

# Greek Printed Music Collections: Music Sociality and Music Typography in Late-Ottoman Istanbul

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## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

To the cultural and music historian, nineteenth-century Greek printed music collections from Istanbul present a promising field for the study of late Ottoman intercommunal music life. Their composite musical and linguistic ingredients invite us to consider them as syncretic cultural artefacts that merit dedicated attention. They normally contain a mixed repertoire of both Ottoman and Greek secular songs. Much of the paratextual material (in the form of prologues, introductions, subscribers' catalogues, etc.) and the lyrics of Greek songs are in Greek, while the lyrics of the Ottoman songs are in Karamanlidika, that is, they are written in Turkish using the Greek alphabet. Unlike both the earlier tradition of Ottoman manuscript song-text collections (*mecmua*) and the first printed Turkish collections, many include music notation (Tables 1 and 2). The notation system used is the so-called New Method, the end product of a long process of evolution and key in the implementation of a major musical reform in the field of Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical music.<sup>2</sup> Yet, from their composite

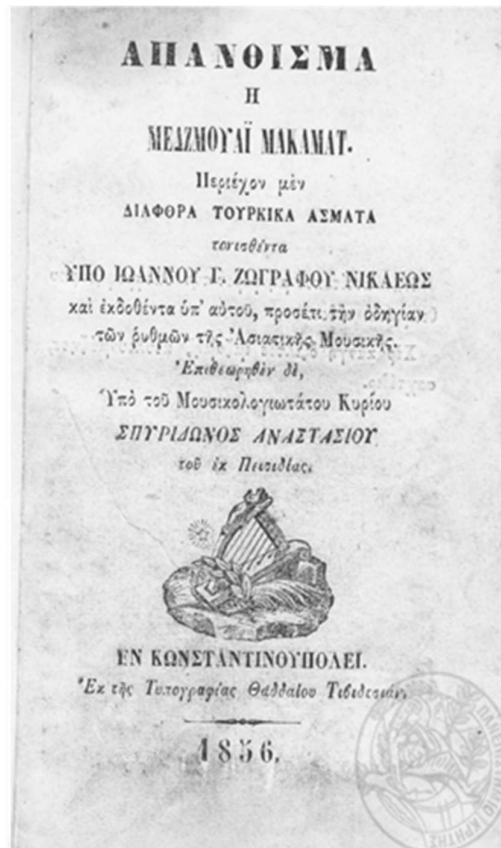
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1 This article was developed in the framework of the research project *Intercommunal musical geographies of late Ottoman Istanbul*, supported by the Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation (H.F.R.I.) under the "First Call for H.F.R.I. Research Projects to support Faculty members and Researchers and the procurement of high-cost research equipment grant" (Project Number: 2203, PI Panagiotis Poulos, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens). I am thankful to Jacob Olley and to the anonymous journal reviewer for their insightful comments, to Panagiotis Poulos, Nikos Andrikos and Gerasimos Papadopoulos for our ongoing conversations, and to the late Dimitris Balageorgos and Achilleas Chaldæakes for granting me access to the K. A. Psachos's Library at the University of Athens.

2 In the modern history of Greek Orthodox church music, the early nineteenth century formed a decisive turning point as a period of musical reform. The reform's modernizing drive was perhaps best epitomized by the New Method, the music notation that was invented by the so-called Three Teachers, Chrysanthos of Madytos (c. 1770-1846), Chourmouziou Chartofylax (d. 1846?) and Grigorios Protopsaltis (1777-1821), and officially adopted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1814. The New Method enabled the construction of typesetting for printing music and, resultingly, the publication of church music, while it also bolstered the pedagogy and transmission of church music. The formidable interconnection between notation system, printing press, and educational institutions, with the support of the Patriarchate and Istanbul as its center, ensured the wide-ranging and long-lasting impact of the musical reform in the field of Greek Orthodox church music throughout the nineteenth century. On key aspects of the music reform and the New Method see Nikos Andrikos, "Chrysanthine Theoretical Thought and Notation System: The Relation between Orality and Textuality," *Epistēmēs Metron Logos* 5

ingredients it is clear that while the collections gave impetus to this musical reform, the influence they exerted far exceeded its confines, both in terms of the audiences and the performative contexts that they engendered. The present article investigates precisely this wider influence, by looking into the modalities and material spaces where the collections interfaced with the broader late Ottoman cultural milieu.

Table 1. KV56, cover.



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(2021): 96–106; Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*, trans. and introduction Katy Romanou, 10-25 (New Rochelle: The Axion Estin Foundation, 2010); Georgios Papadopoulos, *Ιστορική επισκόπηση της βυζαντινῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς* [A Historical Overview of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music] (Athens: Praxitelous, 1904).

Table 2. A setting from the KV72 collection, employing Karamanlidika and the New Method. The heading defines the melodic mode (*makam hidzazkiar*) and its corresponding echos (*chromatikos tou plagiou tetartou*), the form (*sarki*), composer (Dede Ismail), and rhythmic cycle (*usul dougek*).

Due precisely to their cultural syncretism, the study of Greek printed music collections has so far remained scant.<sup>3</sup> Until recently, they led an intermediate existence between the study of Karamanlidika (not deemed Turkish enough) and Greek book history (not deemed Greek enough), while their specialized music content posed an additional barrier to the book historian.<sup>4</sup> Conversely, in the field of musicology they have mostly occupied the margins of

3 Throughout the article, the term Greek is used with reference to *Romii* (Rum), the members of the Greek Orthodox community of the Ottoman Empire.

4 In the scholarly fields of the Greek and the Karamanlidika book, the production of detailed catalogues of Greek bibliography of the nineteenth century and the creation of databases of subscribers have laid the ground for a social history of the book, a holistic study of the book “in its dual capacity as a carrier of ideas and as a merchandise,” as noted by Filippos Iliou, *Ιστορίες του ελληνικού βιβλίου* [Histories of the Greek Book] (Irakleio: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2006), 32. Ensuing nuanced studies focus not only on the subject matter of the book but also “on its networks of production and circulation and on its reading and reception, which testify to the ideological formations and the structure of collective mentalities” (Iliou, *ibid.*, v; cf. Loukia Droulia, *Η ιστορία του ελληνικού βιβλίου: Προσεγγίσεις και σύγχρονες κατευθύνσεις της έρευνας - Βιβλιογραφία των ελληνικών εργασιών (1965–2000)* [History of the Greek Book: Approaches and Modern Directions of Research - Bibliography of Greek Works (1965–2000)] (Athens: Kotinos,

both Byzantine musicology (their subject matter being secular and not ecclesiastical music) and Ottoman musicology (their Greek language and script together with the Byzantine notation system rendering them less easily accessible).<sup>5</sup> Despite this, a few scholars versed in both church music and Ottoman secular music have prepared the ground for an interdisciplinary study of secular music sources in Byzantine notation.<sup>6</sup> In addition, scholars

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2001). As concerns the Karamanlidika book, the compilation of bibliographical catalogues—most notably by Séverien Salaville and Eugene Dalleggio, followed by Evangelia Balta—paved the way for the study of the sociocultural significance of this production and carved a space for the Karamanlidika book as a legitimate academic field. See especially Evangelia Balta, ed. *Karamanlidika Legacies* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2018); Evangelia Balta, ed., *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2014); Evangelia Balta, ed., *Miscellaneous Studies on the Karamanlidika Literary Tradition* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2013); Evangelia Balta, ed., *Beyond the Language Frontier, Studies on the Karamanlis and the Karamanlidika Printing* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2010); Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler, eds., *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies* (Nicosia, 11th–13th September 2008) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010); Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez, eds., *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 2011). Yet studies dedicated especially to the printed music collections are still lacking. For a formidable exception see Yannis Kokkonas, "Ένας αυτόπτης μάρτυρας στην εκτύπωση της Πατρικής Διδασκαλίας και οι δύο εκδόσεις της το 1798" [An Eyewitness to the Printing of *Patriki Didaskalia* and its Two Editions in 1798], *Mnimon* 29 (2008): 65–92.

5 On the bibliography of the ecclesiastical book see Georgios Chatzitheodorou, *Βιβλιογραφία της βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής - Περίοδος Α (1820–1899)* [Bibliography of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music - 1st Period (1820–1899)] (Thessaloniki: Patriarchikon Idryma Paterikon Meleton, 1998); Georgios Ladas, *Τα πρώτα τυπωμένα βιβλία Βυζαντινής μουσικής* [The First Printed Books of Byzantine Music] (Athens: Koultoura, 1978). On the study of typography with relation to the broader, mainly Greek/ecclesiastical, socio-historical context see indicatively the contributions to the conference *The Musical Typography of the Psaltic Art: 200th Anniversary (1820/21–2021)*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Athens 15–18 December 2021.

6 Notably, Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, "Post-Byzantine Musical Manuscripts as Sources for Oriental Secular Music: The Case of Petros Peloponnesios (1740–1778) and the Music of the Ottoman Court," in *Writing the History of "Ottoman Music,"* ed. Martin Greve, 139–50 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2015); Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2012); Thomas Apostolopoulos and Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, *Rediscovered Musical Treasures. Exegeses of Secular Oriental Music, Part 1* (Bucharest: Editura Universitații Naționale de Muzică din București, 2019); Georgios Smanis, "Η εξωτερική μουσική και η θεωρητική της προσέγγιση" [Secular Music and its Theoretical Approach] (PhD diss., University of Athens, 2011); Georgios Karazeris, "The Research of the Early Nineteenth Century Musical Style through the Examination of the *Efterpi* Musical Collection" (MA thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2018); Andreas Michailidis, "Οι συνθέσεις του Ντεντέ Εφέντη μέσα από τις ρωμαϊκές συλλογές εξωτερικής μουσικής: Μεταγραφή αυτών από τη βυζαντινή σημειογραφία στο σύγχρονο μουσικό σύστημα καταγραφής της Τουρκίας" [The Compositions by Dede Efendi through the Rum Collections of Secular Music: Transcribing them from Byzantine Notation to the Modern Turkish Notation System] (BA thesis, Technological Educational University of Epirus, 2008); Christos Tsiamoulis and Pavlos Erevnidis, *Ρωμιοί συνθέτες της Πόλης. 17ος–20ός αιώνας* [Rum Composers of Constantinople, 17th–20th Centuries] (Athens: Domos, 1998).

of Ottoman music have studied their content, and have laid the methodological foundations for comparative/historical analyses of the repertoire contained in Ottoman song-text collections.<sup>7</sup> Yet the fields of Ottoman and Byzantine musicology still lack more synthetic analyses that center on the collections' material and spatial trajectories in the context of Istanbul's late Ottoman intercommunal history and shifting musical geography.

Besides being inscribed in the history of Greek orthodox church music and Istanbul's chanting milieu, these collections also registered the Greek Orthodox community in the broader field of Ottoman music culture and intercommunal musical relations. As Jacob Olley aptly demonstrated with reference to the Ottoman Armenian community, musical practice and discourse engaged the Ottoman ethno-religious communities within larger, locally embedded processes related with modernization, Enlightenment thought, Ottoman subjecthood and national affiliation.<sup>8</sup> During the nineteenth century, music, together with language and script, became both a field of contestation and a vehicle for articulating modernity and for collective identification within and among the Ottoman ethno-religious communities and vis-à-vis the Ottoman state. Education and typography played a key role in this instrumentalization of culture in the context of an emerging public sphere intricately connected with the Tanzimat reforms.<sup>9</sup> The printed music collections discussed in this article offer precious insights into the entanglements between typography and musical performance and their formative role in the late Ottoman public sphere.<sup>10</sup>

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7 The seminal work by Cem Behar and Murat Bardakçı is presently enriched by a younger generation of researchers including Mehmet Ali Sanlıkol and Rıdvan Aydın. See Cem Behar, *Musikiden Müziğe. Osmanlı/Türk Müziği: Gelenek ve Modernlik* [From musiki to music. Ottoman/Turkish Music: Tradition and Modernity] (Istanbul: YKY, 2005); Cem Behar, "Türk Musikisinin Tarihinin Kaynaklarından: Karamanlıca Yayınlar" [Sources of the History of Turkish Music: Karamanli Publications], *Mütteferrika* 2 (1994): 39–49; Murat Bardakçı, *Fener Beyleri'ne Türk Şarkıları* [Turkish Songs for Fener's Gentlemen] (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1993); Mehmet Ali Sanlıkol, *Reform, Notation and Ottoman Music in Early 19th Century Istanbul: Euterpe* (New York and London: Routledge, 2023).

8 Jacob Olley, "Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul. Ottoman Armenians and the Invention of Hampartsum Notation" (PhD diss., University of London, 2017); Cf. Maureen Jackson, *Mixing Musics: Turkish Jewry and the Urban Landscape of a Sacred Song* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); Merih Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music in Ottoman Istanbul: Nation and Community in the Era of Reform* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

9 A set of administrative reforms, collectively known as Tanzimat, was implemented from 1839 to 1876. The reforms aimed to transform the Ottoman Empire from its traditional structure into a modern state and had far-reaching economic and societal effects.

10 For the interface among language and education policies, print culture, and the public sphere in the late Ottoman context more broadly, see Benjamin C. Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Johann Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute'. Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society" ['Books and periodicals.' Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society], in *Late Ottoman Society. The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga, 227–55 (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005); Federica Nardella, "The Late Ottoman *Şarkı* and the Interweaving of Registers: Towards an Ideology of Song," *Musicologist* 4 (2020): 1–33.

The article thus proposes an examination of nineteenth-century Greek printed music collections as cultural and material artefacts. It offers new comparative data and raises questions about the collections' makings, multiple readings and musical usages, and ultimately about the musical communities and practices that they conjure up. Through this approach, the article advocates a dialogue between Ottoman and modern Greek music studies, music historiography and the cultural/material history of print and the book, thus shedding light on the history of late Ottoman intercommunal music relations. More specifically, insights are offered into the interconnections and transfers within and between late Ottoman musical communities, between musical typography and music sociality, and between the world of print and the world of aurality/orality and performance. A community of "music-lovers" emerges that drew together music professionals and amateurs, church and secular music, and oral and written transmission. Its musical practices added to the new modes and spaces of music sociality that played a part in the "renewal of the musical geography" of Istanbul and in the trajectory of Ottoman music from the court to the city.<sup>11</sup>

### The Greek Printed Music Collections

In his pioneering study, Cem Behar compiled a catalogue of nineteenth-century Greek printed music collections, commented on their content, and assessed the extent to which they departed from or adhered to the norms set by their contemporary Turkish collections. He also identified and offered a periodization of the composers and compositions for two of the collections (discussed also in this article as EF30, PA46), and called attention to the subscribers' catalogues and the type of information that can be derived from them.<sup>12</sup> Conversely, Murat Bardakçı complemented his short historical review of the Byzantine notation system with a presentation of seven of the most important Greek printed music collections, including also lists of their notated works.<sup>13</sup> Expanding on this body of work, Mehmet Ali Sanlıkol's recent book offers a comprehensive commentary, transcription and edition of *Efterpi* (EF30).<sup>14</sup> The author places the world of cantors and music collections in the Ottoman context and outlines *Efterpi*'s intellectual, cultural, and musical lineages in order to shed light on the historical evolution of repertoire and style in Ottoman art music during the early nineteenth century.

These studies are important not only for bringing to the attention of non-Greek-speaking researchers the Greek collections as important sources on the history of Ottoman art music, but also for setting an important methodological precedent for their quantitative analysis. Building on their findings, the present article offers a comprehensive review of comparative

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11 Panagiotis C. Poulos, "Spaces of Intercommunal Musical Relations in Ottoman Istanbul," *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 1 (2019), 181.

12 Behar, *Musikiden Müziğë; Karamanlıca Yayınlar*.

13 Bardakçı, *Fener Beyleri'ne*.

14 Sanlıkol, *Euterpe*.

data that juxtapose the Greek collections with two contemporary Turkish collections, as well as new quantitative data derived from their subscribers' catalogues.<sup>15</sup>

The four Greek printed collections on which this article focuses were selected from the larger body of collections, firstly, because they contain a substantial number of Ottoman pieces.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, they give snapshots of the nineteenth century over a period of four decades, starting from 1830 (when *Efterpi*, the first Greek printed music collection, was printed) and ending in the early 1870s. Lastly, considered in pairs, the first and the second two (EF30 - PA43/46 and KV56 - KV72/73, respectively) show substantial coherence in terms of their repertoire and contributors. Important in this schema of four are two additional Ottoman Turkish song-text collections, Hasim Bey's *Mecmû'a-i kârîhâ ve nakşhâ ve şarkıyyât* (Collection of *kar*, *nakış* and *sarkı*), published in two editions in 1853 and 1864 (Table 3).<sup>17</sup> This is the first major printed collection in Ottoman Turkish. Despite containing only the songs' lyrics without music notation,<sup>18</sup> following the tradition of *mecmua*, it allows important comparisons with the first pair which predates it, but also with the second pair which openly references Hasim Bey by including in the introductory section a version in both Karamanlidika and in Greek translation of his essay on rhythm.<sup>19</sup>

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15 Most of these data are derived from the Intermusig music inventory (*Intercommunal musical geographies of late Ottoman Istanbul*) available via the project's Digital Repository (see fn. 1 above), <http://intermusig.music.uoa.gr/repository/login>.

16 See Behar, *Musikiden Müzigë*, 268.

17 See the Works Cited at the end of the article for the full bibliographical citations of the collections listed in Table 3. The first edition copies of EF30, PA43/46, KV72/73 were consulted at the K. A. Psachos's Library at the University of Athens, while KV56 was accessed in its digitized form at the Anemi Digital Library of Modern Greek Studies of the University of Crete.

18 The first publication of Ottoman music in Western staff notation was by the Armenian Aristakes Hovhannisiyan in 1858 (Olley, "Writing Music").

19 Haşim Bey's essay on the main Ottoman rhythmic cycles (*usul*) is included in the first edition of his collection (HB53), and reproduced verbatim in KV56 and KV72/73, notwithstanding a number of errors found in the original (Sanlıkol, *Eufterpe*, 65).

Table 3. Collections of Ottoman secular music examined in this article.

<b>EF30</b>	EF30	Theodoros Fokaeus, Stavrakis Vyzantios	1830	The bible called Efterpi Containing a collection of the most modern and beautiful secular pieces, with the addition in the end of some Romeika songs in Ottoman and European melody	Istanbul	Typografia tou Kastoros
<b>PA43/46</b>	PA43	Theodoros Fokaeus	1843	Pandora That is a collection of the most modern and beautiful pieces in 2 volumes	Istanbul	Patriarchikon tou Genous Typografeion
	PA46	Theodoros Fokaeus	1846	Pandora That is a collection of the most modern and beautiful pieces in 2 volumes	Istanbul	Typografia Kastrou
<b>HB53</b>	HB53	Haşim Bey	1853	Mecmû'a Collection of kâr, nakış and şarkı	Istanbul	n.p.
<b>KV56</b>	KV56	Zografos, Ioannis G.	1856	Apanthisma or Medzmouai Makamat Containing various Turkish songs	Istanbul	Thaddaios Tivedtsian
<b>HB64</b>	HB64	Haşim Bey	1864	Mecmû'a Collection of kâr, nakış and şarkı	Istanbul	n.p.
<b>KV72/73</b>	KV72	Zografos, Ioannis G.	1872	Mousikon Apanthisma (Medzmouai Makamat) Musical Compilation of various songs. Part A	Istanbul	I Anatoli, Evangelinos Misalidis
	KV73	Zografos, Ioannis G.	1873	Mousikon Apanthisma Containing various Greek songs. Part B	Istanbul	I Anatoli, Evangelinos Misalidis

The four Greek collections contain a selection of almost exclusively vocal pieces of *exoteriki mousiki* or Ottoman art music.<sup>20</sup> As expected, their composers are both Muslim and non-Muslim, which reaffirms the important musical role that the Ottoman ethnoreligious communities (Greek Orthodox/Rum, Armenians, Jews) played, together with Muslims, in Ottoman secular music from the seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries.<sup>21</sup> More comparative research into the Greek and their contemporaneous Turkish collections and earlier *mecmua* will illuminate the changing aesthetic/music trends as well as the history of selective cultural transfers in nineteenth-century Ottoman intercommunal music-making. A preliminary juxtaposition of the four collections with HB54 and HB63 suggests that Jewish composers are underrepresented while Armenians appear to be somewhat overly prominent in the Greek collections;<sup>22</sup> conversely, the ratio of Greek composers is not substantially different.<sup>23</sup>

20 The term *exoteriki mousiki* is used for secular music and Ottoman art music in particular, as opposed to church music. KV72 contains also seven instrumental compositions in the *pesrev* genre.

21 Walter Feldman, "Ottoman Music," accompanying notes to *Osmanlı Türk Müziği Antolojisi, Lalezar topluluğu* [Anthology of Ottoman Turkish Music, Lâlezâr Ensemble] (Istanbul: Kultur A.S., Istanbul Buygkşehir Belediyesi, 2000); Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire* (Berlin: VWB - Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1996).

22 In particular, only KV72 contains one composition by Tanburi İsak (cf. Poulos, "Spaces," 186).

23 Behar, *Musikiden Müziğë*, 253.

The four collections contain also a separate section (or volume) with Greek songs or *romeika tragoudia*, an umbrella term that included variously folk songs, Phanariot songs employing the Ottoman *makam* (mode) and *usul* (rhythm) systems, as well as Greek songs in "European modes" (Table 4).<sup>24</sup>

Table 4. Number of Ottoman and Greek songs in the four collections.

Collection	Ottoman songs	Greek songs
EF30	89	13
PA43/46	96	83
KV56	82	3
KV72/73	175	50

The duality of their repertoire sets them apart from the Turkish manuscript and printed collections. Yet one should not interpret this difference as evidence of some insulated, specifically Greek book genre: a comparison of the variants found across the collections makes readily apparent that both pairs (EF30 - PA43/46 and KV56 - KV72/73) have much more in common with Hasim Bey than they do with each other.

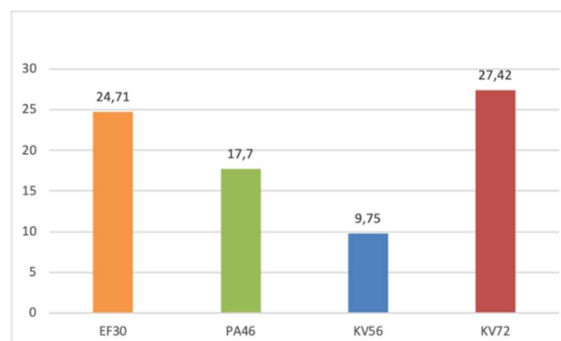
Table 5. Number of variants per collection. The identification of variants is based on the piece's title, composer and *makam*.



24 More specifically, PA43 and KV73 contain Greek songs while PA46 and KV72 contain Turkish songs. These are referenced as a single unit (PA43/46, KV72/73) or separately (PA43, PA46, KV72, KV73), depending on the topic.

Table 5 indicates the variants identified among the collections in actual numbers rather than percentages. For instance, *Efterpi* (top left) contains 89 Ottoman pieces in total. Forty-four of these are also found in PA46, 48 in HB53, 46 in HB56 and only 4 and 14 in KV56 and KV72, respectively. Table 6 indicates the percentage of *unica* per collection.

Table 6. Percentage of unique pieces per collection.



The data presented in this section corroborate the hypothesis of a syncretic genre which falls in between taxonomical lines, in terms of its linguistic, textual and musical identity: it differs from the Turkish contemporaneous collections in the inclusion of Greek repertoire; the employment of the reformed Byzantine notation, and of ecclesiastical music terms (echos, rhythm) which complement the Turkish ones (*makam, usul*) in the song titles; and in the use of Greek and Karamanlidika. Yet it is compliant with them regarding the subject matter, particularly the choice, presentation, and internal organization of the music repertoire.<sup>25</sup> The following discussion aims to uncover the implications of this syncretism in terms of the social life of the collections and the reading and musicking communities they both address and engender.

### The Publishers: Lineages between Church and Secular Music

The men responsible for the collections generated the musical content and mediated between printers and buyers. Through their musical paths they connected the world of print with the world of performance, aurality and sociality. Their role is key if we are to understand the musical geographies and musical communities that the printed collections both articulated and engendered. Being a publisher often required multitasking: author, editor, collector, compiler, notator or transnotator, translator, proofreader, director, financial manager, contracting party in the printing contract, advertiser, distributor. Often not a single man but a team of people were involved, assigned with various of these tasks.

The main protagonists of the four collections, Theodoros Fokaeus, Stavrakis Hanendes, and Ioannis Zografos Keivelis, were well acknowledged in the field of church music, variously as theoreticians, composers, cantors and/or teachers. What is more, all three adhered to what can be termed a model of multi-musicianship, which was well established and retained its

25 Cf. Behar, *Musikiden Mužigě*, 252-53.

currency in the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> They were, in other words, musicians well versed in the liturgical tradition of their community (Jewish, Muslim, or Christian) and in the central court music tradition, as well as other popular rural or urban genres, such as Phanariot song, and Western musical styles.<sup>27</sup> Their multi-musicianship allowed them to navigate and connect these musical worlds as cultural mediators. Their biographies, succinctly reproduced below, help trace their “pathways” into these musical worlds and their enduring interactions with fellow musicians, chanters, theoreticians, and printers – some of whom were also involved in the collections – in actual physical locations: the church, the teaching or performance venue, the church committee or music society meeting, the bookshop, the printing press.<sup>28</sup>

Theodoros Fokaeus (1790-1848) was an illustrious cantor who graduated from the Patriarchal Music School (1815-1821), where he acquired the New Method from the Three Teachers. He was Lampadarios (head of the left choir) of Agios Dimitrios in Tatavla for six years with Chourmouziou Chartofylax as Protopsaltes (first cantor), before becoming Protopsaltes of Agios Nikolaos of Galata with Stavrakis as Lampadarios. He was a very energetic music teacher credited with having over 500 students and a composer of ecclesiastical and Ottoman secular music, which, according to the sources, he knew very well.<sup>29</sup>

Fokaeus’s relation with Chourmouziou and Grigorios, two of the three inventors of the New Method, was not confined to the period of his studies at the Patriarchal Music School. Their relationship should be understood in more enduring terms, as a long liaison which entailed

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26 I am indebted to Jacob Olley for his contribution in developing this concept. Strauss charts a similar terrain of multilingualism in the late Ottoman context, of which Karamanlidika formed part. See Johann Strauss, “Linguistic Diversity and Everyday Life in the Ottoman Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans (late 19th–early 20th century),” *The History of the Family* 16 (2011): 126–41.

27 Cf. Feldman, “Ottoman Music,” on Ottoman minority musicians, and Antonios Chatzopoulos, “Η εκκλησιαστική μουσική παιδεία στην εκκλησία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατά τον 19ο και 20ό αιώνα” [Church Music Education in the Church of Constantinople during the 19th and 20th Centuries] (PhD diss., Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, 2000), 19, on the contacts between Greek cantors and Muslim musicians.

28 Unless otherwise stated, all the biographical information on chanters in this article is drawn from Georgios Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν της παρ ημίν εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής* [Contributions to the History of Our Ecclesiastical Music] (Athens: Kousoulinou and Athanasiadou, 1890); Papadopoulos, *Ιστορική επισκόπησις*; Manouil Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα Χρονογράφου* [A Chronographer’s Short Chronicles] (Athens: Foinix, 1932); Panayotis Antonellis, *Η βυζαντινή εκκλησιαστική μουσική: Ιστορική ανασκόπησις και εξέλιξις αυτής κατά τους καθ’ ημάς χρόνους* [Byzantine Church Music: Its History and Modern Development in Our Times] (Athens, 1956); Chatzopoulos, “Εκκλησιαστική μουσική παιδεία”; and Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music*. On the concept of “musical pathways” see Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians. Music-Making in an English Town* (Middletown: Connecticut Wesleyan University Press, 2007). Erol’s *Greek Orthodox Music* traces masterfully the social and geographical mobility of Orthodox Greek chanters.

29 Prologue in Theodoros Fokaeus, *Ταμείον Αυθολογίας* [Anthology Collection] (vol. 1, 4th ed.) (Istanbul: Seitaniadis, 1869). Violakis, contributor to KV72/73, was among his students (Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα*).

apprenticeship, implementation (and, plausibly, further honing) of the New Method, and interconnected lineages of musical transmission and performance.<sup>30</sup> A look at the bibliography of ecclesiastical music books reveals Fokaeus's initiation into the printing sphere: he gradually took over the task of publisher or director in a series of publications in which Chourmouziou or Grigorios were in charge of the exegesis of the old repertoire into the New Method (see Table 7).<sup>31</sup> In this way, Fokaeus became an "ambassador" of the New Method, contributing to its broad dissemination and leading developments in the printing sphere.<sup>32</sup>

As cantor in Agios Nikolaos of Galata, Fokaeus chanted together with Stavrakis Vyzantios or Hanendes. Information about Stavrakis is rather scant: he was born in Tatavla, Istanbul, died in 1835, and mastered not only ecclesiastical but also Ottoman secular music. Ioannis Zografos Keivelis belonged to a later generation and will be discussed below.

### The Intercommunal Space of Ottoman Music Typography

The four Greek printed collections map onto a strikingly intercommunal geography of typographers (see Table 3 above). Isaac de Castro, son of Avraham, was an acclaimed Jewish printer who played a key role in the rise of secular print culture in Istanbul.<sup>33</sup> Castro is known to have printed "more than 10 books," yet this description falls short of depicting the active role of the Castro family in the Greek ecclesiastical book production, especially during its early phases.<sup>34</sup> In fact, 18 of the 33 ecclesiastical music books published in total over the period 1821-

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30 Chourmouziou Chartofylax and Grigorios Protopsaltis were acclaimed composers, cantors and music teachers (see also fn. 2). They contributed greatly to the establishment and dissemination of the new system as teachers at the Patriarchal Music School (1815-1821) and through the exegesis of the earlier notated repertoire. Grigorios apprenticed next to Iakovos Protopsaltis, like Chourmouziou, and to Georgios Kris, like Fokaeus. On top of that, Gregorios was known as a "good lute-player" who "honoured, mastered and composed Ottoman secular music" (Ioannis K. Zografos, "Αγγελία" [Announcement], *Ανατολικός Αστήρ* [Eastern Star], 12 June 1871), having had Ismail Dede Efendi as well as Armenian musicians as teachers.

31 On top of that, Chourmouziou also appears as supervisor in some of these publications, a role that in all likelihood entailed editorial as well as directorial tasks.

32 Chatzopoulos, "Εκκλησιαστική μουσική παιδεία," 186.

33 His printing house was established in 1808 and remained active with intermissions until his death in the late 1840s, publishing mainly rabbinical works and Ladino translations from Hebrew. In the late 1820s he also printed a translation of the New Testament in Karamanlidika on behalf of the Bible Society, intended for the Turkish-speaking Christians of Anatolia. According to Na'eh, after 1823 the books were prepared for publication in Castro's home and were brought for printing to *El Saray del Inglez*, which belonged to the Anglican missionaries. Yaron Ben Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," in *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, ed. Gad Nassi, 73–96 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001); Richard Clogg, "Publishing for 'the Poor, Ignorant, and Oppressed Christians of Lesser Asia': Early 'Greco-Turkish' Translations of the British and Foreign Bible Society," in *Between Religion and Language. Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez, 225–44 (Istanbul: Eren, 2011); Abraham Haim and Yaacov Geller, "Istanbul. Hebrew Printing," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Fred Skolnik, Vol. 10:784–85 (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007).

34 Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses," 84.

1840 were printed by the Castro press (Table 7). The earliest record of this connection is traced to typographer A. Castro, quite likely Isaac's father, who was in charge of distributing in Istanbul *Doxastika*, one of the first printed books of ecclesiastical music published in Paris in 1821.<sup>35</sup> Many of the books printed by Isaac de Castro in the ensuing period were notated in the New Method by the aforementioned authorities of ecclesiastical music Grigorios Protopsaltis and Chourmouzios Chartofylax, with Chourmouzios and/or Fokaeus in charge as supervisors, directors or publishers.<sup>36</sup>

Table 7. The Table maps the involvement of Jewish printers in the production of printed books of Greek ecclesiastical music over its first two decades (1820s-1830s)

Title	Year	Composer/ Author	Exegesis in the New Method	Publisher/ Director	Sponsor	Printer/ Printing house	Place
Eisagogi eis to Theoretikon kai Praktikon	1821	Chrysanthos				A. Kastro	Istanbul, Galata
Doxastika	1821	Petros Peloponnesios	●[E]			Rigniou (Distributor in Istanbul: A. Kastro)	Paris
Doxastika	[1821?]	Petros Peloponnesios	●[E]			Isak de Kastro	Istanbul
Tameion Anthologias, Vol. I	1824		●[E-C]	●S	Isak de Kastro	Kastro	Galata
Tameion Anthologias, Vol. II	1824		●[E-C]	●S	Isak de Kastro	Kastro	Galata
Eirmologion	1825	Petros Peloponnesios, Petros Vyzantios	●[E-I-C]	●S	Isak de Kastro	British Press Kastro	Galata
Eirmologion	1825	Petros Peloponnesios, Petros Vyzantios	●[E-I-C]	●S	Isak de Kastro	British Press Kastro	Istanbul, Galata
Efterpi	1830		● & Stavrakis Vyzantios [E]; ●[I-C]		● & Stavrakis Vyzantios	Kastro	Istanbul, Galata
Syllogi idiomelon & apolytikion	1831	Manouel Protopsaltis	●[T]	P. Charisis & ●[P]; ●[D]		Isak de Kastro & sons	
Anastasimatarion neon	1832		●[T]	● & ●[P]	●●●●	British Press Isak de Kastro	Istanbul, Galata
Tameion Anthologias, Vol. I	1834		●[E-C]	●[P-D]	●	Kastro	Galata
Tameion Anthologias, Vol. II	1834		●[E-C]	●[P-D]	●●	Kastro	Istanbul, Galata
Doxastika, Vol. I	1835	Petros Peloponnesios	●[E]			Isak de Kastro	Istanbul
Doxastika, Vol. II	1835	Petros Peloponnesios	●[E]			Isak de Kastro	Istanbul
Eirmologion Kalofonikon	1835		●[T-C]	●[P-D]	●●	Kastro	Istanbul, Galata
Doxastarion, Vol. I	1836	Iakovos Protopsaltis	●[E]	●[P-D]	●●	Isak de Kastro	Galata
Doxastarion, Vol. II	1836	Iakovos Protopsaltis	●[E]	●[P-D]	●●	Isak de Kastro	Galata
Tameion Anthologias, Vol. I	1837		●[E-C]	●[P-D]	●●	Kastro	Istanbul, Galata
Tameion Anthologias, Vol. II	1837		●[E-C]	●[P-D]	●●	Kastro	Istanbul, Galata

●	Grigorios Protopsaltis
●	Chourmouzios Chartofylax
●	Theodoros Fokaeus
●	the "music-loving subscribers"

The active role of the Castro press in Greek ecclesiastical book production is not mentioned in the literature on Hebrew printing presses, thereby highlighting the need for more systematic and intercommunal research into the history of Ottoman typography.

35 Chatzitheodorou traced a second version of the book, printed by the typography of Isaac de Castro in Istanbul, probably at a later date. Chatzitheodorou, *Βιβλιογραφία*, 60-61.

36 The data of Table 7 are harvested from Chatzitheodorou 1998. The table also shows the variety of tasks involved in such publications as well as the overlapping involvement of Chourmouzios, Grigorios and Fokaeus, key actors in the field of printing and ecclesiastical music. Abbreviations E, T, C, I, refer to the exegesis into the New Method, with the first two (exegesis, translation) denoting transnotation from the/an old system to the new, and the latter two (correction, inspection) often implying a component of adaptation or refinement even taking on board the oral tradition. P, D and S, reference the roles of publisher, director and supervisor, respectively, which may have at times overlapped.

The first volume of *Pandora*, PA43, was printed at the Patriarchal Printing Press at Fener, a district in Istanbul. The Patriarchal Press was established in 1798 with the technical support of the Armenian Boghos Arabean, a key figure in the fields of Armenian and Ottoman printing press.<sup>37</sup> Boghos was contracted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate for a one-year period to set up the press and train its personnel. He was also involved in the publication in 1798 of *Didaskalia Patriki*, a polemic of the Orthodox Church against French Enlightenment thought, one of a few books that, as has been convincingly argued, the Patriarchal Press commissioned at the Boghos press and another Armenian press.<sup>38</sup>

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Patriarchal Press established Istanbul as the third major typographical center for Greek book production, the first two being Venice and Vienna.<sup>39</sup> As an official instrument of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Patriarchal Press expressed the dominant ideological outlook of the Great Church and sought to "maintain its cohesion, to cultivate education but also to combat competing ideologies that emanated from the Enlightenment movement and challenged its dominance in the field of ideas and education."<sup>40</sup> The declared goal of the Patriarchal Press was to fully control the circulation of print in Eastern Orthodox Christianity. This was aided by a censorship apparatus, already in place by the 1800s, that extended besides the Patriarchal Press's books to all Greek books sold in the Ottoman lands.

After a ten-year period of inactivity owing to the political situation in which the Ottoman Greek Orthodox community found itself in the wake of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, the Patriarchal Press slowly resumed production. Although it printed its first ecclesiastical music book as late as 1840, the publication of *Ermineia tis exoterikis mousikis* (the same year as *Pandora*, PA43) was a milestone.<sup>41</sup> *Ermineia* was a theoretical treatise that allowed

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37 Boghos Arabean (1742-1835) took over the biggest and longest-lived Armenian printing press in Istanbul, in 1810, following the death of his father Hovhannes Arabean. In 1816 Boghos was appointed director of the printing press of Mahmud II. See variously, Meline Pehlivanian, "Mesrop's Heirs: The Early Armenian Book Printers," in *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper, 505–44 ([n.p.]: Routledge, 2013); Giorgos Bokos, *Τα πρώτα ελληνικά τυπογραφεία στο χώρο της «καθ' ημάς Ανατολής», 1627–1827* [The First Greek Printing Houses in the "Greek East", 1627-1827] (Athens: ELIA, 1997), 204-14; Yannis Kokkonas, "Ο μουσικός Πέτρος Μανουήλ Εφέσιος (θ.1840) και η «χαρτογραφία» ή «χαρτοτυπία» του" [The Musician Petros Manouil Efesios (d.1840) and his "Cartographie" or "Cartotypie"], *Mnimon* 37 (2019–2020): 125–58.

38 Lida Istikopoulou, *Βιβλιογραφία των εκδόσεων του Πατριαρχικού Τυπογραφείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Βιβλία – περιοδικά, 1798–1923* [A Bibliography of the Publications of the Patriarchal Printing Press of Istanbul: Books – Periodicals, 1798–1923] (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 2018), 13-14. Na'eh similarly reports that, from 1822 to 1833, Jews commissioned Boghos's press to print more than 18 books (Na'eh, "Printing Houses," 84).

39 Iliou, *Ιστορίες*, 70-71.

40 Istikopoulou, *Βιβλιογραφία*, 21-22. On the Patriarchal Press see also Bokos, *Τυπογραφεία*, 201-63; Kokkonas, "Πατρική διδασκαλία"; Iliou, *Ιστορίες*.

41 Konstantinos Protopsaltis, *Ερμηνεία της εξωτερικής μουσικής και εφαρμογή αυτής εις την καθ' ημάς μουσικήν* [An Interpretation of Secular Music and its Application to Our Music] (Istanbul: Patriarchal Printing Press, 1843).

for the broader acquaintance of Greek Orthodox readership with Ottoman secular music, and its comparative study with Greek church music. In fact, PA43 refers its readers directly to *Ermineia* for an explanation of the modal system of the repertoire found in the collection.

The Armenian printer Tateos Divitciyan (1810-1878), who published KV56, presents one more case of intercommunal typographic practice. He published Armenian hymn books with neumes while he also gave a printing machine to a student of Hamparsum Limonciyan and became the first person to print Hamparsum notation.<sup>42</sup> He reportedly had an involvement in the Bulgarian independence movement. Besides KV56, Divitciyan printed three more Greek books of ecclesiastical music in the period 1846-1856,<sup>43</sup> and he is credited with knowing how to read and write Greek.

The last collection under examination, KV72/73, was printed by Evangelinos Misailidis's printing house *I Anatoli* (The East). Misailidis was a leading figure in the Karamanlidika book history. His prolific publishing work, first in Izmir and from the early 1850s in Istanbul, aimed at educating and enlightening the Turkophone Christians of the Ottoman Empire through their introduction to European and Greek literature and culture.<sup>44</sup> His printing vision should be understood in the context of the broader transition taking place in late Ottoman society from an earlier model of imperial multiculturalism to a new kind of Western-dominated cosmopolitanism that characterized the last decades of the empire.<sup>45</sup> The press formed a key part in this transition, contributing to the formation of both Ottoman and national subjecthood and reading publics. It is in this light that Zografos's shift towards a more "nationally" aware rhetoric in the introduction of the 1872/73 edition (discussed below) should also be considered.

The involvement of Armenians and Jews in the printing of the four Greek collections corroborates the important role that non-Muslims played as "agents of change" in Ottoman printing, while also charting the territories of what Strauss has termed an "Ottoman" literary activity.<sup>46</sup> This activity entailed various types of contact among the different ethno-religious communities, which during the first half of the nineteenth century do not seem to have

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42 A new notation system invented in early nineteenth-century Istanbul in the context of an Ottoman-Armenian musical reform that partly coincided with the reform of Byzantine notation and was closely connected with developments in the broader field of Ottoman secular music (Olley, "Writing Music"). On Hovhannes Miwhendisean, Limonciyan's student, see Olley, "Writing Music," 85. I wish to thank Jacob Olley for helping me to identify Tateos Divitciyan and information about him, on which see also Teotig (Teotoros Lapçincian), *Baskı ve Harf: Ermeni Matbaacılık Tarihi* [Type and Letter: History of Armenian Printing], translated by Sirvart Malhasyan and Arlet İncidüzen (Istanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2012).

43 Chatzitheodorou, *Βιβλιογραφία*.

44 Cf. Evangelia Balta, "Periodisation et typologie de la production des livres Karamanlis," *Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies* 12 (1997): 129–153.

45 Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul as a Cosmopolitan City: Myths and Realities," in *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*, ed. Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani, 212–30 (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

46 Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute'," 231; cf. Klasu Kreiser, *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Christians, Jews and Muslims* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 5, 14.

adhered to a nationalist paradigm.<sup>47</sup> The Jewish involvement is particularly noteworthy, since Jews, unlike Greeks and Armenians, had not developed a notation system for their liturgical tradition.

Technological transfer in the form of printing equipment and know-how and economic transfer across the ethno-religious communities were beyond doubt accompanied by cultural transfer, though it is difficult to assess to what extent.<sup>48</sup> In the case of non-commercial books that, like the four collections, were published with the method of pre-subscription, the printer's role was often confined to printing.<sup>49</sup> The publisher was the one in charge of both securing an adequate number of subscribers and distributing the book. Yet Isaac de Castro appears as the sponsor in some other publications of ecclesiastical music (see Table 7), something that suggests a greater degree of investment on his part in the printing project associated with the New Method. Undoubtedly, the collaboration between printer and publisher, which sometimes went beyond a single book as I have shown, involved prolonged engagement and interaction.

From this vantage point, printing presses emerge as potential spaces of intercommunal exchange worthy of further investigation. They anticipated and laid the groundwork for the social transformations that the Tanzimat reforms set in motion and fostered broader connections between the various contributors and their (musical) worlds. These connections were solidified through the networks of production and distribution that brought the music books to their reading publics and shaped new geographies forged by music printing.

### **Subscribers: The Social Life of Greek Printed Music Collections**

The study of the social history of the Greek and Karamanlidika printed book has been advanced in the last few decades thanks to the concerted efforts of historians to create subscribers' databases. When it comes to the printed music collections, however, the phenomenon of subscription remains largely uncharted.<sup>50</sup> Exploring subscribers' data can yield rich information about the market, geographical distribution and trajectories of printed music collections, about the boundaries and interpenetration between contiguous musical communities, and about the readers' social and professional profile and consuming habits.

A preliminary comparative examination of the subscribers' catalogues of EF30 and *Anastasimatarion Neon* (NA32), a major collection of ecclesiastical hymns published only two

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47 Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?", *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no.1 (2003): 39–76.

48 Cf. Panagiotis C. Poulos, "Greeks, Jews and Music Sociality in Late Ottoman Istanbul," *Journal of Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 9, no. 1 (2022): 51–69, on the notion of "intercommunal economy".

49 On pre-subscription see Iliou, *Ιστορίες*, 81-85. This method was pivotal in the production of books on ecclesiastical music throughout the 19th century (Chatzitheodorou, *Βιβλιογραφία*, 39).

50 For an analysis in the German language of the subscribers' catalogues of PA43 and PA46 see Daniel Glowotz, "Ελληνες und Ρωμαίοι: Zur Verschiebung des Repertoires der exoterischen Musik in den 40er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Berichte aus dem ICTM-Nationalkomitee Deutschland*, 11–21 (Bamberg: International Council for Traditional Music/Nationalkomitee Deutschland, 1998).

years later by the same team of people (see Table 7),<sup>51</sup> suggests for instance that no simple correspondence occurs between the subscribers, and hence the readership, of Greek collections of ecclesiastical music, on the one hand, and of secular music, on the other. Indeed, out of a total of 369 (EF30) and 492 (NA32) subscribers,<sup>52</sup> I was able to identify with reasonable credibility only 27 as being one and the same person. These "dual subscribers" are found in some of the roughly 12 places named in both catalogues out of a total of 21 (EF30) and 44 (NA32) places listed (Table 8).

As for the subscribers' professional background, EF30 lists a far greater percentage of lay people in comparison to NA32 (57% vs. 38%), while NA32 has a markedly larger percentage of clergy (29% vs. 16%) and a somewhat larger percentage of musicians (24% vs. 17%) (Table 9).

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51 Theodoros Fokaeus, *Αναστασιματάριον νέον* [New Anastasimatarion] (Istanbul: British Press Isak de Castro, 1832). Chourmouzios is credited with the exegesis of the repertoire in the New Method and Castro is the printer.

52 In his catalogue of books with subscribers from the period 1822-1832, Iliou records 369 subscribers for EF30 and 494 for NA32 (Iliou, *Ιστορίες*, 245, 255-56).

Table 8. Subscribers' geographical distribution (EF30, NA32). The places listed in the subscribers' catalogue of EF30 and NA32 are marked in blue and red respectively, while those listed in both EF30 and NA32 are in green. The broader geographical span of NA32 suggests the existence of an already well-established readership for ecclesiastical literature.

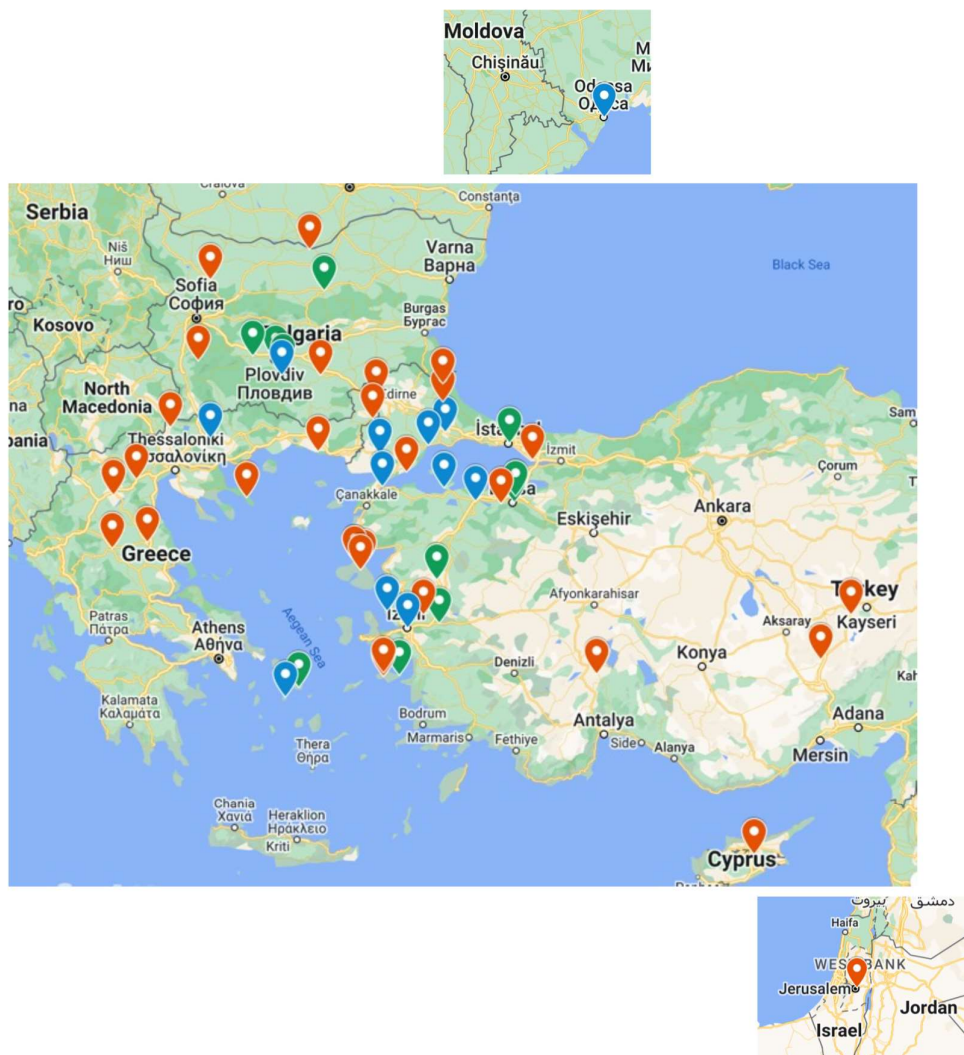
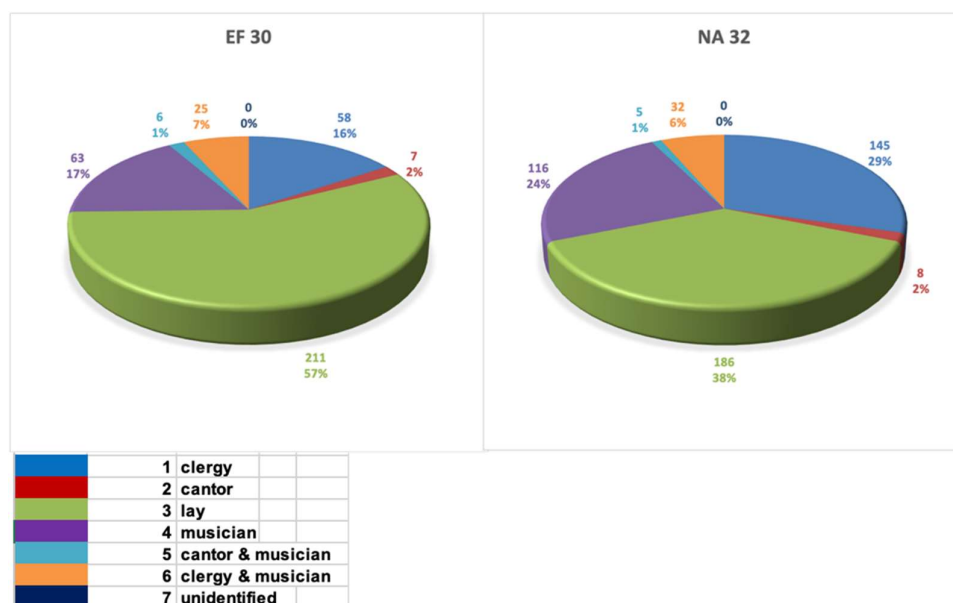


Table 9. Estimation of subscribers' profile, EF30 and NA32. In Tables 9 and 12, the Clergy group includes also monks, whether these are ordained clergymen or not; the Musicians group includes generally two denominations: *mousikos* (musician), which in all likelihood refers to professional musicians, and *mousikologiotatos* (musicologist/ music expert), a title awarded by the Patriarchate to members of the Orthodox community distinguished in the art of chanting or their general musical knowledge.



Conversely, a comparison of the subscribers' catalogues of PA43 (Greek songs) and PA46 (Ottoman songs) again reveals unexpectedly few dual subscribers. What is more, out of a total of 25 (PA43) and 9 (PA46) places listed in the two catalogues, only two (one being Istanbul) are found in both.<sup>53</sup> Juxtaposing the subscribers listed under Istanbul in the two catalogues (145 subscribers in PA43 and 77 in PA46 in total), I was able to identify with reasonable credibility only four people as identical, while the total number of subscribers is 359 (PA43) and 113 (PA46). Although not conclusive in any way, these findings put to the test any facile assumption that the lovers of Greek and Ottoman urban songs were identical.<sup>54</sup>

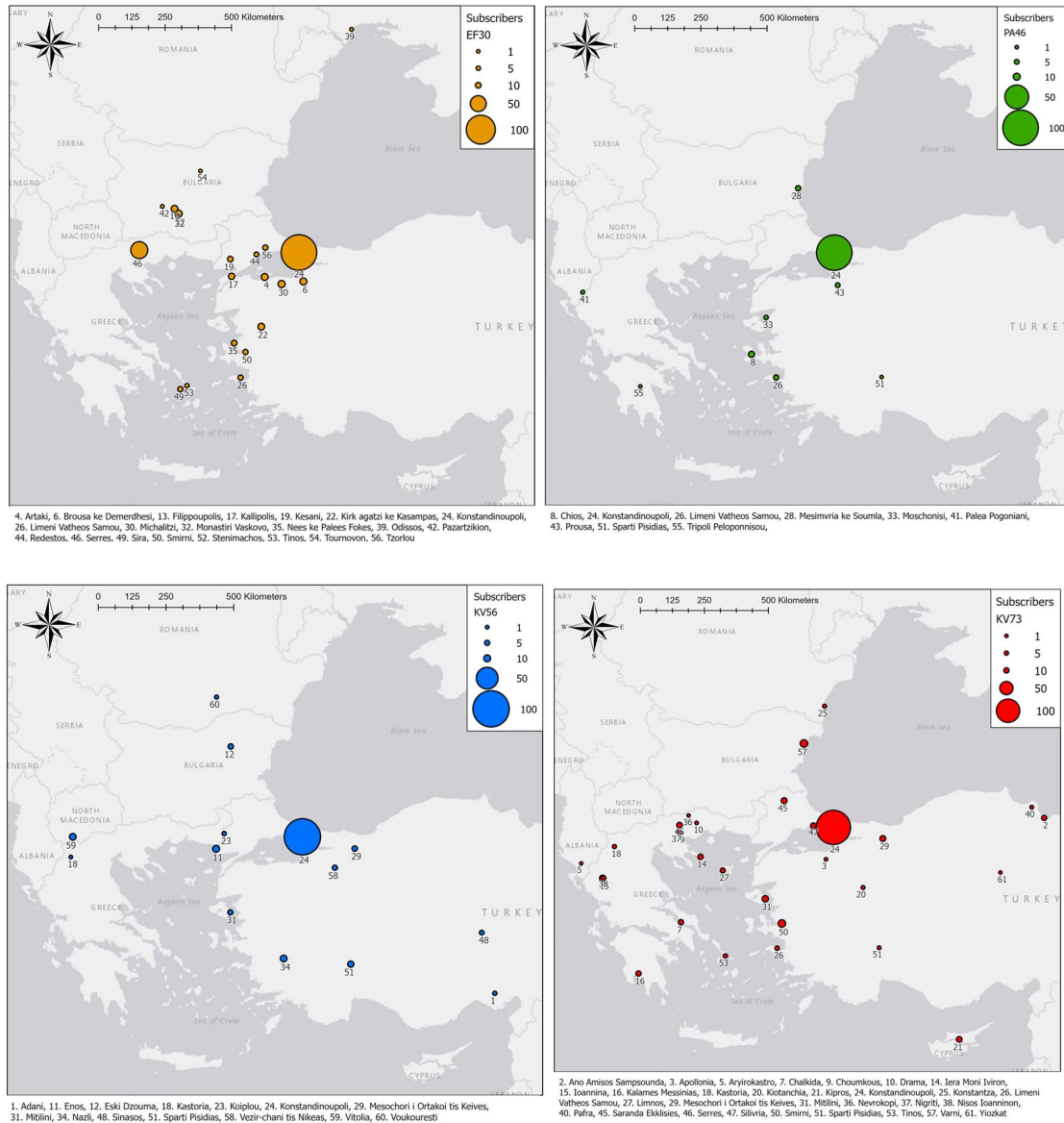
Further input comes from the comparison of the subscribers' catalogues of the four collections. As a general rule, the names of the subscribers are ordered by place and, under each place category, by social title and/or professional occupation (with subscribers from the clergy ranks

53 Glowotz also comments on the lack of dual subscribers between the two volumes, putting forth the hypothesis that the second volume (PA46) was aimed at a different Greek readership. What is more, he maps a slightly different geographical distribution of the two volumes' subscribers, which possibly suggests that he studied a different copy or edition of the book (unfortunately the source is not named). Glowotz, "Ελληνες und Ρωμαίοι."

54 Interestingly, the *Pandora* publishers played an active role in bringing these two audiences together: Fokaeus announced in PA43 that those wishing to pre-subscribe for PA46 were obliged to purchase also PA43 and pay in advance for both volumes.

coming first, and lay persons following).<sup>55</sup> The following tables display the geographical distribution of each collection (Table 10) and of all four comparatively (Table 11).

Table 10. Subscribers' geographical distribution: collections EF30, PA46, KV56, KV72. Map composition by Markos Katsianis, Assistant Professor, University of Patras.

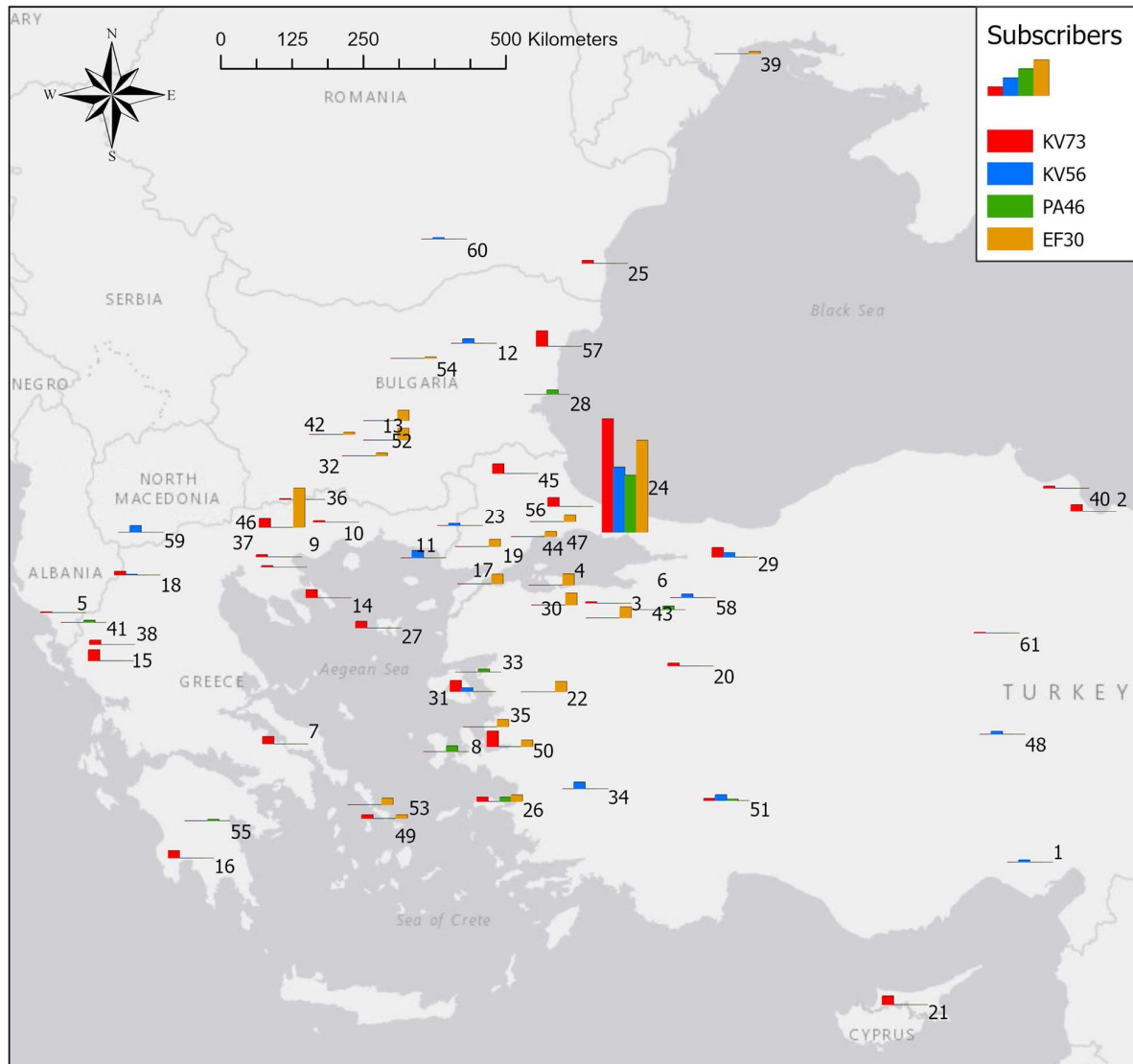


On the whole, a substantial portion of the copies is sold in Istanbul, while the geographical distribution appears to widen in the later collections, an indication of the gradual growth of the secular music book printing networks. It is noteworthy that while the same regions are overall covered (contemporary Greece, Turkey, and the Southeast Balkans), different cities or towns appear in the subscribers' catalogue of each collection. This may point to the existence of separate or evolving networks of distribution depending on the printing press. What is

55 In PA43 there is additionally a third, alphabetical ordering criterion.

more, the Greek Kingdom and the Greek diasporic communities in Western Europe are markedly underrepresented in the subscribers' geography. This would suggest that despite the inherently transnational workings of typography, the collections reflect a localized situation in Istanbul more closely tied to the ideological history of the Ottoman Greek community rather than the Greek Kingdom.

Table 11. Subscribers' geographical distribution: comparative display of all four collections. Map composition by Markos Katsianis, Assistant Professor, University of Patras.



1. Adani, 2. Ano Amisos Sampsounda, 3. Apollonia, 4. Artaki, 5. Aryirokastro, 6. Brousa ke Demerdhesi, 7. Chalkida, 8. Chios,
9. Choumkous, 10. Drama, 11. Enos, 12. Eski Dzouma, 13. Filippoupolis, 14. Iera Moni Iviron, 15. Ioannina,
16. Kalames Messinias, 17. Kallipolis, 18. Kastoria, 19. Kesani, 20. Kiotanchia, 21. Kipros, 22. Kirk agatzis ke Kasampas, 23. Koiplou,
24. Konstandinoupoli, 25. Konstantza, 26. Limeni Vatheos Samou, Samos, 27. Limnos, 28. Mesimvria ke Soumla,
29. Mesochori i Ortakoi tis Keives, 30. Michalitzis, 31. Mitilini, 32. Monastiri Vaskovo, 33. Moschonisi, 34. Nazli,
35. Nees ke Palees Fokes, 36. Nevrokopi, 37. Nigriti, 38. Nisos Ioanninon, 39. Odisos, 40. Pafra, 41. Palea Pogoniani,
42. Pazartzikion, 43. Prousa, 44. Redestos, 45. Saranda Ekklisies, 46. Serres, 47. Silivria, 48. Sinasos, 49. Sira, 50. Smirni,
51. Sparti Pisidias, 52. Stenimachos, 53. Tinos, 54. Tournovon, 55. Tripoli Peloponnissou, 56. Tzorlou, 57. Varni,
58. Vezir-chani tis Nikeas, 59. Vitolia, 60. Voukourestis, 61. Yiozkat

The subscribers' catalogues can be mined also for the clues they give regarding the origin, professional occupation, and social title of those enlisted (Table 12), though it is not possible to decipher the information in any conclusive way.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Several limitations related with the subscribers (e.g. their changing or multiple occupations and/or professional title, the difficulty of establishing whether subscribers with the same name

Table 12. A page from the subscribers' catalogue of KV56 (left) and EF30 (right).

		Σώμ.			247
Οί έν Κοντοσκάλι.					
‘Ο Θεοφ. άγ. Μελιτουπ. Κ. Εύγένειος		5	Σορκί	σε άραπάν	μονοδιμί φ 222
‘Ο Θεοφ. άγ. Πειονίας Κ. Ίερεμίας.		2	Σορκί	γχιμάχ	πού γκουλλερδί 224
‘Ο Πανος. άγ. Άρχιμ. Κ. Ίερόθεος Ίπλικτζής.		2	Τρογύδια	βρωμαϊκά, εις εξωτερικόν μίλος	225
‘Ο Αιδεσ. Παπ. Κ. Ίωάννης Χαρτοφύλαξ.		1	Ομια	εις μέλος εύρωπαϊκόν	234
« ‘Ο Πανος. Κ. Καλλήγηκος Πρωεστός.			-----		
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« Ίορδανάκης Κ.			Μιθόδιος Προδρομινός τής σκήτης Βεβρότας		1
« Δημητράκης Κ.			Γρηγόριος, προετός Κωζγροντζουκίου	Μ	1
« Κωνσταντίνος Κ.			Αμβρόσιος, προετός του μεγάλου Ρεύματος Λίντης	Μ	1
« Σάββας Κ.			Αρχιμανδρίτης Καλλήκος, από Βλαύκου	Μ	1
« Άνδρέας Ι. Δ.			Σταμάτης Βαβίωκ, από Αρκαδισίωπολυ	Μ	1
« Αναστάσιος Νεοκοσμιδής.			Χριστόφορος, από Τζουκίλ	Μ	1
« Δημήτριος Νεοκοσμιδής.			Οί Αιδιτιμολογώ: Παπά Άναστάσιος Κισαριός		1
« Κωνσταντίνος Χ. Άνανιου.			Παπά Εύσέβιος Άπολωνιάδης	Μ	1
« Θωματζήκος Χ. Σωτηρίου.			Οί Μουσικολογώ: Ίεροδ. άκ. Κύριλλος Τριτεύων του Παναγιου		1
« Θωμάς Ι. Έμφιετζής ψάλτης τής Άναλ.			Ίωαννίκιος Βοζάντιος		1
« Λάμπρος Θ.			Γερμανός Βεζάντιος		1
Οί έν Σταυροδρομίο.			Μιλέτιος έκ Μιτελίνας		1
‘Ο Μουσικολ. Κ. Δημήτριος Ά. Α. ψάλτης.		1	Γρηγόριος αϊωλοπετριδης		1
‘Ο Μουσικολ. Κ. Σταυράκης Γ. Β. ψάλτης.		10	Παρθένος, του άγιου μεταλίνας		1
			Παρθένος του άγιου Άνδριανουπύλιος ύφομαθινός		1
			Θεοδώριος Κύπριος		1
			Δαμασκηνός, άντιμος		1

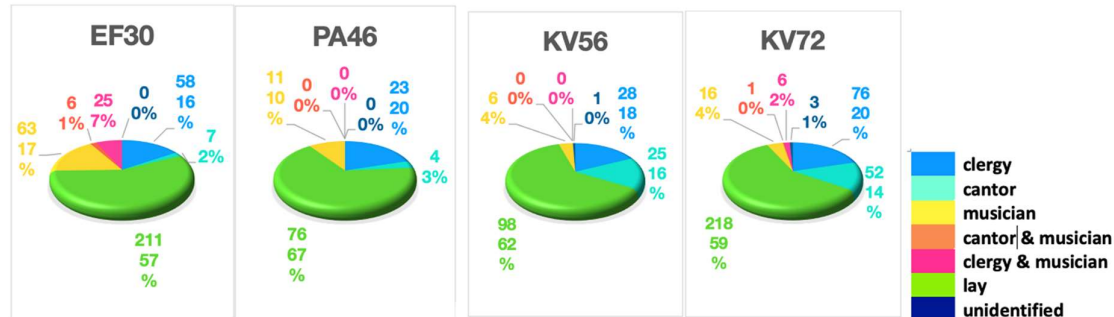
This information is most valuable when it comes to the social life of books: who buys them and how are they used? Indeed, *are* they used? Several hypotheses arise. Were the printed collections a means to acquire social and symbolic capital? The subscribers were after all often listed in the printed books. Might they evince a culture of object accumulation and library display? Were they bought to support the printing project closely connected with the New Method and/or the Great Church, or to give moral and financial support to the Greek Orthodox community more broadly? Crucially, was there also musical investment in the act of buying a music collection? This investment may have ranged from using the books for musical performance, whether vocal or instrumental; as mnemonic aids for songs already known; or for enhancing one's repertoire of songs. After all, the organization of the subject matter by *makam* in the *fasil* logic points to musical performance.<sup>57</sup>

are the same person), the places listed (some subscribers' professional titles indicate that they lived elsewhere), and especially the practice of including different subscribers' catalogues in different book editions and/or copies, render any conclusion tentative. Iliou sets out an exemplary methodology on the study of subscribers. Iliou, *Iστορίες*, 109-318. On music books cf. Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music*, 56.

57 The *fasil* is a cyclical genre or suite that dictates the succession of particular instrumental and vocal forms in a specific *makam* (mode) during the performance of Ottoman art music.

The truth most probably lies in some combination of the above. At any rate, the occupation of many subscribers as chanters, musicians or music connoisseurs lends credibility to the musical-usage hypothesis (Table 13).

Table 13. Estimation of subscribers' profile.



From the point of view of their popularity and marketability, printed collections of secular music were learned books that targeted a specialized readership due to the inclusion of music notation, which also rendered them expensive to produce. Unlike commercial books, they were largely dependent on pre-subscriptions for their viability and their price was fairly high.<sup>58</sup> To illustrate with an example, a subscriber such as “Konstantinos Z.,” who is described in the catalogue of PA46 as a “chanter at Tzimpali,” would have paid 25 and 20 kuruş for PA43 and PA46, respectively, while his monthly salary would be 300 kuruş as a first cantor and 200 kuruş as a second cantor at Agios Nikolaos of Cibali (Tzimpali) over the years 1846-1847. In 1857 his salary would have fluctuated between 700 and 500 kuruş or 300 and 400 kuruş as a first or second cantor, respectively, while KV56 would have cost him 35 kuruş, or 30 kuruş were he to pre-subscribe and pay upon receiving the book. KV72 and KV73 cost 1 ½ and 2 silver mecdiye each for subscribers and non-subscribers respectively,<sup>59</sup> when the monthly salary at Agios Nikolaos was 800 and 550 kuruş for the first and second cantor, respectively, in the years 1874-1876.<sup>60</sup>

58 Cf. Istikopoulou, *Βιβλιογραφία*, 26. Behar postulates that the music collections were published for the number of people who had pre-ordered the book, whether they paid in advance or upon its reception. Behar, *Musikiden Müziğë*, 249. But as Iliou notes, the numbers of subscribers (and copies ordered) are but “indirect indications” of the total number of copies produced or sold and, therefore, of the popularity of a book. Iliou, *Ιστορίες*, 66. Nonetheless, Iliou makes a case for the “double representativeness” of quantitative studies of subscribers’ lists: “the audience of subscribers is representative of the total number of buyers,” just as “the books published with a subscription are representative of the total production of the scholarly book of the same period.” Ibid, 118.

59 Zografos, “Αγγελία”; anonymous advertisement in the “Bibliography” column of newspaper *Ανατολικός Αστήρ*, 7/7/1873.

60 Anthemion - Archives of Greek Orthodox Communities of Istanbul, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Agios Nikolaos Tzivaliou, Tameion 1845-1848, 1857, and 1874-1875, and Kathimerinon 1876-1877, and 1877-1878. On additional economic data cf. Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music*, 55, 189; Behar, *Musikiden Müziğë*, 249-50.

Regarding gender distribution, subscribers were mainly men. The catalogues have no female subscribers, with the sole exception of PA43 with six (five of them in Istanbul) and KV72/73 with five, all relatives of Misailidis and Zografos.

## The Collections' Sources: From the Oral to the Printed?

The intercommunal world that comes to light from our examination of the printing milieu and the publishers' biographies so far adds further pertinence to the question of the collections' sources: did the notations represent the record of a piece from an oral source? Were they perhaps committed to paper from memory, and if so, how did the notator learn the piece? Were they instead copied from earlier manuscripts, possibly in old Byzantine or Hampartsum notation? In this latter scenario, what sort of modifications did transnotation into the New Method and its particular orthography entail?

According to some Byzantine musicologists today, the printed collections of secular music are nothing but transnotations of earlier manuscripts in the old system of Byzantine notation attributed by some to Zacharia Hanende (eighteenth century).<sup>61</sup> This view has to be dismissed for a considerable part of the pieces that are contemporaneous.<sup>62</sup> In the case of variants occurring either in both pairs (EF30-PA46 and KV56-KV72) or in some of the four collections and in earlier manuscript sources, more comparative musicological analysis is needed to illuminate possible lineages and genealogies between written sources.<sup>63</sup>

A cultural analysis of the collections can shed more light on this issue, bringing back the question of the social life of the collections and the musical communities they engender. Both Zografos and Fokaeus with Stavrakis describe acquiring the songs through processes of oral transmission. In their preface to EF30, Fokaeus and Stavrakis note:

How painful a task it is to receive, taught by the voice of the larynx alone, these melodies [which are] so impressive with their subtle and fast formulations, with their intermixed diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic ideas, with the constant rhythmic changes (which they call *usul*), and at the same time to strive to commit them in the written form of music characters, according to its syntactic rules; the experts can prove to the inexperienced how much pain, time and expense all these require.

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61 This view was earlier expressed by Kyriakos Filoxenis in his *Λεξικόν της ελληνικής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής* [*Dictionary of Greek Ecclesiastical Music*] (Istanbul: Evangelinos Misailidis, 1869), 97-98. For a critical assessment of this hypothesis see Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, "Zakharia Khanendeh," liner notes to the recording *Zakharia Khanendeh, Classical Near Eastern Music from 18th Century Constantinople* (Thessaloniki: En Chordais, 2001).

62 On EF30 and PA43 see Behar, *Musikiden Müzigë*, 260.

63 Inspecting pieces common in different collections, both Andrikos and Papadopoulos, as well as Sanlikol offer arguments in tentative support of the oral-sources hypothesis. See Nikos Andrikos and Gerasimos Papadopoulos, "Reading between the 'Music Lines': Methodological Challenges in approaching Greek Notated Musical Collections," Paper presented at the Conference "Intercommunal Musical Geographies of Late Ottoman Istanbul" (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 29 October 2021); Sanlikol, *Euterpe*.

In his prologue to KV56, Zografos in fact describes undergoing a *meşk* process over a period of a few years with a singer of Ottoman secular music, possibly a Palace musician or a musician affiliated with the court:<sup>64</sup>

Wishing for a long time to be taught the (Ottoman) secular music by a teacher of Ottoman secular music (Hanende), at my request I started in 1851 my training based on the rhythm (usul) and the style (yphos) of this system. And since then, I have been tending with a lot of effort and expenses to my training, intentionally attending formal music performances, for the sake of rhythm and instrumental Music. Because this music, not possessing special music characters, can only be learned by (means of) rhythm, and this is why it is laborious...

The information derived from these first-hand accounts is critical: it points to intercommunal lineages of musical transmission and interaction and places the collections, and the world of Greek Orthodox cantors, within the broader milieu of Ottoman music culture. Additionally, it delivers the printed book from the world of literacy and (inter)textuality to the world of performance, aurality and sociality, or rather it lays bare the connections between the two: the printed page derives from musical interaction and, in turn, engenders musical interaction. Gaining insights into the interfaces between the oral and the literate is crucial in the Ottoman context, in which orality remained the rule for musical performance and transmission despite the existence of notation (in some cases, as with Greeks and Armenians, from quite early on). As Bruce Smith has argued with relation to verbal artifacts that survive from early modern England, these refer to a mixed culture that is "literate but with a strong oral residue"; they "ask to be heard, not seen".<sup>65</sup>

Book historians have approached books as vehicles for the reproduction and the subversion of ideological formations. Yet it is equally productive to uncover the performative and material worlds that the books enter, and engender, during their social lives. The music printed book is a genre that promises insights not only into the readers' ideas and mentalities, but also into their social and spatial practices.

### **Performing the Music Collections: From Print to Orality/Aurality**

Both Zografos and Fokaeus were active teachers not only of church music but also of secular Ottoman music. In 1843 Fokaeus invites his readers, including those who are beginners, to come to his shop in Galatas to receive music lessons. He teaches both church and secular music, identifying the latter with the instruction of *Efterpi* and *Pandora*. This is the year when he stopped chanting and dedicated himself to the printing of the New Method.<sup>66</sup> The excerpt

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64 The term denotes the method of oral transmission based on repetition and memorization that was common in Ottoman art music. See Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Mesk Olmaz* [Without love there is no mesk] (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2019).

65 Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England. Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 12-13. On the concept of secondary orality cf. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 2002), 10.

66 Cf. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορική επισκόπησης*; prologue in Fokaeus, *Ταμείον*.

below is also illustrative of the way books offered additionally a written forum for the publisher to contact his readers with news and current affairs:<sup>67</sup>

Let it be known that I have stopped chanting at the sacred Church of Agios Nikolaos in Galatas, as my physical strength no longer allows me this work. Subscribers and those acting as middlemen of music-loving subscribers who wish to order by letter the purchase of music books, or anything else, are hereby informed that my music bookshop is found in the so-called Karakioyi [district] of Galatas, at [the area of] Fermeleci, where I also keep a school and teach the ecclesiastical and the Ottoman secular music; the fee for beginners is 1000 kuruş for the instruction of ecclesiastical music, until they know fully all the practice and theory etc, and 300 kuruş for the instruction of *Efterpi* and *Pandora*.<sup>68</sup>

The announcement of a tuition fee is worthy of note. It offers comparative information on the price of church and secular music instruction. Moreover, it suggests the existence of a professional market for the transmission of music based on a transactional monetary relationship, quite in contrast with current perceptions of the *mesk* system as a kind of gift economy based on mutual moral obligations. Indeed, the sum of 300 kuruş is far from negligible: to our Cibali cantor it would amount to a month's or one and a half month's salary.

Thirteen years later, an advertisement in the press announces that Ottoman secular music, "that is *Efterpi* and *Pandora*," is taught by Onoufrios Vyzantios, again in Fokaeus's bookshop. Onoufrios Vyzantios (1807-1872), student of the Three Teachers, was a cantor at Agios Dimitrios of Tatavla (like Chourmouzios and Fokaeus) for 30 years. He was a composer of church and secular music and a competent player of the tanbur having studied Ottoman art music with Ismail Dede Efendi.<sup>69</sup> His name is listed in the subscribers' catalogues of PA43 and KV56. The announcement exemplifies how the press acted in support of the printed book but also of actual networks of musical performance in urban space:

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

Those music-loving fellow Greeks/Rum who wish to study the Ecclesiastical and also the secular Music, that is *Efterpi* and *Pandora*, let them come to Galata at the [area of] Fermeletzidika, to the Shop of the late music Teacher Theodoros Fokaeus, where the Master music Teacher Mr. Onoufrios Vyzantios pledges to teach them the above lessons.<sup>70</sup>

Remarkably, some eight years after the death of Fokaeus, the shop carries on in his name and so does musical instruction. This suggests the existence of an enduring practice that idiosyncratically intermixed oral and written transmission in the forms of *mesk* and the New

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67 Such information was typically found in the first or last pages and concerned subscription fees and venues and the progress of new publications. The announcement of books of ecclesiastical music in PA43 suggests a degree of overlap between the readership of ecclesiastical and secular music books.

68 Excerpt from Fokaeus's address to his readers, dated 1843 and included in PA43.

69 Sultan Abdul Aziz honoured him with a gift upon listening to him sing a song in his honour. See Melissinos Christodoulou, *Ta Tataύla, ήτοι ιστορία των Ταταούλων* [Tatavla, that is a History of Tatavla] (Istanbul: Koromila, 1913); Anonymous, "Η μουσική εν Ταταούλοις το παλαι" [Music in Tatavla in the Old Times], *Μουσική* [Music] 27 (1914): 71–73 (Istanbul).

70 *Τηλέγραφος του Βοσπόρου* [Telegraph of Vosporos], 1856.03.31.

Method, and drew together music professionals and amateurs, as well as Ottoman art music with Phanariot and other secular songs and church music.

It is astonishing to stumble upon Zografos's own call, the very same year as the Onoufrios advertisement. Through the pages of KV56, he invites his readers to come to him in order to learn *Mousikon Apanthisma*. Instruction is given either "in ecclesiastical rhythm" (which in all probability refers to the printed version notated in the New Method) or "with doum tekia," a clear reference to the oral *meşk* transmission method that further attests to Zografos's own *meşk* training:

Those wishing to be taught this music bible are [hereby] notified that I accept to undertake its instruction, either on the basis of Ecclesiastical rhythm or with Doum Tekia.<sup>71</sup>

The above sources sketch out a type of music sociality that arises from and centers around the printed collections. Their musical transmission and performance of their contents in physical space engendered entwined histories between ecclesiastical, Ottoman, and possibly Greek secular music and their respective communities, with the New Method acting as adhesive force. Bookshops emerge as important hubs of this sociality: they are not simply the places for selling and distributing music books and for accepting and managing subscriptions, but also, in certain cases, the venues for musical instruction and performance that may also have involved economic transaction. Quite likely, the performative contexts that were generated from books acted in an expansive way, forging interconnections between what were previously more discrete audiences.

The descriptions accompanying some pieces, especially in the Greek song sections, further illuminate the social context in which printed music collections were actually used by offering information about the origin of a composition or the performative occasion for which it was intended. For instance, KV56's small section with Greek songs, included "upon the request of certain subscribers" for use in school exams,<sup>72</sup> contains Fokaeus's composition "Song sung by students during exams" and Zografos's composition "Other song sung for the celebration of the Three Hierarchs". There are also praise songs dedicated to particular dignitaries upon particular anniversaries; songs that were "commissioned" by particular people or cultural societies; and pieces that are intended to "make merry" members of specific occupational or other groups (e.g. school commissioners, merchants, newlyweds, etc.), or to be sung in "feasts of reading halls or clubs" and other occasions.

## Social Actors in the Public Sphere

The societal changes effected in the fields of literacy and education in the context of the Tanzimat reforms went hand in hand with the emergence of an Ottoman public sphere in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and with the growth—and growing need for state control—of

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71 Prologue by Zografos dated 10 August 1856, in Ioannis G. Nikaieus Zografos, *Απάνθισμα ή Μετζμουαί Μακαμάτ περιέχον μεν διάφορα τουρκικά άσματα* [Anthology or Medzoumai Makamat Containing Various Turkish Songs] (Istanbul: Thaddaios Tivedtsian, 1856). A detailed verbal description of *meşk* is given by Konstantinos Protopsaltis in the aforementioned *Ermineia exoterikis mousikis*, published in 1843 by the Patriarchal Press. Protopsaltis, *Ερμηνηία*, 45-46.

72 Prologue in Zografos, *ibid.*

the print sector.<sup>73</sup> This emerging public sphere offered increased opportunities for the elaboration of various forms of sociality in urban space, that included, as already shown, the particular music sociality which developed with printed music collections at its center.

In the Greek Ottoman milieu, the foundation of the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople in 1861 was a major landmark that set the stage for the proliferation of cultural and musical societies.<sup>74</sup> Manouil Gedeon traces in districts of Istanbul such as Fener, Samatya, and Arnavutköy the emerging social space that, besides societies, included clubs' reading rooms, featuring public lectures and musical performances. In these environments, the printed book and the press were crucial. Collective readings and discussions of newspaper articles and scientific treatises by groups of 30-40 people, the creation of libraries and reading rooms, and public lectures which were subsequently published in societies' journals, all promoted notions of shared belonging and public intellectual involvement.<sup>75</sup> Regarding musical societies in particular, Georgios Chatzitheodorou has suggested that these contributed through their enduring educational and publishing activity "to the rapprochement of Istanbul youth to church music but also to the establishment of the New music method," once and for all, in the ecclesiastical consciousness of all Orthodox Christians.<sup>76</sup> Conversely, this article argues that the cultural osmosis related with the Greek printed collections of secular music in particular included intercommunal ingredients and as such its significance should be assessed in the context of the broader Ottoman cultural history.

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73 On the ideology of Ottomanism and the making of the public sphere see indicatively Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999); Julia Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Merih Erol, "Surveillance, Urban Governance and Legitimacy in Late Ottoman Istanbul: Spying on Music and Entertainment During the Hamidian Regime (1876–1908)," *Urban History* 40, no. 4 (2013): 706–25; Elizabeth Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere," in *Public Islam and the Common Good*, ed. Armando Salvatore and Dale Eickelman, 99–125 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004); Cengiz Kurlu, "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in *Public Islam and the Common Good*, 75–97. On the nineteenth-century history of the Ottoman press see Geoffrey Roper, ed., *The History of the Book in the Middle East* ([n.p.]: Routledge, 2013). The Ottoman Press Act (1866) effected the direct monitoring of book production by the Ottoman state instead of, or coupled by, the religious authorities of the millets (Pehlivanian, "Mesrop's Heirs," 509) and heralded the increased state surveillance that would come during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid.

74 Charis Exertzoglou, *Εθνική ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19ο αιώνα. Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 1861–1912* [National Identity in Istanbul in the 19th Century. The Greek Philological Society of Constantinople, 1861–1912] (Athens: Nefeli, 1996). For a history of music societies see Chatzitheodorou, *Βιβλιογραφία*; Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαί*; Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα*.

75 Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα*, 190–204. It is perhaps illustrative of the authority that accrued to major publishers, that Evangelinos Misailidis, publisher of KV72/73, was founding member of the Music Society Orfeus (f. 1886) and supplied its reading room with his Greek and Karamanlidika newspapers. Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαί*, 407, 414.

76 Chatzitheodorou, *Βιβλιογραφία*, 188.

In this transitory period, in which the early protagonists of print such as Fokaeus, Chourmouziou and Grigorios were no longer alive, Zografos had a dynamic public presence, and so did some of the illustrious contributors to, or subscribers of, KV72/73.<sup>77</sup> A renowned musician and sweet-voiced cantor from Geyve/Adapazari, Zografos learned church music with Grigorios Protopsaltis. He was Protopsaltis at the Church of Agia Kyriaki in Kumkapi/Kontoskali, and subsequently at the Church of Agios Nikolaos in Galata. He taught at the Fifth Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music (1868-1872) and at schools in Istanbul.<sup>78</sup> He was considered a master of "Arabo-Persian" (i.e., Ottoman secular) music, which he learned next to a Hanende, as mentioned above, and passed on to many of his students.

Zografos was among the founding members of the Music Society of Istanbul based in Pera (1863-1869).<sup>79</sup> The Society set an ambitious goal for the study of Greek music in historical and comparative perspective. Its stated aim was: "...the development and dissemination of Greek national music, sacred and secular, in practice and in theory; the research of its history from ancient times to the present ... and in comparison to the musical idioms of other nations, eastern and western, ancient and modern, and to music in general, considered as an art and as a science."<sup>80</sup> In fact, it was largely the comparative theoretical treatises and notated music collections that had been printed over the last 40 years or so that provided new crucial materials for further elaboration in the fields of music discourse and practice. The Society's "Program of Activities" included the comparative study of musical traditions and notational systems, and the search for appropriate ways of performing and learning church music.<sup>81</sup> According to Zografos,<sup>82</sup> until 1867, when it moved from Pera/Stavrodromi to Fener, the Society boasted some 80 members, an enriched book library, a money reserve, a collection of musical instruments – including a piano, a tanbur and what was in all likelihood an instrument for the measurement and reproduction of music intervals (ftthogometro) – and "over 40 typographic sheets" of written texts for inclusion in its previously announced (but never actualized)<sup>83</sup> music journal.

Important for their contribution to the public sphere were the Society's regular meetings, held twice a month and containing reading sessions followed by discussion and the performance of instrumental or vocal music. The meetings must have been well attended, especially after they were rescheduled from Saturday to Sunday and membership fees were lifted for

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77 Notably, Georgios Violakis, Ilias Tantalidis, Kyriakos Filoxenis, Efstratios Papadopoulos, Ioasaf Rossos contributed variously in the roles of notator, lyricist, and/or collector, while Germanos Afthonidis and Dimitrios Paspalis were subscribers of KV72/73.

78 An announcement in the press states that he will teach church music at the school of Chalkidona (*Ανατολικός Αστήρ*, 19.12.1870); cf. Chatzopoulos, "Εκκλησιαστική μουσική παιδεία," 46.

79 Violakis, Onoufriou, Tantalidis, and Paspalis were also founding members.

80 Founding Regulation (1863) included in Chatzopoulos, "Εκκλησιαστική μουσική παιδεία."

81 Founding Regulation (1863), in *ibid.*

82 KV73, footnote in a hymn set to music by Violakis at the urging of the Music Society under discussion.

83 Chatzopoulos, "Εκκλησιαστική μουσική παιδεία," 191.

chanters.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, the regular members of the Society were obliged to present every six months at least one music treatise or musical composition related to the Society's Program. According to the Regulation of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music, the Patriarchate had placed many hopes on the Society, made up of "our most famous musicians," regarding the issue of music notation systems, an issue that some fifty years after the introduction of the New Method apparently remained unsettled.<sup>85</sup> Zografos, together with Violakis and Rossos, was also among the eight teachers who were chosen among "the most skilled cantors of the parishes" to join the four cantors of the Patriarchate as teachers at the Fourth Patriarchal Music School (1866-1872).<sup>86</sup>

Although such institutions were often short-lived, they played a formative role in the public sphere. Through their activities and the activities of their members, they shaped the norms of musical debate and performance. It is among the participants of these public events and the students in these music schools that one should credibly look for members of the community of "music-lovers" who supported the printed music collections variously through purchase, subscription, performance and music lessons.

### A Transforming Community of "Music-Lovers"?

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, music practices and debates in the public sphere increasingly offered a field for the elaboration of notions of identity, community, and difference, as the Greek and other non-Muslim communities sought to relocate themselves in the context of modernity and of competing nation-oriented and empire-oriented ideological visions. Although an analysis of the printed music collections as ideological formations is not central to this article,<sup>87</sup> a brief comment on KV72/73 is in order, since the book's introduction brings a striking renewal in terms of content and style compared to the other three collections.<sup>88</sup> And although all four collections address the community of music-loving fellow Greeks/Rum (*filomousoi omogeneis*),<sup>89</sup> it is clear that the appeal of this address changes as we approach the late nineteenth century.

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84 Letter of the Society to the Patriarch Sofronios, 1964. Reproduced in Chatzopoulos, "Εκκλησιαστική μουσική παιδεία," 369-70.

85 Regulation of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music (Istanbul: Anatolikos Astir, 1866), reproduced in Chatzopoulos, *ibid.*

86 Regulation of the Patriarchal School of Ecclesiastical Music (Istanbul, 1868), reproduced in Chatzopoulos, *ibid.*

87 See Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music*, for a thorough contextualization of the Greek Orthodox chanting milieu in the Ottoman Greek history of ideas.

88 Panagiotis C. Poulos drew attention to the discrepant discursive settings of the two Keivelis introductions in his lecture "Ottoman Song-Text Collections: An Intercommunity Perspective," presented at the American School of Classical Studies, Athens, November 29, 2016. Available at <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/news/newsDetails/videocast-history-in-tune-the-ottoman-music-tradition>.

89 *Omogenis* (pl. *omogeneis*) literally means of the same stock/descent. The adjective *filomousoi* (music-loving) recalls *musikisinaş* as its Ottoman Turkish equivalent, another indication of cultural osmosis and compatibility.

Whereas EF30, PA43/46 and KV56 have short prologues of a practical character, KV72 has an extended introduction with a predilection for theoretical/historical elaboration. What is most characteristic is a concern about placing Ottoman secular music in relation with church music and Greek music at large. A comparative examination of the two versions of Zografos's introduction (in KV56 and KV72, respectively), in relation with a book announcement of KV72/73 published in the press in 1871,<sup>90</sup> is, therefore, instructive.

In its three-page prologue, KV56 introduces Ottoman secular music by detailing Zografos's own initiation into its world through his apprenticeship next to a Hanende, a teacher of secular music. Zografos describes the process and difficulties of oral transmission (detailed above). He concludes by explaining his motivation for publishing the collection as having derived from the encouragement of many fellow music-loving Greeks and from the recognition that "this system of Music, too, must be ancient." He hopes that the collection will be useful, as was Fokaeus's *Efterpi* and *Pandora*. The prologue ends with a brief description of the book contents and an announcement about its music instruction (detailed above). The prologue is followed by a lesson in rhythm: it is an excerpt from Haşim Bey, offered in Karamanlidika and in Greek translation.

KV72 is contrastive by its mere size: the short pragmatic presentation has now tripled into a ten-page musical treatise entitled "On music." It comprises a discussion on the origins of music that revolves around ancient Greece, the Bible, and Byzantine music. The founding myths of the Greek nation-state are rehearsed through a series of notions, such as continuity, Greek music, Greek nation and orthodoxy, and the role of church music and folk song. These notions commit the text to a long lineage of Enlightenment intellectual heritage, in Europe and in Greek ecclesiastical music bibliography, of which Chrysanthos is perhaps exemplary.<sup>91</sup> When it comes to the question of Ottoman and "Asian music" in general vis-à-vis Greek music, a hierarchization is introduced: Asians learned the fundamentals of music from the "Greek nation," which is "the Teacher of music." Thus, the East is defined by its Greek heritage. The previous earnest admiration for court music and musicians is here superseded by an overarching concern with disciplining musical traditions, circumscribing them in time and place and interrelating them, while at the same time subordinating Ottoman art music as part of an all-encompassing Greek music sphere. Zografos also warns against the intrusion of potentially harmful "foreign" influences. As the book announcement of 1871 clarifies, it is "the visit of European civilization to the East" that drives him to this publication.<sup>92</sup>

That the KV72/73 edition introduces the era of music nationalism within the lineage of the four collections is also evident in Zografos's appeal to music teachers outside the capital to give a helping hand by sending him "notated songs and poems, whether folk, or contemporary

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90 Zografos, "Αγγελία." Announcement of the forthcoming publication of *Mousikon Apanthisma* (KV72/73), in which Zografos details the aims, motivation, and contents of the collection, and urges readers to pre-subscribe at G. Seitanidis's bookshop and at bookshops in Galatas.

91 On Chrysanthos, see Andrikos, "Chrysanthine Theoretical Thought"; Romanou, "Introduction" to Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Great Theory of Music*.

92 Zografos, "Αγγελία." A further reason is that "the books on secular Music published so far have been almost completely sold out." Indeed, the 1873 Catalogue of the Depasta Bookshop (Istanbul: Faros tou Vosporou), bears this out: besides *Lesvia Sappho* (a collection of 25 Ottoman songs published in 1870) only *Mousikon Apanthisma* is listed.

European-like, or other curious ones" for inclusion in the collection together with their contributor's name.<sup>93</sup> Haşim Bey's lesson on rhythm is in this edition followed by a brief exposition, by Zografos, of Chrysanthos's theory on rhythm entitled "On [Chrysanthos's] *Great Theory of Music* in general on Rhythm". In one sense, its inclusion served to redress the question of which nation's voices were entitled to speak authoritatively about music.

## Concluding Remarks

The article has discussed Greek printed music collections as syncretic cultural and material artefacts whose composite ingredients and social lives offer clues for the study of late Ottoman intercommunal music history. Their examination has revealed both cultural interaction and exclusion: their musical repertoire, the use of Turkish and Karamanlidika and the multiethnic geography of their printers mark them as intrinsically intercommunal, while their notation system, the use of Greek language and script as well as the ethnoreligious identity of their subscribers and publishers places them within a more well-defined, Greek Orthodox milieu. The analysis also revealed how the music books generated a space of Greek Ottoman music sociality, in which professional chanters, musicians and "music-lovers" interacted in contexts of musical performance. These contexts, which sometimes involved monetary transaction, intermixed church music and Ottoman secular music, as well as oral and written transmission in the forms of *meşk* and the New Method.

The New Method played a formative role in creating the conditions for this encounter, which took place while a process of taxonomization and hierarchization between Greek and "Asian" musics, also traced in the collections, was underway. Spanning a period from the 1830s to the 1870s, the four collections also bring to the fore the transforming contours of music-making in what was a period of reform in Ottoman social history at large. In the first half of the nineteenth century, book culture combined with the New Method made Ottoman art music more accessible to a Greek Ottoman audience related to the church milieu. In the second half of the nineteenth century, as exemplified by KV72/73, this new cultural capital was (also) recruited in the processes of identity formation (national, cosmopolitan, Ottoman) to render Ottoman Greeks visible and audible in the emerging Ottoman public sphere.

What has also become evident is that the world of printed book of nineteenth-century Ottoman music was not insulated: orality/aurality and performance pervaded it. The performative worlds and spaces that the printed collections both articulated and engendered contributed to the new modes of music sociality that defined the shifting musical geographies of late Ottoman Istanbul.

As this discussion has highlighted, a cultural history of printed music books may contribute towards a social history of musicians, everyday musical life, and the makings and un-makings of musical communities, conceived in both spatial and cultural terms. Posing the question of the social life of music books is crucial, even if we are still a long way from providing any definitive answers.

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93 The folklore-collection competitions organized by the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople were meanwhile setting an important precedent for using culture to forge national identity and cultural continuity. Exertzoglou, *Εθνική ταυτότητα*, 103-32.

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## Abstract

This article explores Ottoman musical life through an examination of four Greek printed music collections published in Istanbul in the 19th century. They contained songs of Ottoman art music written in the Karamanlidika script and notated in the New Method, the reformed music notation that was officially adopted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1814 and paved the way for the printing of Byzantine notation. As hybrid printed books situated in-between Greek, Karamanlidika, and Ottoman Turkish book production and history, as well as in-between Ottoman-Turkish and Byzantine musicology, these collections have to date not been adequately studied. Attention to their networks of production and circulation and to their reading publics reveals the interrelatedness of the world of print and the world of aurality/orality and performance. It also points to forms of music sociality that developed in the shifting musical geography of late Ottoman Istanbul: a community of "music-lovers" emerges which draws together music professionals and amateurs, Greek orthodox church music and Ottoman secular music, and oral and written transmission.

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