had a privileged position in Europe because entire philhellene movements supported the idea of Greece and Greek independence. The same did not apply, for example, to other Balkan nations such as Serbia or Bulgaria. How were the national music of other Balkan nations defined compared with other bordering nations? How did they react to the approaches of Western intellectuals, and how did they justify and legitimize their native music as being genuinely national in comparison to other Balkan nations? On what milestones was the national narrative based, and how was music contextualized in relation to the Ottoman or Greek musical heritage? How did they position themselves in the debate on “Oriental music”? How did they construct the narrative to present their music as genuinely national and as different from the neighboring “others”?

This research has studied national tendencies in Greek and Turkish school song anthologies up to the outbreak of World War I. The twentieth century had, and the twenty-first century will have, their own ideological currents as well as esthetical and pedagogical tendencies. It is very likely that, in one way or the other, these changes in the notions

of national identity will also be reflected and expressed in music. National identities are not unchangeable as they suggest; they are in a continuous process of “re-identification” and adaption to global ideas and events. In the future, will national music also perpetuate forming imagined (national) communities, or will it develop notions that will emerge due to contact with more global processes and movements?

# Appendix A: Case Studies

## 1 “Ho nearos stratiōtēs” [The Young Soldier]

### Ho nearos stratiōtēs [The Young Soldier]

Lyrics: Angelos Vlachos  
(1838–1920)

Melody: Alb. Methfessel  
(1785–1869)

Metriōs  
[Medium speed]

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has five measures, and the second system has five measures. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. There are several performance markings: a downward arrow above the first measure of the first system, a '4' above the fourth measure of the first system, a downward arrow above the fifth measure of the first system, a downward arrow above the second measure of the second system, an '8' above the eighth measure of the second system, and a downward arrow above the ninth measure of the second system. The lyrics are: v1. Dos mou, mē-te - ra, mian ev - chē, v2. k'e - la na se phi - lē - sō v3. mi - sev - ō av - ri - o ta - chy v4. kai paō na po - le - mē - sō.

Case Study 1.1 “Ho nearos stratiōtēs” according to Tantalidēs (1880, 53).

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Case Study 1.2 Excerpt from Methfessel’s “Deutsches Weihelied” in “Allgemeines Commers- und Liederbuch” (1823, 156).

Stz.	Ver.	Greek	English
1	1	Dos mou, mētera, mian evchē,	Give me, mother, a blessing
	2	K’ela na se philēsō	And come, let me kiss you
	3	Misevō avrio tachy	Tomorrow, I leave early
	4	Kai paō na polemesō.	And go to fight.
2	1	Tha pame ola ta paidia,	All the men together, we will go,
	2	Ola me mia elpida,	All with one hope,
	3	Giat’echom’ola mia kardia	Because all of us have one heart
	4	Kai ola mia patrida.	And all one fatherland.
3	1	Phertou patera to spathi,	Bring it, father, the sword,
	2	Pou kremet’ekai panō,	That is hanging over there,
	3	Hē mesē mou na to zōsthē,	It shall be tied around my waist,
	4	Mazē tou na pethanō.	Together with it, I shall die.
4	1	Mē klais kai me krateis sphichto	Do not cry, and hold me tight
	2	Eis tēn glykeia s’aggalē	In your sweet embrace
	3	Ein hē evchē sou phylachto,	Your blessing is my talisman,
	4	Kai tha[']rthō pisō pali.	And I will come back again.

Case Study 1.3 Lyrics of “Ho nearos stratiōtēs” according to the Tantalidēs (1880, 53).

**Ὁ νεαρός μαθητής.**  
Ἦχος Βου. Ῥυθμὸς 2/4

38

Μη τε ε ρα δος μου μια α α ευ χη κ κ'ε  
λα να σε φι λη σω θη θα πα α γω α αυ ρι  
ο ο ον τα χυ θη τρε χα το στο σχο λαι ει ο

Case Study 1.4 Excerpt from the piece “Ho nearos mathētēs” in Ek Madytinós (1897, 3:33–34).

## Ho nearos mathētēs

[The Young Student]

v1. Mē - te - e - ra dos mou mia - a - a ev - chē v2. k'e - la - na se phi -

11

lē - sō v3. tha pa - a - gō a - av - ri - o - o -

18

on ta - chy v4. tre - cha - to sto scho - lei - ei - o

Case Study 1.5 Melody of the song “Ho nearos mathētēs” according to Ek Madytinós (1897, 3:33–34). I would like to thank Evangelia Chaldæaki for revising my transcription from Chrysanthine to staff notation.

Stz.	Ver.	Greek	English
1	1	Mētera dos mou mia evchē	Give me, mother, a blessing
	2	K'ela na se philēsō	And come, let me kiss you
	3	Tha pagō avrion tachy	Tomorrow, I leave early
	4	Trechato sto scholeio.	And run to school.
2	1	Tha pame ola ta paidia	All the children together, we will go
	2	Me mian epithymian	All with one wish
	3	Diat'echom' ola mia kardia	Because all of us have one heart
	4	Thermēn eis ta vivlia.	That strives for books.
3	1	Phere mou mana ta chartia	Bring me, mother, the papers,
	2	Pou eine ekei panō	That are over there
	3	Phere kai ta vivlia	Also bring my books
	4	Mou na katsō na diavasō.	That I can sit down and study.
4	1	Ti klais kai me krateis sphichta,	Do not cry and hold me tight,
	2	Eis tēn glykeia s'agkalē	In your sweet embrace
	3	Tha mathō grammata polla,	I will learn many letters,
	4	[tha] geinō pallēkari.	And will become a man.

Case Study 1.6 Lyrics of “Ho nearos mathētēs” according to the Ek Madytinou (1897, 3:33–34).

## 2 “Ymnos vasilikos” [Emperor’s Hymn]

**ΥΜΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ.**

12 IOS. HAYDN

*Μετρίως.*

Εἰς τὸν Ἄ-να-κτὰ του χαί-ρων κύ-κλι-ος χο-ρὸς πλη-ροῖ Εἶν' αὐ-  
 Ὁ-φει-λό-με-νον παι-ᾶ-να δό-τε πά-ρο-δον φρου-ροί.

Case Study 2.1 First line of the “Emperor’s Hymn” according to Tantalidēs (1876, Part II, 28–29).

## Ύμνος βασιλικός

[Emperor's Hymn]

Joseph Haydn  
(1732–1809)

Μετριῶς.  
[Medium speed]

v1. Eis ton A - na - kta tou chai - rōn ky - kli - os cho - ros plē - roi  
v2. O - pheī lo - me - non pai - a - na do - te pa - ro - don phrou - roi.

5

v3. Ein' av - tos\_ ho tōn cha - ri - tōn da - psi - lēs dia - no - mevs.

10

v4. Zē - tō kra - ksa - te sym - phō - nōs, zē - tō, zē - t' ho va - si - levs.

Case Study 2.2 “Ύμνος βασιλικός” according to Tantalidēs (1876, 28–29).

Stz.	Ver.	Greek	English
1	1	Eis ton Anakta tou chairōn kyklios choros plēroi	Full of joy, for the Emperor, dancing in a circle.
	2	Opheilomenon paiana dote parodon phrouroi	The guards shall sound the opening hymn
	3	Ein' avtos ho tōn charitōn dapsilēs dianamevs	It is he, the donor of favors and abundance.
	4	Zētō kraksate symphōnōs, zētō, zēt' ho Vasilevs.	Long live, rejoice together, long live the Emperor.
2	1	Ēpidōros prostatēs tōn laōn avtou patēr,	Bountiful protector and father of his peoples,
	2	Tēs kleinēs ēmōn patridos ek Theou tachtheis sōtēr,	From God-destined savior of our renowned homeland
	3	Paggenous evdaimonias avtourgos kai provolevs	The forger of prosperity of all the peoples
	4	Evlogēsth' ho ēgemōn mas! Zētō, zēt' ho Vasilevs.	Blessed be our Emperor! Long live, long live the Emperor.
3	1	Tōn patrōōn ēmōn klērōn outos erkos ochyron,	Solid wall of our paternal inheritance
	2	Tēs sophias, tēs thrēskeias, tōn scholōn tōn ierōn,	Of wisdom, of religion of holy schools.
	3	Tavta sōzōn kai kratynōn ōs ypertatos vravevs	He preserves and rules as the highest judge
	4	Aglaizet' en choreiais! Zētō, zēt' ho Vasilevs.	Pay [him] honor while dancing! Long live, long live the Emperor.
4	1	All', ō anaks tōn anaktōn eien panta prosphilē	But ruler of the rulers, may all be favorable,
	2	Tō megalō kai olviō ēmetērō Vasilei,	For our great and blessed Emperor
	3	Estō pantote k'en pasi tois endoksois aristevs.	Among the glorious, may he always be the best
	4	Zētō kydistos makraiōn, zētō, zēt' ho Vasilevs	Long live the glorious, long live, long live the Emperor.

**Case Study 2.3** Lyrics of the “Emperor’s Hymn” according to Tantalidēs (1876, 28–29)



## Hē agapē pros tēn patriδα

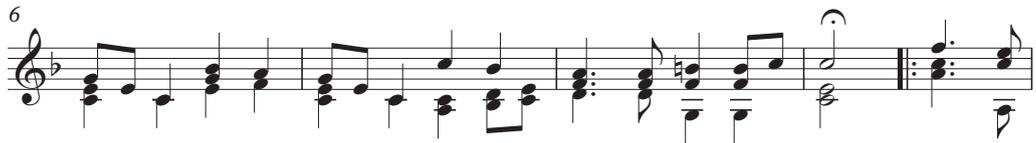
[Love for the Homeland]

Joseph Haydn  
(1732–1809)

Metriōs.  
[Medium speed]



v1. Na s'a-phē-sō loi-pon pre-pei, hō ge-ne-thli-os mou gē,  
v2. klai-on t'om-ma mou se vle-pei k'hē kar-di-a-mou al-gei. v3. Plēn, an



phēv-gō kai s'a-phi-nō, den pho-vou-mai, mē pho-vou! v4. te-knon



sou\_ pan-tou tha mei-nō kai [']sy\_ mē-tēr\_ mou pan-tou.

Case Study 2.6 “Love for the Homeland” according to Tantalidēs (1880, 43).

Stz.	Ver.	Greek	English
1	1	Na s'aphēsō loi-pon prepei, hō genethlios mou gē	Let me kiss you, earth on which I was born
	2	Klaion t'omma mou se vlepei k'hē kardia mou algei	Also, my eye cries that sees my heart suffering
	3	Plēn, an phev-gō kai s'aphinō den phovou-mai mē phovou!	When I go and leave you, I am not afraid, do not fear!
	4	Teknon sou pantou tha meinō kai [']sy mētēr mou pantou.	Your child I will stay, and you my mother everywhere.
2	1	Tōn oreōn sou hē thea oneiron mou tha genē	The view of your mountains will become my dream
	2	Kai parēgoros idea oi glavkoi sou ouranoi	And the image of your blue sky will comfort me
	3	Tēn psychēn mou tha thermainē tou ēliou sou to phōs	Your sun and light will warm my soul
	4	Kai hē mnēmē sou tha menē tēs charas mou hē trophos.	And your memory will be nourishment to my joy.

Case Study 2.7 Lyrics of “Love for the Homeland” according to Tantalidēs (1880, 43).

## 22. Ἀποχαιρετισμὸς πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα.

(Ἰ. Α. Βλάχου.)

Μέτριος. H. Wohlfahrt.

1. Νὰ σ' ἀ- φή- σω λοι- πὸν πρέ- πει, ὦ γε- νέ- θλι- ὅς μου γῆ- κλαί- ον τ' ὄμ- μα μου σὲ βλέ- πει  
2. Τῶν ἰ- ρέ- ων σου ἡ θέ- α ὤ- νει- ρὸν μου θά γε - νῆ, καὶ πα - ρή- γο- ρος ἰ- δέ - α

Case Study 2.8 Vlacho's poem "Farewell to the Homeland" adapted to Wohlfahrt's melody in Maltos (1887, 1:20).

## 3 "Ὅς pote pallēkaria" [Until When Young Men]

## Ὅς pote pallēkaria

[Until When Young Men]

Poet: Rēgas ho Pherraios

v1. Ὅς po - te pal - lē - ka - ria na zō - men sta\_\_vou - na\_\_ v2. Mo  
5  
na - choi san\_\_ lion - ta - ria stais ra - chais sta\_\_ ste - na

Case Study 3.1 Rēgas' "Thourios" according to Sigalas (1880, 33–34).

Stz.	Greek	English
1	<p>Ōs pote pallékaria na zōmen sta vouna</p> <p>Monachoi san liontaria stais rachais sta stena.</p>	<p>For how long, lads, shall we live in the mountains</p> <p>Alone, like lions, on crests and straits?</p>
2	<p>Spēliais na katoikoumen, na vlepōmen kladia</p> <p>Na phevγōme ton kosmon gia tēn pikrē sklavia.</p>	<p>To live inside caves, to see branches</p> <p>And leave from this world, all for the bitter slavery?</p>
3	<p>Na chanōme patrida, adelphia kai goneis,</p> <p>Tous philous, ta paidia mas ki'olous tous syggeneis</p>	<p>To lose homeland, brothers and parents,</p> <p>Friends, our children and all our relatives?</p>
4	<p>Kalētera mias ōras elevtherē zōē</p> <p>Para saranta chronous sklavia kai phylakē.</p>	<p>Better one hour of free life</p> <p>Then forty years of slavery and captivity.</p>
5	<p>Ti s'ōphelei na zēsēs kai na 'sai stēn sklavia</p> <p>Stochasou pōs se riptoun kath' ōran 's tē phōtia.</p>	<p>What sense does it make if you live but in slavery?</p> <p>Thinking about how they throw you into the flames.</p>
6	<p>Elate m'ēna zēlon eis touton ton kairon</p> <p>Na kamōm'ēnan orkon epanō ston stavron.</p>	<p>Come now, this time with ardor</p> <p>To take an oath upon the cross.</p>
7	<p>Na vallōme symvoulous me patriōtismōn</p> <p>Kai outoi na mas didoun eis ola orismon.</p>	<p>Let us appoint councilors patriotically</p> <p>And for us they shall determine everything.</p>
8	<p>Ho nomos na'nai prōtos kai monos odēgos</p> <p>Kai tēs patridos enas as ginē archēgos.</p>	<p>The law must be the first and only guide</p> <p>And only one leader for the country may be;</p>
9	<p>Giati hē anarchia moiazei tēn sklavia</p> <p>Na zōmen ōs thēria ein'pio sklērē phōtia.</p>	<p>Because anarchy resembles to slavery</p> <p>Living like beasts is the harshest fire.</p>
10	<p>Kai tote me tas cheiras psēla ston ouranon,</p> <p>As eipōm'ek kardias tavta pros ton Theon.</p>	<p>And then with the hands high into the sky,</p> <p>And from the heart let's speak to God.</p>
11	<p>Ō Vasilev tou kosmou orkizomai eis se,</p> <p>Stēn gnōmēn tou tyrannou na mēn elthō pote.</p>	<p>O Lord of the world, I take an oath to thee,</p> <p>With a tyrant's opinion never to agree.</p>
12	<p>Mēte na ton doulevsō mēte na planēthō</p> <p>Eis ta taksimata tou na mē paradothō.</p>	<p>Nor to work for them, not to be deceived</p> <p>And to their promises never to surrender.</p>
13	<p>En osō zō ston kosmon, ho monos mou skopos,</p> <p>Gia na ton aphanisō na ēnai statheros.</p>	<p>As long as I live in this world, my only aim,</p> <p>Firm it will be, to annihilate them all.</p>
14	<p>Pistos eis tēn patrida, syntrivō ton zygon,</p> <p>Achōristos tha ēmai apo ton archēgon.</p>	<p>Loyal to my country, I smash the yoke,</p> <p>Inseparable, I will stay next to the commander.</p>
15	<p>Kian paravō ton orkon as straps'ho ouranos</p> <p>Kai as me katakavsē na ginō san kapnos.</p>	<p>And if I break my oath, may there be lightning in the sky,</p> <p>And burn me that I become smoke!</p>

**Case Study 3.2** Lyrics to Rēgas' "Thourios" in Sigalas (1880, 33–34).

## Stichoi tines ek to thouriou tou Rēga

[The lyrics are from Rēgas' "Thourios"]

Metriōs  
[Medium speed]

A-section



v1. Kal - li - te - ra mias ō - ras e - lev - the - rē zō - ē v2. Pa -

B-section



ra sa - ra - nta chro - nia skla - via kai phy - la - kē v2. Pa -

C-section



la la la la la la la la la la la

### Case Study 3.3 Rēgas' "Thourios" according to Sakellaridēs (1882, 51–52).

Stz.	Greek	English
1	Kallitera mias ōras elevtherē zōē Para saranta chronia sklavia kai phylakē.	Better one hour of free life Then forty years of slavery and captivity.
2	Ti s'ōphelei na zēsēs kai eisai stē sklavia Stochasou pōs se psēnoun kath' stē phōtia.	What sense does it make if you live but in slavery, Thinking about how they throw you into the flames.
3	Douleveis olē'mera eis o,ti kai an se pē Ki'avtos paschizei palin to aima sou na piē.	You work the whole day, as you are told, Whereas it strives all of your blood to drink.
4	Elate m'ena zēlo se touton ton kairo Na kamōme ton orkon epanō sto stavro.	Come now this time with ardor To take the oath upon the cross.
5	Ō Vasilev tou kosmou orkizomai s'ese Stē gnōme tou tyrannou na mēn elthō pote.	O Lord of the world, I take an oath to thee, With a tyrant's opinion never to agree!

### Case Study 3.4 Lyrics of Rēgas' "Thourios" according to Sakellaridēs (1882, 51–52).

# Thourios tou Rēga

[Rēgas' "Thourios" ]

Gorgōs

[Swift]

A-section

9 stz.1/v1. Ōs po - te pal - lē - ka - ria ōs po - te - pal - lē - ka v1. ōs  
stz.2/v1. Spē - liais na ka - toi - kou - men, spē - liais na ka - toi - kou v1. spē

18 po - te pal - lē - ka - ria na zō - men sta ste - na v1. ōs po - te  
liais na ka - toi - kou - men na vle - pō - men kla - dia v1. spē - liais na

25 pal - lē - ka - ria na zō - men sta ste - na v2. mo - na - choi  
ka - toi - kou - men na vle - pō - men kla - dia v2. na phev - gōm' -

san lion - tar - gia stais ra - chais sta vou - na.  
ap' ton ko - smo gia tēn pi - krē skla - via.

Argōs

[Slow]

B-section

31 stz.3/v1. Ka - lē - te - ra mias ō - ras ka - lē - te - ra mias ō

35 v1. ka - lē - te - ra mias ō - ras e - lev - the - rē zō - ē v2. pa -

39 ra sa - ran - ta chro - nia pa - ra - sa - ran - ta chro v2. pa - ra sa - ran - ta

43 chro - nia skla - via kai phy - la - kē.

Case Study 3.5 Rēgas' "Thourios" according to Artemidēs (1905, 118–19).

Stz.	Greek	English
1	Ōs pote pallēkaria na zōmen sta stena Monachoi san liontargia stais rachais sta vouna.	For how long, lads, shall we live in caves alone, like the lions, on crests and mountains?
2	Spēliais na katoikoumen, na vlepōmen kladia Na phevγōm'ap'ton kosmo gia tēn pikrē sklavia.	To live inside the caves, seeing branches And leave from this world, all for the bitter sla- very
3	Kalētera mias ōras elevtherē zōē Para saranta chronia sklavia kai phylakē	Better one hour of free life Then forty years of slavery and captivity
4	Elate m'ena zēlo se touton ton kairon Na kamōmen ton orkon epanō sto stavron.	Come now, this time with ardor To take the oath upon the cross
5	Kai tote me tas cheiras psēla ston ourano, As poum'ap'tēn kardia mas avta pros ton Theon.	And then, with the hands high unto the sky, And from our heart let's speak to God.
6	Ō Vasilev tou kosmou! Orkizomai eis Se Stē gnome tou tyrannou na mēn elthō pote!	O Lord of the world, I take an oath to thee, With a tyrant's opinion never to agree!
7	En osō zō ston kosmo, ho monos mou sko- pos, Gia na ton aphanisō na ēne statheros!	As long as I live in this world, my only aim, Firm it will be, to annihilate them all.
8	Pistos eis tēn patrida, syntrivō ton zygon, Achōristos tha ēmai apo ton archēgon!	Loyal to my country, I smash the yoke, Inseparable, I will stay next to the commander.
9	Ki'an paravō ton orkon n'astraps' ho ouranos Kai na me katakavsē na geinō 'san kapnos!	And if I break my oath, may there be lightning in the sky, And burn me that I become smoke!

### Case Study 3.6 Lyrics of Rēgas' "Thourios" according to Artemidēs (1905, 118–19).

Stz.	Greek	English
1	Ōs pote palikaria, na zōmen sta vouna, Monachoi san thēria, stais rachais sta kladia?	For how long, lads, shall we spend our lives in caves Alone, like the beasts, on mountains and crests?
2	Spēliais na katoikoume, gia tēn pikrēn skla- via, Na phevγōm'ap'ton kosmon, na vlepōmen kladia?	To live inside caves, seeing branches and leaving this world, all for the bitter enchain- ment?
3	Na chanōmen adelphia, patridan kai goneis Tous philous ta paidia mas ki'avtous tous syggeneis?	To lose brothers and parents, country and friends, all our relatives and children as well?
4	Kallion mias ōras elevtherē zōē Para saranta chronous sklavia kai phylakē.	Living one hour of freedom is better Then living forty years in slavery and imprison- ment!

Stz.	Greek	English
5	Ti s'ōphelei an zēsēs kai eisai se sklavia? Stochasou pōs se psēnoun kath' ōran stēn phōtia.	What sense does it make if you live but you are in chains, Imagining/fearing how they throw you into the flames.
6	Vezyrēs, dragoumanos, avthentēs ki'an stathēs Ho tyrannos adikōs se kamnei na chathēs.	Vezier, Dragoman or Master if you be, The Tyrant unfairly will obliterate you.
7	Douleveis ol'ēmera eis o,ti ki'an se pē Ki'avtos paschizei palin to aima sou na piē.	You work the whole day, as you are told, But yet again he strives all of your blood to drink.
8	Ho Soutzos ki' ho Mourouzēs, Petrakēs, Skanavēs Gkikas kai Mavrogenēs, kathreptēs ein'na diēs.	Soutzos and Mourouzēs, Petrakēs, Scanavēs, Gikas and Mavrogenēs are a mirror for you to see.
9	Andreioi kapetanioi, pappades laikoi Skotōthēsan ki'agades me adikon spathi.	Gallant commanders, popular priests, And Aghas who were killed by the unjust sword.
10	Kai ametrēt'alloi tosoi, kai Tourkoi, kai Rōmioi Zōēn kai plouton chanoun, chōris kammi'aphormē.	And many others so great in number, both Turks and Greeks, lost their life and treasures without reason.
11	Elate m'enan zēlon eis touton ton kairon Na kanōmen ton orkon epanō ston stavron.	Come now, this time with ardor, To swear upon the cross;
12	Symvoulous prokammenous me patriōtismōn Na valōmen eis ola na didoun orismon.	Councilors hard-working with patriotism to settle, In order their instructions for everything to set;
13	Oi nomoi na n'ho prōtos kai monos odēgos Kai tēs patridos enas na genē archēgos.	The laws must be the prime and only guide And only one for the country the leader may be;
14	Giati ki'anarchia omoiazeti tēn sklavia Na zōmen san thēria ein'pio sklērē phōtia.	Because anarchy alone resembles slavery; Living like beasts is the harshest flame.
15	Kai tote me ta cheria psēla ston ouranon Na poum'ap'tēn kardia mas touta eis ton Theon. <i>Orkos</i>	And then, with hands to the sky And from the heart to God let's speak: <i>Here the patriots stand and raise their hands to the sky, and take the oath:</i>
16	Ō vasilev tou kosmou, orkizomai s'ese Stēn gnōmēn tōn tyrannōn na mēn elthō pote.	“O Lord of the world, I take an oath to thee, With a tyrant's opinion never to agree!
17	Mēte na tous doulevō, mēte na planēthō Eis ta taksimata tōn gia na paradothō.	Nor to work for them, never to be deceived And to their promises never to give in.
18	En oson zō ston kosmōn, ho monos mou skopos Gia na tous aphanisō na einai statheros.	As long as I live in this world, my only aim, Firm it will be, to annihilate them all.
19	Pistos eis tēn patrida, syntrivō ton zygon Achōristos na eimai apo ton stratēgon.	Loyal to my country, the yoke I smash, Inseparable I'll be from the general.

Stz.	Greek	English
20	An paravō ton orkon na'straps'ho ouranos Kai na me katakavsē na genō san kapnos. <i>Telos tou orkou</i>	My oath if I break, let there be thunder and lightning, And burn me to become smoke!" <i>End of the oath</i>
21	Anatolē, kai dysē, kai notos, kai voria Gia tēn patrida oloi na'chōmen mian kardia.	To the East and West, South and North For the homeland we should have only one heart.
22	Stēn pistin tou kathenas elevtheros na zē Stēn doksan tou polemou na trechōmen mazy.	Freely in his faith everyone must live, In glory of war together all must be.
23	Voulgaroi ki'Alvanitai, Armenoi kai Rōmioi, Arapēdes kai asproi me mian koinēn ormē,	Bulgarians, Albanians, Armenians and Romoi, Blacks and Whites all with the same momentum.
24	Gia tēn elevtherian na zōsōmen spathi, Pōs eimetha andreioi pantou na akousthē.	For freedom, the sword let us all gird And everyone should hear that brave we will be.
25	Os'ap'tēn tyrannian pēgan stēn ksenētia Ston topon tou kathenas tōra as elthē pia.	All those because of tyranny who went to foreign lands, Let everyone now return, back to his motherland;
26	Kai osoi tou polemou tēn technēn agroikoun Edō as treksoun oloi tyrannous na nikoun.	Everyone who knows how to fight a war, Let's all come back, the tyrants to overcome;
27	Hē Roumelē tous krazei m'agkalas anoiktas Tous didei vio kai topon, aksias kai timas.	Rumelia calls everyone, all with open arms, To give them back their fortune, their values and their land.
28	Ōs pot'ophhikialos eis ksenous vasileis? Ela na ginēs stylos dikes sou tēs phylēs.	For how long an officer, to foreign kings; Come back, become a pillar of your own kin.
29	Kallion gia tēn patrida kanenas na chathē, Ē na kremasē phounta, gia ksenon sto spathi.	It is better for someone to sacrifice himself for his country, Than to put tassels on his sword for a foreign monarch.
30	Kai osoi mas voēthēsoun den einai pia echthroī Adelphia mas tha ginoun as einai ki'ethnikoi.	And everyone who submitted, our enemy no more Our brothers will become, even if they are heat-hen.
31	Ma osoi tha tolmēsoun antikry na stathoun Ekeinoi ki'edikoi mas an einai as chathoun.	But everyone who dares to stand against us, Let them all perish, even if they are a part of us.
32	Souliōtai kai Maniōtai, liontaria kskakousta Ōs pote stais spēliais sas na ēsthe sphalista?	Souliots and Maniots, lions well known, How long in your caves with shut eyes will you sleep?
33	Mavrovouniou kaplania, Olympou stavraītoi, Ki'agraphōn ta ksyphteria genētai mia psychē.	Montenegro's tigers and Olympus cross-eagles, And Agrafa's falcons, one soul you shall be.
34	Andreioi Makedones ormēsete gia mia Kai aima tōn tyrannōn rousphēste san thēria.	Brave Macedonians pounce upon at once And suck the blood of tyrants like wild animals.

Stz.	Greek	English
35	Tou Savva kai Dounavou adelphia christianoï, Me t'armata sto cheri kath' enas as phanē.	From Saba and Danube, Christian brothers, With arms in hand, everyone show up;
36	To aimasas vrasē me dikaion thymon Mirkoi megal'omoste tyrannou ton chamon.	Let your blood boil in just anger; Great and small together, all for the tyrant's loss.
37	Leventes andreiōmenoi mavrothalassinoi Ho varvaros ōs pote thela sas tyragnei.	Brave men from the Black Sea Until when are Barbarians going to rule thee?
38	Mēn karterēte pleon anikētoi Lazoi Chōthēte sto bogazi m'emas k'eseis mazy.	Wait no more undefeatable Lazoi, Thrust into the channel along with us.
39	Delphinia tēs thalassēs, azderia tōn nēsion San astrapē chythēte, ktypate ton echtron.	Sea dolphins and islands' azdenia [Seasnakes] Cast like the glint, strike the enemy.
40	Tēs Krētēs kai tēs Ydras thalassina poulia Kairos ein'tēs patridos [n']akouste tēn lalia.	Seabirds of Crete and Hyrda, Its time to listen to the word of your country.
41	Ki' os'eiste stēn armada, san aksia paidia, Oi nomoi sas prostazoun na valete phōtia.	And all of you in the Armada, like fine lads, The law commands you to set the fire.
42	Me mas k'eseis Maltezoï, genēt'ena kormi Kata tēs tyrannidos chythēte me ormē.	Along with us, Maltese, one body let us become; Against the tyrants let us all make a dash.
43	Sas krazei hē Ellada, sas thelei sas ponei Zētei tēn syndromēn sas me mētrikēn phōnē.	Greece calls, she asks and feels for you And with a mother's voice is crying for your assistance.
44	Ti stekeis Pazvantzioglou toson ekstatikos? Teinaksou ston Mpalkani phōlias'ōs aetos.	Why Pasvatzoglu, are you so ecstatic there? Jump up into the Balkania and nest like an eagle.
45	Tous boupous kai korakous katholou mēn psēphas Me ton ragia enōsou an thelēs na nikas.	Ignore the eagle-owl and crows Unite with the slave if you want to win.
46	Smaili kai Mpraïla, Kermani kai Kyli, Penderi kai Chōtēni esena proskalei.	Silistra and Braila, Smaili and Kili, Benderi and Hotini, all invite you.
47	Stratevmata sou steile k'evthys se proskynoun Giati stēn tyrannia na zēsoun den mporoun.	Send your troops and they will submit, Because under tyranny it is impossible to live.
48	Gkiourtzē pia mēn koimasai sykōsou me ormē Ton Mprousia na moiasēs echeis tēn aphormēn	Gurtze [Georgia?], sleep no more, rise with fury Now you have the chance, like Brousia, to be seen.
49	K'esy pou sto Chalepi elevthera phroneis Pasia kairon mēn chanēs ston kampo na phanēs.	And you, pasha, at Haifa, thinking to be free Do not lose your time, appear in the field;
50	Me ta stratevmata sou evthys na sykōthēs Eis Poleōs phermania pote na mēn dothēs.	Rise at once, appear along with your troops, At Polis' commands never give in.
51	Tou Misiriu aslania gia prōtē sas douleia Dikon sas ena mpeē kamete vasilēa.	Lions from Misirion [Egypt] make it your first job, Find your own Bey and choose him for a king;

Stz.	Greek	English
52	Charatzi tēs Aigyptou stēn Pol'as mēn phanē Gia na psophēs'ho lykos opou sas tyragnei.	The poll-tax from Egypt to Poli [Istanbul] never reach, The vicious wolf that tyrannizes you may die.
53	Me mian kardian oloi, mian gnōmēn mian psyche Ktypate tou tyrannou tēn rizan na chathē.	But all with one soul, opinion and heart, Strike the tyrant's cradle and seize him to exist!
54	N'anapsōmen mian phlogan eis olēn tēn Tourkia Na treks'apo tēn Posnan eōs tēn arapia.	Let's all light a flame to all the Turkish world To light up from Bosnia to Arabia!
55	Psyla sta mpaïrakia sykōste ton stavron  Kai san astropolekia ktypate ton echthron.	Raise your flags and, high above, the cross will rise And beat the enemy like the thunderbolts!
56	Pote mēn stochasthēte pōs einai dynaton Avtos na sas nikēsē den einai voleton.	Never consider that he is strong, It is hard for him to beat you
57	Trakoisioi Ggirtzalēdes ton ekaman na diē Pōs den mporei me topia mprosta tous na stathē.	Three hundred braves made him see That he cannot with cannonballs beat them in the field.
58	Loipon giati argēte, ti stekesthe nekroi Ksynēsete mēn ēsthe enantioi [k']echthroï.	So why are you late and looking dead? Wake up, do not oppose, and be no enemy.
59	Pōs oi propatropes sas ormousan san thēria Gia tēn elevtherian pēdousan stēn phōtia?	As our forefathers fought like beasts For freedom from the fire bravely they leaped.
60	Etzi k'ēmeis adelphia n'arpaksōmen gia mia T'armata kai na vgoumen ap'tēn pikrēn sklā- via.	The same way, brothers, let us take for once The arms and break free from bitter slavery!
61	Na sphaksōmen tous lykous pou ton zygoun vastoun Kai christianous kai Tourkous sklēra tou ty- rannoun.	Slaughter the wolves and the yoke they keep vastoun And Christians and Turks they harshly domi- nate.
62	Sterias kai tou pelagou na lamsē ho stavros K'eis tēn dikaiosynēn na skipse ho echthros.	In land and sea, the Cross should shine, And in justice let the enemy bow down;
63	Ho kosmos na glytōsē'po tavgēn tēn plēgēn  Ki'elevthera na zōmen epanō eis tēn gēn.	And let the world be saved from plagues such as that And free to live in this land!

**Case Study 3.7** Rēgas' "Thourios" with most complete lyrics transliterated from Stathēs (1996, 279–85). Translation based on Karaberopoulos and Zervoulakos (2002, 152–65).

## 4 “Asma emvatērion” [Marching Song]

## Asma emvatērion

[Marching Song]

Lyrics: Theodōros Orphanidēs  
(1817–1886)

Melody: Viva Garibaldi e Libertà

A-section

v1. El-las e - gei - rou ōs pa-lai do-ksa - sme - nē v2. K'eis chei-ras

5  
dra- ksai\_ to do - ry to va - ry v3. Ōs chthes e - si - gas ne - kra kai pi-kra-

11  
me - nē v4. Di - o - ti an - dres\_ s'e - ne - pai-zon sklē - ra

B-section  
[Refrain]

16  
Zē-tō to e-thnos gen - nai\_ oi em-pros ei-te en me-sō klag - gēs kai py -

23  
ros ki'as pe - e - sē a - spai-rōn pas a - ge - nēs\_ ech-thros

28  
ki'as pe - e - sē a - spai - rōn pas a - ge - nēs\_ ech-thros

Case Study 4.1 “Marching Song” according to Sigalas (1880, 65–66). My transcription from Chrysanthine notation.

## 5 “Ho Klephtēs” [The Klepht]

## Ho Klephtēs

[The Klepht]

*Moderato con brio*

Canto

1. Mavr ein' hē ny - kta sta vou-na, stous vra-chous pe-phteī chio-ni.  
2. Sto de-ksi che - ri to gy-mno va - sta a - stro - pe - le - ki.

*Moderato con brio*

Piano

Sta a-gri-a sta sko-tei-na, stais tra-chais pet - rais sta ste-na ho kleph - tēs  
Pa - la-ti e-chei to vou-no, kai ske-pas-ma ton ou - ra - no, k'el - pi - da

9  
kse - spa - thō - nei, ho kleph - tēs kse - spa - thō - nei.  
to — tou - phe - ki, k'el - pi - da to — tou - phe - ki.

Case Study 5.1 “The Klepht” with melody of “Gaudeamus igitur,” according to Ragkavēs, in *Mousikē anthodesmē* [1876?], 1:106–7.

# Ho Klephtēs

[The Klepht]

Emvatērion  
[March]

A-section

v1. Mavr-'ein hē ny - chta sta vou - na v2. Stous vra - chous

6

pe - phtei\_ chio - ni, v3. Sta a - gri - a, sta\_

11

sko - tei - na v4. Stais\_ tra-chiais pe - trais\_ sta ste -

16

na, stais\_ tra-chiais pe - trais\_ sta ste - na v4. Ho

21

B-section

kleph-tēs kse-spa - thō-nei, kse-spa - thō - - nei v4. Ho

25

kleph - tēs kse - spa - thō - nei, kse - spa - thō - - nei.

Case Study 5.2 “The Klepht” with Seiler’s melody according to Artemidēs (1905, 83–84).

Stz.	Ver.	Greek	English
1	1	Mavr'ēin hē nychta sta vouna	Black is the night in the mountains
	2	Stous vrachous pephteī chioni,	Snow falls on the rocks
	3	Sta agria, sta skoteina	In the wild and in the dark
	4	Stais trachiais petrais sta stena	On the stony ridge of the mountains
	5	Ho kleptēs ksespathōnei.	The Klepht pulls the sword from the scabbard.
2	1	Sto deksi cheri tou gymno	In his bare right hand,
	2	Vasta astropeleki	He holds a thunderbolt
	3	Palati echei to vouno	The mountain is his palace
	4	Kai skepasma ton ourano	And the sky his blanket
	5	K'elpida to toupheki.	And the rifle hope.
3	1	Phevgoun oi tyrannoi chlōmoi	The pale tyrants run away
	2	To mavro tou machairi.	From the black of the knife
	3	M'idrōta vrechēi to psōmi	With sweat, he earns his living
	4	Kserei na zēsē me timē	He knows how to live with honor
	5	Kai n'apothanē kserei.	And he knows how to die.
4	1	Mētera klais anachōrō	Mother, are you crying? I am departing
	2	Na m'evchēthēs, gyrevō	I seek that you pray for me
	3	Ena paidi se ysterō.	One child less for you
	4	Omōs na zēsō den mporō,	But I cannot live,
	5	An zō gia na doulevō.	When I live for being a slave.
5	1	Mē klaite matia galana	Do not cry azure eyes,
	2	Phōstēres pou aresō	Shining eyes that I like
	3	To dakryon sas me plana	Your tear seduces me
	4	Elevtheros zō 'sta vouna	Free, I live in the mountains,
	5	K'elevtheros tha peso.	And free, I shall fall.

**Case Study 5.3** Lyrics of “The Klepht” according to Artemidēs (1905, 83–84).

Stz.	Greek	English
1	Mavr'ēn hē nykta sta vouna	Black is the night in the mountains
	Stous vrachous pephteī chioni	Snow falls on the rocks
	Sta agria sta skoteina	In the wild and in the dark
	Stais rachais petrais sta vouna	On the stony ridge of the mountains
	Ho kleptēs ksespathōnei.	The klepht pulls the sword from the scabbard.
2	Sto deksi cheri to gymno,	In the right bare hand,
	Vasta astropeleki	He holds a thunderbolt
	Palati echei to vouno	The mountain is his palace
	Kai skepasma ton ouranon	And the sky his blanket
	K'elpida to toupheki.	And the rifle hope.

Stz.	Greek	English
3	Phevgoun oi tyrannoi chlōmoi To mavro tou machairi, M'idrōta vrechei to psōmi 'Ksevrei na zēsē me timē Kai n'apothanē 'ksevrei.	The pale tyrants run away From his black knife With sweat, he earns his living He knows how to live with honor And he knows how to die.
4	Ton kosmon ho dolos dioikei K'hē adik' eimarmenē, Ta ploutē echoun oi kakoi Edō stous vrachous katoikei Hē aretē krymenē.	The world is led by deceit And the unjust destiny Evil owns the wealth Here in the rocks resides the hidden virtue.
5	Megaloi emporoi pōloun Ta ethnē 'san kopadia Tēn gēn prodidoun kai geloun Ed'omōs armata laloun St'apatēta lagkadia.	Great merchants sell The nations like flocks They betray the earth and laugh But here, weapons sing In the inaccessible valleys.
6	Pēgainē phila tēn podia Pou douloi proskynousi, Edō sta prasina kladia Mon'ta spathia tous, ta paidia Kai ton stavron philousi.	You can go and kiss the apron where slaves bow down. Here in the green branches The comrades only kiss their swords, their children and the cross.
7	Mētera klais? Anachōrō, Na m'evchēthēs gyrevō, Ena paidi se ysterō Omōs na zēsō den mporō An zō gia na doulevō.	Mother, are you crying? I am departing I ask that you pray for me One child less for you But I cannot live, When I live to be a slave.
8	Mē klaite matia galana Phōstēres pou aresō, Ta dakryon sas me plana Elevtheros zō 's ta vouna K'elevtheros tha pesō.	Do not cry, azure eyes, Shining eyes that I like Your tear seduces me Free, I live in the mountains, And free, I shall fall.
9	Varia varia voiz'hē gē, Ena toupheki pephteī, Pantou tromara kai sphagē, Edō phygē k'ekei plēgē Eskotōsan ton klephtē.	The earth roars heavily, A rifle fires Terror and slaughter everywhere Here retreat, and there swordstrokes The Klepht has been killed.
10	Syntrophoi askepoi pezoi Ton pheroun lypēmenoi, Kai tragōdoun oloi mazē Elevtheros ho klephtēs zē K'elevtheros pothainei.	Comrades fall uncovered They bring him sadly And all sing together "Free, the Klepht lives And free he dies."

Case Study 5.4 Lyrics of "The Klepht" according to Sigalas (1880, 48–49).

## 6 “San tē spitha” [Like the Spark]

## San tē spitha

[Like the spark]

Andreas Koutouvalēs  
(1808–1882)Spyridōn Ksyndas  
(d. 1896)

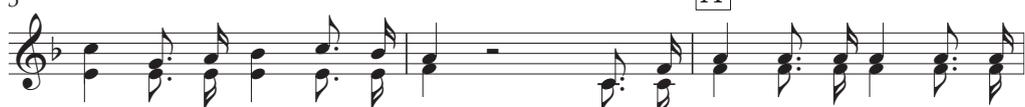
Oligon gorgōs  
[Slightly swift] A

A-section



Stz.1/v1. San tē spi-tha krym - me - nē stē sta - ktē v2. E - kry  
Stz.4/v1. Tou -t'ē - me - ra pou ho Theos ei-che stei - lei v2. Ton\_\_

3 A'



vo - tan gia mas 'lev - the - ria v3. Ēl - the 'me - ra pe-tie - tai a -  
Yion tou ston kos - mon gia mas v3. Tou - t'ē - me - ra, a-del - phia kai

6



na - phtei v4. E - ksa-noi-chthē se ka - the me - ria Stz.2/v1. Ēl - the  
phi - loi\_\_ v4. Ein' ē - me - ra me-ga - lēs cha-ras. Stz.5/v1. San thē -

9 B



'me-ra phō-na-ksan ta chei - lē v2. Pou klei-sme-na ta ei-che skla-via, v2. Pou klei  
ria thy-mō-me - na pe - tiou-ntai v2. Mpai-noun me - sa eis tēn Ek - klē - sia v2. Mpai-noun

13 A''



sme-na ta ei - che skla - via, v2. Pou klei-sme-na ta ei - che skla - via! v3. Kai me  
me - sa eis tēn Ek - klē - sia, v2. Mpai-noun me - sa eis tēn Ek - klē - sia v3. Me a -

17 A''

mias e - pe - ta - chthē - san chi - - loi v4. Ki'a - loi  
ga - pēs phi - lia syg - chō - roun - tai v4. Per - noun

19

chi - loi pe - tiou - ntai me mias.  
o - loi tēn theian ev - lo - gia.

21 C

B-section

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 -

24 A'''

ron e - nas ge - ros va - sta! v3. Kai gy - nai - kes, pai - dia tous phō  
lē - nōn a - naph - tei hē kar - dia. v3. Ton stav - ron ei - chan pan - ta vo -

27 B'

na - zoun: v4. "Or - ki - sthē - te gia tēn 'lev - the - ria! v4. Or - ki - sthē - te gia tēn 'lev - the  
ē - thia v4. Ki'a - pok - tē - san m'av - to 'lev - the - ria. v4. Ki'a - pok - tē - san m'av - to 'lev - the

31

ria!" v3. Kai gy - nai - kes, pai - dia tous phō - na - zoun: v4. "Or - ki -  
ria. v3. Ton stav - ron ei - chan pan - ta vo - ē - thia v4. Ki'a - pok -

34

sthē-te gia tēn 'lev-the- ria! v4. Or - ki - sthē-te gia tēn 'lev-the- ria!"  
 tē-san m'av-to 'lev-the- ria. v4. Ki'a-pok - tē-san m'av-to 'lev-the- ria.

**Case Study 6.1** “Like the Spark” according to Artemidēs (1905, 70–74). Stzs. 4–6 in the underlay were supplied by the author of this study and do not appear in the original.

Measures	1–4	4–8	8–12	12–16	16–20	21–24	24–29	29–33	33–36	
Stanza	1		2			3				
	4			5			6			
Verse	1	2	3+4	1+2	2 (2×)	3+4	1+2	3+4	4+3	4 (2×)
Melody	A		A'	B	A''	A'''	C	A''''	B'	D
Section	A							B		

**Case Study 6.2** Musical structure of “Like the Spark.”

Cycle	Section	Stanza	Greek	Rhyme	English
I	A (mm. 1–21)	1	San tē spitha krymmenē staktē, Ekryvotan gia mas'levtheria Ēlthe 'mera petietai anaphteī Eksanoichthē se kathe meria	a b a b	Like the spark in the ash They hide freedom from us The day has come, she breaks out, unlit Wide open on all sides.
		2	Ēlthe'mera phōnaksan ta cheilē Pou kleismena ta eiche sklavia Kai me mias epetachthēsan chilioi Ki'alloi chilioi petiountai me mias	a b a b	The day has come, shouted the lips, Which slavery held closed (3×) And at once, thousands came running And other thousands rushed at once.
	B (mm. 21–37)	3	Trechoun oloi kai t'armat'arpazoun Ton stavron enas geros vasta! Kai gynaiques, paidia tous phōnazoun: Orkisthēte gia tēn'levtheria!	b b c b	They run, violently grabbing weapons An old man holds the cross And women and children shout at them: “Swear on freedom!”
II	A (mm. 1–21)	4	Tout'ēmera pou ho Theos eiche steilei Ton Yion tou ston kosmon gia mas, Tout'ēmera, adelphia kai philoi, Ein'ēmera megalēs charas.	a d a d	The day when God sent His Son to earth for us That day, dear brothers and friends, Is the day of great joy.
		5	San thēria thymōmena petiountai Mpainoun mesa eis tēn Ekklēsia Me agapēs philia sygchōrountai Pernoun olio tēn theian evlogia.	e b c b	Back then, everyone rushed like beasts And entered the church They were forgiven, with open arms, They all received God's blessing.
	B (mm. 21–37)	6	Ti evlogia ēto'keinē hē theia Tōn Ellēnōn anaphteī hē kardia. Ton stavron eichan panta voētheia Ki'apoktēsan m'avto 'levtheria.	b b b b	What a blessing was that divine one! It sparked the fire in the heart of Greeks They always had the cross as support And with it, they achieved freedom.

Case Study 6.3 Lyrics of “Like the Spark” according to Artemidēs (1905, 70–74).

## 7 “Olē doksa, olē chari” [All Glory, All Joy]

## KE'. Martiou

[25th March]

Agōgē Emvatēriou  
[Marching tempo]I. Th. Sakellaridēs  
(1853–1938)

A-section

stz.1/v1. O - lē do - ksa, o - lē cha - ri a - gia

3

'me - ra ksē - me - rō - nei v2. Kai tē

5

mnē-mēn sou to e - thnos chai-re - ta go - na - ti - sto. v3. Kai ta

9

stē - thē o - lo phlo - ga me ton ē - lio sou plē - rō - neis v4. Pou chry-

13

sos me pe - rē - pha - neia per - pa - tei ston ou - ra - no.

17

B-section

v5. Stēn a - gi - a Lav-ra prō - ta tais chry-sais a - kti-nes chy - nei, v6. Pou le-

21

ven - tes prō - t'a - na - psan tou po - le - mou tē phō - tia v7. Tēn ga-

25

la - zia mas sē - mai - a me tēn cha - ri tou lam - pry - nei v8. Kai tou

29

thei - ou I - e - rar - chou chai - re - ti - zei tēn ski - a.

Case Study 7.1 “25<sup>th</sup> March” in Artemidēs (1905, 80–81), given with the first stanza.

Stz.	Section	Ver.	Greek	English
I	A	1	Ōlē doksa, olē chari agia mera ksēmerōnei	All glory, all joy, a holy day is dawning
		2	Kai tēn mnēmēn sou to ethnos chaireta gonatisto.	And in your memory, the nation salutes kneeling
		3	Kai ta stēthē olo phloga me ton ēlio sou plērōneis	And the hearts in ardor you pay with your sun
		4	Pou chrysos me perēphaneia perpatei ston ourano.	which golden and with pride walks the sky.
	B	5	Stēn agia Lavra prōta tais chrysais aktines chynei	In Holy Lavra, your golden splendor spread first
		6	Pou leventes prōt'anapsan tou polemou tē phōtia	Where great men first lit up the fire of war
		7	Tēn galazia mas sēmaia me tēn chari tou lamprynei	Our sky-blue flag gracefully shines
		8	Kai tou theiou Ierarchou chairetizei tēn skia	And the holy Bishop bids farewell to the shadow.
II	A	1	Ōmorphia kai doksa chynei opou gē aimatōmenē	Beauty and glory spread where the earth is blood-soaked
		2	Ap'to timēmēno aima tōn paidōn tēs kleptourias.	With the precious blood of the klept lads.
		3	T'agio chōma chairetai kai perēphana diavainei	The holy earth salutes and traverses with pride
		4	Apo ta Psara sto Souli kai sto chani tēs Gravias.	From Psara to Souli and to the Gravia Inn.
	B	5	Ap'tēn Roumelē k'ekeithe apo tēn Kleisova pernaei	From Rumelia and there, from Kleisova it passes
		6	Kai'sto Mesolonggi mesa chynei to chryso tou phōs	And into Mesolonghi, your golden light spreads
		7	Tēn aimatōmenē gē tou chaireta kai evlogaei	Its blood-soaked earth salutes and blesses
		8	Opou toso se mia nykta epesan ērōikōs.	Where so many fell bravely within one night.
III	A	1	Ksēmerōneis kai me matia dakrysmena s'atenizei	You wake up, and she stares at you with tearful eyes
		2	Hē glykeia koinē mas mana, hē philatē mas Ellas.	Our common mother, our beloved Greece.
		3	Ma san vlepei tē sēmaia mon'edō na kymatize,	But when she sees the flag waving only here,
		4	Me parapono sta cheilē pikro strephetai s'emas.	With lips embittered with grievance, she turns to us.
	B	5	Kai giati stēn Poli mesa, erōta den kymatizei?	And why in the Polis [Istanbul], she asks, is [the flag] not flying?
		6	Hē sēmaia kai stēn Krētē etsi zoune skoteina?	And the flag in Crete, so they [still] live in darkness?
		7	Ah! Giati tē gē tēs Krētēs sklavōn aima kokkinizei	Ah! Why is the earth in Crete painted red with the slaves' blood
		8	Kai ymnounē ton prophētē tourkoi stēn Agia Sophia?	And [why do they] praise the Turkish prophet in Hagia Sophia?

Case Study 7.2 Lyrics of the “25<sup>th</sup> March” according to Artemidēs (1905, 80–81).

## 8 “Marş-ı Sultânî” [Emperor’s March]

Marş-ı Sultânî  
[Emperor's March]İsmâil Hakkı Bey  
(1866–1927)

Makâm: Râst

Küşâd  
[Opening]

4



7



A-section



v1. Ta-cı hü - ri-yet - le doğ - muş bir gü-

12



neş sek- lin - de - sin v1. Ta-cı sin v2. Pâ-di - şâ - hım tah - tı

16



Os - mâ - ni - ye ol - dun sa - ye - zen v2. Pâ - di -

19



şâ - hım tah - tı Os - mâ - ni - ye ol - dun sa - ye -

B-section



- zen v3. Per-te - vi hub - bi va - tan - dır fik - ri - ni ten - vî - r|e -

26



den\_\_\_\_\_ v3. Per - te - vi hub - bi va - tan - dır fik - ri - ni\_\_\_ ten - vî - r|e -

30

C-section  
[Refrain]



den\_\_\_\_\_ v4. Çok ya - şa sul - tan Meh - him - med şev - ke -

33



tin - le çok ya - şa\_\_\_\_\_ v5. As - ke - rin - le mil - le - tin - le dev - le -

37



tin - le çok ya - şa\_\_\_\_\_

Case Study 8.1 “Marş-ı Sultânî” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 1:1–2).

Section	Measure	Measure units	Melody	Tonality	Verse	Rhyme
Küşâd (Opening)	1–9	8	A	G major	—	—
A	10–14	4+4 (8)	A'	G major	1 (2×)	a
	15–22	8	B	G major	2 (2×)	b
B	23–30	8	C	G minor	3 (2×)	b
C (Refrain)	31–38	4	A"/B'	G major	4	c
		4		G major	5	c

Case Study 8.2 Musical Structure of the “Marş-ı Sultânî” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 1:1–2).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English
1	1	Tac-ı hürriyetle doğmuş bir güneş şeklindedin	You have the shape of a sun that was born with the crown of liberty
	2	Pâdişâhım taht-ı Osmâniyye oldun sâye-zen	My emperor, you became the protector of the Ottoman throne.
	3	Petrev-i hubb-ı vatandır fikrini tenvîr eden	It is the light and love of the nation that illu- minates your mind
	4	Çok yaşa Sultan Mehmed şevketinle çok yaşa	Long live Sultan Mehmed; may you live long with power
	5	Askerinle, milletinle devletinle bin yaşa	May you live a thousand years, with your soldiers, people and state.

**Case Study 8.3** Lyrics to “Marş-ı Sultânî” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 1:1–2).

Prosody of “Marş-ı Sultânî”															
<b>v1</b>	Ta	cı	hü	ri	yet	le	doğ	muş	bir	gü	neş	şek	lin	de	sin
<b>Meter</b>	Fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lün
<b>v2</b>	Pâ	di	şâ	hım	tah	tı	Os	mâ	niy	ye	ol	dun	sâ	ye	zen
<b>Meter</b>	Fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lün
<b>v3</b>	Pet	re	vî	hub	bi	va	tan	dır	fik	ri	ni	ten	vîr	e	den
<b>Meter</b>	Fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fe	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lün
<b>v4</b>	Çok	ya	şa	Sul	tan	Me	hi	med	şev	ke	tin	le	çok	ya	şa
<b>Meter</b>	Fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lün
<b>v5</b>	As	ke	rin	le	mil	le	tin	le	dev	le	tin	le	bin	ya	şa
<b>Meter</b>	Fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lâ	tün	fâ	‘i	lün
<b>Syl.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

**Case Study 8.4** Prosody in stz. 1 of the “Marş-ı Sultânî” in Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 1:1–2). The prosodic meter Fâ’ilâtün/fâ’ilâtün/fâ’ilâtün/fâ’ilün belongs to the arûd family of bahr-i remel.

## 9 “İzciler marşı” [Boy Scout’s March]

İzciler marşı  
[Boy Scout's March]

Hekîmoğlu Nezih

Makâm: Nihâvend

Küşâd  
[Opening]

5

11

*Hep beraber*  
[All together]

A-section

v1. Ben bir iz - ci-yim ba - ca-ğım ko - lum

15

v2. Gö - züm da - ma - ğım her ye - rim sağ - lam

19

B-section

v3. Pâ - di - şâ - hum yur - du - ma ku - lum

23

v4. Düş - ma - na kal - bim bes - ler in - ti - kâm

27

*[All together]*

Refrain

v5. Hay - de se - fe - re ça - buk iz - ci - ler

31

*[Another replying]*

v6. Bi - ze is - tik - bâl za - fer - ler giz - ler

Case Study 9.1 “İzciler marşı” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 1:12–13).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English	Section
<i>Instrumental introduction</i>				
1	1	Ben bir izciyim, bacağımla kolum	I am a Boy Scout, my leg, eye and teeth,	A
	2	Gözüm damağım, her yerim sağlam.	everything is sound.	
	3	Pâdişâhıma yurduma kulum,	I am a slave to my Emperor and homeland	B
	4	Düşmana kalbim besler intikâm.	and towards the enemy, my heart seeks revenge	
	5	Haydin sefere çabuk izciler,	To war, hurry up, scouts	Refrain
	6	Bize istikbâl zaferler gizler.	The future holds victories for us.	
2		<i>Tek:</i>	<i>Solo:</i>	A
	1	Yükekten kopan yanık türküler,	Is there no-one from our regiment singing	
	2	bizim âlâydan yok mu çağırın?	the folk songs that rise from our hearts?	
	3	Öyle türküler kim versin haber,	And such folk songs that tell about the	B
	4	Yıkılan yurdun garip vatandan.	poor nation falling apart.	
	5	<i>Hep birden:</i>	<i>All together:</i>	Refrain
6	Haydin sefere ... <i>Diğer tek-cevab:</i> Bize istikbâl zaferler gizler	To war ... <i>Another one giving the answer:</i> The future holds victories for us.		
3	1	Vardır kardeşim burada bütün,	Sure there is, my brother,	A
	2	Sineler yanık, yürekler ezik,	Here all bosoms are burned, the hearts crushed	
	3	Damağımızdan nasıl silinsin?	How should we erase from our palate [the bitter taste of] Ioannina,	B
	4	Yanına, Kosova, Girit, Selanik;	Kosovo, Crete, Thessaloniki	
	5	<i>Hep birden:</i>	<i>All together:</i>	Refrain
	Haydin sefere ...	To war...		

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English	Section
4	1	<i>Aynı ses devam:</i> Nerede kaldı Sultan Murâd'ın	<i>Solo voice continues:</i> What happened to the great tomb Of Sultan Murad, the glorious mar- tyr?	A
	2	Şanlı şehîdin o ulûv türbesi?		
	3	Koca Osmanlı bu mıydı adın?	Great Ottoman, was this your name?	B
	4	Seni levm eder tarihimin sesi!	The voice of my history would bla- me you	
	5	<i>Hep birden:</i> Haydin sefere ...	<i>All together:</i> To war..	Refrain
5	1	<i>Tek-evvelki:</i> Sus kardeşçigim, bu kadar mıyız?	<i>Solo—the same one as before:</i> Quiet, my dear brother, is this all we are?	A
	2	Yaşlı gözümüz şimdi kan ağlar!	Our wet eyes are now crying blood!	
	3	Nasıl dayansın yanık yürekler?	How should the burning hearts bear it	B
	4	Bu acı katı taşları dağlar!	This searing pain even burns the hardest stones!	
	5	<i>Hep birden:</i> Haydin sefere ... <i>Tek-cevap:</i>	<i>All together:</i> To war.. <i>Alone Replying:</i>	Refrain
6	1	Susalım fakat, söyle yürekden,	Let's be silent but say it from heart,	A
	2	Hep andımızı edelim tekrar,	Let's repeat our oath over again	
	3	Düşmanlar bilsin, ki çok geçmeden	Enemies shall know that very soon	B
	4	İntikam alır küçük izciler!	the small scouts will take revenge	
	5	<i>Hep birden:</i> Haydin sefere ...	<i>All together:</i> To war..	Refrain

Case Study 9.2 Lyrics to “İzciler marşı” according to Şamlı Selim (n.d., 1:12–13).

## 10 “Rumelia marşı” [Rumelia March]

Rumeli marşı  
[Rumelia March]Mekteb-i tefeyyüz mûsiki muallimi  
Hâfız Mustafâ Efendi

A-section

v1. Ru - me - li - nin dağ - la - rı

4

var v2. Ne gü - zel - di şim - di ağ - lar

9

B-section

v3. Ha - ni se - nin ev - lad - la - rın

13

v4. Ke - sil - di mi hep kol - la - rın

17

C-section  
(Refrain)

v5. Ağ - la - ma sen ga - rib va - tan

21

v6. Biz ge - li - riz sa - na i - nan

Case Study 10.1 “Rumeli marşı” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 2:12).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English	Section
1	1	Rumeli'nin dağları var	Rumelia had mountains so beautiful	A
	2	Ne güzeldi şimdi ağlar.	Now they are weeping.	
	3	Hani senin evladların	Where are your children?	B
	4	Kesildi mi hep kolların	Have your wings been repeatedly cut off?	
	5	Ağlama sen garib vatan	Do not cry, poor homeland	C
	6	Biz geliriz sana inan.	Be sure, we will come for you.	
2	1	Rumeli'nin dağları var	Rumelia has mountains so beautiful	A
	2	Ne güzeldir şimdi ağlar.	Now they are weeping.	
	3	Cağlayanlar bile sarsmış	Even those that hum [contentedly] are shaken	B
	4	Hüzün ile inleyen ah var	Filled with sadness, some are weeping "woe"	
	5	Ağlama sen, garib vatan	Do not cry, poor homeland	C
	6	Biz geliriz sana inan.	Be sure, we will come for you.	
3	1	Dağlarında baykuşlar var	Your mountains have owls	A
	2	Ocağında mâtem çağlar.	At your hearth, the singing is of grief.	
	3	Hani bizim güzel bayrak	Where is our beautiful flag?	B
	4	Yere düşmüş hicrânlar var.	It has fallen to the ground, bitterness everywhere.	
	5-6	<i>Eyzân</i>	<i>Same as before</i>	C
	5	1	Hani senin evladların	Where are your children?
2		Kesildi mi kanatların?	Were your wings cut off?	
3		Kâtil düşman bak ne yaptı	Look what the murderous enemy has done	B
4		Güzel sînende hep kan var.	There is always blood on your bosom.	
5-6		<i>Eyzân</i>	<i>Same as before</i>	C
6		1	Evladlarım siz varsınız	My dear children, you do exist
	2	Ümitlerim sizlersiniz.	You are all my hope.	
	3	İşte sînem kan içinde	Look, my bosom is covered with blood	B
	4	Çabucacık yetişiniz!	Hurry, help!	
	5-6	<i>Eyzân</i>	<i>Same as before</i>	C
	7	1	Sen ölmedin evladın var	You are not dead, you have a child
2		Yetiştiriyor sana kurban.	The sacrifice is reaching you.	
3		İnan bizim kanımız var	Believe us, we still have blood [to spill],	B
4		Kurtarmaya ahdimiz var.	We made a promise to save you.	
5-6		<i>Eyzân</i>	<i>Same as before</i>	C

Case Study 10.2 Lyrics to "Rumeli marşı" according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 2:12).

## 11 “Millî marşı” [National March]

Millî marşı  
[National March]

İhsân Hanım Efendi

Makâm: Hüzûm

A-section

v1. Düş-man yi - ne di - şî gö - ster - di  
gi - di - yo - rum as - ke - re

5

v2. Zan-bak ten-li Ya-vo\_kal - bi - mi kok-la - ma - dan bir ker - re

9

v3. Ben av - cu - mun gü-cü i - le gi-di - yo-rum se - fe - re

17

Instrumental interlude

21

v4. Kal se - lâ - met a - na - cı - ğım - cı - ğım

29

Refrain

v4. Kal se - lâ - met a - na - cı - ğım - cı - ğım  
e - re si - lâh ya - kı - şır

33

v5. Merd o - lan-lar yur - dı i - çün can-la baş-la çar - pı - şır

37

v5. Merd o - lan-lar yur - dı i - çün can-la baş-la çar - pı - şır

Case Study 11.1 “Millî marşı” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 2:10–11).

Stz.	Ver.	Rhyme	Measures	Melody	Section
1	1	a	1–8	A	A
	2	a	9–16	B	
	—		17–20	Interlude	
	3	a	21–28	C	B
	4	b	29–36	D	Refrain
5	b	37–44	E		

**Case Study 11.2** Structure of İhsân Hanım’s “Millî marşı” according Şamlı Selim (n.d., 2:10–11).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English	Section
1	1	Düşman yine diş gösterdi gidiyorum askere	The enemy has bared his teeth again; I join the army	A
	2	Zanbak tenli Yavo kalbimi koklamadan bir kere	Without lily-white skinned Yavo having tasted my love once	
			<i>Instrumental Interlude</i>	
	3	Ben avcumun gücü ile gidiyorum sefere	With the power of my palm I am going to the campaign	B
	4	<i>Nakarât</i> Kal selâmet anacığım ere silâh yakışır	<i>Refrain</i> Stay safe, my dear mother; a weapon suits well a private	Refrain
5	Merd olanlar yurdu için canla başla çarpışır.	The brave fight for their homeland with heart and with soul.		
2	1	Aylar yıllar geldi geçti gün geçmedi gönlümden	Months and years have passed, but not one day, in my heart,	A
	2	Ben bir merd Türk evladım kaçarmıyım ölümden	I am the brave child of a Turk, would I ever fear death?	
	3	Öç güzümdе tüter iken ölüm korksun okumdan	When I long for revenge, may death fear my arrow	B
	4	Kal selâmet anacığım duan bana yetişir	Stay safe my dear mother, your prayers will reach me.	Refrain
	5	Ben cihangir evladım cenkte ölüm yakışır.	I am the son of a world conqueror; dying in war suits me well.	

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English	Section
3	1	Gideceğim yaralanmış vatanın her yanı	I will leave; every side of the homeland is wounded	A
	2	Tütmez olmuş ocakların nârin çıkan dumanı	The fine smoke of your hearths has stopped smoking	
	3	Şu acıklı davul sesi vatanımın figânı	The painful sound of the drum is the lament of my homeland	B
	4	Kal selâmet anacığım sefer yolu uzundur	Stay safe, my dear mother; the campaign's road is long	Refrain
	5	Sinem özüm vatanın süngüsüyle dolgundur.	My bosom and soul are filled with the bayonet of my homeland.	
4	1	Gel öpeyim anacığım o ak saçlı başını	Come and let me kiss your white-haired head	A
	2	Ağlama gül yüzlü yârim sil göz yaşını başını	Do not cry, my rose-faced beloved, wipe away your tears	
	3	Çiğnetemem ecdâdımın toprağını taşını	I will not let the land of my ancestors be trampled down	B
	4	Kal selâmet anacığım karlı dağlar yolumdur	Stay safe, my dear mother, snowy mountains are my way	Refrain
	5	Düşmanlardan öc alacak kılıcımla kolumdur.	My sword and arm will take revenge on the enemy.	
5	1	Gidyorum âhû gözlüm neden soğuk ellerin	I am leaving, my velvet-eyed, why are your hands so cold?	A
	2	Neden soldu yanağında penbe açan güllerin	Why have the blooming roses on your cheeks faded away?	
	3	Ben kırlangıç kuşuyum ben şimdi gurbet illerim	I am a swallow, I am away from home	B
	4	Kal selâmet nazlı yârim aşkın bana kuvvettir	Stay safe, my coy lover, your love gives me power	Refrain
	5	Belki şehîd olmak, belki gâzî dönmek kismettir.	By chance, perhaps as a martyr, perhaps as a veteran, I return.	

Case Study 11.3 Lyrics of “Millî marşı” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 2:10–11).

## 12 “Ey gâzîler” [O Muslim Fighters]

## Chant militaire des Turcs, partant pour la guerre

[Military song of Turks that go to war]

Makâm: İsfahân

A-section



v1. Ey gâ - zî - ler \_\_\_\_\_ yol\_ gö - rün - dü \_\_\_\_\_

3



v2. Yi - ne ga - rip \_\_\_\_\_ se - ri - me

5



v3. Dağ - lar taş - lar \_\_\_\_\_ da - ya - na - maz \_\_\_\_\_

7



v4. Be - nim ah u \_\_\_\_\_ zâ - ri - me

9

Refrain



v5. Kal se - lâ-met \_\_\_\_\_ naz - lı\_ yâ - rim \_\_\_\_\_

11



v6. Bir ya - na sen \_\_\_\_\_ bir de ben \_\_\_\_\_

Case Study 12.1 “Ey gâzîler” according to Yekta (1922, 3034).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English	Section
1	1	Ey gâzîler yol göründü	O Muslim fighters, it is time to depart again	A
	2	Yine garîp serime	For poor me	
	3	Dağlar taşlar dayanamaz	The mountains and rocks cannot bear	
	4	Benim ah u zârime.	My bitter weeping.	
	5	Kal selâmet nazlı yarım	Take care, my coy love	Refrain
	6	Bir yana sen bir de ben.	At one side you stay, and at the other me.	
2	1	Dün gece yâr hânesinde	Last night at my lover's place	A
	2	yastıcığım taşdı	My small pillow was a stone	
	3	Altım toprak üstüm yaprak	Below me was earth, and above leaves	
	4	Yine gönlüm hôş idi.	And still, my heart was joyful.	
	5	Kal selâmet sevdiğim	Take care, my coy love	Refrain
	6	bir yana ben bir de sen.	At one side you stay, and at the other me.	

**Case Study 12.2** Lyrics to “Ey gâzîler” according to Yekta (1922, 3034).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English
1	1	Ey gâzîler yol göründü	O Muslim fighters, it is time to depart again,
	2	Yine garîp serime	For poor me
	3	Dağlar taşlar dayanamaz	The mountains and rocks cannot bear
	4	Benim a hu zârime.	My bitter weeping.
2	1	Ben havada uçar iken	I was fluttering in the air,
	2	Eliyle tuttun beni	When you caught me
	3	Ben paşamı bilir iken	Although I knew my value,
	4	Bir pula sattın beni.	You disregarded me entirely.

**Case Study 12.3** Lyrics adopted from the score “Ey gâzîler” edited by Şamlı Selîm (n.d.).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English
1	1	Ey gâzîler yol göründü,	O Muslim fighters, it is time to depart again
	2	Yine garîp serime;	For poor me.
	3	Dağlar taşlar dayanamaz,	Mountains and rocks cannot bear
	4	Benim ah u zârime.	My bitter weeping.
	5	Kal selâmet kömür gözlüm	Stay safe, my coal black-eyed one
	6	Bir yana sen, birde ben.	At the one side you stay, at the other me.
2	1	Dün gece yâr hânesinde,	Last night, at my lover's place,
	2	Yastığım taş idi;	My small pillow was a stone
	3	Altım toprak, üstüm yaprak,	Below me was earth, and above leaves
	4	Yine gönlüm hõş idi.	And still my heart was joyful.
	5	Bir elim yârim koynunda,	One arm around my love's bosom,
	6	Bir elim boşa gitti.	The other was empty.
3	1	Ben havada uçar iken,	I was fluttering in the air,
	2	Av ile tuttun beni;	When you caught me;
	3	Ben pâhamı bilir iken,	Although I knew my value,
	4	Bir pula sattın beni.	You disregarded me entirely.
	5	Ne kapında kul eyledin,	Neither did you turn me into your slave,
	6	Ne azâd ettin beni.	Nor did you free me.
4	1	İndim yârim bahçesine,	I went down to my lover's garden,
	2	Gülleri fîncân gibi;	Her roses are like coffee cups;
	3	Gerdanında üç beni var,	She has three beauty spots at her neck
	4	Deliksiz mercân gibi.	Like flawless corals.

**Case Study 12.4** Lyrics of “Ey gâzîler” according to Kúnos (1889, 341–42). Adapted to Modern Turkish.

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English
1	1	Ey gâzîler yol göründü	O Muslim fighters, it is time to depart
	2	Yine hudût boyuna	alongside the border,
	3	Çoktan beri hasret idin	You have been longing for a long time,
	4	Tatlı Tuna suyuna.	For the Danube's sweet water.
	5	Ey Rumeli! Çoştı geldi	O Rumelia! Enthused,
	6	Anadolu imdâda.	Anatolia came to help.

**Case Study 12.5** First stanza of “Ey gâzîler” according to Vicdânî (n.d., 34–35).

## 13 “Yeni turan marşı” [The New Turan March]

Yeni Turan marşı  
[The New Turan March]

Hâlîde Yekta Hanım Efendi

Makâm: Uşşâk

A-section

v1. Ye-ni Tu- ran gü- zel ül - ke söy-le se-ne yol ner - de

4

1. 2.  
- de - de

B-section

v2. Al - tı - - yüz yıl biz a - ra - dık dur- duk se - ni her yer - de

7

10

v2. Al - tı - yüz yıl biz a - ra - dık

12

dur - duk se - ni her yer - de

C-section

v3. Su- suz ço - rak o - va - lar - da  
v4. Sus- ma - sın - dan in - san ür - ken

14

ku - ru çıp - lak dağ - lar - da  
ge - niş is - sız çöl - ler - de

Case Study 13.1 “Yeni turan marşı” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 2:8).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	English	Section
1	1	Yeni turan güzel ülke, söylesene yol nerede	New Turan, beautiful land, say where is the way,	A
	2	Altıyüz yıl biz aradık, durduk seni her yerde	For six hundred years, we have been searching you everywhere	B
	3	Susuz çorak ovalarda kuru, çıplak dağlarda	In the dry, arid valleys, the barren, naked mountains,	C
	4	Susmasından insan ürken geniş, ıssız çöllerde.	In the wide deserts so silent that they frighten men.	
2	1	Nerde senin yeşil yurdun, berrak gümüş ırmağın	Where is your green homeland, your silver river, crystal clear?	A
	2	Nerde büyük hâkân için, altın kaplı otağın	Where is your golden tent, for the great emperor?	B
	3	Yeter artık bu ayrılık, kavuşalım bizim ol	Enough of this yearning. Let's join, be ours!	C
	4	Yeni Turan güzel ülke, söyle nerede sana yol.	New Turan, beautiful land, tell us the way that leads to you.	

**Case Study 13.2** Lyrics of “Yeni turan marşı” according to Şamlı Selim (n.d., 2:8).

## 14 “Gök sancak marşı” [The March of the Sky-Blue Banner]

## Gök sancak marşı

[The March of the Sky-Blue Banner]

İhsân Hanım

A-section

v1. Gök san - ca - ğım al - tın - da v2. A - ta - la - rım yü - rü - dü

3

v3. Al bay - ra - ğım al - tın - da v4. Ye - ni tu - ran bü - yü - dü

B-section

5

v5. Bü - yük e - mel ru - hum - da v6. Al - lah a - dı di - lim - de

9

v7. Tü - fek de - mir e - lim - de v8. Be - nim i - çün şân kav - ga

Nakarât  
[Refrain]

13

v9. Yü - rü - yün \_\_\_\_\_ dağ - lar e - ğil - sin v10. Al - tın or - du şân

16

ver - sin v11. Al bay - rak yan - gın - lar v12. Ü - ze - rin - de yük - sel - sin

Case Study 14.1 “Gök sancak marşı” according to Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 2:9).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	Rhyme	English	Section
1	1	Gök sancağın altında	a	Beneath the sky-blue banner	A
	2	Atalarım yürüdü	b	my ancestor had walked	
	3	Al bayrağın altında	a	Beneath the Turkish flag,	
	4	Yeni turan büyüdü.	b	the new Turan grew.	
	5	Büyük emel ruhumda	a	A great longing in my soul,	B
	6	“Allah” adı dilimde	c	God’s name on my tongue	
	7	Tüfenk, demir elimde,	c	Rifle and steel in my hand,	
	8	Benim için şan kavga.	a	it is a glorious battle for me.	
	9	Yürüyün dağlar eğilsin,	d	Move, that mountains shall incline,	Refrain
	10	Altın ordu şân versin	d	the golden army shall reach fame,	
	11	Al bayrak yangınlar,	e	Above the flames,	
	12	Üzerinde yükselsin.	d	may the Turkish flag rise.	
2	1	Biz Uyguruz, dönmeyiz,	f	We are Uyghurs, we will not turn back,	A
	2	Konağımız dağ, ova	a	the mountain and valley are our inn.	
	3	Türküz, bizimidir Asya,	a	We are Turks, Asia is ours,	
	4	Türküz Türküz hepimiz.	f	we are Turks, Turks all of us.	
	5	“Osmân” Han’ın sancağı	g	The banner of “Osman” Khan	B
	6	Anlı şanlı sallandı	g	was gloriously hoisted	
	7	Hâkânımın bayrağı	g	My emperor’s banner,	
	8	Harbten böyle alındı.	g	like this was obtained in wars.	
	9	Yürüyün dağlar eğilsin,	d	Move, that mountains shall incline,	Refrain
	10	Altın ordu şân versin	d	the golden army shall reach fame,	
	11	Al bayrak yangınlar,	e	Above the flames,	
	12	Üzerinde yükselsin.	d	may the Turkish flag rise.	

Case Study 14.2 Lyrics of “Gök sancak marşı” according to Şamlı Selim (n.d., 2:9)

## 15 “Hep kardeşiz” [Always Brothers]

Hep kardeşiz  
[Always Brothers]Tevfik Fikret  
(1867–1915)Kâzım Uz  
(1873–1943)

A-section

v1. Ne pa - şa - yız biz ne bey - yiz

3  
v1. Ne pa - şa - yız biz ne bey - yiz

5  
v2. İlm a - şı - kı ta - le - be - yiz

7  
v3. Ay - rı gay - rı ne bil-me- yiz v3. Ay - rı gay - rı ne bil - me-yiz

11  
Nakarât  
[Refrain]  
v4. Far - kı-mız yok bi - riz e - şiz v5. Hep mek-tep - li hep kar-de-şiz

13  
v4. Far - kı - mız yok bi - riz e - şiz v4. Far - kı - mız yok

16  
bi - riz e - şiz v5. Hep mek - tep - li hep kar - de-şiz

19  
Aranağme  
[Instrumental interlude]

Case Study 15.1 “Hep kardeşiz” according to Uz (1330/1914, piece no. 2).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	Rhyme	English	Section
1	1	Ne paşayız biz ne beyiz	a	We are neither pashas nor rulers	A
	2	İlm aşkı talebeyiz	a	We are science-loving students	
	3	Ayrı gayrı ne bilmeyiz	a	Discrimination is unknown to us	
	4	Farkımız yok biz eşiz	a	We do not differ from each other, we are equal	Refrain
	5	Hep <i>mektepli</i> , hep kardeşiz.	a	We are all <i>students</i> ; we are all brothers.	
2	1	Beşiğimiz bu topraklardır	b	Our cradle is this land	A
	2	Bayrağımız bir bayraktır	b	Our flag is the only	
	3	Ayrılık bizden iraktır	b	Discrimination is far from us	
	4	Farkımız yok biz eşiz	a	We do not differ from each other, we are equal	Refrain
	5	Hep <i>osmanlı</i> , hep kardeşiz.	a	We are all <i>Ottomans</i> ; we are all brothers.	
3	1	Yaratmış bizi Yaradan	c	The Creator created us	A
	2	Bir anadan, bir babadan	c	From one mother and one father	
	3	Aynı toprak aynı vatan	c	in the same land, same nation	
	4	Farkımız yok biz eşiz	a	We do not differ from each other, we are equal	Refrain
	5	Hep <i>insanız</i> , hep kardeşiz.	a	We are all <i>humans</i> ; we are all brothers.	

**Case Study 15.2** Lyrics of “Biz hep kardeşiz” according to Uz (1330/1914, piece no. 2). My italics.

## 16 “Sevastopol Song”

**ΣΑΡΚΙ ΜΑΚΑΜ ΤΖΑΡΚΙΑΧ**

*Ούσοβ.λι Σοφράν. ̣̣ Γα.*

Σ ε βα α ρο πολ ό ο νων δε δε  
ρα αν κε ε μι ι ι λε ε ε ε ρι ζ α  
τα α αρ νι ζα αμ το ο ο πα πα γρη

Case Study 16.1 Excerpt from the “Sevastopol Song” in Keïvelēs (1856, 246–48).

## Sarki makam tzarkiach Ousoúli Sophián.

A-section

v1. Se - va - sto - pol ö - - nün - de

5

du - ra - an ke - mi - le - - - er

9

v2. a - ta - ar ni - za - am to - pu ba - grē - mē - - de - ler

Miyân  
[Middle section]

16

v3. Pher - gia - at i - der du - - - rur

20

ga - rip an - ne - le - - - er

Nakarât  
[Refrain]

24

v4. A ma - a - an pa - di - şa - chēm i - zin ve - er bi - ze

31

v5. sı - la - da va - li - dem gial - va - rē - êr si - ze

Case Study 16.2 “Sevastopol Song” according to Keivelēs (1856, 246–48). Heading and text underlay were adapted to Modern Turkish. I thank Achilleas Tigkas for revising my transcription from Chrysantine to staff notation.

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish (From Greek alphabet)	English
1	1	Sivastopol önünde duran gemiler	The ships lying off Sevastopol
	2	Atar nizâm topu bağrımı deler	Regularly fire cannon balls perforating my chest
	3	Feryâd eder durup garip anneler.	The poor mothers continuously cry.
		<i>Nakarât</i>	<i>Refrain</i>
	4	Aman Padişahım izin ver bize	O Emperor, give us furlough.
5	Sılada vâlidem yalvarır size.	My mother at home implores you.	
2	1	Aman Padişahım sen binler yaşa	O Emperor, live for a thousand [years]
	2	Nüfusun geçiyor dağıyla taş	Your people spread as far as the eye can see
	3	<i>Miyân</i> Bükreş'te bekliyor şah Ömer paşa.	<i>[Middle section]</i> The great Ömer Paşa awaits at Bucharest.
	4-5	<i>Eyzan</i>	<i>Same as before</i>
3	1	Sivastopol içinde bir ufak deniz	There is a small sea in Sevastopol
	2	Moskov'un güllesi yağıyor henüz	Moscow's cannon balls are still raining down
	3	Arap binbaşdır kumandanımız.	Our Major is an Arabic commander.
4-5	<i>Eyzan</i>	<i>Same as before</i>	
4	1	Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler	The ships floating in front of Sevastopol
	2	Topların sesinden yer gök inler	Earth and the sky groan from the sound of cannon balls.
	3	Eskiler şehit olur gelir yeniler.	The old ones fall as martyrs, and new ones come.
	4-5	<i>Eyzan</i>	<i>Same as before</i>

**Case Study 16.3** Lyrics of the “Sevastopol Song” according to Keivelēs (1856, 246–48) transcribed and adapted to Modern Turkish

rast<sup>c</sup> t'ēk<sup>c</sup> sōfýan

1. Sē - vas - t'ō - p'ō - l'ö - nü - n - dē

2. A - t'a - r ni - zam t'ō - p'u - nu ýēr gök<sup>c</sup> i - ni -

3. 1. 4. 2. 5. 3.

6. 7. 8.

Tek sofyan D T

1. 9 2. 10 11 12  
 ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

lër \_\_\_\_\_ - lër \_\_\_\_\_ v3. Di-ni bir uğ - u - ru - na

13 14 15 16  
 ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

gi - den\_ iy - id - lē - r lër \_\_\_\_\_ v4. A- man\_ p'a - di -

17 18 19 20  
 ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

şa - hım i - zi - n ve - r bi - ze \_\_\_\_\_ v5. Sı - la - da ni -

21 22 23  
 ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

şa - n - lım du - a - cı \_\_\_\_\_ si - zē \_\_\_\_\_

[Instrumental coda]

Case Study 16.4 “Sevastopol Song” according to codex TR-Iboa TRT.MD.d.428, (n.d., 68). Transcribed from Hampartsum notation to staff notation.

Stz.	Turkish (From Armenian Alphabet)	English
1	Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler Atar nizâm topunu yer gök inler	The ships lying off Sevastopol Regularly fire cannon balls, earth and sky groan
	Dini bir uğruna giden yiğitler	Young men who are going for the sake of Islam
	Aman Padişahım izin ver bize Sılada nişanlım duacı size	<i>(Refrain)</i> O Emperor, give us furlough, At home, my fiancée is praying for you.

Case Study 16.5 Lyrics of the “Sevastopol Song” according to codex TR-Iboa TRT.MD.d.428 (n.d., 68), transcribed from the Armenian to the Latin alphabet.

Stz.	Turkish	English
1	S'vastopol önünde yatan gemiler, Atar nizâm topun yer gök inler, Eceli gelmeden ölen yiğitler.	The ships lying off Sevastopol, Regularly fire cannon balls, earth and sky groan Young men die before their time has come.
2	S'astopol önünde ufacak taşlar, Redif askerleri Balkanda kışlar, Ne dir benim başıma gelen işler?	Small stones in front of Sevastopol, Reservists spent the winter in the Balkans What troubles have befallen me.
3	S'astopol önünde taş ben olayım, Ela göz üstüne kaş ben olayım, Yalnız yatanlara eş ben olayım.	Let me turn into a stone in front of Sevastopol Let me turn into an eyebrow above hazel eyes Let me be a mate for those who sleep alone.
4	S'astopol önünde sıra söyütler, Binbaşı yüzbaşı asker öyütler, Sılada yârimiz mektubu bekler.	A row of willows in front of Sevastopol, A commander and captain advise soldiers Our beloved ones at home awaits letters.
5	Al yeşil bayrağı gelin mi sandın? Sefere gideni gelir mi sandın? Tirempet sesini davul mu sandın?	Did you think the crimson and green banner was a bride? Did you think the one who went to war would come back? Have you mistaken the sound of the trumpet for a drum?
6	Eski serâylerde kuram çekilir, Kurası çıkanın boynu bükülür, Anası babası yola dökülür.	In old government houses, lots are drawn, Those for whom the lot has fallen hang their heads. Fathers and mothers throw themselves on the street.
7	Kışlanın önünde bir uzun selvi Kimimiz nişanlı kimimiz evli Sılada braktım ben bir saçı telli.	In front of the barracks, there is a tall cypress Some of us are engaged, and some are married At home, I left a single hair.
Refrain	Aman Pâdişâhım izin ver bize, İzin vermezseniz atın denize Tutalım Moskofu verelim size.	O Emperor, give us furlough, Otherwise, throw us to the sea, Let's capture Moscow and hand it over to you.

**Case Study 16.6** Lyrics of the “Sevastopol Song” according to Kúnos (1889, 354–56), adapted to Modern Turkish orthography.

**المادة منبودة : سيواستوپول**

*introduction*

بو تو ولسی سیواس  
sevas to to

ل می ک تان یا ده نت لو  
leu nunde' ya tan ghemi le

ر سی واسی سیواس  
si vas to to

ل می ک تان یا ده نت لو  
leu nunde' yatan ghemi le

ر نظام تار آ  
A tar nizam

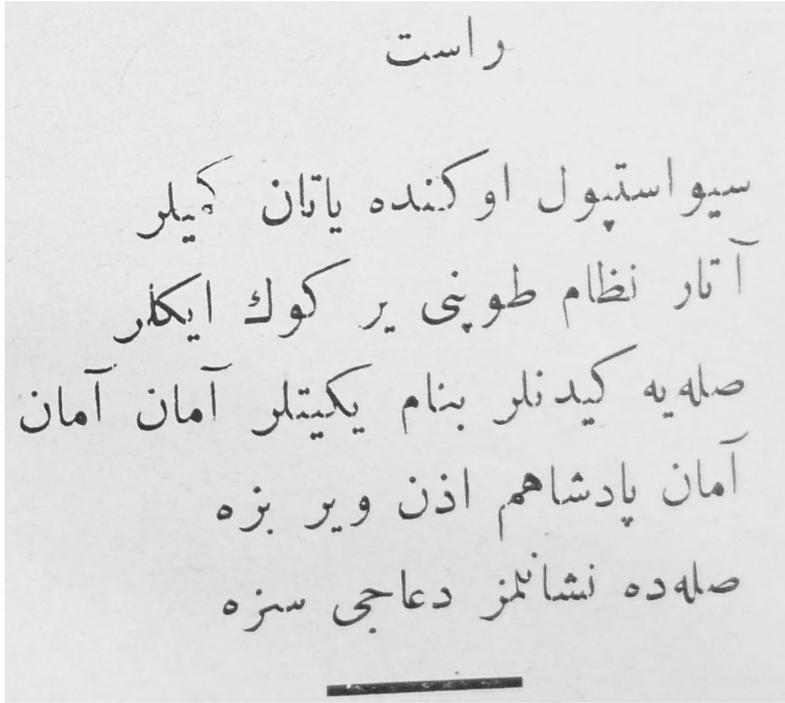
لو نو یه ر کوه گه یه نی  
to nou yer ghevq.i ni

ر کوه گه یه نی  
to nou yer ghevq.i ni

ر کوه گه یه نی  
to nou yer ghevq.i ni

ر کوه گه یه نی  
to nou yer ghevq.i ni

Case Study 16.7 “Sevastopol Song” in *Müntehabât mûsîkî* in Şamlı İskender (n.d., no. 136).



Case Study 16.8 The lyrics of the “Sevastopol Song” in the song text anthology *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı* edited by the İkbâl Kütüphanesi sâhibi Hüseyîn (1327/1911, 24).



Case Study 16.9 On the right: “Yeni Sivastopol marşı” edited by Hilmî of Kosovo (1333/1917).

R A S T T Ü R K Ü  
Sofyan -Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler-

ARANAĞMESİ.....

Sİ VAS TO POL Ö NÜN DE YA TAN GE Mİ LER.....  
Sİ VAS TO POL Ö NÜN DE Sİ RA SÖ GÜTLER.....

A TAR Nİ ZAM TO PU DÜN YA İ Nİ LER  
O TUR MUŞ BİN BA ŞI AS KER Ö GÜT LER

AS KE RE Gİ Dİ YOR BA DA Yİ ĞİT LER...SAZ.....  
VA DE SİN DEN EV VEL Ö LEN Yİ ĞİT LER...SAZ.....

A NA CI ĞİM A NA CI ĞİM BA NA AÇ LA MA  
A NA CI ĞİM A NA CI ĞİM Gİ NE GE LİRİM

E ĞER GEL MEZ İ SEM KA RA BAĞ LA MA  
E ĞER GEL MEZ İ SEM SE HİT O LU RUM..... (SON)

~~SİVASTOPOL ÖNÜNDE YATAN GEMİLER~~

~~ATAR NİZAM TOPU DÜNYA İNİLER~~

~~ASKERE GİDİYOR BABAYİĞİTLER~~

~~ANACIĞIM ANACIĞIM BANA AÇLAMA~~

~~EĞER GELMEZ İSEM KARA BAĞLAMA~~

~~SİVASTOPOL ÖNÜNDE SİRA SÖGÜTLER~~

~~OTURMUŞ BİNBAST ASKER ÖGÜTLER~~

~~VADESİNDEN EVVEL ÖLEN YİĞİTLER~~

~~ANACIĞIM ANACIĞIM GİNE GELİRİM~~

~~EĞER GELMEZ İSEM ŞEHİT OLURUM.~~

Case Study 16.10 The "Sevastopol Song" with the TRT repertoire number 10072; Accessed 11 Jan. 2022. <https://www.notaarsivleri.com/turk-sanat-muzigi/18021.html>.

## 17 Songs Related to the Gallipoli Campaign

## Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası

[Air of the Çanakkale Victory]

Mehmed Reşad V  
(1844–1918)Nayi Ali Rızâ [Şengel]  
(1880–1953)

Makâm: Şehnâz

Küşâde  
[Opening]

5

9  
A-section

v1. Sav - let \_\_\_\_\_ et - miş - ti Ça - nak - kal - e' -  
v3. Lâ - kin \_\_\_\_\_ im - dâ - dı i - lâ - hî ye -

12

ye \_\_\_\_\_ bah - rîü yer - den - den  
ti - şip \_\_\_\_\_ or - du - mu - za - za

16  
B-section

v2. Eh - li \_\_\_\_\_ İ - lâ - mın i - ki ha - sı - mi ka - vi -  
v4. Ol - du \_\_\_\_\_ her \_\_\_\_\_ bir ne - fe - ri kal - a - i pu -

20

- mi \_\_\_\_\_ bir - den - den  
- la - dı - be - den - den

24  
Makta  
[End]

v5. Ka - pa - nup sec - de - i \_\_\_\_\_ şük - râ - na Re - şâd \_\_\_\_\_ ey - le du - â

28

v6. Mül-kü İ̇s - lâ - mı Hu - dâ ey - le-ye dâ - im me' - men

**Case Study 17.1** “Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası” transcribed from the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî Notaları* (n.d., no issue number).

Stz.	Ver.	Turkish	Rhyme	English
1	1	Savlet etmişti Çanakkale'ye bahr ü berden	a	The enemy attacked Çanakkale from sea and land
	2	Ehl-i İslâm'ın iki hasm-ı kavmîsi birden	a	Both national enemies of the Islamic people at once
	3	Lâkin imdâd-ı ilâhi yetişüb ordu-muza	b	But divine help reached our army
	4	Oldu her bir neferi kal'a-i pûlad-ı beden.	a	And each soldier's body turned into a fortress of steel.
2	5	Asker evladlarımın pişgeh-i azminde	c	In the face of my soldier-sons' determination
	6	Aczini eyledi idrâk nihâyet düşman	d	The enemy eventually understood his inferiority
	7	Kadr ü haysiyeti pâ-mâl olarak etti firâr	e	His power and dignity being crushed, he ran away
	8	Kalb-i İslâm'a nüfûz eylemeye gelmiş iken.	a	Even though he had come to penetrate the heart of Islam.
3 (End)	9	Kapanıp secde-i şükrâna Reşâd eyle duâ:	b	Reşâd, pray, enclosed in worship of gratitude,
	10	Mülk-i İslâm'ı Hudâ eyleye dâim me'men.	a	For may God give the dominion of Islam a safe place forever.

**Case Study 17.2** Lyrics of “Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası” in *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî Notaları* (n.d., no issue number).

Stanza	Ver.	Melody	Measures	Section
1	—	: A :	1–8	Küşâde (opening)
	1	: B :	9–15	A
	2	: C :	16–22	B
	—	: A :	1–8	Küşâde (opening)
	3	: B :	9–15	A
	4	: C :	16–22	B
2	—	: A :	1–8	Küşâde (opening)
	5	: B :	9–15	A
	6	: C :	16–22	B
	—	: A :	1–8	Küşâde (opening)
	7	: B :	9–15	A
	8	: C :	16–22	B
3 (Makta)	—	: A :	1–8	Küşâde (opening)
	: 9 :	: D :	23–26	3
	: 10 :	: E :	27–30	
	—	: A :	1–8	Küşâde (opening)

**Case Study 17.3** The structure and the assumed performance order of the “Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası.”

Stz.	Turkish	English
1	Çanakkale içinde vurdular beni, Ölmeden mezara koydular beni Ah gençliğim eyvah!	They shot me in Çanakkale And buried me before I died Woe to my youth!
2	Çanakkale içinde Aynalı Çarşı Ana ben gidiyorum düşmana karşı Ah gençliğim eyvah!	In Çanakkale is the Aynalı Çarşı Mother, I am walking towards the enemy Woe to my youth!
3	Çanakkale içinde bir uzun selvi Kimimiz nişanlı kimimiz evli Ah gençliğim eyvah!	In Çanakkale, is a high cypress Some of us are engaged, and some are married Woe to my youth!
4	Çanakkale içinde bir dolu testi Analar, babalar ümidi kesti Ah gençliğim eyvah!	In Çanakkale, is a full cup Mothers and fathers gave up their hope. Woe to my youth!

**Case Study 17.4** Lyrics of “Çanakkale Türküsü 1915” displayed at the Gallipoli Memorial.



Stz.	Turkish	English
1	Edirne'den çıktım başım selâmet Harba dahil olmadan koptu kıyâmet <i>Nakarât</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	I departed from Edirne safely Before I got engaged in war, a pandemonium broke lose <i>Refrain</i> Woe to my youth
2	Atar çavuş atar vururlar seni Ölmeden mezara koyarlar seni <i>[Nakarât]</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	O sergeant, they will shoot you They will bury you before you die <i>[Refrain]</i> Woe to my youth
3	Çanakkale içinde duman bürür Kırkaltıncı fırkanın nâmı yürür <i>[Nakarât]</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	In Çanakkale smoke is rising The fame of the 46 <sup>th</sup> division spreads like wildfire <i>[Refrain]</i> Woe to my youth
4	Çanakkale içinde dolu bir desti Analar babalar ümidin kesdi <i>[Nakarât]</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	In Çanakkale, a hailstorm came down Fathers and mothers gave up hope <i>[Refrain]</i> Woe to my youth
5	Çanakkale içinde sıra selviler Altında yatıyor arslan şehîdler <i>[Nakarât]</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	In Çanakkale, the cypresses are in a row Below, the brave martyrs rest in peace <i>[Refrain]</i> Woe to my youth
6	Çanakkale boğazı dardır geçilmez Kan olmuş suları bir tas içilmez <i>[Nakarât]</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	The Dardanelles Strait is tight, and cannot be passed, Its waters became bloody, not a cup can be drunk <i>[Refrain]</i> Woe to my youth
7	Çanakkale içinde bir sarı yılan Osmanlının tayyâresi durdurur divân <i>[Nakarât]</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	In Çanakkale is a yellow snake The Ottoman airplanes command great respect <i>[Refrain]</i> Woe to my youth
8	Çanakkale'sinde vurdular beni Nişanlımın mendiline sardılar beni <i>[Nakarât]</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	They shot me in Çanakkale And wrapped me in my fiancée's cloth <i>[Refrain]</i> Woe to my youth
9	Çanakkale'sinde yaşar bir selvi Kimimiz nişanlı kimimiz evli <i>[Nakarât]</i> Of gençliğim eyvah	In Çanakkale lives a cypress Some of us are engaged, and some are married <i>[Refrain]</i> Woe to my youth

Stz.	Turkish	English
10	Atar İngiliz atar pişman olursun Kan akıcı firkaya kurbân olursun [Nakarât] Of gençliğim eyvah	The English firing makes you desperate And you fall prey to the blood-spilling division [Refrain] Woe to my youth
11	İstanbul'dan çıktım başım selâmet Çanakkale'ye varmadan koptu da kıyâ- met [Nakarât] Of gençliğim eyvah	I departed from Istanbul safely Before I arrived at Çanakkale a pandemonium broke lose [Refrain] Woe to my youth
12	Çanakkale'sini duman bürüdü Ali Kemal beyin nâmı yürüdü [Nakarât] Of gençliğim eyvah	Çanakkale is surrounded by smoke Ali Kemal Bey's fame started spreading like wildfire [Refrain] Woe to my youth
13	Tayyâre ile uçarız dağlar aşarız Bize tayyâreci derler düşmanları yakarız [Nakarât] Of gençliğim eyvah	We fly on our planes and overcome mountains We are called pilots, and we destroy the enemy [Refrain] Woe to my youth

**Case Study 17.6** Lyrics of the “Çanakkale marşı” edited in Şamlı Selîm (1331/1915).



Stz.	Turkish	English
1	Çanakkale'sine vardım selâmet Anafartalar'da kopdu kıyâmet <i>Nakarât</i> Anafartalarda oldu kıyâmet.	I arrived in Çanakkale safely At the Anafartalar, a pandemonium broke lose <i>Refrain</i> At the Anafartalar, a pandemonium broke lose.
2	Çanakkale'sinde bir büyük çarşı İşte ben gidiyorum düşmana karşı <i>Nakarât</i> Borular çalıyor ileri arşı.	In Çanakkale, there is a big market Look, I walk towards the enemy <i>Refrain</i> The trumpets resound: "Move"!
3	Çanakkale'sinde bir uzun servi Kimimiz taşralı kimimiz yerli <i>Nakarât</i> Askerde rahatla geçirdik devri.	In Çanakkale, there is a tall cypress Some of us are provincials, and some are locals <i>Refrain</i> We spent the period in the army calmly.
4	Çanakkale'sinde bir yeşil direk Ölen düşmanlara sevinmek gerek <i>Nakarât</i> Harbın dehşetine dayanmaz yürek.	In Çanakkale, there is a green mast, One should be pleased about the fallen enemies <i>Refrain</i> No soul can bear the horrors of war.
5	Çanakkale'sinde yapılır testi Düşmanlar çekilip ümidi kesti <i>Nakarât</i> Kahraman askerin yorulmaz desti.	In Çanakkale, pottery is being produced The enemy withdrew and lost hope <i>Refrain</i> The arm of the heroic soldier is never exhausted.
6	Çanakkale'sinde sıra serviler Sanki yağmur gibi iner mermiler <i>Nakarât</i> Düşmanın üstüne düşer mermiler.	In Çanakkale, there are cypresses in a row, Like rain, the bullets pour down <i>Refrain</i> The bullets fall on the enemy.
7	Çanakkale'sinde elektrikler Kumanda ediyor liva ferikler <i>Nakarât</i> Düşman cesediyle doldu tarikler.	In Çanakkale, [there is] electricity, The Brigadier Generals command <i>Refrain</i> The way was filled with enemy corpses.
8	Çanakkale'sinde bir büyük çınar Duymasın anam ölürsem yanar <i>Nakarât</i> Sağ kalır isem her dâim anar.	In Çanakkale, there is a tall plane-tree If I fall, my mother must not know, she would be in pain <i>Refrain</i> If I survive, she will always pay tribute to me.
9	Çanakkale'sinde sıra söğütler Zâbitler bir yandan asker öğütler <i>Nakarât</i> Vadesi gelerek ölen yiğitler.	In Çanakkale, there are willows in a row Officers from the one side advise soldiers <i>Refrain</i> Heroes, whose time has come, die.

Stz.	Turkish	English
10	Çanakkale’inde akıyor dere Hesapsız düşmanlar döküldü yere <i>Nakarât</i> Bomba yarasıyla açıldı bere.	In Çanakkale, a brook flows, Imprudent enemies fell to the ground <i>Refrain</i> A bomb has opened a crater.
11	Çanakkale’sinin çoktur fırını Osmanlı askeri arslan torunu <i>Nakarât</i> Asla unutulmaz Arı Burunu.	Çanakkale has many bakeries, Ottoman soldiers are grandchildren of lions <i>Refrain</i> Arı Burnu will never be forgotten.
12	Çanakkale’inde toplar inliyor Topların sesini herkez dinliyor <i>Nakarât</i> Topcular düşmanı görüp mimliyor.	In Çanakkale, the cannon balls are groaning Everyone listens to the sound of the cannon balls <i>Refrain</i> The artillery watches and aims at the enemy.
13	Çanakkale’inde yanar löküsler Kahraman askerler durmaz göğüsler <i>Nakarât</i> Korkarak kaçar hemen öküsler.	In Çanakkale, there are kerosene lamps burning, The heroic soldiers will not stop fighting <i>Refrain</i> Fearful, the foolish [enemy] runs away.
14	Çanakkale’inde kurulur Pazar Arslan askerlere değmesin nazar <i>Nakarât</i> Ecel geldi ise kismette yazar.	In Çanakkale, a market is being set up May the evil eye not reach the brave soldiers <i>Refrain</i> And if their time has come, then fate will have it.

**Case Study 17.8** Lyrics of the “Çanakkale şarkısı” according to Şükrü Efendi (1331/1915), adapted to Modern Turkish.

M E L O D I E N.

Lied Nr. I.



Ça-nak-ka-la i-çin-de wu-r-du-lar be-ni öl-me-den me-ze-  
- re koj-du-lar be-ni. of genğ-li-jim he-wa.

**Case Study 17.9** Excerpt of the “Gallipoli Song” in Heffening (1923, 260).

چناق قلمه مارشی

*Čanaq qalä maršy.*

Das Dardanellenlied.



Ä dir na dän èy - yq dym ba šym sa - a - a la mat



har ba da hyl o - o - ol ma da - an qo - op du - u bu - u ki - i - i ja



mat o - of ga - a - an ğle ji - i m ej wah

Case Study 17.10 Excerpt of the “Gallipoli Song” in Hadank (1919, 68).



**Case Study 17.11** Record labels with the different recordings of the “Gallipoli Song”:  
 a) Columbia Records, Catalogue no. E-5283, “Chanakale” performed by Marika Papağkika; b) Metropolitan Records, Catalogue no. 162-B, “Dose mou tēn evchē sou” [Give Me Your Blessing], a variation of the “Gallipoli Song” with new lyrics performed by Amalia Vaka and Oriental Orchestra; c) Columbia Records “Tsanakale,” Catalogue no. 7210-F, instrumental version of the “Gallipoli Song” as “Syrto,” performed by the Orchestra K. Gkadinē; d) Orfeon Record, Catalogue no. 12751, “Çanakkale içinde” [In Çanakkale], in makâm uşşâk performed by Hânende İbrahim Efendi (author’s private archive).

Performer	Year	Time	Performance order							
<b>Papagkika</b>	1923	4:04	Prelude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 1	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 2	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 3	Taksim ( <i>inst.</i> ) (16 measures)	Coda ( <i>inst.</i> ) (4 measures)
<b>İbrâhîm Efendi</b>	ca. 1920s	3:34	Prelude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stzs. 1+2	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (4 measures)	Stzs. 3+4	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (4 measures)	Stz. 5	Coda ( <i>inst.</i> ) (4 measures)	—
<b>Eskenazi</b>	1932	3:11	Intro & Prelude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 1	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 2	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 3	Taksim ( <i>inst.</i> ) (15 measures)	Coda ( <i>inst.</i> ) (16 measures)
<b>Abatzē</b>	1933	3:11	Prelude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 1	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 2	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	Stz. 3	Taksim ( <i>inst.</i> ) (15 measures)	Coda ( <i>inst.</i> ) (12 measures)
<b>Dalgas</b>	1933	3:05	Prelude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (16 measures)	Stz. 1	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (16 measures)	Stz. 2	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (16 measures)	Stz. 3	Coda ( <i>inst.</i> ) (8 measures)	—
<b>Gus Gadinis Orch. (<i>inst.</i>)</b>	1940	2:26	Prelude (8 measures)	Melody	Interlude (8 measures)	Melody	Interlude (8 measures)	Melody	Coda (4 measures)	—
<b>Vaka</b>	1946	2:58	Prelude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (11 measures)	Stz. 1	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (12 measures)	Stz. 2	Interlude ( <i>inst.</i> ) (12 measures)	Stz. 3	Coda ( <i>inst.</i> ) (12 measures)	—

Case Study 17.12 Performance order of the “Gallipoli Song” in the consulted recordings.

Stz.	Greek	English
1	Katinaki mou gia sena me skotōsane, aman aman! Katinaki mou gia sena me skotōsane, Mesa ston teke tou Phōtē me ksaplōsane ah manoula mou ah!	My dear Katina because of you I have been killed, aman aman! My dear Katina because of you I have been killed. In Phōtē's <i>tekke</i> I was shot down O woe to my mother, oh!
2	Me varesane kale mou, re me mpampesia, aman aman! Me varesane kale mou, re me mpampesia! Ah, treis machairies mou dōsan, mesa stēn kardia, ah manoula mou ah!	They hit me, my dear, insidiously, aman aman! They hit me, my dear, insidiously! They gave me three stabs with a knife right in my heart O woe to my mother, oh!
3	Ki'esti chathēka gia sena, Katinaki mou, aman, aman! Ki'etsi chathēka gia sena, Katinaki mou! Ap'to ntvatzē pou eiches, vre manaki mou, ah, ah manoula mou ah!	And thus, I died for you, my dear Katina, aman aman! and thus, I died for you my dear Katina. Because of the procurer you had, O woe to my mother, oh!

**Case Study 17.13** The lyrics of Karipēs' "Katinaki mou gia sena" performed by Eskenazi, Abatzē and Dalgas (ca. 1932–1933).

Stz.	Greek	English
1	Ston polemo tha pame na polemēsoume Ta echthrika kanonia na ta gkr(e)misoume.	We will go to war to fight Let us destroy the enemy cannon.
2	Mēn klais manoula mou, mē klais ki'an lavōthēka Se echthrika kanonia den paradothēka.	Don't cry my dear mother; if I get mortally wounded I will not be handed over to the enemy can- non.
3	Dōse mou tē evchē sou manoula mou glykia Hē nikē ein' dikē mas kai hē elevtheria.	Give me your blessing, my sweet mother Victory is ours as well as liberty.

**Case Study 17.14** The lyrics of the song "Mētera, dōse mou tē evchē sou" performed by Vakas (ca. 1946). My transcription and translation.

Stz.	Greek	English
1	Mesa sto Tsanakale, me skotōsane Kai stou exthrou ta cheria, me paradōsane	In Çanakkale I was shot And fell into enemy hands
2	Sōpa manoula mou mē klais, ki an me skotōsane Gia tē glykeia patriđa, me paradōsane	Keep calm, my dear mother, do not cry, even if I get killed, I was betrayed for the sweet homeland

**Case Study 17.15** The lyrics of the song “Mesa sto Tsanakale” collected and edited by Dragoumēs (2008, 285–86).

Block	Stz.	Turkish	Rhyme	English
1	1	Çanakkale içinde vurdular beni Ölmeden mezara koydular beni Gençliğim eyvah!	a a	They shot me in Çanakkale And buried me before I died Woe to my youth!
	2	[ <i>Nakarât</i> ] Atma da çavus atma kıyma canıma Nişanlım var geride kalır mey- danda Gençliğim eyvah!	b b	[ <i>Refrain</i> ] Don't fire, sergeant, don't fire, have pity on me I have a fiancée back home, she would be left destitute Woe to my youth!
<i>Instrumental interlude</i>				
2	3	Çanakkale içinde doludur diken Çanakkale içinde Aynalı Çarşı Ana ben gidiyorum düşmana karşı Gençliğime eyvah!	c [!] d d	Çanakkale is full of thorns, In Çanakkale is the Aynalı Çarşı Mother, I am walking towards the enemy Woe to my youth!
	4	[ <i>Nakarât</i> ] Atma çavuş atma kıyma canıma Nişanlım var geride kalır mey- danda Gençliğim eyvah!	b b	[ <i>Refrain</i> ] Don't fire, sergeant, don't fire, have pity on me I have a fiancée back home, she would be left destitute Woe to my youth!
<i>Instrumental Interlude</i>				
3	5	Çanakkale içinde bir dolu testi Kimimiz nişanlı kimimiz evli Gençliğim eyvah!	a a	In Çanakkale, a hailstorm came down Some of us are engaged, and some are married Woe to my youth!
	<i>Coda</i>			

**Case Study 17.16** Lyrics of the “Gallipoli Song” sung by İbrâhîm Efendi for Orfeon Records. My transcription and translation.

TRT MÜZİK DAİRESİ YAYINLARI  
THM REPERTUAR SIRA NO 461  
İNCELEME TARİHİ 22.11.1973

DERLEYEN  
M. SARISÖZEN

YÖRESİ  
KASTAMONU

DERLEME TARİHİ

KİMDEN ALINDIĞI  
İHSAN OZANOĞLU

NOTAYA ALAN  
M. SARISÖZEN

### ÇANAKKALE İÇİNDE

SÜRE

ÇA NAK KA LE İ ÇİN DE AY NA LI ÇAR ŞI  
A NA BEN Gİ Dİ YOM DÜŞ MA NA KAR  
ŞI OF GEN Ç Lİ Öİ MEY VAH

Case Study 17.17 The “Gallipoli Song” record of Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) with repertoire no. 461, in Akdoğan 1991.



# Appendix B: Tables

## 1 Greek School Song Anthologies

Publisher	Title	Place	Year	Notation	Number of songs	Patriotic songs
n.p.	Evchai deēseis kai asmata adomena eis ta dēmotika scholeia tēs Ellados	Athens	1846	none	57	14%
Orthodoksē Anatolikē Ekklēsia	Evchai deēseis kai asmata adomena eis ta dēmotika scholia tēs Ellados	Athens	1868	none	58	14%
Remanta, A. S.	Tais arsakeiasi paidagōgika asmata pros chrēsīn tōn dēmotikōn scholeion (vol. 1)	Athens	n.d.	staff notation	3	33%
n.p.	Ymnoi ieroi kai asmata ēthika dia ta paidia	Athens	1872	none	36	6%
Keīvelēs, Iōannis G. Z.	Mousikon apanthisma (vol. 2)	Istanbul	1873	Chry-santhine	46	0%
Tantalidēs, Ēlias	Asmata eis Evrōpaikēs melōdian	Athens	1876	staff notation	79	5%

Publisher	Title	Place	Year	Notation	Number of songs	Patriotic songs
n.p.	Mousikē anthodesmē (vol. 1)	Paris	1876?	staff notation	36	19%
Tantalidēs, Ēlias	Asmata pros chrēsīn tōn ellēnopaidōn	Athens	1880	staff notation	36	19%
Ennig, Julious; Katakouzēnos, Aleksandros	Nea asmata paidagōgika	Athens	1880–1890	staff notation	300	13%
Sakellarids, Iōannis Theōdros	Mousa	Athens	1882	both	32	53%
Agapētos, A. S.	Neai evchai dēseis kai asmata adomena eis ta dēmotika scholeia tēs Ellados	Patras	1882	none	22	9%
Maltos, Anastasios	Terpsichorē (vol. 1)	Leipzig	1884	staff notation	87	7%
Kyriazē Psaltos, Dēmētrios	Asmata ērōika tēs Ellēnikēs epanastaseōs tou 1821	Athens	1884	Chry-santhine	18	67%
Sakinēs, Iōannēs D.	Ho Sarakēnos, ētoi asmata kai poiēmata ethnika, scholeiaka kai paidagōgika	Volos	1884	none	22	27%
Germanos, Nikolaos K.	Ho Parnassos tōn paidōn	Athens	1884	none	46	0%
Maltos, Anastasios	Terpsichorē (vol. 2)	Odessa	1885	staff notation	57	28%
Apostolopoulos and Kōnstantinidēs (ed.)	Ho Apollōn	Athens	1885	none	130	30%
Maltos, Anastasios	Melpomenē	Odessa	1887	staff notation	26	4%
Kēltzanidēs, Panagiōtēs	Kalliphōnos seirēn	Istanbul	1888	Chry-santhine	5	0%
Vlachos, Christos Geōr.	Mousika skariphēmata en ōrais scholēs	Athens	1892	Chry-santhine	7	0%

Publisher	Title	Place	Year	Notation	Number of songs	Patriotic songs
Ksanthopoulos, Timotheos K.	Avra	Athens	1892	unknown	unknown	unknown
Navpliōtēs, Iakōvos	Phormigx	Istanbul	1894	Chry-santhine	134	1%
Ek Madytinōs, Kosmas	Poimenikos Avlos periechōn mousika erga (vol. 3)	Athens	1897	Chry-santhine	60	0%
Paganas, Nikolaos	Mousikē paidagōgia	Istanbul	1897	Chry-santhine	30	0%
Sakellaridēs, Iō. Th.	Tyrtaios	Athens	1898	staff notation	34	62%
Artemidēs, Kleov. K.	Orphikē lyra	Athens	1905	both	87	62%
Chōraphas, G.	Sylogē scholikōn asmatōn	Athens	1912	staff notation	32	41%
Kalomoirēs, Manōlēs	Scholika tragoudia (vol. 1)	Athens	1914	staff notation	4	50%
Argyropoulos, Athanasios	Hē mousikē tōn paidagōgikōn scholeiōn (parartēma)	Athens	1915	staff notation	30	33%
Music and drama society (ed.)	Scholika asmata	Athens	1916	staff notation	13	3%
Argyropoulos, Athanasios	Apollōn	Athens	1925	staff notation	18	20%
Argyropoulos, Athanasios	Scholikē mousikē (vol. 1)	Athens	1937	staff notation	24	25%
Argyropoulos, Athanasios	Scholikē mousikē (vol. 2)	Athens	1938	staff Notation	10	0%

## 2 Ottoman School Song Anthologies

Publisher	Title	Place	Year	Notation	Number of songs	Patriotic songs
Şamlı Selim	Bil'umum mekteb-i osmaniyeye mahsûs mekteb marşları, forma 1	Istanbul	ca. 1909–1914	staff notation	9	78%
Şamlı Selim	Bil'umum mekteb-i osmaniyeye mahsûs mekteb marşları, forma 2	Istanbul	ca. 1909–1914	staff notation	12	75%
M. Sâhib	Telhîs-i müsîkî	Istanbul	1330/1914	staff notation	21	5%
İkbâl kütüphânesi	Mektebte vatan türküleri	Istanbul	1914 (?)	—	33	85%
Kâzım Uz	Notalı mekteb şarkıları	Istanbul	1914	staff notation	11	64%
Kâzım Uz	İptidâî nota dersleri	Istanbul	1333/1917	staff notation	12	21%

# Glossary

**adhan**

Islamic call to prayer.

**alafranga**

a Turkified term of “alla franca” often used in the late Ottoman Empire to refer to Western or Occidental style. It is the counter-term to “alaturca.”

**amanes**

a term generally used in Greek scholarship to refer to song genres that are or were popular in south-east European and Middle Eastern regions, and which used the exclamation “aman.”

**aman aman**

a formulaic way of keening in songs.

**armatoles**

Armatoles were a militia consisting mostly of Christian Greeks and Albanians that were originally organized by the Ottomans to protect trade routes and local populations from brigands and robbery. Armatoles were tasked with fighting the increasing brigand activities of the Klephts. In the nineteenth century, the two, however, often had friendly relationships and often changed sides and, at the end, had to be fought by the Ottomans.

Apart from the klephtic songs, there is another Greek folk song genre that has categorized the songs of the *armatoles*.

**arûd**

“the prosody of the classical Arabic-Persian tradition; meter” (Redhouse 1997).

**aulos**

a Greek reed instrument.

**davul**

“a rhythmic instrument made of a large and rather wide wooden hoop covered on both sides with donkey hide. It is beaten with a stick on one side and on the other (the right side) with a mallet. It is a national instrument usually played with a *zurna*” (Redhouse 1997).

**fasıl**

*here:* refers to a performance cycle with a determined sequence of vocal and instrumental pieces that have the same *makâm*.

**Doxastikon**

a troparion to be sung with the doxology. The term “troparion” is used for several genres of hymns in the Byzantine liturgy.

**Dragoman**

interpreter and high office in the Ottoman state system responsible for foreign affairs.

**Hospoderate**

Phanariot feudal ruler in the Ottoman principalities Moldavia and Wallachia.

**incesâz**

an alternative term for an orchestra that performed “*fasıl* music.” This type of orchestra was sometimes also referred to as “*fasıl heyeti*.”

**ison**

In Greek church music, the *ison* has the function of a drone that keeps the ground pitch of the mode.

**Kanōn; Kânûn**

plucked, trapeze-shaped box zither that is mostly used in the Middle East and North Africa.

**Kapellmeister**

“The musician in charge of the Kapelle or Chapel” (Grove Music Online).

**kemençe**

a spike fiddle similar to the Greek Aegean lyra. The short neck has three strings which are played with a bow.

**Klephts**

outlaws in the nineteenth century that joined the partisan movement and initiated the Greek Revolution. Today, they are considered national heroes who considerably contributed to Greek Independence.

**makâm**

“Arabic term often translated as ‘mode’, ‘scale’, or ‘melody’” (Grove Music Online).

**melē**

plural form of the Greek word “melos,” which in this context could be translated as “tone” or “sound.”

**meşk**

teaching method where the master passes on his knowledge to the apprentice in face-to-face lessons over a long period of time.

**ney**

reed flute used in Ottoman art music; traditional instrument of the Sufi.

**pandur; pandoura**

a name to refer to different types of lutes in the Balkans and in the Middle East.

**peşrev**

an instrumental music genre in Ottoman music. It formed part of the fasıl cycles, and served in the vocal fasıl as the prelude, or opening piece.

**Phanariot**

The term “Phanariot” derives from “Phanar,” a district in Istanbul, where also the Patriarchate is located. Phanariots were Greek Orthodox citizens, some of whom had important administrative positions in the state system of the Ottoman Empire.

**Philhellenism**

intellectual movement in Europe and the USA that studied and propagated Hellenic and modern Greek culture. Philhellenism also supported the national and political aims of the modern Greeks to gain independence from the Ottoman Empire.

**rebâb**

is in Turkey, a spike fiddle similar to the kemençe, with three strings. The sound is produced by a bow drawn across the string.

**şarkı**

a common, popular and secular vocal song genre in Ottoman music.

**taksîm**

an instrumental genre in Middle Eastern music. It is improvised, rhythmically free and concentrates on unfolding the makâm.

**tanbûr**

*see* pandur, pandoura.

**tekke**

*here:* “den of scoundrels where hashish is taken; place where idlers find refuge and food” (Redhouse 1997).

**tetraphōnia**

a vocal music practice that is similar to four-part singing or harmonizing melodies. In nineteenth-century Greek sources, it is sometimes used interchangeably with the term “polyphony,” which in Western music also has other meanings.

**tonos**

stress, accent. In Modern-Greek it is presented with the diacritic (´).

**troparia**

*see* Doxastikon.

**ulemâ**

social class in the Ottoman Empire that organized education, lawsuit, opinion on legal matters, and religious affairs.

**usûl**

*here:* determined rhythmic pattern that structures a piece in terms of time. An usûl is defined by the total number of beats it contains, and the predetermined rhythmic pattern. It may be either played during performance, or silently thought. The beats are often represented by a higher and lower tone that imitate the sound of a kettledrum, and thus, are expressed with the onomatopoetic syllables “Düm” (D) and “Tek” (T).

**zurna**

double-reed oboe.

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Metriös.

Eis ton A - na - kta tou chai - rôn ky - kli - os cho - ros plê - roi  
O - pheí lo - me - non pai - a - na do - te pa - ro - don phrou - roi.

In many countries, nationalism studies in musicology have become an established interdisciplinary research field. In the Greek and Turkish contexts, however, this field has been studied mostly by researchers of the respective nations. To date, such scholarship has yet to embark upon a much-needed comparative and transcultural reading of music history incorporating a holistic picture of ideological movements in their global context, particularly important for these two nations with a long-entangled history. This study looks at the contributions of music to the construction of national identities in Greece and Turkey in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It takes a comparative approach and aims to show similarities and differences in the narratives around music and national identity in both nations. Divided into three sections, this study first offers insights on the debates on “Oriental music” among intellectuals as well as their repercussions for the creation of “Greek” and “Turkish” music; second, the chapters show how ideas of modernism and reforms were negotiated towards the end of the nineteenth century and how they were applied to the national culture; and third, in addition to examining intellectual discourse, this study also analyzes how national ideology was conveyed through music. Throughout this book, the case study chapters provide specific school songs published in nineteenth- and twentieth-century school song anthologies. The primary sources are read in their historical and ideological context, which followed European and global intellectual currents. The last section of the thesis evaluates and compares the analyzed materials and draws conclusions about the similar and different paths the two nations chose when forging a national identity through music.



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