Journal of Music Theory and Transcultural Music Studies, 4(2), 169-186, December 2026
e-ISSN: 3023-7335
jmttms.com

Genc Bilge Publishing Ltd.
(Young Wise) © 2026
gencbilgeyayincilik.com

Research Article

Historical testimonies and mediation: The periodicals of the Ottoman Greeks and their musical heritage[1]

Eylül Doğan[2]

Department of Musicology, Istanbul Technical University Turkish Music State Conservatory, Istanbul, Tükiye

Article Info

Received: 15 August 2026
Accepted: 7 November 2026
Online: 30 December 2026

Keywords
Cultural heritage
Mediation
Ottoman music
Periodicals
The Ottoman Greeks

3023-7335 / © 2026 the JMTTMS. Published by Genc Bilge (Young Wise) Pub. Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC-ND license

Abstract

Numerous newspapers and journals were published in multiple languages during the late Ottoman Empire, encompassing a broad spectrum of subjects. In this sense, the publishing activities of non-Muslim communities are noteworthy. It is widely known that the focus on printing periodicals by the Ottoman Greeks, akin to that of the Armenian and Jewish citizens of the Empire, particularly emerged from the early nineteenth century onward. As of the latter half of the nineteenth century, various periodicals, including Ekklisiastiki Alitheia (1880-1923) and Mousiki (1912-1915), were published and in addition to their own religious and secular music, Greeks wrote historical and analytical essays on world music, particularly European music, musical traditions of diverse cultural groups in the Empire, and Ottoman-Turkish music. There were some articles on the theory and criticism of Ottoman music, the repertoire of that period's performance practices, and various daily news. It is evident from all of these written materials that the target readers of musical publications intended for educational and learning purposes were Greeks who were interested in Ottoman music. Nevertheless, the critical articles mainly focused on topics discussed by professional musicians who were proficient in music theory. Therefore, the primary focus of this research will be the analysis of the content and historical-theoretical issues raised by a selection of articles about Turkish music published in Greek periodicals. The examinations will enable the identification of alternative Ottoman musical sources in Greek periodicals, as well as the addition of a new dimension to Greek-Turkish cultural and intellectual history through mutual criticism. Because these periodicals function as historical documents of the Ottoman music of the era, demonstrating the Greek community's cultural inclinations toward this music and the dynamics of demand and supply. The musical texts, on the other hand, are written sources that incorporate particular cultural codes and terminologies, acting as a bridge between various musical circles.

To cite this article

Doğan, E. (2026). Historical testimonies and mediation: The periodicals of the Ottoman Greeks and their musical heritage. *Journal of Music Theory and Transcultural Music Studies, 4*(2), 169-186. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.21

Introduction

The musical life of the Ottoman Empire, particularly in its intellectual and cultural center, Istanbul, was characterized by a rich, multimodal tradition known as makam music. This sophisticated modal form, an urban music performed across diverse social spaces—from palaces, mosques, and tekkes to coffeehouses and homes—was sustained by a pluralistic community of practitioners, including Muslim Turks, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks (Behar, 2017, Aksoy, pp. 158-159, 170-172; Aksoy, 2015, pp. 15-33). In Ottoman culture, the development and consumption of musical sources

[1] The talk was given on the same topic at the 9th International Conference of the IMS Regional Association for the Study of Music of the Balkans (2025) (Web 1)
[2] Dr. Research Assistant, Istanbul Technical University, Musicology Department, Istanbul, Türkiye. E-mail: doganey@itu.edu.tr ORCID: 0000-0001-9098-0599

that were recorded by different musicians and theorists also flourished in Istanbul. They were not only the practitioners but also the theoreticians of this art. They wrote in Ottoman Turkish, Greek script Turkish (Karamanlidika), Armenian script Turkish (Armeno-Turkish), Arabic, and Persian. Just a few examples after the 16th century: Dimitri Kantemir, Albert Bobowski (Ali Ufki), and Tanburi Arutin come to mind (Popescu Judetz, 2002; Tura, 2001; Behar, 2008). They have all contributed significantly to the theoretical canon of Ottoman music. Key researchers such as Evangelia Balta, Miltiadis Pappas, Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, Yoannis Plemmenos, Nikos Andrikos, and Eugenia Popescu Judetz have illuminated this legacy, focusing on the foundational documents written by figures like Dimitrie Cantemir, Albert Bobowski (Ali Ufki), and Tanburi Arutin.

Ottoman Greeks occupied a distinctive position within this cultural nexus. Building upon their own deep musical traditions dating back to the Byzantine era, they became early documenters and interpreters of Ottoman music. The evidence was the employment of Byzantine Church notation, today known as Parasimantiki, to transcribe Turkish music from as early as the 16th century, leading to a wealth of theoretical and anthological works in the 18th and 19th centuries, often printed in Greek or Karamanlidika (Turkish in Greek script) (Kalaitzidis, 2016). As shown in the 1st and 2nd Figures below, this practice yielded a significant corpus of historical texts, including theoretical works and musical anthologies in both Greek and the Greek-script Turkish, Karamanlidika, until 20th century (Doğan, 2024b, pp. 1-13). By the 18th century, this practice yielded foundational theoretical works by scholars such as Panagiotis Chalatzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos, who placed the Greek perspective within the central intellectual silsile (chain of transmission) of Ottoman musical knowledge (Popescu Judetz & Sirli, 2000). Then, many theory books rewrote the explanations of modes and methods, drawing inspiration from the bo-oks of these two theorists. (see Fig. 2).

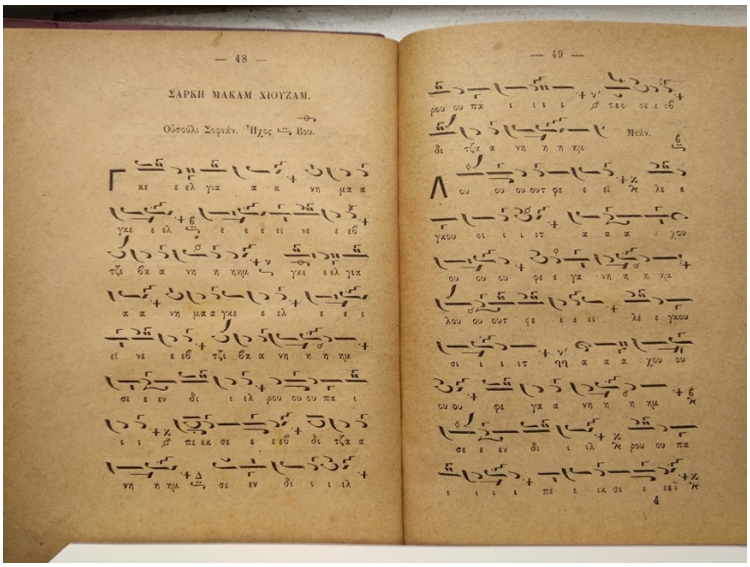


Figure 1. An Ottoman Turkish şarkı (song) in the Greek musical anthology titled "Kallifonos Seirin" [Καλλίφωνος Σειρήν] (Kiltzanidis, 1888, pp.48-49) © Author's archive

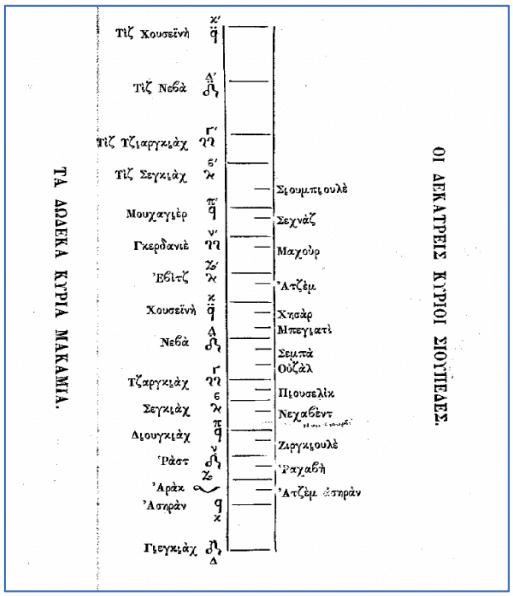


Figure 2. The classification of 12 makams and 23 şubes in the theoretical work known as Methodiki Didaskalia [Μεθοδικὴ Διδασκαλία] in 19th Century (Kiltzanidis, 1881, p. 17) © Author's archive.

Many of the printed works were written by Greek Orthodox musicians who either grew up in Istanbul or had their musical training in the city's churches. It is a fact that some of these books were copied in Romania as well. One group, particularly the elite Greek community of Phanar (Φανάρι, Fanari, Fener), preserved Turkish music in both Istanbul and Romania. They were the elite Greek community of Phanar, known as Phanariotes, who served as translators and high-ranking administrators in the Wallachian and Moldavian principalities during the 18th century. This legacy is evident in the Phanariotika genre, an Ottoman musical style combining Greek poetry with the rhythmic (usûl) and modal (makam) characteristics of Turkish music, cultivated by the elite Greek community of Phanar. Based on Greek poetry and the ideas of Turkish music with its rhythmical and modal characteristics, they produced an Ottoman musical style called Phanariotika, commonly referred to as the songs of Phanar (Plemmenos, 2010). This genre became a phenomenon in the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century witnessed the publication of numerous anthologies that continued to explore and preserve this genre. Figure 3 below is one example of şarkıs (songs) composed in the Greek language with makams and usûls. The title of the Greek song is "Η φύσις άρχησε νά χλωμιάζη". It is included in the first part of an anthology known as Pandora (1843) by Theodoros (Phokaeus), which contains an extensive Turkish repertoire.

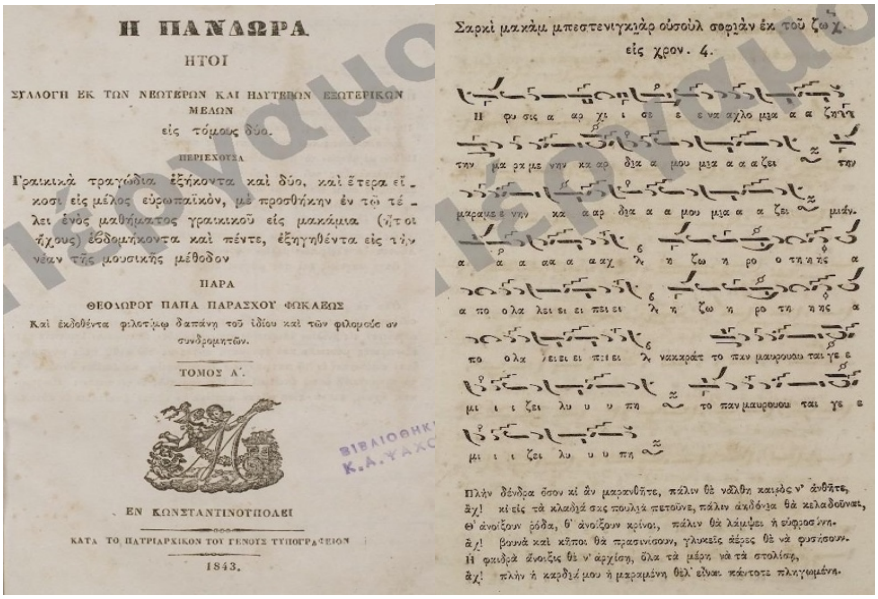


Figure 3. The cover of Pandora and The Greek Şarkı with makam (mode) bestenigar and usûl (rhythm) sofyan"[3]

[3] Source: Theodoros Phokaeus, *Pandora.* Istanbul: Patriarchate Printing House, 1843): 59, Document No: M24/25, https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoa/dl/object/168165 © National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

Finally, the print culture seen in musical anthologies and periodicals marked the final and most complex stage of the Greek-Karamanlidika series in the 19th century. Various publishing companies like *Koultoura* in Greece have reprinted most anthologies and theoretical books, and even compilations from some periodicals. The large amount of print media shows how these publications reached their peak. In brief, we see that, similar to other groups in the Empire, Ottoman Greeks served as cultural transmitters and mediators. During the Byzantine and post-Byzantine eras, they also built upon their own musical tradition by drawing on information from ancient Greek sources. Ottoman-era musical sources also drew on this information for both ideological and intellectual purposes, contributing to a significant corpus of makam music and it helped build a substantial corpus of makam music. (See. Doğan&Çolakoğlu Sarı, 2023, pp.124-154).

Previous research has shown that Ottoman Greek musicians played significant roles in documenting, interpreting, and transmitting Ottoman-Turkish makam music through Byzantine notation, music-theoretical writings, and musical anthologies. Pappas (2007), Popescu Judetz & Sirli (2000), Kalaitzidis (2016), and Erol (2009, 2020) have advanced our understanding of the relationship between Ottoman and Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical musical traditions, particularly in terms of theoretical exchange, cultural identity, and the historical transformation of musical practices. Studies of Greek and Karamanlidika musical publications have also highlighted the importance of these sources in preserving the Ottoman musical repertoire and facilitating cross-cultural musical communication (Doğan & Çolakoğlu Sarı, 2023; Doğan, 2024b). Against this scholarly background, a comparative examination of periodicals published by Ottoman Greeks offers valuable insight into how musical knowledge was documented, circulated, and debated across different publishing platforms. Addressing a gap in the literature, this study investigates the significance of *Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* and *Mousiki* in documenting and representing Ottoman-Turkish makam music. It examines how these periodicals engaged with music theory, presented notated musical examples, and articulated discourses on cultural identity. The comparison identifies similarities and differences in their approaches to transmitting musical knowledge and mediating musical traditions across cultural contexts. Rather than treating these publications solely as repositories of historical musical documents, the study approaches them as intellectual spaces where musical knowledge was transmitted, interpreted, and reinterpreted. Drawing on materials from Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia, and Mousiki, it focuses on the transmission of theoretical knowledge, the circulation of notation and repertoire, the republication of historical texts, and the construction and interpretation of musical identity. Through this approach, the study contributes to historical musicology by highlighting the role of Ottoman Greek periodicals in mediating Ottoman-Turkish makam music and examining their contributions to the circulation and reinterpretation of musical knowledge. Its original contribution lies in a comparative analysis of previously underexamined periodical materials and the insights they offer.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Cultural Mediation and the Circulation of Musical Knowledge

The concept of cultural mediation in music history research allows us to examine not only whether musical knowledge passes from one community to another, but also which elements are selected, how they are represented, and how they are interpreted in relation to different musical traditions. Musicological literature likewise conceptualizes the cultural mediation of Ottoman musical sources as a multi-stage process involving transcultural translation, multimodal transmission, and historiographical recontextualization across diverse ethnoreligious networks (Jäger, 2023; Olley, 2023; Haug, 2018). Rather than treating historical manuscripts as passive records, scholars analyze them as dynamic sites where oral repertoires, distinct notation systems, and imperial institutions intersect (Haug, 2018; Ekinci, 2015). Researchers have explored this tradition through examples that embody cultural mediation in Ottoman-period Turkish music. For example, Nedim Karakayalı's study of cultural transmission in Ottoman and Western European musical environments (2010) offers a useful sociological perspective on the relationship between musical knowledge, educational practices, and notation. Owen Wright's research (1994) on early Ottoman musical notation likewise highlights the importance of considering the relationship between oral transmission and written musical documentation. The number of studies of this kind has steadily increased over the past two decades.

During the Ottoman period, musical publications in Greek and Karamanlidika served as historical sources for examining processes of cultural mediation. The reformulation of theoretical explanations of Ottoman-Turkish makam music in Greek and Karamanlidika, the transcription of musical works in Byzantine notation, and comparisons between different music-theoretical traditions illustrate how musical knowledge circulated across linguistic and conceptual boundaries. Accordingly, this study examines cultural mediation through three main analytical dimensions. The first is the transmission of theoretical knowledge about Ottoman-Turkish makam music through Greek and Karamanlidika texts. The second is the transcription and circulation of musical works across different systems of notation and writing. The third is the discussion of music theory, historical origins, and cultural identity in periodicals. These dimensions guide a comparative analysis of selected documents from the journals *Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* and *Mousiki*. Within this framework, periodicals are treated not only as historical sources preserving musical knowledge, but also as publication platforms where information about different musical traditions was selected, transmitted, and interpreted. However, a document's publication does not, in itself, show that readers received or adopted its contents, nor does it establish a direct influence on musical practices. Therefore, the study's conclusions about cultural mediation are limited to the contents of the documents examined and the documented practices of their publication and dissemination.

Aim and Problem of Study

This study aims to open a discussion on historiography by examining how knowledge was transmitted within the period's social and music-publishing circles, rather than through detailed theoretical analysis. Therefore, this study examines how Greek and Karamanlidika periodicals published by Greeks in the late Ottoman period documented, transmitted, and discussed historical and theoretical knowledge of Ottoman-Turkish makam music. It analyzes selected music-related articles and historical documents published in *Forminx*, *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia*, and *Mousiki* to explore how these publications represented and conceptualized Ottoman-Turkish makam music and what they reveal about the historical circulation of musical knowledge. It also considers how the musical content of these texts intersected with Greek musical traditions and how the periodicals facilitated cross-cultural musical exchange.

In pursuit of this objective, the study addresses the following research questions:

- What historical, theoretical, and musical information about Ottoman-Turkish makam music appears in *Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* and *Mousiki*?
- How do these periodicals represent, discuss, and interpret Ottoman-Turkish makam music?
- What similarities and differences emerge in how these publications document, transmit, and discuss musical knowledge?
- To what extent do their musical discussions reflect Ottoman Greek musicians' engagement with Ottoman-Turkish makam music and their interactions with Turkish musical circles?

Guided by these questions, the study considers the periodicals not only as historical sources documenting musical practices and theoretical knowledge, but also as cultural mediators and intellectual spaces where musical repertoires and theoretical concepts were presented, interpreted, and circulated across linguistic and cultural boundaries. By examining their contents and the representation of musical modes, the study aims to illuminate how these publications facilitated the exchange of musical knowledge and shaped relationships between Ottoman-Turkish makam music and Greek musical traditions.

Method

Research Design and Data Sources

This study offers a qualitative analysis of written materials produced within the framework of historical musicology. It examines how Ottoman-Turkish makam music was documented, interpreted, and transmitted in periodicals published by the Greek community during the late Ottoman period. The primary sources include musical articles, theoretical explanations, musical notation examples, and historical documents from Karamanlidika and Greek periodicals of the period. The article focuses on selected documents from Forminx (1901–1912), *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia (1880–1923), and*

Mousiki (1912–1915). These publications were selected to enable a comparison of how Ottoman-Turkish makam music was represented in different publishing contexts. These three periodicals are rare publications that contain the theory and repertoire of makam music in Karamanlidika and Greek. No other periodicals provide information on Turkish music, so this study is limited to these publications. *Forminx* was published in Athens from 1901 to 1912 and also featured articles on Greek musical circles in Istanbul. Of particular research significance are texts translated into Greek on Ottoman music theory and studies explaining the theoretical structure of modes. *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* was published in Istanbul from 1880 to 1923 and focused specifically on the history and theory of Orthodox church music. Texts in the newspaper's supplements comparing Ottoman and Greek Orthodox church music traditions support a historical examination of the theoretical relationship between the two musical systems. *Mousiki,* published in Istanbul from 1912 to 1915, focused on music theory, music history, folklore, and issues of cultural identity. Its articles on Ottoman-Turkish music are important historical documents for understanding how Greek musical circles of the period approached makam music. Together, these periodicals serve as historical mediators of theoretical transmission and as sources on Ottoman-Turkish makam music. To clarify the scope of the documents included in this study, Table 1 presents the publications' basic characteristics.

Table 1. Characteristics of the Greek-Karamanlidika periodicals in the study

Periodicals (Types)	City of Publication	Period	Issue/Document Reviewed	Reasons for examination of the content
Forminx (Newspaper)	Athens	1901 – 1912	All issues	All three periodicals contain daily news, theoretical articles, and databases on the repertoire of makam music. Collectively, these materials offer educational resources and facilitate comparative analyses of musical practices and theoretical approaches. They are particularly significant for illuminating the theoretical and social dimensions of musical interactions associated with the Greek Orthodox Church.
Ekklisiastiki Alitheia (Newspaper)	Istanbul	1880 – 1923	All issues	
Mousiki (Journal)	Istanbul	1912 – 1915	All issues	

Data Review and Analysis

The study applies qualitative content analysis and comparative historical interpretation to examine periodicals published in Karamanlidika and Greek. Qualitative content analysis identifies and classifies meaningful expressions in the documents, then interprets them through themes related to the research questions (Krippendorff, 2018; Schreier, 2012). Comparative historical interpretation offers a second principal analytical perspective, focusing on similarities, differences, and changes in how the selected periodicals and textual traditions discuss Ottoman-Turkish makam music. Together, these approaches enable analysis of both individual articles and the broader historical significance of their representations. This methodological combination situates Greek and Karamanlidika musical discourse within the wider cultural history of the late Ottoman Empire, while attending to the sources' specific textual and theoretical features. The study thus contributes to understanding Ottoman musical history by examining periodicals as sites where knowledge is produced, interpreted, and circulated across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Within this framework, the study explores themes such as theoretical explanations of Ottoman-Turkish makam music, comparisons with the Byzantine musical system, examples of musical notation and repertoire, discourses on cultural identity, and the transmission of musical knowledge. It aims to determine which aspects of Ottoman-Turkish makam music the periodicals represent in relation to these themes, how musical knowledge is transmitted, and the contexts in which intercultural relations are discussed.

Periodicals as Epistemic Platforms for Makam Music

This transmission also culminated in the emergence of musical periodicals that institutionalized the documentation and critical analysis of this shared musical heritage during a period of intense political and social transformation. The proliferation of Greek and Karamanlidika periodicals during the late Ottoman period also provided a crucial

documentary window into this transcultural musical world. These publications functioned not only to archive the music but also to establish a platform for nuanced intellectual and political dialogue (Erol, 2009; Erol, 2020). The periodicals produced by the Ottoman Greek community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries also constitute a crucial, often overlooked, chapter in the historiography of Turkish makam music. These publications, printed primarily in Greek and the Greek-script Turkish called Karamanlidika, functioned as indispensable cultural transmitters and mediators. These periodicals served two critical functions: preserving the Ottoman repertoire and catalyzing theoretical debates on musical systems.

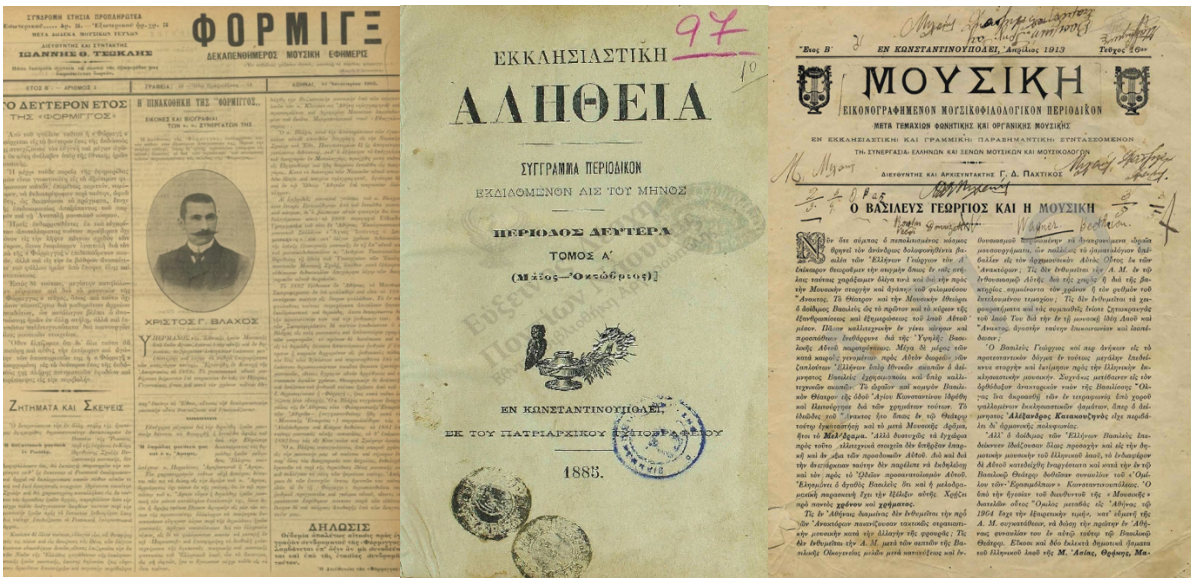


Figure 4. The cover pages of Greek musical periodicals titled Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia and Mousiki © Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and University of Cyprus[4]

Several key periodicals published across Istanbul and Athens became primary vectors for disseminating and critiquing makam music (Romanou, 1996). Greek musicians and scholars from Istanbul, who were proficient in the Turkish language, culture, and musical system, largely guided these journals. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a rise in the number of Greek or Karamanlidika publications. During this period, you can access a wide range of music-related content. Ekklisiastiki Alitheia (1880-1923), published in Istanbul, focuses on Orthodox music, while Forminx (1901-1912), published in Athens, provides a wealth of information on European music and music cultures associated with Greek music, such as Ottoman, Persian, and Arabian. These are two major periodicals on this subject. Mousiki (1912-1915) was also a special journal published in Istanbul in the first quarter of the twentieth century. (See Fig. 4). Other periodicals, such as Neologos (1867-1922) and Nea Efimeris (1896-1911), provide significant articles on Turkish music or current musical issues.

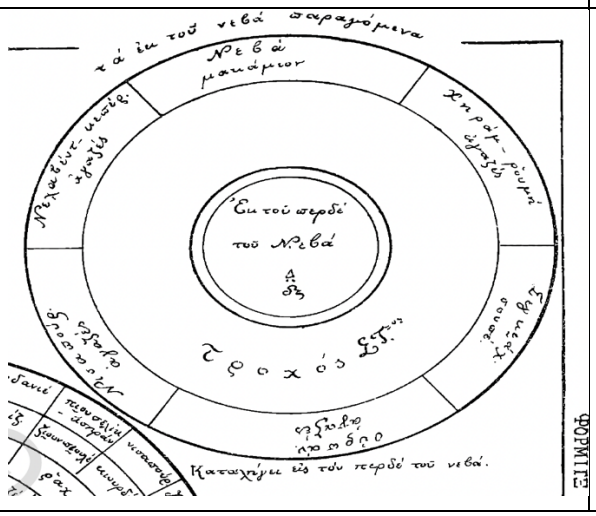
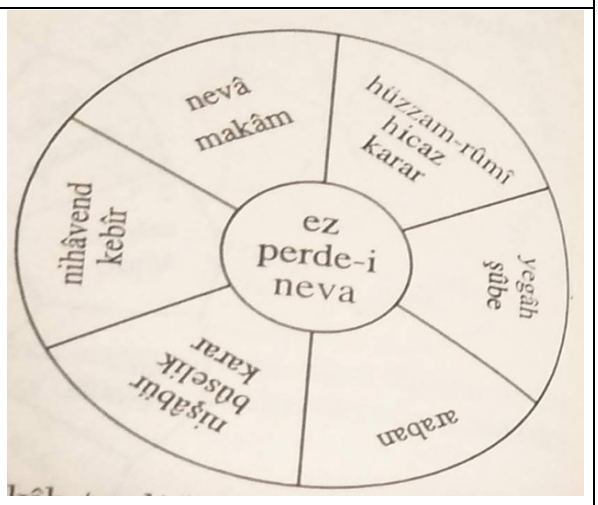
Forminx (Φόρμιγξ) (Athens, 1901-1912)

Although published in Athens from 1901 to 1912, Forminx relied heavily on contributions from Istanbul-based Greek musicians who were deeply versed in Turkish culture and music. The periodical acted as a crucial analytical platform, exemplified by the publication of the article series Taliatat-i Meşhureyi Osmaniyi (known as Galatât-ı Hafid Efendi) (Smanis, 2011, pp. 353-354; Özcan, 1997, pp. 111-112). This series, translated into Greek by Meletios Aristovoulos and edited by Nileas Kamarados in 1907, was derived from the musical section of Hafîd Efendi's encyclopedia, which dates back to 1783. The articles offered detailed theoretical expositions of Ottoman music, notably illustrating the makams through circular diagrams that mirrored the structural analogies used in early Byzantine modal theory, thereby explicitly connecting the two systems. The articles delved into the complex theoretical foundations of makam music, including its relationship to astronomy and cosmology via esoteric symbolism. They employed circular diagrams (trohos), analogous to those used in early Byzantine theory, to visually represent the characteristics of the makams (or echoi)

[4] Sources for the figures of *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/126427 and for the figures of the *Mousiki* https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/107374 and for the figures of *Forminx*: https://lekythos.library.ucy.ac.cy/archive/item/15879

(Doğan, 2024b, pp. 22, 81-82, 153-155, 407-408). Consequently, these texts on makam theory published in the newspaper "Forminx" demonstrate that Ottoman-Turkish musical knowledge was not merely transmitted within Greek musical circles but was also re-presented in a distinct theoretical language and notation system. The use of circular diagrams to explain makams, in turn, indicates that connections can be established between different theoretical traditions through the visual representation of musical knowledge. However, the similarity in circular notation does not imply that Ottoman modes and the Greek Orthodox Church's echoi system are theoretically identical. To establish such equivalence, the organization of tones, interval relationships, and modal functions in both systems must be compared separately. For this reason, the publication in question can be regarded as an example of cultural mediation that documents the circulation and interpretation of Ottoman-Turkish makam theory within Greek musical circles.

Table 2. Makam circles (translated into Greek from Hafid Efendi's text) in Forminx

	Forminx[5]	**Original transcription of the same text (Uslu, 2001, s. 28)**
Makam "Neva"		

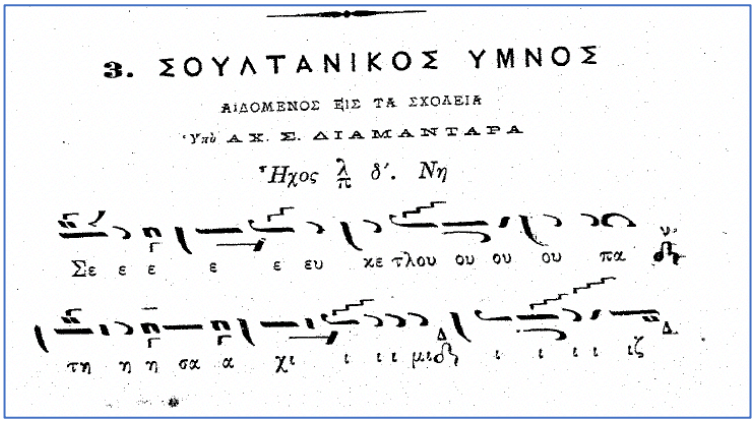


Figure 5. "Soultanikos Ymnos" [Σουλτανικός Υμνός] in the musical supplement of Forminx © University of Crete[6]

Furthermore, Forminx supplements included secular Ottoman repertoire, such as a variety of Turkish marches, polychronismoi, and songs, demonstrating the fluid exchange of repertoire across cultural and geographic lines. One of them is the Nihavend Şarkı (song) titled "Infialim Tali'-i Nâ Sâzedir" and the piece is written in Byzantine notation by Konstantinos A. Psachos (Doğan, 2024b, pp. 81, 531-533). We also have to mention that K. A. Psachos is a musician and church cantor from Istanbul and a major figure in Greek Orthodox music. The Nihavend şarkı is also dedicated to his friend and musicologist, Dimitris Peristeris, and appears in his collection. Furthermore, the newspaper's supplement

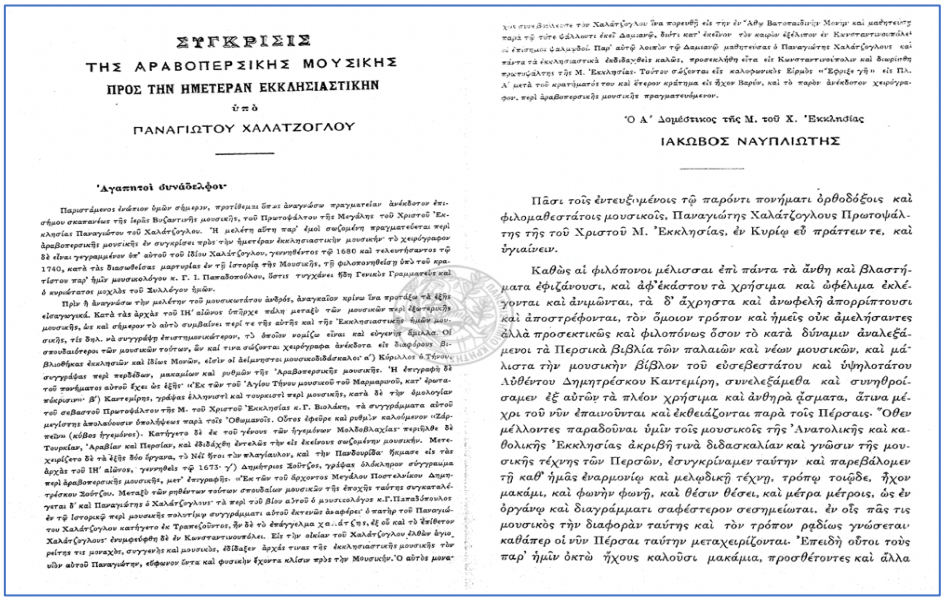
[5] Source: "Treatise on Music translated from the Turkish work 'Taliatat-i-Meshureyi-Osmaniyi' by Meletiou Ierodiakonou Aristovoulou published for the first time in 'Forminx' by Nileos N. Kamaradou [Διατριβή περί Μουσικής μεταφρασθείσα εκ του Τουρκικού Συγγράμματος 'Ταλιατάτ-υ-Μεσχουρέϊ-Οσμανιγί' υπό Μελετίου Ιεροδιακόνου Αριστοβούλου Εκδίδεται νύν τό πρώτον διά της 'Φόρμιγγος' υπό Νηλέως Ν. Καμαράδου]. *Forminx*, (January 15-31, February 15-28, March 15-31, May 15-31 1907), https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/147521?ln=en

[6] Source: "Soultanikos Ymnos" [Σουλτανικός Υμνός], *The Musical Supplement of Forminx* [Παράρτημα "Φόρμιγγος" Μουσικόν], Second Period, First Year, Fifth Issue: 73. https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/a/8/c/metadata-299-0000000.tkl

includes a variety of Turkish marches and polychronismoi. In Figure 5, a text written in Karamanlidika consisting of four quatrains, sung in schools at that time with the lines "Şevketli Padişahımız Sultan Abdülhamit Han, Cümleten niyaz ederiz, Saklasın sizi süphan" in Turkish [Our Glorious Sultan Abdülhamit Han, we all pray, may God protect you in English], was composed by Ach. Diamantara composed a piece in the Rast mode, based on the Ni with a plagal fourth, which has been transcribed into musical notation. To summarize, the work titled "Soultanikos Ymnos," presented in Figure 5, serves as a historical example of the convergence of linguistic and musical traditions within the same publication context during the Ottoman period. The use of the Greek alphabet for the Turkish lyrics highlights the connection between the Karamanlidika literary tradition and the Ottoman musical repertoire. The lyrics, which express praise and prayer directed at Sultan Abdülhamid II, demonstrate that the work is linked not only to its musical characteristics but also to the era's political and social context.

Ekklisiastiki Alitheia (Istanbul, 1880-1923)

Ekklisiastiki Alitheia focused primarily on Orthodox Church affairs and music but provided a critical forum for historical musicology. Its most significant contribution was the republication of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou's manuscript, "Comparison of Arabic-Persian Music with Our Church Music" (1728/1900), later updated by Iakovos Nafpliotis, which provided the scholarly precedent for correlating the rhythmic and modal systems of the two traditions. (see Fig. 6). This work was groundbreaking for its systematic comparison of the modal and rhythmic systems of Turkish music with Greek ecclesiastical theory, referencing both ancient Greek and Persian precedents. Chalatzoglou's study served as a foundational text for subsequent 19th-century Greek and Karamanlidika musical publications, and Eugenia Popescu Judetz and Adriana Sirli collaborated to publish an analysis of this study (See. Popescu Judetz & Sirli, 2000). The 1900 reprint of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou's 1728 article in a supplement to the newspaper Ekklisiastiki Alitheia is an important example of how historical information on Ottoman-era music theory was transmitted to subsequent generations through periodicals. This publication shows that the Ottoman-Turkish musical tradition and Greek church music were not treated as entirely independent theoretical systems, but rather that their relationships were discussed in a historical and comparative manner. Popescu Judetz & Sirli (2000) clearly highlight these parallels in their study. Consequently, the republication of this historical text by the *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* can be viewed not only as the preservation of a historical work on music theory but also as the circulation of theoretical debates between the Ottoman and Greek Orthodox church music traditions within a new publishing context.



ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

ΤΗΣ ΑΡΑΒΟΠΕΡΣΙΚΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗΝ

ὑπὸ

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ ΧΑΛΑΤΖΟΓΛΟΥ

'Αγαπητοὶ συνάδελφοι·

Παριστάμενος ἐνάστοτε ὑμῶν σήμερον, προτίθεμαι ὅπως ἀναγνώσω πραγματείαν ἀνέκδοτον ἐπιστήμου σκευασθεῖσα τῆς ἱερᾶς Βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς, τοῦ Πρωτοψάλτου τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ 'Εκκλησίας Παναγιώτου τοῦ Χαλάτζογλου. 'Η μελέτη αὕτη παρ' ἡμοὶ συζητεῖται πραγματεύεται περὶ 'Αραβοπερσικῆς μουσικῆς ἐν συγκρίσει πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν μουσικήν· τὸ χειρόγραφον δὲ εἶναι γεγραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἰδίου Χαλάτζογλου, γεννηθέντος τῷ 1680 καὶ τελευτήσαντος τῷ 1740, κατὰ τὰς διασωθείσας μαρτυρίας ἐν τῇ Ἱστορίᾳ τῆς Μουσικῆς, τῇ φιλοτιμηθείσῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀειμνήστου παρ' ἡμῖν μουσικολόγου κ. Γ. Ι. Παπαδοπούλου, ὅστις τυγχάνει ἤδη Γενικὸς Γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ ἀκμαιότατος μαχλὰν τοῦ Διολόγου ἡμῶν.

Πρὸ ἡ ἀνεγνώσθη τὴν μελέτην τοῦ μουσικωτάτου ἀνδρός, ἀναγκαῖον κρίνω ἵνα προτάξω τὰ ἑξῆς εἰσαγωγικά. Κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ ΙΗ' αἰῶνος ὑπῆρχε πᾶλη μεταξὺ τῶν μουσικῶν περὶ ἑξωτερικῆς μουσικῆς, ὡς καὶ σήμερον τὸ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει περί τε τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς 'Εκκλησιαστικῆς ἡμῶν μουσικῆς, τίς δηλ. νὰ συγγράψῃ ἐπιστημικώτερον, τὸ δοῦλον νομίζω εἶναι καὶ εὐγενὲς ἔμπλαστ. Οἱ σπουδαιότεροι τῶν μουσικῶν τούτων, ὧν καὶ τινα σώζονται χειρόγραφα ἀνέκδοτα εἰς διαφόρους βιβλιοθήκας ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ἰδίων Μονῶν, εἶσιν οἱ ἀείμνηστοι μουσικοδιδάσκαλοι α') Κύριλλος ὁ Τήνιος, συγγράψας περὶ περδίδων, μακρομέτρων καὶ ῥυθμῶν τῆς 'Αραβοπερσικῆς μουσικῆς. 'Η ἐπιγραφὴ δὲ τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς· «Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ 'Αγίου Τήνου μουσικοῦ τοῦ Μαρμαρινοῦ, κατ' ἐρώτησιν πάντοτε». β') Καντεμίρης, γράψας ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ τουρκιστὶ περὶ μουσικῆς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ σεβαστοῦ Πρωτοψάλτου τῆς Μ. τοῦ Χριστοῦ 'Εκκλησίας κ. Γ. Βιολάκη, τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ μεγίστης ἀπολαύουσιν ὑποκλίσεως παρὰ τοῖς 'Οθωμανοῖς. Οὗτος ἐφεῦρε καὶ ῥυθμὸν καλούμενον «Ἀδιμπεῖτι» (κάθος ἑπτάσημος). Κατήγετο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἡγεμόνων Μολδοβλαχίας· περιῆλθε δὲ εἰς Τουρκίαν, 'Αραβίαν καὶ Περσίαν, καὶ ἐδιδάχθη ἀντελάβετο τὴν εἰς ἐκείνους συζυγίαν μουσικῆν. Μετεχειρίζετο δὲ τὰ ἀξίᾳ δύο ὄργανα, τὸ Νέι ἤτοι τὸν καλαμαύλιον, καὶ τὴν Παιδουρίδα· ἤκμασε εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ ΙΗ' αἰῶνος, γεννηθεὶς τῷ 1673· γ') Δημήτριος Λούζος, γράψας ὁλόκληρον σύγγραμμα περὶ ἀραβοπερσικῆς μουσικῆς, μεθ' ἑνετγραφῆτ. «Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἀρχοντος Μεγάλου Ποστελνίκου Δημητρίσκου Λούζου. Μεταξὺ τῶν ῥηθέντων τούτων σπουδαίων μουσικῶν τῆς ἑνοχῆς ταύτης συγκαταλέγεται δ' καὶ Παναγιώτης ὁ Χαλάτζογλους· τὰ περὶ τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ ὁ μουσικολόγος κ.Γ.Παπαδόπουλος ἐν τῷ Ἱστορικῷ περὶ μουσικῆς πολυτίμῳ συγγράμματι αὐτοῦ ἐκτενῶν διαφέρει· ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Παναγιώτου Χαλάτζογλου κατέγετο ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, ἦν δὲ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα χαλκεύς, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐπίθετον τοῦ Χαλάτζογλου· ἐνωρὶς δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Χαλάτζογλου ἐλθὼν ἀγνοῶν τις μοναχὸς, συγγενὴς καὶ μουσικὸς, ἐβλαβεν ἀρχὰς ἔτυχε τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Παναγιώτην, εὐφυέστατον ὄντα καὶ φυσικὴν ἔχοντα κλίσιν πρὸς τὴν Μουσικήν. Ὁ αὐτὸς μονα-

Ὁ Δ' Δομέστικος τῆς Μ. τοῦ Χ. 'Εκκλησίας

ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΩΤΗΣ

Πᾶσι τοῖς ἐντευξιμένοις τῷ παρόντι πονήματι ὀρθοδόξοις καὶ φιλομαθεστάτοις μουσικοῖς, Παναγιώτης Χαλάτζογλους Πρωτοψάλτης τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μ. 'Εκκλησίας, ἐν Κυρίῳ εὖ πράττειν τε, καὶ ὑγιαίνειν.

Καθὼς αἱ φιλόπονοι μέλισσαι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἄνθη καὶ βλαστήματα ἐφιζάνουσι, καὶ ἀφ' ἑκάστου τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ ὠφέλιμα ἐκλέγονται καὶ ἀπιμῶνται, τὰ δ' ἄχρηστα καὶ ἀνωφελῆ ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ ἀποστρέφονται, τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀμελήσαντες ἀλλὰ προσεκτικῶς καὶ φιλοπόνως ὅσον τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀναλεξάμενοι τὰ Περσικὰ βιβλία τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ νέων μουσικῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν μουσικὴν βίβλον τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ὑψηλοτάτου Λύθέντου Δημητρέσκου Καντεμίρη, συνελεξάμεθα καὶ συνηθροίσαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰ πλέον χρήσιμα καὶ ἀνθηρὰ ᾄσματα, ἅτινα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐπαινοῦνται καὶ ἐκθειάζονται παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις. Ὅθεν μέλλοντες παραδοῦναι ὑμῖν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀκριβῆ τινὰ διδασκαλίαν καὶ γνῶσιν τῆς μουσικῆς τέχνης τῶν Περσῶν, ἐσυγκρίναμεν ταύτην καὶ παρεβάλομεν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁρμονίᾳ καὶ μελῳδικῇ τέχνῃ, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἤχου μακάμι, καὶ φωνὴν φωνῇ, καὶ θέσιν θέσει, καὶ μέτρα μέτροις, ὡς ἐν ὀργάνῳ καὶ διαγράμματι σαφεστέρου σεσημείωται. ἐν οἷς πᾶς τις μουσικὸς τὴν διαφορὰν ταύτης καὶ τὸν τρόπον ῥᾳδίως γνώσεται καθάπερ οἱ νῦν Πέρσαι ταύτην μεταχειρίζονται. Ἐπειδὴ οὖτοι τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ὀκτὼ ἤχους καλοῦσι μακάμια, προσθέτοντες καὶ ἄλλα

Figure 6. The republication of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou's manuscript, "Comparison of Arabic-Persian Music with Our Church Music" in the supplement of Ekklisiastiki Alitheia (1728/1900) © University of Crete[7]

[7] Source: "*Comparison of Arab-Persian music with our ecclesiastical music by Panagiotis Halatzoglou"* [*Σύγκρισις της Αραβοπερσικής μουσικής προς την ημετέραν εκκλησιαστικήνύπο Παναγιώτου Χαλάτζογλου],* In *Parartima Ekklisiastikis Alitheias*, edited by Iakovos Nafpliotis (June 1, 1900). Istanbul: Patriarchate Printing House, pp. 68-69. https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/9/2/8/metadata-141-0000218.tkl

Beyond theory, the supplement chapter of the *Ekklisiatiki Alitheia* has some musical pieces, such as marches and polychronismoi, composed to express gratitude and respect to the Sultan of the period and the Ottoman Empire. These works illustrate the complex political and ideological positioning of Ottoman Greeks, who used the medium to express both imperial allegiance and cultural visibility (Andrikos, 2012, pp. 5-18). According to the atmosphere of the time, they depict the Ottoman Greeks' political and ideological perspective, and they were the outcome of an implicit official obligation. The Patriarchal Printing Press released one such example. A notable example is a polychronismos in the Hüseyni makam (mode) and aksak (usûl) rhythm, which was published under the title "To the Great Emperor Sultan Abdülhamit the Second," composed by Georgios Violakis and performed by a choir conducted by Nileas Kamarados at the Ecclesiastical Music Society's anniversary celebration in Istanbul (Doğan, 2024b, pp. 228, 231). In brief, these kinds of examples captured the complex political reality of the era.

Mousiki (Μουσική) (Istanbul, 1912-1915)

Published and edited by Georgios Pachtikos (1912–1915) in Istanbul, this magazine was dedicated solely to music and contained a wide-ranging discussion on the theory of Greek music, which reflected the shift towards modernity in the early 20th century. It also offers valuable insights into Turkish music from that period. One of the articles is titled "Turkish Music," which explicitly positioned Ottoman music—often described as "the music of our fellow citizens"—as a vital cultural component, though still designated as "the other"[8]. The article begins by claiming that Ioannis Zographos from Geyve-Ortaköy/a district in Turkey, an outstanding musician of the time, and he also wrote the collection Mecmua-i Makamat (Zographos, 1872-1873), which contains Ottoman musical repertoire. Moreover, the article attempted to elevate the aesthetic and intellectual status of makam music by linking its theory to classical Greek philosophical tradition. Firstly, the article notes that Ancient Greek philosophers like Plato (Eflatun), Pythagoras (Pisagor), and Asclepius (Lokman Hekim), referred to as 'masters', appear in Ottoman musical sources. Later, it draws analogies between Ottoman and Greek theoretical concepts like makams and usûls by giving references to ancient Greek sources of Plato and Pythagoras and even Persian sources, thereby attempting to establish a shared historical and theoretical lineage. Moreover, the article discusses the number of makams, their corresponding echoi (Byzantine modes), and their relation to ancient Greek modes. Although this article is not comprehensive theoretical research, it holds value for providing a variety of historical information about makam music. The article titled "Turkish Music" also notes that Ottoman-Turkish makam music is represented in Greek musical circles both as part of a shared cultural heritage and as a distinct tradition viewed through historical and theoretical perspectives. In this regard, the journal serves not only as a medium for conveying musical knowledge but also as a platform for discussing cultural identity and musical belonging.



Figure 7. The article "Turkish Music" in Mousiki © Aristotle University of Thessaloniki[9]

[8] See. "Turkish Music" [Η Τουρκική Μουσική], *Mousiki,* Edited by G. D. Pachtikos, no. 39-40 (March-April 1915): 36-37. https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/147530

[9] Source: "Turkish Music" [Η Τουρκική Μουσική], *Mousiki,* Edited by G. D. Pachtikos, no. 39-40 (March-April 1915): 36-37. https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/147530

The magazine also includes some noteworthy musical pieces. Crucially, the first issue of Mousiki featured "The Hymn of the Ottoman Constitution" (Ύμνος του Οθωμανικού Συντάγματος) with lyrics translated into Greek. "Long live our homeland, long live freedom, beloved brothers, children of the homeland" is a hymn with six lyrics written in both Byzantine and European notation[10]. "Ζήτω, ζήτω ή Πατρίς μας, Ζήτω ζήτω ή Ελευθεριά, Σαν Αγαπημέν' αδέλφια της Πατρίδος τα παιδιά [Long live, long live our Fatherland, Long live, long live Liberty, Like beloved siblings, the children of the Fatherland in English and Yaşa yaşa vatanımız, yaşa yaşa özgürlük, sevgili kardeşler gibi vatanın çocukları in Turkish]", can be regarded as a historical musical composition that reflects the political and cultural atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Era (see. Hanioğlu, 2008, pp. 62-111) and was circulated through various notation traditions. As you can see in Figure 8, both monophonic and polyphonic versions of the march have been notated. The piece is in G minor and uses a 3/4 time signature. The monophonic version is written in church notation, while the polyphonic version, written for tenor and bass voices, is in European musical notation (staff notation). Writing in two notation systems essentially encourages the transmission—and perhaps even the performance—of the melody within the Greek community and the reader's repertoire. (See Fig 8). This editorial decision also underscored the political engagement and the mediating function of Greek musicians in articulating a shared, constitutional Ottoman identity through music (Doğan, 2024b, pp. 229-230). In brief, the Greek translation and notation of "The Hymn of the Ottoman Constitution" demonstrate the function of music as a vehicle for constitutional and national sentiment (Doğan, 2024b, pp. 228).

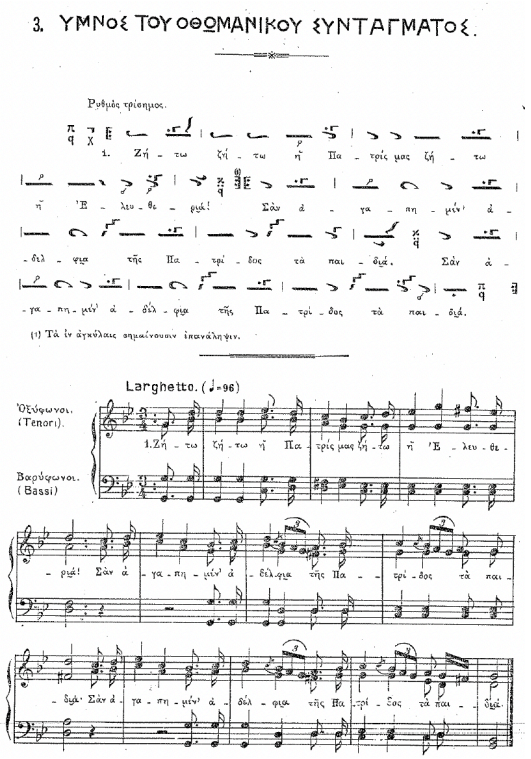


Figure 8. "The Hymn of the Ottoman Constitution" (Ύμνος του Οθωμανικού Συντάγματος)- The versions written in Byzantine and European musical notation systems[11]

A Comparative Musicological Analysis of Periodicals

The journals and newspapers examined in this research—*Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia, and Mousiki*—are three rare publications preserved in historical archives relevant to this field. Although they share a focus on documenting, transmitting, and interpreting information about Ottoman-Turkish makam music, they differ in their textual features and musical approaches. These distinctions show that the periodicals engaged with the Ottoman-Turkish musical tradition in different ways. *Forminx* foregrounds theoretical explanations of Ottoman-Turkish makam music and examples of musical notation. The translation of Hafîd Efendi's work helped transmit information about makam theory

[10] See. "The Hymn of the Ottoman Constitution" *Mousiki* [Μουσική], Edited by G. D. Pachtikos, no. 1 (January 1912): 11, 21.

[11] See. "The Hymn of the Ottoman Constitution" *Mousiki* [Μουσική], Edited by G. D. Pachtikos, no. 1 (January 1912): 11

to Greek-reading musical circles. The newspaper's examples from the Ottoman musical repertoire also show that musical knowledge circulated not only through theoretical texts but through notated works. In *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* particular attention is given to theoretical relationships between Ottoman-Turkish music and Greek church music. The republication of Chalatzoglou's historical study is significant for preserving and passing on the intellectual legacy of comparing different traditions of music theory. In this respect, the newspaper stands out for preserving historical music theory texts and bringing them back into circulation. In *Mousiki,* Ottoman-Turkish makam music is discussed not only in theoretical terms but also in relation to cultural identity and musical belonging. The journal's 1915 article titled "Turkish Music," which connects makam music with Ancient Greek thought, reflects an effort to interpret the historical origins of music theory. In addition, the positioning of Ottoman-Turkish music within the shared lives of different communities shows how musical knowledge was discussed alongside questions of cultural identity. As shown in Table 3, considered together, these three publications represent Ottoman-Turkish modal music in different ways and serve distinct functions in Greek and Karamanlidika periodicals.

Table 3. A comparison of Ottoman-Turkish makam music in the periodicals

Comparative Analysis	**Forminx**	**Ekklisiastiki Alitheia**	**Mousiki**
The texts	Translation of the theoretical texts from Hafid Efendi's work	Chalatzoglou's text on comparative music theory	An article titled "Turkish Music"
Approach to Ottoman-Turkish makam music and Greek Orthodox music theory	Comparative theoretical explanations, circular diagrams, and compositions from makam repertoire	Comparative theoretical texts and compositions from makam repertoire	Explanations regarding the historical and theoretical connections between the concepts of "makam" and "echoi" and compositions from makam repertoire
Transfer of musical knowledge	Translation, theoretical commentary, and publication of makam repertoire	Re-publication of a comparative historical text and publication of makam repertoire	Theoretical interpretation and the narrative of music history and publication of makam repertoire
Type of cultural mediation	The transfer of Ottoman Musical Knowledge to the Karamanlidika-Greek Publishing Sphere	A Comparison of Different Theoretical Traditions	The debate over musical identity and cultural belonging in the Late Ottoman Period

Table 3 compares how Greek periodicals conveyed information about Ottoman-Turkish makam music. *Forminx* stands out for transmitting theoretical knowledge and repertoire; *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* for republishing and comparing historical music-theory texts; and *Mousiki* for interpreting music theory in relation to cultural identity. These distinctions do not mean that each journal served only the function listed. Rather, the examples illustrate the different ways these publications conveyed and interpreted musical knowledge. Translation, republication, sheet-music transcription, and theoretical discussion were the main forms of knowledge circulation identified. However, the differences among periodicals cannot be attributed solely to their publication aims. Their historical periods, target readerships, editorial approaches, and the musical topics they addressed must also be considered. The comparative findings therefore suggest that the representation of Ottoman-Turkish makam music in Greek musical circles was not a one-way process of transmission, but a multidimensional interaction shaped by different historical and intellectual contexts.

The discourse on musical identity: east versus west

The proliferation of Greek and Karamanlidika publications in the second half of the 19th century created enduring networks of transmission and discourse (Erol, 2021). During those years, there were numerous discussions regarding musical reforms in the Orthodox Church, as well as multidimensional disputes about music theory and cultural identity. Greek musicians addressed music theory on a number of fundamental topics, and so, periodicals became the principal

forum for fierce, multidimensional disputes among prominent cantors and musicians. The most complex and revealing function of these periodicals was also facilitating the theoretical debates that defined the cultural identity of Greek music. The greatest intellectual friction also occurred around reconciling the Ottoman makam system with the Byzantine oktoechos (eight modes). This involved intense debates, particularly documented in the newspaper Neologos (1867–1922), one of the mainstream press (Erol, 2020; 2024b, pp. 297-317).

Last but not least, I would like to refer to historian Merih Erol's research and bring up particular debates on music theory. These are about the music system and especially three genos/genera/genus (diatonic, enharmonic, and chromatic) (Erol, 2009, p. 335). A central point of contention was the nature of the musical scale, specifically the genos/genera (diatonic, enharmonic, chromatic) and the status of the minor (elasson) tone. In Neologos, a heated debate was reported between cantors Eustratios Papadopoulos and Misail Misailidis, both recognized for their expertise in makam music. Papadopoulos argued that the minor (elasson) tone is absent from Ancient Greek and Byzantine music, claiming it entered church music only after the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul. He contended that the eight modes (church modes, oktoechos) and ancient modes (tropoi) attributed to John of Damascus have been altered. This argument implied a need to purify Byzantine music from foreign, potentially "Eastern" influence (Erol, 2009, p. 221). Misail Misailidis countered this purification effort, asserting that chromatic and enharmonic modes existed in ancient Greek music and that enharmonic echos (known as acem in Ottoman music) and chromaticism are integral to the church music tradition (Erol, 2009, pp. 259-260). Another prominent cantor, K. A. Psachos, serves as a considerable example. Documents in his personal archive show his ongoing interest in Turkish theoretical sources, such as the work of Hacı Emin Efendi titled Nota Muallimi, and his active engagement in critical dialogue with Turkish contemporaries (Doğan, 2024b, p. 109). The debate between Eustratios Papadopoulos and Misail Misailidis appeared in *Neologos,* a newspaper outside the scope of this study that focused mainly on daily politics and current events. It nevertheless illustrates that debates over music theory in the Ottoman period went beyond technical questions to address how musical identity was defined historically. These views should not, however, be treated as definitive conclusions about the historical development of the musical systems in question. Rather, they reflect opposing interpretations shaped by the musical thought of the time. Periodicals thus served not only to convey knowledge of music theory but also as important intellectual forums in which competing views on the origins, originality, and cultural boundaries of musical traditions clashed.

- In brief, these debates highlight the role of periodicals as a critical medium in which cultural identity and musical purity were contested, often through academic arguments and historical interpretations. However, the debates extended beyond academic discourse, serving as fundamental expressions of cultural identification among the Greek Orthodox elite (Erol, 2020). During this period, the press facilitated direct academic exchange between Greek and Turkish scholars. There was also a significant increase in written sources on Turkish music, including magazines, journals, newspapers, anthologies, and theoretical works (See. Paçacı Tunçay, 2019). Some Greek musicians also accessed and referred to these sources. Additionally, some Greek intellectuals and contemporary musicians and music theorists, such as Konstantinos Psachos and Nikolaos Paganas, engaged in dialogue with Turkish musicians, including Rauf Yekta, Ali Rıfat Çağatay, and Kazım Uz, specifically addressing technical aspects of musical scales, pitch, and the nature of the genos (Erol, 2009, pp. 321-339; Doğan, 2024a, p. 310). In conclusion, the engagement of both Greek and Turkish musicians within these public spheres demonstrates a highly developed, transnational intellectual climate that fostered musicological criticism. Thus, periodicals served as a means of direct engagement between Ottoman Greek and Turkish musicians. These interactions also show that theoretical knowledge was exchanged among different musical circles during the Ottoman period, providing an important basis for examining how cross-cultural discussions may have shaped the historical development of music theory.

Discussion

This study aims primarily to expand the literature on Ottoman history, opening a discussion of theoretical historiography and shedding light on a wider range of topics. Accordingly, this study focuses on three written sources:

The Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia, and Mousiki. In fact, three rare Karamanlidika-Greek periodicals offer insight into Ottoman-Turkish makam music and theory. They address topics ranging from translations of theoretical texts and reprints of historical studies to transcriptions of musical works and discussions of cultural identity. This breadth shows that periodicals are not merely sources for documenting musical repertoires; they can also be studied as spaces where information about different musical traditions is circulated and interpreted. The findings of this study connect with research emphasizing the importance of examining Ottoman music history through sources produced in different languages and writing systems (see Behar, 2008; Kalaitzidis, 2016). A notable finding is that periodicals presented musical knowledge through a range of publishing practices. For example, translating texts on Ottoman music theory into Greek and publishing repertoire examples in *Forminx* make it possible to examine linguistic transmission alongside notational practices. Meanwhile, the republication of Chalatzoglou's historical study in *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* illustrates how older theoretical knowledge was brought back into circulation in a later publishing period. The article "Turkish Music" in the journal *Mousiki* highlights interpretations of the historical origins of makam music and its relationship to different traditions of music theory. Taken together, these examples show that cultural mediation is not a uniform process of transmission; rather, it can be studied through practices such as translation, republication, notation, and theoretical interpretation.

Although Doğan & Çolakoğlu Sarı (2023) and Doğan (2024b) discuss Greek-Karamanlidika periodicals, their analyses focus on findings about printed books and manuscripts. The audiences and content of these books differ from those of periodicals. Both studies focus on epistemic transfer and originality in Greek-Karamanlidika publications. By contrast, this research compares periodicals through the lens of cultural mediation, examining variations in content and the functions of musical knowledge across contexts. It thus offers an example of how to write a history of culture and theory. The study's discussions of musical identity also show that cultural mediation extends beyond the transmission of technical knowledge to include the cultural dimensions of theory. For example, the differing views expressed by Papadopoulos and Misailidis suggest that music-theory concepts can be interpreted in different ways when discussing historical origins and cultural affiliation. This issue can be considered alongside Erol's (2020, 2021) studies of Ottoman Greek music culture, traditions, and identity. However, these discussions should not be conflated with findings drawn directly from the three periodicals examined here. Examples from other periodicals or secondary literature may not provide sufficient historical context unless they are analyzed directly as documents in this study.

This study also contributes to musicological literature by comparing the distinct functions of these three rare periodicals. The examples of *Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* and *Mousiki* show how information about Ottoman-Turkish makam music was preserved, republished, and interpreted in different ways within the same historical publishing culture. However, these findings are limited to the documents examined here. Without a systematic review of every issue of the three journals, the identified characteristics cannot be considered representative of the publications as a whole. Likewise, no direct causal relationship can be established between the publication of these documents and changes in readers' musical views or performance practices.

Conclusion

This study examines historical documents from the Greek-Karamanlidika periodicals *Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia, and Mousiki,* published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It explores how these periodicals conveyed information about Ottoman-Turkish makam music and served as cultural mediators. These rare archival texts reveal that the periodicals played several roles: preserving musical knowledge, transmitting it across languages and notation systems, republishing historical theoretical texts, and discussing musical identity.

As stated in the introduction, the study draws conclusions regarding four questions.

- What historical, theoretical, and musical information about Ottoman-Turkish makam music appears in *Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* and *Mousiki*?
- How do these periodicals represent, discuss, and interpret Ottoman-Turkish makam music?

- What similarities and differences emerge in how these publications document, transmit, and discuss musical knowledge?
- To what extent do their musical discussions reflect Ottoman Greek musicians' engagement with Ottoman-Turkish makam music and their interactions with Turkish musical circles?

The study's first significant finding is that theoretical knowledge of Ottoman-Turkish makam music circulated through translations and reprints in Greek-language publications. This material sometimes compares makams directly with the modes and rhythmic features of the Greek Orthodox Church. These publications also include many examples of Turkish makam repertoire transcribed in the Church's own musical notation system, known as *Parasimantiki.* Read in sequence, the theoretical texts in *Forminx* and translated from Hafîd Efendi's work show how 18th-century knowledge of makam theory was presented in a different linguistic and cultural context. The 1900 reprint in *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou's 1728 comparative study, meanwhile, demonstrates that older musical knowledge remained accessible in later periods. Together, these findings deepen our understanding of how Greek and Karamanlidika periodicals circulated historical musical knowledge.

The study's second finding is that publishing musical works in diverse writing and notation systems plays an important role in cultural mediation. Examples from the Ottoman musical repertoire and lyrics in Karamanlidika in the Forminx show that linguistic and musical forms of representation can coexist within the same publication medium. The presentation of "The Hymn of the Ottoman Constitution" in the *Mousiki* using different notation systems also illustrates how musical content can be linked to different traditions of reading and performance. However, the documents examined alone cannot establish the extent to which these publishing practices changed performance practices.

The third finding of the study is that theoretical explanations of Ottoman-Turkish makam music are also linked to discussions of historical origins and cultural identity. In the article titled "Turkish Music" in the *Mousiki* journal, the association of makam music with various historical and theoretical traditions shows that musical knowledge is addressed not only through technical concepts but also through processes of cultural interpretation.

Furthermore, these publications have provided a forum for both theoretical and discursive debates. Turkish and Greek musicians have engaged in reciprocal critical discussions rooted in cultural identity and musical origins, bringing academic and theoretical perspectives on the similarities and differences between the two musical traditions into these publications. In this respect, these publications also demonstrate the value of examining interactions between the two musical circles through the lens of social history.

In conclusion, a comparison of the three periodicals shows that cultural mediation occurs through distinct publishing practices. In the *Forminx* examples, translation, notation, and repertoire transmission are prominent; in *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* the republication of historical theoretical knowledge; and in *Mousiki*, the historical and cultural interpretation of modal music. Based on the documents examined, these differences suggest that periodicals do not serve a uniform function in transmitting musical knowledge. However, the selected examples do not support generalizations about the full content of the journals concerned. All findings underscore the importance of examining Ottoman-Turkish music history through multilingual and multicultural sources. In the future, a systematic examination of a broader collection of periodicals, comparative musicological analyses of works published using different notation systems, and research into the reception of these publications among readers and performers, based on historical documents, could contribute to a more comprehensive explanation of cultural mediation processes.

Limitations of the Study

The fundamental contribution this research can make to the field of musicology lies in its comparative analysis of selected Karamanlidika-Greek periodicals through the lens of multiple dimensions of cultural mediation. This approach enables the examination of historical sources on Ottoman-Turkish modal music not only in terms of repertoire and theoretical knowledge but also in terms of how this knowledge was presented and interpreted across different communities. However, the first limitation of this study concerns the scope of the historical documents examined. The

study does not cover all Greek and Karamanlidika-language periodicals published during the Ottoman period but rather focuses on three rare periodicals containing texts related to makam music: *Forminx, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* and Mousiki. Therefore, the findings can be evaluated in future research by examining these periodicals alongside Greek-Karamanlidika and Ottoman Turkish music books from the period.

The second limitation arises from the nature of the historical documents. The theoretical explanations, musical works, and controversial theoretical texts published in these periodicals reflect the intellectual and social conditions of their time. However, these documents alone cannot support definitive conclusions about the views of all musicians of the period or the general characteristics of musical practices. Moreover, the presence of particular views in periodicals does not show that readers adopted them or that they directly brought about changes in musical practices.

The third limitation concerns the diversity of languages and writing systems used in the research. The examined documents include expressions in Greek-Karamanlidika and Ottoman-Turkish musical terminology. The historical meanings of terms such as makam, mode, pitch, and notation can vary across languages and may not align exactly. Therefore, translating historical concepts into modern Turkish and comparing different traditions of music theory require careful attention to conceptual differences. In particular, the concept of *echoi* in Byzantine music cannot be considered a direct equivalent of Ottoman-Turkish *makams* without original theoretical and musical evidence.

The fourth limitation concerns the depth of musicological analysis. The study focuses on the content of historical publications, their theoretical explanations, and their roles as cultural mediators. However, it does not provide detailed comparisons of makam, usul, melodic progression, and notation across all the musical works examined. As a result, comprehensive technical conclusions about structural similarities or differences among various music theory systems are beyond the study's scope.

Finally, the study's findings on cultural mediation are grounded in publication practices documented in the sources. Translation, republication, notation, and theoretical interpretation are among the aspects of cultural mediation that can be documented. However, assessing their long-term effects on music education, performance traditions, or relationships among communities requires additional historical sources and research methods beyond this documentary analysis.

Biodata of Authors



Dr. **Eylül Doğan** is a Research Assistant in the Department of Musicology at Istanbul Technical University (ITU). Her recently completed PhD dissertation examines Greek-Karamanlidika musical publications on Ottoman-Turkish makam music that became prominent in 19th-century Istanbul. Through a student exchange program, she studied Byzantine music and its notational system with Assoc. Dr. Emmanouil Giannopoulos, who supervised her PhD thesis at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She also took paleography courses from Prof. Maria Alexandru. From 2018 to 2021, she was a researcher in the BAP project led by Dr. Miltiadis Pappas. She focused on transcription and comparative analysis of Dede Efendi's musical works written with Byzantine notation in Greek-Karamanlidika sources. From 2020 to 2024, she conducted extensive archival research on Greek- Karamanlidika musical sources in numerous libraries in Athens and Thessaloniki. She is furthering her studies in historical musicology, with a special focus on musical archives. **Email**: doganey@itu.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0001-9098-0599
Web site: https://akademi.itu.edu.tr/doganey/
AcademiaEdu: https://istanbultek.academia.edu/Eyl%C3%BClDo%C4%9Fan

References

Aksoy, B. (2015). Preliminary notes on the possibility (or impossibility) of writing Ottoman musical history. In M. Greve (Ed.), *Writing the history of "Ottoman music"* (pp. 15–33). Ergon Verlag.

Andrikos, N. (2012). "Polichronismoi" and laudatory canticles to the Sultan Abdül-hamit II set to music by ecclesiastical composers [Τουρκόφωνοι Πολυχρονισμοί και Άσματα Εγκωμιαστικά στον Σουλτάνο Abdülhamit τον Β′, μελοποιημένα από εκκλησιαστικούς συνθέτες]. *Μουσικός Λόγος [Mousikos Logos], 10*, 5–18.

Behar, C. (2008). Geleneksel Osmanlı/Türk musikisinin tarihsel kaynaklarından: Karamanlıca yayınlar [Historical sources of traditional Ottoman/Turkish music: Karamanlı publications]. In *Musikiden müziğe Osmanlı/Türk müziği: Gelenek ve modernlik* [From mousiki to music: Ottoman/Turkish music: Tradition and modernity]. Yapı Kredi Yayınları., pp. 244-268.

Behar, C. (2017). *Kan dolaşımı, ameliyat ve musikî makamları* [Blood circulation, surgery, and musical modes]. Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal, 9*(2), 27–40. https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027

Doğan, E. (2024a). İkdam'dan Nea Efimeris'e: Rauf Yekta, müzik teorisi üzerine tartışmalar ve diyaloglar [From İkdam to Nea Efimeris: Rauf Yekta, dialogues and debates on music theory]. In N. Doğrusöz (Ed.), *International Rauf Yekta Symposium Proceedings Book* (pp. 297–317). Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı.

Doğan, E. (2024b). *Konstantinos Aleksandru Psahos'un Musiki Takvimi'nden Asya Liri'ne: Geç dönem Rumca-Karamanlıca yayınlarda Osmanlı-Türk makam müziği ve teori yazımı* [Ottoman-Turkish makam music and theoretical writing in late Greek-Karamanlidika publications: From Konstantinos Aleksandrou Psachos' music calendar to Asias Lyra] [Doctoral dissertation, Istanbul Technical University]. YÖK Ulusal Tez Merkezi. https://tez.yok.gov.tr/

Doğan, E., & Çolakoğlu Sarı, G. (2023). Epistemic transmission and originality in Greek-Karamanlidika publications related to makam music in 19th century Istanbul. *Musicologist, 7*(2), 124–154. https://doi.org/10.33906/musicologist.1271019

Ekinci, M. (2015). Writing the History of "Ottoman Music. *Yearbook for Traditional Music, 49,* 166. https://doi.org/10.5771/9783956507038

Erol, M. (2009). *Cultural identifications of the Greek Orthodox elite of Constantinople: Discourse on music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* [Doctoral dissertation, Boğaziçi University].

Erol, M. (2020). Tradition: Politics of cultural heritage, Stanbulite Greeks, and the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the late nineteenth century. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique moderne et contemporain, 2*. https://journals.openedition.org/bchmc/432

Erol, M. (2021). *Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Rum Ortodoks musikisi: Reform çağında ulus ve toplum* [Greek Orthodox music in Ottoman Istanbul: Nation and society in the age of reform] (Z. Kılıç, Trans.). Kitap Yayınevi.

Hanioğlu, M. Ş. (2008). The Second Constitutional Period, 1908–1918. In R. Kasaba (Ed.), *The Cambridge history of Turkey* (pp. 62–111). Cambridge University Press.

Haug, J. I. (2018). *Critical Edition as Retranslation. Perspectives on Retranslation.* Routledge https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203702819-7

Jäger, R. (2023). *Notation Methods and Reference Systems: On the Phenomenon of Cultural Translation in the Eastern Mediterranean.* Oriens. https://doi.org/10.1163/18778372-12340029

Kalaitzidis, K. (2016). *Post-Byzantine music manuscripts as a source for Oriental secular music (15th to early 19th century).* Ergon Verlag.

Karakayalı, N. (2010), Two Assemblages of Cultural Transmission: Musicians, Political Actors and Educational Techniques in the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe. *Journal of Historical Sociology, 23*: 343-371. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6443.2010.01377.x

Kiltzanidis, P. (1881). *Methodiki Didaskalia* [Μεθοδικὴ Διδασκαλία]. A. Koromilas ve Oğulları Printing House.

Kiltzanidis, P. (1888). *Καλλίφωνος Σειρήν* [Kallifonos Seirin] (2nd ed.). Neologos Printing House.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Olley, J. (2023). Evliya's Song: Listening to the Early Modern Ottoman Court. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, *76*(3): 645–703. https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2023.76.3.645

Özcan, A. (1997). Hafîd Efendi. In *TDV İslâm ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 15, pp. 111–112). https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hafid-efendi

Paçacı Tunçay, G. (2019). *Neşriyât-ı mûsıki: Osmanlı müziğini okumak* [Neşriyât-ı mûsıki: Reading Ottoman music] (Vols. 1–2). Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları.

Pappas, M. (2007). *Apostolos Konstas'ın Nazariyat Kitabı*. Doctoral disssertation. Istanbul Technical Univeristy. Istanbul, Türkiye.

Plemmenos, J. (2010). *Ottoman minority musics: The case of 18th century Greek Phanariots*. Lambert Academic Publishing.

Popescu Judetz, E. (2002). *Tanburî Küçük Artin: A musical treatise of the eighteenth century*. Pan Yayıncılık.

Popescu Judetz, E., & Sirli, A. (2000). *Sources of 18th century music: Panayiotes Chalathzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos' comparative treatises on secular music*. Pan Yayıncılık.

Romanou, K. (1996). *Ethnikis mousikis periigisis 1901–1912: Ellinika mousika periodika os pigi erevnas tis istorias tis neoellinikis mousikis* [Εθνικής μουσικής περιήγησις 1901–1912: Ελληνικά μουσικά περιοδικά ως πηγή έρευνας της ιστορίας της νεοελληνικής μουσικής] (Vols. 1–2). Kultura.

Schreier, M. (2012). *Qualitative content analysis in practice*. SAGE Publications.

Smanis, G. I. (2011). *I exoteriki mousiki kai i theoritiki tis proseggisi* [Η εξωτερική μουσική και η θεωρητική της προσέγγιση] [Doctoral dissertation, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens].

Tura, Y. (Ed.). (2001). *Kantemiroğlu, Kitabu 'İlmi'l-Musiki 'ala Vechi'l-Hurufat: Mûsikîyi harflerle tesbît ve icrâ ilminin kitabı* (Vol. 1). Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Uslu, R. (2001). *Mehmed Hafid Efendi ve Musiki.* İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık.

Wright O. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī and 'Alī b. Muḥammad Binā'ī: two fifteenth-century examples of notation. Part 1: Text. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. 1994;57(3):475-515. doi:10.1017/S0041977X00008880

Zographos, I. (1872–1873). *Mecmua-i Makamat* [Μουσικόν Απάνθισμα (Μεδζμουάϊ Μακαμάτ)]. Evangelinos Misailidis'in Anadolu Matbaası.

Archival material

Comparison of Arab-Persian music with our ecclesiastical music by Panagiotis Halatzoglou [Σύγκρισις της Αραβοπερσικής μουσικής προς την ημετέραν εκκλησιαστικήνύπο Παναγιώτου Χαλάτζογλου]. (1900, June 1). In I. Nafpliotis (Ed.), *Parartima Ekklisiastikis Alitheias* (pp. 68–75). Patriarchate Printing House. https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/9/2/8/metadata-141-0000218.tkl

Ecumenical Patriarchate. (1885). *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia* [Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια]. Patriarchal Printing Press. https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/126427

Forminx [Φόρμιγξ]. (1903, January 15–1904, January 31). I. Tsoklis (Ed.), Issues 1–18. https://lekythos.library.ucy.ac.cy/archive/item/15879

Mousiki [Μουσική: εικονογραφημένον μουσικοφιλολογικόν περιοδικόν]. (1913, April). D. Pachtikos (Ed.). https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/107374

Soultanikos Ymnos [Σουλτανικός Ύμνος]. (n.d.). In *The musical supplement of Forminx* [Παράρτημα «Φόρμιγγος» Μουσικόν] (Second period, first year, Issue 5, pp. 73–74). https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/a/8/c/metadata-299-0000000.tkl

The hymn of the Ottoman Constitution. (1912, January). In G. D. Pachtikos (Ed.), *Mousiki* [Μουσική] (Issue 1, pp. 11, 21).

Treatise on music translated from the Turkish work "Taliatat-i-Meshureyi-Osmaniyi" by Meletiou Ierodiakonou Aristovoulou published for the first time in "Forminx" by Nileos N. Kamaradou [Διατριβή περί Μουσικής μεταφρασθείσα εκ του Τουρκικού Συγγράμματος «Ταλιατάτ-υ-Μεσχουρέϊ-Οσμανιγί» υπό Μελετίου Ιεροδιακόνου Αριστοβούλου Έκδίδεται νύν τό πρώτον διά της «Φόρμιγγος» υπό Νηλέως Ν. Καμαράδου]. (1907, January–May). *Forminx*. https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/147521?ln=en

Phokaeus, T. (1843). *Pandora* (Document No. M24/25). Patriarchate Printing House. https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoa/dl/object/168165

Turkish music [Η Τουρκική Μουσική]. (1915, March–April). In G. D. Pachtikos (Ed.), *Mousiki* (Issues 39–40, pp. 36–37). https://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/147530

Web sites

Web 1. https://ims-brasov.unitbv.ro/program/