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Entertainment and Phanariot Song*

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INTRODUCTION

The *Phanariot songs* or *Phanariotika* comprise an idiosyncratic Greek art repertoire which first appeared and took its shape in the course of about 100 years, from late 18th to late 19th century. The *Phanariotika* were named after *Phanarion* (Φανάριον), the Greek elite district in Istanbul, where the Phanariotes used to live. Phanariotes were members of the upper-class, who used to be involved with the commerce in Central Europe and Russia as well as occupy important positions in the Ottoman Empire administration thanks to their multilingualism and high education. Apart from the main center, i.e. *Phanarion*, Phanariotes were also widespread in many towns alongside Danube, for instance Bucharest, Iași, and Vienna, as well as fairly popular in Smyrna and a few towns in West Macedonia (Kastoria, Siatista, Ioannina etc.) (Frantzis 1993: 11-18; Sofianos 1997: 43-51; Kalaitzidis 2012: 182).

The birth of this repertoire coincides with the influence of French Enlightenment, the improvement of the living conditions of the populations living in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, especially after Russia reclaimed its rights in the area, and the formation of a Modern Greek identity. After the Greek revolution in 1821 and the birth of the Greek state, the cultural central point would gradually be relocated from Istanbul to Athens.

* This paper has been presented at the International Medieval Congress of Institute for Medieval Studies, July 2013, University of Leeds.

Thus, the *Phanariotika* genre vanished, since a considerable amount of the Constantinopolitan intelligentsia moved to Athens, and the environment of Istanbul became adverse towards the Greek culture – and remained so for at least a few decades, until *Hatt-ı Hümayûn* (Ottoman Reform Edict) in 1856.

The main sources for the study of *Phanariotika* are the manuscripts and the printed editions in Byzantine semiography (*Parasēmantikē*) after 1830. Among the musical manuscripts, the most outstanding one is the collection *Melpomenē* by Nikēphoros Kantouniarēs (MS Vatopediou 1428, written between 1818-1820) and a manuscript written by Petros Peloponnēsios that is found in the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest (BARB 927) (Plemmenos 2001; Kalaitzidis 2012: 52, 151, 245).

Among the printed editions, the most important ones are the books *Euterpē* (Fokaeus 1830) and *Pandora* (Fokaeus 1843). The lyrics with their music of more than 400 Phanariot songs and the names more than 30 composers have survived to date in several manuscripts, the so-called *Mismayes* or collections of lyrics (Kalaitzidis 2012: 247; Frantzis 1993: 17-23). Among the editions that concern poetic texts, the most profound ones are *To σχολείον των ντελικάτων εραστών* [School of Tender / Delicate Loves] by Rigas Veletinlis-Feraios (Veletinlis-Feraios 1790), *Ερωτος αποτελέσματα* [Effects of Love] by Anonymous (written probably by Rigas too or perhaps by his friend, Ioannis Karatzas) (Anonymous 1792), the collections *Λυρικά* [Lyrics] by Athanasios Christopoulos (Christopoulos 1811) and *Διάφορα ηθικά και αστεία στιχουργήματα* [Various Moral and Funny Lyrics] by Zissis Daoutis (Daoutis 1818), etc. A last shine of *Phanariotika* are the songs by Elias Tantalidis (Tantalidis 1876-1878) and the publication of some songs in Sigalas' *Συλλογή Εθνικών Ασμάτων* [Collection of National Songs] (Sigalas 1880).¹

By studying the musical characteristics of this repertoire in parallel with relevant literary texts and pictorial sources of that era, we can make inferences about its role in the entertainment.

Themes

If we assessed the Phanariot poetry, we would say that it is mediocre, or even, sometimes, really bad. Skarlatos Vyzantios in mid 19th century says: “each [poem] is more disgusting than the other”.² However, considering the spread of

¹ For details, see also Frantzis 1993: 23-32.

² Vyzantios Skarlatos writes in mid 19th century: “Πόσον δε βαθέως εισεχώρησεν η τουρκική γλώσσα εις την ελληνικήν φαίνεται μάλιστα εκ των ποιημάτων των προ εκατόν χρόνων διακεκριμένων εν τω Φαναρίω ποιητών, του Κάλφογλου, του Δραγομανάκη, του Αρμάση Σαούλ, του Πρωτοψάλτου Ιακουμάκη, του Λαμπαδαρίου Πέτρου κτλ. Έχω

the manuscripts Mismayes and of some musical codices or printed editions, their popularity lasted for a whole century.³ The theme of the love song is dominant. Poems about how troublesome situations of life are perceived from a philosophical point of view are a very beloved theme as well. Of course, there are satiric songs that undoubtedly lead to cheerfulness and, also, songs that extol wine and intoxication. Special cases of a popular repertoire were the patriotic and rebellious songs, which played an inspiring role in the rebellion (Frantzis 1993: 17).

MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS. MUSICAL ANALYSIS

Nearly every metric model can be found in the Greek *Dēmotic Song*. However, sometimes we notice copies from French poetic metres or self-same themes (Baud-Bovy 2007: 55-60).⁴

Phanariot songs are clearly modal. They obey the style dictated by the Byzantine *ēchos* (plural *ēchoi*), or the *makams* (*maqām*, plural *maqāmāt*) to such a large extent that they were given the name *Psaltotragouda* (i.e. *psaltic songs* or *Songs of the Chanters*), despite the influence by the European major and minor scales being evident. One element of the analysis is the use of a broadly common terminology of *makams* and *usûls*. Among the *ēchoi*, the dominant and most popular ones are fourth plagal and varys of *Acem Aşîrân* makam, because they have correspondents in the European system. For instance, as

υπόψιν μου παλαιόν τινα μετζμουάν, περιέχοντα υπέρ τα διακόσια τούτων άσματα, το έν αηδέστερον του άλλου. Επειδή όμως ένια εξ αυτών δεν είναι παντάπασιν άμοιρα χάριτος... ας μην παραξενευθώσιν οι νέοι μας ποιηταί εάν τινά εξ αυτών αντιγράψω ενταύθα” [How deep the Turkish language has permeated Greek notably becomes obvious in the poems of the distinguished poets from Phanari, from a hundred years ago; Kalfoglu, Dragomanakis, Armasis Saul, Protopsaltēs Jakumakis, Lampadarios Petros, etc. I am aware of an old *mecmua* which includes more than two hundred such songs, each one of them being more disgusting than the other. For some of them are not completely deprived of grace, though, let our contemporary poets not be taken by surprise if I copied some of these poems here] (see Skarlatos 1869: 599).

³ “Και ταύτα πάντα ήρεσκον, ευδοκίμουν, απεστηθίζοντο, ετραγωδοούντο, αντιγράφοντο! Οι δε ποιηταί αυτών αντημείβοντο, επευφημούντο, ήσαν περιζήτητοι. Πόσα ρόδινα χείλη δεν τοις εμειδίασαν; Πόσοι ωραίων οφθαλμοί δεν τους εκρυφοχαϊρέτησαν; Διότι πάσα εποχή έχει τα θέλγητρά της, το πνεύμα της, τους εποποιούς της” [And all these were liked, were thriving, were being memorized, were being sung, were being copied! As for the poets, they would be rewarded, applauded, they were sought after. The lips that smiled at them! The eyes of the beauties that secretly waved at them! For each era has its charms, its spirit, its epic makers]. See Skarlatos 1869: 605.

⁴ Moreover, extensive analysis is offered by J. Plemmenos in his dissertation (mentioned above, Plemmenos 2001), as well as in his paper (see Plemmenos 2013).

we can see in the ranking of the *ēchoi* in codex Vatopediou 1428, the well-known *Melpomenē*, first comes the plagal IV, which, though, combines some *minore* pieces, according to makam *Nihâvend*, and *ēchoi* I, IV, varys, plagal I, plagal II, and III follow.⁵

According to the ranking based on the *ēchoi*'s *ēthos*, we observe that the panegyric *ēchoi* and those which develop more artistically and combine tetrachords, have a wider range and a greater emotional impact. This phenomenon is observed with regard to other contemporary repertoires as well, such as *Psaltikē*, or the so-called *εξωτερικά* ("external", mainly Ottoman) music, where the dominance of the same *ēchoi* is apparent.

Concerning the rhythm, the simple rhythmic patterns (*Ουσούλια* – *Usûls*) of *Sofyan* (4 bits), of *Düyek* (8 bits) and of *Yürük* (6 bits) are dominant, and the more complicated and sophisticated patterns come next.⁶ The rhythmic patterns of the most Greek popular dancing rhythms are almost non-existent, a fact that shows that listening and singing alone can offer pleasure, and there is no need for dancing.

It is known that *Phanariotika* coexist with multiple instrumental pieces in *Peşrev* and *Semâ'i* form, no matter where their composers come from. Nevertheless, the basic and most popular form of *Phanariotika* is that of the *Song* or *Sarki* and, less frequently, *Beste* and *Kâr*, a fact that reveals a preference for music with lyrics over purely instrumental music. There are also Armenian and Turkish songs "next to the *Romaiká*" (Greek), or sometimes bilingual pieces, that are considered to be a really familiar and beloved repertory (Kalaitzidis 2012: 249-255).⁷

The first printed editions include many compositions in the Ottoman language and clearly address Greeks (*Romioi*), who had the ability to read Psaltic music. Furthermore, even compositions in Persian forms are considered as common "property" and a heritage of the lost Byzantine secular music, especially when the composer is Greek, for example Tzortzis, Georgios Soutsos or Zacharias Hanendes (Kalaitzidis 2012: 174).

⁵ MS Vatopediou 1428 (named *Melpomenē*). The calculation from the study of the manuscript.

⁶ The calculations are based on the manuscript *Melpomenē*.

⁷ See also the extracts from literature: "Ἐπειτα δε ἄρχισαν ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν εὐθυμίαν, ἄλλοι μὲν νὰ τραγοῦν Τούρκικα, καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀρμένικα, καὶ ἄλλοι Ρωμαϊκά. Ἀρχισε λοιπὸν καὶ ὁ κυρ Ἀνδρέας μᾶς νὰ τραγοῦν τὸ ἀκόλουθον, πολλὰ σιγανὰ καὶ ἐρωτικά: Στὰς λόπαις μὲν ἀνακογχὴν μιαν ὥραν εὖρον μοναχὴν" [Later, due to the high spirits, others started singing in Turkish and others in Armenian, and others in *Romaiká*. So, Mr. Andreas started singing to us the following, very quietly and amorously: *In my sadness, I found truce only for one hour*] (see Anonymous 1792: 64).

Sporadically, we detect some evaluating descriptions of the melody *ēthos*, the *ēchos-makam* or the lyrics, such as “ἡδύ”, “ἡσυχαστικόν”, “ἡδονικόν”, “ελκυστικόν”, “παρακαλεστικόν”, “κατανυκτικόν”, “πάνυ ωραῖον” [“sweet”, “quieting”, “hedonic”, “attractive”, “consoling”, “devout”, “very nice” etc.].⁸

The place, the time and the way of performing

Phanariotic song is first of all a song of salons. It was created to be heard, not danced. However, as texts reveal, it was heard at meetings in gardens and “vegetable gardens, sitting places and kiosks”,⁹ “countryside”,

⁸ “Και ταῦτα λέγοντας ἄρχισε να τραγωδά, με το να εἶναι εἰς παρομοίας περιστάσεις το τραγῳδί, μέσον ἡσυχαστικώτατον: *Εἰς το θέατρον του κόσμου, με τα μέτρα του νοός μου*” [And saying these he started singing, the song being in similar situations a means of calming down: *In the arena of the world, with the measures of my mind*] (see Anonymous 1792: 102). “Εβδομος δε ο Τζιμπουκτζήμπασης ὡς αστεῖος, ἐτραγῳδῆσεν ἓνα πολλὰ αστεῖον, το οποίον εἶναι το εφεξῆς οκτώμετρον: *Φίλοι συνηλικιώται, τι προσμένετε, ὡς πότε?*” [Çibukçibassis was the seventh to take turn, he sang a very funny one, which is the following octameter: *Friends, pals of the same age, what are you waiting for, until when?*] (see Anonymous 1792: 147). “Για τοῦτο ὡς ἐλκυστικόν μέλος παρακαλεστικόν, Εμβήκαν κ’ εἰς μακάμι οἱ στίχοι μου χονζάμι” [This is the reason why the lyrics have been adapted to makam *Huzzam*, because it is attractive and consoling] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 65).

⁹ “εἰς τὴν σάλαν του αὐθέντου... Μετά το γεύμα δε αφοῦ εὐθύμησαν αρκετά, ἄρχισαν να τραγωδοῦν. Διότι τα τραγούδια εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ σημεῖον χαράς” [In the ballroom of the boss... After the meal, after the spirits went high enough, they started singing. Because the songs are a result and a sign of joy] (see Anonymous 1792: 143). “Ἐν τῷ ἀναμεταξύ λοιπόν οὐοῦ ἐπεριδιάβαζεν εἰς τὸν μπαχτζέ, τοῦ ἦλθεν ἓνας στοχασμός να ἐμβῇ εἰς ἓνα κιόσκι να καθῆσῃ, καὶ να γράψῃ τίποτε οὐοῦ να ἀπεράσῃ ο καιρός του. Ἀρχισε λοιπόν να συνθέσῃ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦς στίχους, καὶ συνθέτωντάς τοὺς ἄρχισε να τοὺς τραγωδᾷ με μίαν γλυκυτάτην φωνήν, ὡσάν τῶν μυθολογουμένων Νηρηίδων, καὶ με μίαν μελωδίαν καὶ ἀρμονίαν ἀρίστην. Εκεί δε οὐοῦ ἐτραγωδοῦσεν, ἐμβήκε καὶ ὅλη ἡ συντροφία καὶ ἐκάθισεν εἰς ἄλλο κιόσκι ἀπέναντι, καὶ αὐτός δεν τὴν ἐκατάλαβεν. Οἱ στίχοι οὐοῦ ἐσύνθεσεν καὶ ἐτραγωδοῦσεν ἦσαν οἱ ἀκόλουθοι: *Εἰς ἓνα κάλλος θαυμαστόν, πολλοὺς ἐπαίνους χρεωστώ*” [While he was strolling in his garden, a thought struck him that he should enter a kiosk and sit and write something so that the time passes. So he started writing the following verses, and while doing so he started singing in a most sweet voice, like the voice of the mythical Nereids, and in a perfect melody and harmony. While he was singing, his whole company came and sat in another kiosk nearby without him realizing. The verses he wrote and sang were the following: *To an admirable beauty I owe many praises*] (see Anonymous 1792: 7). “Ὅθεν ἐκίνησαν δια τὸν μπαχτζέν. Ἀφ’ οὐ δε ἐφθασαν, καὶ ὀλίγον εὐθύμησαν, ἄρχισαν να τραγωδῆσουν καθ’ ἓνας ἐκεῖνο οὐοῦ ἤξευρε. Καὶ ο τζελεπή Ἀντωνάκης ἄρχισε να τραγωδήσῃ το ἀκόλουθον, δια τῶν στίχων: *Ποτέ δεν ἐδοκίμασα τὸν ἔρωτος τὰ πάθη*” [They headed to the garden. When they arrived and the spirits went high, they started singing, each one of them the song he knew. And Çelebi Antonakis started singing the following, with the verses: *I never tried the passions of love*] (see Anonymous 1792: 128). “Εἰς τὰ πῆριξ τῆς πόλεως

in green places, in “bahçes” (gardens), in “çimpades” (rose or flower gardens),¹⁰ social gatherings, in “sohpetia” (symposia) in “metzlisia” (gatherings) and “ziafetia” (treats)¹¹ in “ballos” (balls).¹² Gatherings at taverns or cafés are not mentioned, but it must be taken for granted that part of this repertoire is performed along with a folk repertoire by habitués or even professional “hanendes” (singers) in these places.¹³ In some cases some-

ευρίσκει κανείς άπειρα τοιαύτα καθίσματα. Το Κιρέτζ μπουρνού, τα Σαράντα δένδρα, και το Μποσάνι της Θεραπειάς, δεν είναι ευκαταφρόνητα” [In the surroundings one may find countless such sitting places. Kiretz burnu, Fourty Trees, Bostani of Therapeia, are not to be overlooked] (see Valestinlis-Feraios 1790: 191). “Πλέον θε να παραιτηθώ, κι από τα ζεύκια ν’ αφεθώ, / Γιατί οι εγλεντζέδες, όλοι είναι σκεντζέδες. / Απ’ την καλύτερ’ εξοχήν, εις το εξής έχ’ αποχήν, / Τίποτα δεν ευφραίνει καρδιά μ’ την πικραμένη” [I will quit and get released from the relishes, / Because the revels are all tortures. / From the best countryside, from now on I’ll be abstaining, / Nothing brings joy to my resentful heart] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 138).

¹⁰ “Τώρα πια αποφασίζω, στο εξής να εγλεντίζω / Ν’ αφεθώ από τα δέρτια, να πηγαίνω σε σοχπέτια / Και συχνά να σεργιανίζω σε μετζλήσια να γυρίζω / Σ’ εξοχαίς σε πρασινάδες σε παχτζέδες σε τζιπάδες” [I’ve now come to be deciding to make merry from now on / To be released from the worries, to be going to symposia / And to be strolling around often at gatherings / In the countryside and green places, in orchards and flower gardens] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 31).

¹¹ “Έτυχε να υπάγη μίαν φοράν εις ένα κοινόν συμπόσιον, εις το οποίον αφ’ ού έφαγε μετά των φίλων του και έπιεν, εσηκώθη να χορεύση κατά την συνήθειαν του τόπου, επειδή είχαν αρχίσει και η μουσική η πρόδρομος του χορού και διεγερτική πάσης επιθυμίας. Και επειδή ο χορός συνηθίζει να γίνεται με γυναίκα, δια τούτο έπρεπε να πάρη καμμίαν να χορεύση μαζί” [He happened to go once to a common symposium, where, after having eaten and drunk with his friends, he stood up and danced according to the local custom, because the music had started, that wakes the desire to dance as well as every other desire. And because the dancing usually is danced with women, he had to take one to dance with] (see Anonymous 1792: 167). “Πιά τα μαύρα θα τα βγάλω κι ανοιχτόκαρδα θα βάλλω / Θε να στοχασθώ και άλλο, να πηγαίνω και εις τον πάλοι” [I will take off the black clothes now and I will put happy colors on / I want to reflect more, to go to the balls] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 31).

¹² “Μαύρα πια απεφάσισα εις το εξής να βάλλω / Πρέπει εγώ εις το εξής να λείψω απ’ τα σοχπέτια / Και από συναναστροφais, να είμαι εις σε ντέρτια” [I decided to put on the black as of now / I must in the future abstain from the symposia / and from socializing, I should be in worries] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 281). “Αυτή ουν η ελευθερία η υπερβολική εις όλα, τον παρακινούσε να συχνάζη εις όλες τας συναναστροφais, εις τας οποίας απελάμβανεν τας δια των αισθήσεων ηδονάς... Εν τω αναμεταξύ δε, όπου εσύχναζεν εις διαφόρους συναναστροφais και ζιαφέτια κοινά, δηλαδή δημόσια, και ειδικά τουτέστιν φιλικά” [So this excessive liberty urged him to hang out a lot at social gatherings, where he enjoyed the delights that ravish the senses... In the meantime, he would spend time at several gatherings and common treats, that is public, and specifically friendly] (see Anonymous 1792: 167).

¹³ “Ο δεν καφετζήμπασης ωσαύτως, μιμηθείς δηλαδή τον Αντωνάκην, άρχησε και αυτός να δευτερώση το τραγώδι του, ως έπεται: *Αν σε έκαμεν η φύσις, δια να με τυραννήσης*” [The kafeçibassis (master of the Café; author’s note) in the same way,

one sings for his love or even delivers performances for his own pleasure (see Fig. 1).¹⁴

In the texts, the crowded meetings at exterior places are usually held during the day. Dinners and balls render the night ideal for entertainment; at the same time, the personal, solitary performances are connected to staying up all night and are taken to offer consolation to the singer's wounds: "to spend his time, for recreation, for his soul to be soothed" etc., as descriptions cite.¹⁵

Moreover, it is illustrated by the musical analysis that a solistic performance (a *kalophonic performance*, as a cantor would say) is favoured at the expense of the choir version, as the singer can fully unfold and express their singing talent and achieve the ideal sound which only a single fine voice can offer. Additionally, the frequent references to a "low-voiced" song in the texts, particularly when the singer is alone, seem to reflect a well-loved model of a fine performance.¹⁶ Descriptions such as the singer sang very "melodiously",

namely by copying Antonakis, he started too with his second song, as follows: *If nature made you so that you torture me*] (see Anonymous 1792: 133).

¹⁴ "Όθεν απεφάσισεν εκείνην την ημέραν να την απεράση εις τον ονδά του. Και δια να μη βαρύνεται, και δια να διασκεδάση τους λογισμούς του, και δια να απεράση ο καιρός ανεπαισθήτως, ηθέλησεν να τραγωδήση. Άρχισε λοιπόν να τραγωδή το ακόλουθον πολλά αρμονικά κατά τον λεγόμενον πρωτόβαρον: *Μόλις το αξιώθηκα με κόπους με μιννέτια*" [He decided to spend that day in his room. And in order to not be bored and to entertain his cloudy thoughts, and so that time passes unnoticed, he felt the desire to sing. So he started singing the following very harmonic one according to the so-called *echos proto-varys*: *I just became worth of it with strain and expectations*] (see Anonymous 1792: 133). "Πρό δε του γεύματος έψαλλε τόδε προς παραμικράν αναψυχήν αυτού: *Η καρδιά μ' σε χαιρετά, η ψυχή μ' σε ομιλεί...*" [Before lunch he sang this in order to entertain himself a little bit: *My heart is saluting you, my soul is speaking of you...*] (see Anonymous 1792: 164). "Έπειτα δε, εσηκώθη και πήγε να δειπνήση... και δια να μην πλαγιάση ευθύς εστοχάσθη να σολατζάρη ολίγον, δια να αρχίση η χώνευσις, κίνησιν λαβούσα, και σεργιανίζοντας ετραγωδούσε τα ακόλουθα: *Με ιδρωτας και κόπους και με χιλίους τρόπους*" [Afterwards, he stood up and went to dine... and in order to not go to bed immediately, he thought of strolling a bit, so that he eases digestion by moving, and while he was strolling he was singing the following: *With sweat and labor and a thousand ways*] (see Anonymous 1792: 157).

¹⁵ "Δεν απέρασαν δε πολλάι ημέραι και πάλιν εκράχθησαν όλοι εις το ζιαφέτι το βράδυ οι συγγενείς" [Not many days had passed when the relatives were all summoned again to the treat in the evening] (see Anonymous 1792: 63). "έμεινεν ο φίλος μας πάντη άφωνος από την λύπην του. Έπειτα δε δια να την ανακουφίση ολίγον, άρχισε να τραγωδήση το επόμενον πολλά λυπηρά: *Παντοτιναίς καταδρομαίς, πολέμους και συχναίς ορμαίς*" [Our friend stood speechless from sorrow. In order to relieve it a bit, he then started singing the following very sorrowfully: *Everlasting raids, wars and frequent urges*] (see Anonymous 1792: 81).

¹⁶ "Υστερον δε δια να ηδύνη και να χαροποιήση την φαντασίαν του περισσότερον, και να την καταστήση ζωηροτέραν, άρχισε να τραγωδή το ακόλουθον τραγούδι κατά το μακάμ μουχαγιέρ, πολλά ηδονικά, σιγανά, και ερωτικά: *Ποτέ κανείς ας μην ειπή, πως*

“harmoniously”, “hedonically”, “softly” and “erotically”, “sadly”, “very tragically” are definitely related to the pursuit of giving the songs the greatest possible influence on the listeners’ soul.¹⁷

Instruments

The recent poems and those that have many verses demand the relevant text. Thereupon, *Mismayes* are essential in order to remember, read and sing all the verses. Actually, they usually have the appropriate shape (see, for example, Fig. 2), so that somebody can easily place them in their pocket and open them by using the narrow side of the manuscript as a “pivot”.¹⁸

The Phanariot songs were played with instruments that were popular in Constantinople of the 18th century, and clearly non-tempered, since micro-intervals of the *ēchoi* or *makams* are required (see Fig. 3).

As learned (non-folk) repertoire performed mainly in interior spaces, it was played with the relevant *λεπτά όργανα* (“thin” instruments) – a Byzantine term that was passed on to Persian and Turkish terminology as *ince saz* (see Fig. 4).

πάντοτε θα τον λυπή” [Afterwards, in order to please his imagination more and to make it livelier, he started singing the following song in makam *Muhayyer*, very hedonically, quietly and amorously: *Let no one ever say that it will sadden him forever*] (see Anonymous 1792: 30). “έπειτα δε δια να χαροποιήση ολίγον τι ζωηρότερα την φαντασίαν του άρχισε να τραγωδήση το ακόλουθον τραγούδι πολλά σιγανώς μεν εμπαθώς δε: *Καλή καρδιά κι υπομονή*” [Afterwards, in order to please his imagination even more, he started singing the following song, very quietly, yet passionately: *Let us have an open heart and patience*] (see Anonymous 1792: 69). “άρχισε να τραγωδά το ακόλουθον τραγούδι μελωδικά μεν και σιγανά. Θρηνητικά δε και λυπηρά κατά το Νεχαβέντ: *Αχ έρωτα σκληρότατε και ποια είν’ τα καλά σου*” [he started singing the following song, very melodically and quietly, yet with lament and sorrow, in *Nihâvend*: *Oh, Love mostly tough, which are your virtues*] (see Anonymous 1792: 56). “Και μετέπειτα άρχισε να τραγωδήση, ή κάλλιον να ειπώ, να μουρμουρίση το ακόλουθον: *Τό αγελικόν σου ήθος, μ’ εκατήντησεν εις βύθος*” [And afterwards he started singing, or to put it better, humming the following: *Because of your angelic character, I have reached my lowest point*] (see Anonymous 1792: 118).

¹⁷ “Όθεν δια να ηδύνη του λόγου της περισσότερον, άρχισε να τραγωδήση το ακόλουθον τραγούδι πολλά ηδονικά και αρμονικά: *Μια υπομονή σαν φθάση, εις τον άκρον της βαθμόν*” [Then in order to cheer up more, she started singing the following song very hedonically and harmonically: *When patience reaches its highest degree*] (see Anonymous 1792: 73). “Έπειτα άρχισε να ψάλλη πολλά τραγωδικώς το ακόλουθον: *Τι ζωή πολλά αθλία, στεναγμών πολλών αιτία*” [Then he started chanting very tragically the following: *What an awful life, cause of many sighs*] (see Anonymous 1792: 86).

¹⁸ See the telling image of codex 927 BARB. Of small shape was also the printed publication of *Lyrice* by Christopoulos (Christopoulos 1811). Frantzi chosed pocket size for her abovementioned book *Mismaya* too.

Literature provides information about instruments such as *qanun*, *santûr*, violin, seven-string *keman* and *ney*,¹⁹ and depictions show instruments like the bowed lyre, small lutes,²⁰ drums and the syrinx of Pan or *mouskali* (see Figs. 1, 3, 5).²¹

In case there is more than one instrument, the right tuning and cooperation among the performers is obviously absolutely necessary.²²

Tempered European instruments, such as the mandolin, the guitar, the European flute, are probably in use, especially in the 19th century, by those

¹⁹ See, for example, Chrysanthos 1832: 192. Moreover: “Ὦντας εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν κατὰστασιν, καὶ ἔχωντας πάντοτε πρὸ οφθαλμῶν μου τὴν ακριβὴν σας, ἔβαλα σκοπὸν να μάθω τίποτες μουσικὴν, χορὸν, να παίζω το σπαθὶν καὶ να καβαλικεῶ εὐμορφα. Με το να ἤμουν επιτήδειος ἐπέτυχα τὸν σκοπὸν μου καὶ ἐγίνα σχεδὸν τέλειος εἰς ὀλίγον καιρὸν. Ενθυμούμουν ὅταν ἐκάθομουν κοντὰ σας, πὼς ἡδύνετο ἡ ακριβὴ σας να ἀκοῦῃ το νεῖ (αυλὸς) καὶ το βιολί, ὁποῦ ἐπαίζεν ἕνας εἰς τὴν γειτονιά μας. Ἐμαθα να παίζω αὐτὰ τα δύο ὄργανα, καὶ πρὸ πάντων το νεῖ, το ὁποῖον ἡ κερά μου ἐνοστιμεύετο περισσότερον. Κάθε φορὰν ὁποῦ ἀπερνούσα κανένα πεσρέφι (μέλος) ἐστοχάζομουν πὼς ἡ χρυσὴ κόρη σας ἦτον παρών, καὶ με ἀκουεν, ὅθεν το ἐπαίζα με ἀκρον κέφι καὶ προθυμίαν, καὶ ἀπορούσα πὼς δὲν ἀναπτεν ἀπὸ το φλογερὸν μου ντέμι (φύσημα)” [Being in this situation and having always your precious one before my eyes, I set a goal to learn a bit of music, dance, how to fence and how to ride the horse. I recalled, while I was staying next to you, how your precious one was delighted to listen to the *ney* and the violin one used to play in our neighborhood. I learned to play these two instruments, and mainly the *ney*, which my lady fancies more. Every time I would play a *pesrev*, I would imagine that your precious daughter was present and could hear me; therefore I would play with utmost joy and yearning, and I was puzzled that *ney* wouldn’t catch on fire from my zestful *demi* (blow)] (Valestinlis-Feraios 1790: 24).

²⁰ See the depiction of the painting of a Greek artist from the Clarie de Bibliothèque Universitaire de Varsovie collection (1780), depicting a concert at the English embassy in Istanbul, see booklet in CD devoted to *Isak Tanbûrî* (Bezmarra Music Ensemble), *En Chordais*-project MediMuses, Feldman and Karakaya 2005: 39. See also above Fig. 1, the abovementioned representation in codex Istanbul Türkçe Üniversitesi Yasmalar no. 5502, 1208 (1793). See also in Gheorghită 2015: 78 and the cover illustration with a picture of a banquet at the Princely Court of Nicholaos Maurogenēs (MS BARB 3514, f 12, drawings by Petrakis Logothetis, dated 1787).

²¹ See the depiction of chamber music, most probably Learned Music of Istanbul in Ch. Fonton’s book *Essay sur la musique orientale comparée à la musique européenne* (Paris 1751, Bibliothèque Nationale), published in Turkish by Cem Behar (Behar 1987: 92).

²² “Για τούτο ἀπεφάσισα, τὰς λύπαις μου τὰς ἀφήσα. / Εἰζέχασα τὰ πρωτεινὰ, χαίρομαι εἰς τὰ τωρινὰ. / Δὲν θέλω νάχω συλλογὴν, μήτε να εἶμαι εἰς ὀργὴν. / Μόνον με μια καλὴ καρδιά, εἰς κάθε νύκτα καὶ βραδυνά, / Σοχπέτια νάχω θανμασσά, σ’ ὄργανα, σάζια τεργιασσά / Να σεργιανίζω ἀρκετὰ με συντροφιαῖς μου θαρρετὰ” [For this I decided to leave my sorrows behind, / I forgot my former life, I am enjoying the life I have now. / I don’t want to have bad thoughts, neither do I want to be furious / Only with an open heart every night and evening / To have admirable symposia, with instruments and *sazia* properly tuned, / To stroll a lot with companions with courage] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 132).

who have contacts with European music centres (Chrysanthos 1832: 192-196) or even some kind of piano (for instance Dionysios Photeinos; see Gheorghită 2010: 93) as the harpsichord (Chrysanthos 1832: 192-196).²³ This becomes more probable if we consider that the repertoire of *Romaika* (Greek-speaking) songs that reflect Europhile tendencies seems to extend after the first two decades of the 19th century.²⁴

The presence and preference for the tambour, which is played by many chanters,²⁵ is dominant (see Fig. 6). In one song, the poet's soul is represented as a tambour hurt by the hard stroke of a merciless woman's plectrum.²⁶

²³ See also Skarlatos's reflections on the seek of musical identity for the urban Greek communities of Istanbul in the 18th and 19th centuries: "Ἀλλ' ἔχουσιν μουσικὴν ἰδίαν οἱ Γραικοί; Δύναται τις να ερωτήση, καὶ, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων, να ἀποκριθῇ: Οὐχί. Διότι ὅλα τῶν τα τραγούδια εἶναι ἢ τουρκικὰ ἢ ἰταλικά. Τῆς δε ἐθνικῆς αὐτῶν μουσικῆς εἰς ἐμείνέ τι ἶχνος, τοῦτο πρέπει να ἀναζητηθῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὕμνοις. Καθόσον, φαίνεται, ἡ δουλεία, ἀφελοῦσα τῶν χειλέων αὐτῶν το μεῖδιμα, τοὺς ἠνάγκασεν να κόψωσιν τὰς χορδὰς τῆς λύρας αὐτῶν, καὶ να εἰπωσιν καὶ αὐτοί, καθὼς οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Βαβυλῶνος Ἰουδαῖοι το πάλαι. *Ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰταῖς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκρεμάσαμεν τὰ ὄργανα ἡμῶν.* Ἐν γένει δε ἡ μουσικὴ τοῦ Βέρδη καὶ τοῦ Ροσσίνι βραδέως θέλει ἐννοηθῇν' ὑπὸ ὧτων, οἷα τα τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν. Το δε λαούτον, ἡ γκάϊδα, το μπουλγαρί καὶ το δέφι θὰ εἶνε, δια πολὺν ἀκόμη χρόνον, ἡ ἐπέραστος μελωδία τῶν κατοίκων τῆς Τουρκίας" [But do Greeks have their own music? One can wonder and without hesitation reply "No!". For all their songs are either Turkish or Italian. If there's still a trace of their own national music, it needs be searched for in the ecclesiastic hymns. Since slavery has seemingly taken smile away from their lips, it has forced them to cut the strings of their lyre and, as the Judeans did by Babylon's river, to say *We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof*. In general, it will take some time for Verdi's and Rossini's music to be properly perceived by ears such as those of the Bulgarians and the Albanians. The lute, on the other hand, and the bagpipe, and the *Bulgari* and the *defi* (tambourine; author's note) will continue being the favorite melody of the inhabitants of Turkey for a long time] (see Skarlatos 1869: 463).

²⁴ See, for instance, the "Romaic" songs of *Euterpe* (1830) and *Pandora* (1843) where many European-like songs are included, with extensive presence of major and minor scales.

²⁵ See the depiction in a MS of Simonos Kara's library containing *Doxastarion* of Iakovos Protopsaltēs. Perhaps Iakovos is represented playing tambour. After Cantemir, tambour was established as the most efficient instrument for the theoretic study of *Psaltikē*, see also Chrysanthos 1832: 194.

²⁶ The following song provides a plethora of instrumental terms, which points at the popularity of the particular instrument: "Με το μζράπι των ματιών, πούναι γεμάτα νούρι, / Της εδικής μου της ψυχής το παίξεις το ταμπούρι / Και την λαχτάραν της καρδιάς μ' που τρέμει σαν παδούλι, / Αυτήν εις το πεσρέφι σου την έχεις για ουσούλι. / Και με τζηβιά των σεμετιών, πάντοτε το τεντώνεις, / Μ' άκραν σκληρότητα κτυπάς, τάχα σαν να μη νοιώνης. / Πως έχεις δια τέλι' αυτό τους χρόνους της ζωής μου, / Περδέδες ταις ενέργειες ψυχής της εδικής μου. / Και παίζεις μέσα εις αυτό, αλλοιώτικο μακάμι / Κοπτίζει απ' το αμάν αμάν στο βαχ τεσλήμι κάμει. / Τι μουσική είναι αυτή, φως μου η εδική σου; / Βαζγέστισε παρακαλώ, ας είν' για τη ζωή σου. / Περδέδες



Fig. 1. Meyhane (Christian tavern in 18th c.) Eneruni Fazıl's manuscript *Hubanname ve Zenanname* (Istanbul Universitesi Turkce Yasmalar no. 5502, 1208/1793), featuring in the front page of Tsiamoulis and Erevnidis 1998.

βλέπεις χάλασαν τα τέλια κινδυνεύουν, / Απ' ταις σκληραῖς σου μιζραπιαῖς και να κοπούν κοντεούν. / Μην τον κιδίξεις, φθάνει πιά, το άθλιον ταμπούρι / Με αρμονίαν παίζει το, οπού νάχει σουρούρι" [With the plectrum of your eyes, that are full of light, / You play the tambour of my soul / And in your peşrev you have my heart's desire, / which shivers like pendulum, for rhythm. / And you always stretch it with the dowel pins of the accusations, / You strike with utmost cruelty as if you don't sense / That you have the years of my life like strings / And the movements of my soul like frets. / And you play a different makam in it / It appears suddenly from "aman, aman", and in "Vah" makes refrain/ What kind of music is your music, my light? / Lay off, please, let it be for your life / Frets, you see, are broken, the strings are in danger, / And they are about to be cut from your tough strokes. / Don't mangle the poor tambour any longer, enough is enough, / Play it with harmony, so that it offers pleasure] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 135).

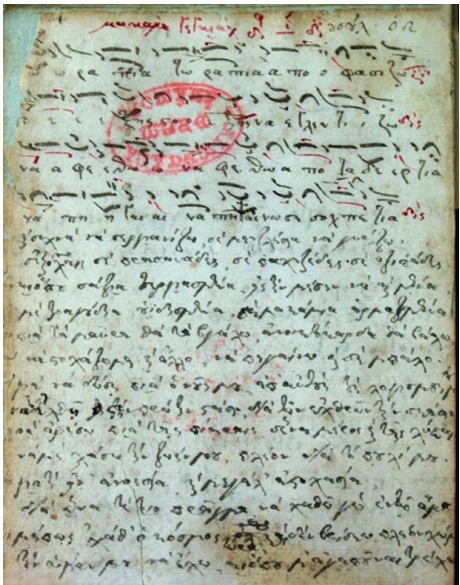


Fig. 2. The pocket size of Mismaya, MS 927, BARB.

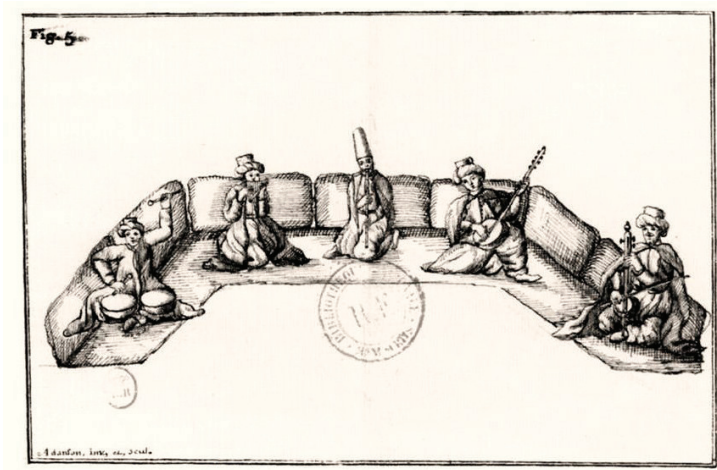


Fig. 3. Musical ensemble in Charles Fonton (1725-1793), *Essai sur la musique orientale comparée à la musique européenne*. Engraving by Jean-Baptiste Adanson (1732-1803).



Fig. 4. Constantinople, 1780.

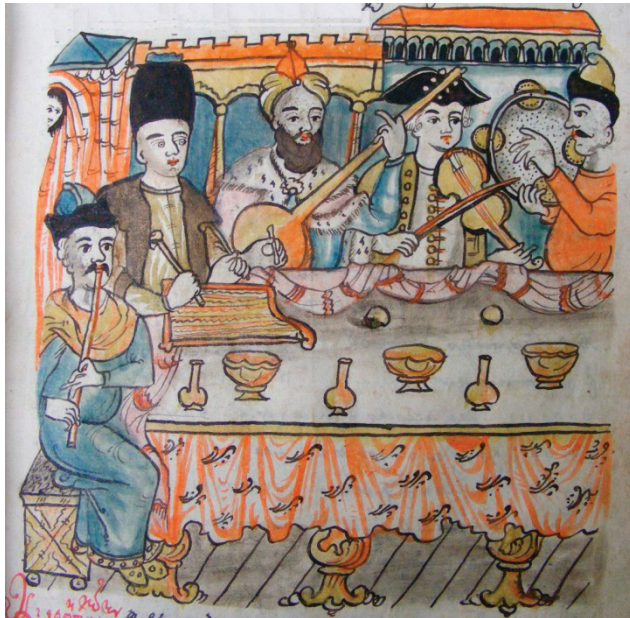


Fig. 5. An orchestra at the Princely Court in Wallachia (MS BARB 3514, f 12, drawings by Petrakis Logothetis, dated 1787).



Fig. 6. From MS 171 (ca 1820), f. 1r, containing Doxastarion of Iakovos (see S. Karas' Library).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERFORMANCE. THE OPERATORS

It is not immoderate to claim that Phanariot song owes its existence to the chanters. Almost every person related to the song production, such as composers, verse writers, performers, audience or transcribers, seems to have at least an elementary knowledge about *Psaltikē*, even if they do not know how to read or write a musical text (Kalaitzidis 2012: 159). It addresses and it is conserved by an urban class which is at least able to read, since it was essential for them to read lyrics that could have been created just the previous day. The major representative, and perhaps the founder of the specific “genre”, with 113 known compositions, is the Lampadarios of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Petros Peloponnēsios (Kalaitzidis 2012: 89-98). The anonymous writer of *Erotos Apotelesmata* reproduces most of Petros' songs in 1792, 14 years after their author's death. Nikēphoros Kantouniarēs, Petros Vyzantios, Grēgorios Protopsaltēs, Ioannis Pelopidēs and many others among dozens of well known composers, rhymers etc. have a knowledge of *Psaltikē* (Kalaitzidis 2012: 99, 121).

In this faction we would also include politicians, merchants, or even members of the highest levels of clergy (Kalaitzidis 2012: 157).²⁷

We have no evidence about female composers. Nonetheless, in *Melpomenē*, Domna Katigko and Doudou Hypsēlanti are referred to as verse writers.²⁸ Women, additionally, used to sing or send *ravassakia* (erotic letters)²⁹ with popular poems. There are, also, many poems with women names at the acrostics.³⁰

Sources of entertainment

We can not say that the Phanariot lyrics are characterized always by joy and delight. In some cases the influence of Petros Lampadarios, who is the main representative of this genre and who was pessimistic and sometimes even depressing, is very evident. Nevertheless, we observe the appearance of a diachronic phenomenon in the Greek culture, where the listener, the dancer and generally every participant in the performance of the musical event can reach the highest level of the aesthetic pleasure, even with songs about death, in a spirit of the famous *charmotypē*, i.e. feeling happy and sad at the same time.

The main element that makes the Phanariot song very popular and enjoyable is its melodic nature. The variety and the sometimes masterful exploitation of the musical elements of the *makams*, which were reminiscent of the *ēchoi* of Byzantine Music, balances the poor quality of the lyrics. What touches the soul of the listener is clearly the melody, which is similar to the “admirable external melos” of the Arabs and Persians whose “art about the *ēchoi* is splen-

²⁷ See “Ποίημα Γερμανού Παλαιών Πατρών: Καλλονή ωραιότητων και τερπνή μου χελιδών” [Poem of Germanos, archbishop of Old Patrae: *Beauty of the beauties and my joyful swallow*], in *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 148.

²⁸ By Domna Katigko: “Σφαίρα τάχα δεν γυρίζεις και σε μένα μια φορά” [Sphere, you never come back to me just once] (see Skarlatos 1869: 602); by Doudou Hypsēlanti “Όλο ένα μουσουμπέτι αντίς για γλυκό σοχπέτι”, [A woe all the time, instead of a sweet party] (see Skarlatos 1869: 605).

²⁹ “Αφού λοιπόν έφθασε εις το σπήτι της, άρχισε να ετοιμάση το ακόλουθον ραβασάκι προς τον τζελεπή Ανδρέαν: ευγενέστατε Κυρ Ανδρέα! / Η ωραιότης δεν θεωρείται, μήτε τελείως καταμετρείται” [So when he arrived to her house, he started writing the following *ravassaki* to Çelebi Andreas: *most kind Mr. Andreas! / Beauty cannot be captured or measured fully*] (see Anonymous 1792: 39). “Η Μεριέμ... ητοιμάσεν το ακόλουθον ραβασάκι προς τον Τζελεπή Ανδρέα, τον νομιζόμενον εραστήν της: Ψυχή μου κυρ Ανδρέα! Αν δεν πονής κανένα, λυπήσου καν εμένα που θα σε στερηθώ” [Meriem... prepared the following *ravassaki* (note; author’s note) to Çelebi Andreas, her alleged lover: *My soul, Mr Andreas! If you feel for no one, at least show mercy to me who will miss you*] (see Anonymous 1792: 115).

³⁰ For example, the abovementioned poem of Germanos Καλλονή ωραιότητων... [Beauty of the beauties...] forms the acronym “ΚΑΤΙΓΚΩ” (*Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 148).

did...”, as Apostolos Konstas says.³¹ Furthermore, the entertainment is realized through the speech set to music, by providing a vent to express issues like love, longing, humour, welfare, and aesthetic pleasure of poetry. The music acts as a supplement to the enjoyment of e.g. food, wine, woman beauty, rest, and sleep.³² The expression of love for freedom and homeland also finds an outlet through song. Some top-rated examples are Grēgorios’s and Ioannis Conidaris’s songs and *Thourios* by Rigas.³³

The nice voice is particularly appreciated, and so is the quality of the compositions; the criteria are both the verse,³⁴ and the performance by remarkable musicians with *sazia tairiasmena* and songs *ouintismena*.³⁵ Sometimes we infer an appreciation for the melody and distastefulness for the text of a song or the person who is usually at the acrostic.³⁶ The appreciation for the psaltic

³¹ Codex of Apostolos Konstas, National Library of Greece 1867, f. 98v.

³² “Θαυμαστοί κρασοπατέρες, ταις γαβάθαις σαν μαχέραις / Ξεσπαθώστε μια φορά... έμπρουμι τζάνιμ... Εκ των βαγκικών” [Admirable wine-fathers, take out the bowls like knives / Take out the swords for once... / Emb rüm çanim... From the Bacchic poems] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 251). “Κι ευθύς με τόλμην και χαράν στο λεμονλίκι μπήκα” [And I entered the lemon garden at once, with joy and boldness], (the common metaphor between the female body and a garden). See Anonymous 1792: 153. “Τράμματα Τζελεμπί Γιακωβάκη Ροίζου, μέλος δε Νικηφόρου κατά παρακίνησιν βεβιασμένην... μακάμ Μπεστενιγκιάρ... Όταν κοντά μου στα γόνάτά μου εσύ καθήσης και με μεθύσης, τι ηδονή!” [Lyrics of Çelebi İakovakis Roizos, music by Nikēphoros after coercion... makam Bestenigâr... When you sat by my, on my knees, and you get me drunk, what a delight!] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 259). “Ταμπούρι μούσα αρμονική ως πότε σιωπούμαι / Της μουσικής μας τον καρπόν ας ευφρανθούμε τώρα” [Tambour, harmonic Muse, till when am I to be silenced / Let us enjoy now the fruit of our music] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 72).

³³ “Thourioi” and “patriotic” songs form a significant part of the 19th century urban learned and folk music (Kalaitzidis 2012: 174).

³⁴ See also verses of Petros Peloponnēsios: “Ηθελα νάχω μια τέτοια χάρι, / Νάχουν οι στίχοι μου ιχτιμπίρι. / Σε κάθε μέρος να τους αρέσουν / Και βλέποντάς τους να τους παινέσουν / Να έχουν τέχνην και ευγλωττίαν / Για να μην βρίσκουν καμμιάν αιτίαν” [I wish I had such grace, / I wish my verses had reputation / And were liked everywhere / And when people see them I wish they praise them. / Let them be so artful and well articulated / That no one would be able to find a flaw] (*Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 307).

³⁵ “Άρχισε λοιπόν να συνθέσει τους ακολούθους στίχους, και συνθέτωντάς τους άρχισε να τους τραγωδά με μίαν γλυκυτάτην φωνήν, ωσάν των μυθολογούμενων Νηρηίδων, και με μίαν μελωδίαν και αρμονίαν αρίστην” [So he started composing the following verses, and in the meantime she started singing them with the sweetest voice, like the voice of the mythical Nereids, and in perfect melody and harmony] (see Anonymous 1792: 7). “Κι όπου σάζια ταιριασμένα σε μακάμια ηρμωσμένα, / Με τραγούδια ουνίδισμένα, εις το μέσον να κι εμένα” [And where well tuned sazias in harmonic makams are found / And also suitable songs, there I am too in the middle] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 31).

³⁶ In the poem of Germanos *Καλλονή ωραιότητων*... [Beauty of the beauties...], there is a comment by Kantouniarēs: “Δεν λέγω τι βρωμούν οι στίχοι, μα δια το υποκείμενον εις

repertoire is ascertained in many cases, as for example the reference to the first echos and to the *Mega Ison* of Koukouzelēs as ideal *melos*.³⁷

The terminology about singers in literary text, namely that they *chant* (instead of *sing*) the song in the given *makam*,³⁸ or the simile between wheezing water and *Ison*, are also evidence of the affinity with Psaltic Art.³⁹

OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE MATERIAL AND ITS FUNCTION

In order to define the parameters based on which a repertoire like this can be used to serve one of the main purposes of music, that of entertainment, we

το οποίοιον ανάγονται, ανάγκη να μασά τινάς κουκκία και να το φτύνει” [I am not saying the verses stink, but for the person they intend to refer to, one needs to chew fava beans and spit on him]. See *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 148.

³⁷ “Εκ των βακχικών, μέλος δε Νικηφόρου... Απ’ την πλόσκα φέρτε φίλοι, να ρουφήξω με τα χείλη, / Απ’ την πλόσκα το κρασί, / Για ν’ ακούσω ν’ αρχινίση, σαν αϊδώνι να λαλήση, / Το κλου κλου κλου φισνισνί / Ο κλου κλου της μπλόσκακας κρότος, είναι λέγουν ήχος πρώτος, / Οι τεχνίται μουσικοί. Και το φισνισνί της τ’ άλλο, είν’ το ίσο το μεγάλο, / Οπού ψάλλει η ψαλτική, / Του Αμφίωνα τα μέλη, κι οι ρυθμοί του Κουκουζέλη / Στου κλου κλου κλου τη φωνή / Όλα, όλ’ ας σιωπήσουν, να μη τύχη να λαλήσουν, / Ότ’ είν’ δίχως ηδονή. / Και αυτή η καλομοίρα του Απόλλωνα η λύρα, / Που στον Όλυμπο λαλεί, / Ας τσακίση το δοξάρι, μπρος στο φισνισνί τη χάρι / Και ας μην παρακαλεί” [From the Bacchic poems, song by Nikēphoros..., Bring, friends the flask to me, I want to sip with my lips the wine from the flask / To listen to the klukluklu fisnisni, sounding like a nightingale, / The clangor kluklu of the flask is the First Echos, / According to the music masters, / And its other fisnisni is the Mega Ison / That Psaltic Art chants. / The melodies of Amfion and the rhythms of Koukouzelis / Before the voice of klukluklu / Let everything be silent and not make a sound / For they lack pleasure. / And even the Apollo’s lyre that brings good fortune / And sings in Olympos / Let the bow crash in front of the grace of fisnisni / And let it stop pleading] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 181).

³⁸ The use of the terms *ψάλλω* “to chant” and *ψαλσίματα* “chants” for a song are typical: “Τέλος πάντων αφ ού άρχισε να τελειώση η ευθυμία, ηθέλησεν ο τζελεπής μας να ψάλη ακόμι έν τραγούδι κατά το μακάμ σαπά: *Η φλόγα η ερωτική εστάθη υπερβολική*” [Upon the ceasing of the carousal, our Çelebis wished to chant one more song according to *sabâ makam: The fire of the love... proved overwhelming*] (see Anonymous 1792: 68). “Αυτή λοιπόν η ημέρα απέρασεν όλη εις ψαλσίματα και εις ομιλίαν” [So this whole day passed with chants and conversations] (see Anonymous 1792: 143). “Προ δε του γεύματος έψαλλε τόδε, προς παραμικράν αναψυχήν αυτού: *Η καρδιά μ’ σε χαιρετά, όμως δεν αποκοτά*” [Before lunch he chanted this in order to raise his spirits a little bit: *My heart waves to you but doesn’t dare*] (see Anonymous 1792: 164).

³⁹ “Βάλτε φίλοι μεσ’ στη βρύση, το κρασί μας να δροσίση..., / το αρνάκι μας λιανίσθε, / Κι έτσι πλέον ζαλισμένοι, μεσ’ στα χόρτα κυλισμένοι, / Στου νερού τον σφυριγμόν, / Ας αρμόσωμαι το ίσο της φωνής μας από πίσω / Ως τον πρώτον νυσταγμόν” [Put, friends, the wine in the fountain and let it refresh us..., / Chop our lamb, / And tipsy as we are, rolling in the grass, / Let’s harmonize the ison of our voices with water’s whistling / until the first sign of sleepiness] (see *Melpomenē* 1818-1820: 316).

must take into account a complexed set of factors in effect during the specific era related to the representatives of the repertoire at hand (composers, musicians etc.) as well as the audience it addresses. Among the main factors that should be examined is, first and foremost, the fact that the Greeks of that era were not just under ruling, which places entertainment into second place anyway, but also under a conqueror that practices a different religion and speaks a different language.

A second factor is the expectation of the liberation. After the revolution in Wallachia (1821), certain areas were indeed liberated, but not those where *Phanariotika* mainly thrived. Place has been considered as vital factor that affects the life and death of a phenomenon such as music production and entertainment. Together with the social characteristics of the people involved (e.g. their origin, their social status etc.), place also affects the forms and quality of the phenomenon at hand. In addition, a substantial contribution was made by the general musical environment of the era, the appearance and the gradual domination of relevant learned repertoire thriving inside the ottoman court. Crucially, this repertoire was supported by an appropriately developed theoretical and teaching system.

Finally, *Phanariotika* had a very close relation to Byzantine music and to the chanters. It is not accidental that many cantors were composers, performers and some of them also instrument players. Neither is it accidental that a considerable amount of this repertoire is preserved in the Byzantine notation (*Parasēmantikē*). *Phanariotika*, combined with the Oriental elements and Ecclesiastical music in an original way, have been a way of expression of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment. They successfully acted within the context of a particular urban class society, which preserved them for a whole century, thus providing important ways of expression. The limited performances of certain songs, which appear to have remarkable melody, especially among chanters, continue reflecting an echo of the atmosphere of that era and offering moments of aesthetic pleasure, even nowadays.

English version by Eirini Apostolopoulou

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μελών εις τόμους δύο. . . . εξηγηθέντα εις την νέαν της μουσικής μέθοδον παρά Θεοδώρου παπά Παράσχου Φωκαέως [Pandora...], vol. 1 (Constantinople).

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