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Intercommunal musical geographies of late Ottoman Istanbul

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Annotated Bibliography

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Annotated Bibliography

Editorial note

This is an attempt to provide an annotated bibliography pertaining to the topic of the research project *Intercommunal musical geographies of late Ottoman Istanbul*. It is divided in three main sections, namely History, Music and Literature. Each section is further divided thematically, thus reflecting the various subfields of the primary research field. Given the historical depth and breadth of the research topic, this bibliography does not profess to offer an exhaustive corpus of studies and sources. Rather, its aim is to provide a handy research tool for a multi-disciplinary research team and the affiliated academic community, as well as to map the interrelated aspects of scholarship in diverse fields such as music history, ethnomusicology, urban studies and philology. For the most part, the selected titles relate to the 19th century and, when deemed absolutely necessary, to the 18th century. This is the approved version of the Annotated Bibliography and will be constantly updated through additional entries and/or descriptions.

Abbreviations

CUP Cambridge University Press

EHW Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World

HEAL Hellenic Academic Libraries

OUP Oxford University Press

TDV Türk Diyanet Vakfı

TDVİA Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi

YKY Yapı Kredi Yayınları

I. HISTORY

Authors: Konstantina Andrianopoulou and Anna Vakali

Istanbul in late Ottoman history

Reference Works

Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World – Constantinople, Foundation of the Hellenic World
<http://constantinople.ehw.gr/forms/fmain.aspx>

An online encyclopaedia on the Greek history of Istanbul from antiquity to the present, divided into Antiquity, Byzantine Period, and Modern Period. Its entries are divided into the following four categories Geographical terms, Persons, Events and General, the latter covering the fields of society, economy, politics, religion and culture. Entries on the Modern Period cover important topics in the urban history and culture of the city in Ottoman times.

History of Istanbul from Antiquity to XXIst Century, TDV, Center for Islamic Studies (İSAM) and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Kültür ve Sanat Ürünleri A.Ş., <https://istanbultarihi.ist/>

An online encyclopaedia on the history of Istanbul from antiquity to the 21st century that covers a wide range of topics including topography, social life, literature, music and the arts. The project includes an extensive bibliography on the history of Istanbul.

TDVİA, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/>

The ‘Encyclopaedia of Islam’, issued by the Turkish Religious Foundation, has been published since 1983 with entries on various religious, cultural and social aspects of Islam and the history of the Ottoman Empire. (Title translation: Turkish Religious Pious Foundation Encyclopaedia of Islam.)

Eyice, Semavi, and Doğan Kuban, eds. 1994. *Dünden bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı – Tarih Vakfı.

This encyclopaedia was jointly published by the Ministry of Culture and the History Foundation of Turkey, between 1993 and 1995. It was conceived as the ‘of a city’ (*kent ansiklopedisi*) and aspired to be the richest and most systematic source on Istanbul, containing 10,000 articles. (Title translation: Encyclopaedia of Istanbul from the past to the present.)

Koçu, Reşat Ekrem, ed. 1946. *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat.

The *Encyclopaedia of Istanbul*, the lifework of historian and writer Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Encyclopaedia of Istanbul*, is a monumental work devoted to the city of Istanbul. It was prepared and published during a long period of time (1944-1973) but unfortunately remained incomplete; its 11 volumes reach letter G (which was also not completed). Bringing together historians, academicians, writers and artists of his generation, Reşad Ekrem Koçu tried to present, in a popular way, various aspects of the city’s life. The entries are detailed and well documented, and they cover a wide variety of topics: from city architecture and urban planning to interesting urban personas, night life and marginal groups. (Title translation: Encyclopaedia of Istanbul.)

The city and its topography

Bareilles, Bertrand. 1918. *Constantinople, ses cites franques et levantines*. Pera, Galata, banlieue: Bossard.

Bareilles' book on Constantinople is, in his own words, 'a tour of the districts' of the non-Muslim populations of Istanbul. Yet it is more than a simple topographical tour. The author covers a wide range of issues: from description of neighbourhoods such as Pera, Galata and certain suburbs to accounts of special events, such as the carnival in Pera, professional categories (i.e. *hamal*, *tulumbacı*, *bekçi*), city trademarks (i.e. wooden houses, *kayak*), superstitions etc. Influenced by the First World War atmosphere and the heyday of colonialism, he is critical towards Ottoman Empire politics. (Title translation: Istanbul, its French and Levantine places.)

Belge, Murat. 2004. *İstanbul gezi rehberi*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

This book offers a walk through the historical neighbourhoods of the city like Pera, the old city, Boğaziçi, and Üsküdar, as well as newer ones like Pendik, Florya, Küçükçekmece, Kilyos, and more faraway ones such as Polonezköy. As the author notes, this is a city's guide to be used when strolling through the city; but it is also a book that could mobilize one to walk around the city and explore it. Belge emphasizes the historical richness of each neighbourhood and adds interesting stories and several 'anecdotes'. (Title translation: A travel guide of Istanbul.)

Boyar, Ebru and Kate Fleet. 2010. *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*. Cambridge: CUP.

The study focuses on the social history of Istanbul over a period of four centuries. Istanbul is presented not only as the cosmopolitan metropolis and capital of the Ottoman Empire, but also as a city of violence, shaken by natural disasters and by the turmoil of Sultanic politics and violent revolt. Its inhabitants amused themselves in the numerous pleasure gardens and the many public baths of the city. Thus, the book also offers a broader picture of Ottoman society, how it was structured and how it developed and transformed in the course of four centuries.

Gautier, Théophile. 1853. *Constantinople*. Paris : Michele Lévy Frères, Libraires-éditeurs.

The work of writer and art-critic Theophile Gautier is a compilation of his travel memoirs and impressions of Istanbul in 1852, written for a French newspaper. The author alternates his narration between topography and prosopography of various types of Istanbulites (from dervishes to Greek Orthodox noblemen), under the umbrella of an orientalist view of the city, its inhabitants and their social and cultural life and attitudes.

Isteklis, Nikos, 2011. *Ιστορία των Ταταούλων, από αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι σήμερα, μια μικρή Αθήνα μέσα στην Πόλη*. Athens: Eptalophos.

The book offers a detailed presentation of information from numerous sources on the Tatavla in Istanbul, a district known until the first years of the Turkish Republic for its almost entirely Greek Orthodox population. The book consists of three parts: the first part refers to the history and the topography of Tatavla and the administration of the Greek Orthodox community, the second part is dedicated to the churches of the neighbourhood, and the third one to the educational and cultural life of the community. (Title translation: A history of Tatavla, from ancient times to the present, a small Athens inside Istanbul.)

İnciciyan, Gugas Vartabet. 2000. *Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri*. Translated from Armenian by the Armenian Priest of the Church of Kandili, edited by Orhan Duru. Istanbul: Eren.

A versified description of the history and topography of the areas along the Bosphorus, by the Armenian Mihitarist monk Gugas Vartabet İnciciyan. The text is important both in terms of its content, which reflects the perspective of its author, and of its literary qualities. The book was first published in Armenian by the Mxit'arist monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice, in 1794.

Kömürçyan, Eremya Çelebi. 1988. *İstanbul Tarihi XVII asırda*. Istanbul: Eren.

The author of this book was an Armenian poet, printer, historian, musician and translator who lived in the 17th century. Like a city guide, Kömürçyan shows us around his city, from the western city walls to the Old City and around the shores of the Golden Horn. As if having a camera in his hands, he literally 'converses' with the people and the surroundings. His book offers a rare 'insider' Armenian view of the Ottoman capital. (Title translation: The history of Istanbul in the 17th century.)

Melissinos, Christodoulos. 1913. *Τα Ταταύλα, ήτοι ιστορία των Ταταούλων*. Istanbul: A. A. Koromilas.

This survey on the neighbourhood of Tatavla was written and published in the beginning of the 20th century; in 2013 the head of the parish of Tatavla decided the reprinting of the book. An important study of the neighbourhood and its topography, of the life of its inhabitants, of the Greek Orthodox community's institutions and their function. Bishop Melissinos composed his study based on communal, patriarchal and Ottoman archival material, as well as oral narrations of incidents and anecdotes. In his work, Melissinos combines history and folklore. (Title translation: Tatavla, that is the history of Tatavla.)

Mantran, Robert. 1996. *Histoire d' Istanbul*. Paris: Fayard.

Mantran's study is an attempt to create a historical survey of the city for a general readership. He investigates the city's history during three different eras: the Byzantine, the Ottoman and the Turkish republican. He approaches Constantinople/Istanbul's trajectory over the centuries mainly through the lens of social and cultural history. (Title translation: History of Istanbul.)

Millas, Akylas. 2002. *Το Πέραν. Το Σταυροδρόμι της Ρωμιοσύνης*. Athens: Militos.

A historical survey of the neighbourhood of Pera, where the parish of Stavrodromi is situated, its topography, monuments and architecture, with special emphasis on its heyday during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century and on its non-Muslim traces. The book offers a unique photographic documentation of Pera's architectural and monumental heritage. (Title translation: Pera. The crossroad of Romiosyni.)

Millas, Akylas. 1996. *Σφραγίδες Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Ενορίες Αγιοπάτης Αρχιεπισκοπής*. Athens: Militos.

A mapping of Istanbul's Greek Orthodox population through their educational, religious and professional activity during the 19th century. Via a collection of seals from various associations, clubs and societies, Millas is reconstructing and documenting the rich communal history of association establishment and activity. (Title translation: Seals of Istanbul: The parishes of the holiest Archbishopric.)

Tsilenis, Savvas. 2007. “Τοπογραφία της Οθωμανικής Κωνσταντινούπολης.” *EHW, Constantinople*. <http://www.ehw.gr/1.aspx?id=11013>

In his entry for the *Encyclopaedia of Constantinople*, Tsilenis presents an overview of the city’s various phases as concerns urban design and growth during the Ottoman period. Special emphasis is given to the Greek Orthodox population and its allocation in the city. (Title translation: A topography of Ottoman Istanbul.)

Vasakopoulos, Apostolos. 1891. *Τοπογραφία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. Istanbul: Vivliopoleion ton adelfon Despata, A. Koromilas.

Vasakopoulos’ book on the topography of Istanbul is a textbook for the Greek Orthodox students in secondary education. More specifically, it is written for the needs of the course of Geography or *Patridognosia* (knowledge of homeland). Thus, it is divided into two parts, one devoted to basic concepts of physics and geography and the other on the topography of the city. (Title translation: A topography of Istanbul.)

Vyzantios, Skarlatos D. 1851-69. *Η Κωνσταντινούπολις. Περιγραφή τοπογραφική, αρχαιολογική και ιστορική*, 3 vols. Athens: Typographeio A. Koromila.

A three-volume monumental survey of the history and topography of Istanbul. Through mastery of a wide variety of bibliographic data, the author explores the city’s history and culture from antiquity until the mid-19th century. The inhabitants of Istanbul and their architectural accomplishments (monumental or not) are omnipresent in Skarlatos Vyzantios’ panorama of the social, political, topographical and architectural history of Istanbul. (Title translation: Istanbul. A topographic, archaeological and historical description.)

Urban landscape and demography

Akın, Nur. 2002. *19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Galata ve Pera*. Istanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık.

Based largely on the non-Muslim press of the city during the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the book explores the demographic, social and cultural profile of Galata and Pera, under the light of the era’s cosmopolitanism. (Title translation: Galata and Pera at the second half of the 19th century.)

Anastasiadou, Meropi. 2010. “Greek-Orthodox Households in Istanbul (19th-20th Centuries): Social and Demographic Trends.” In *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean*, edited by Lorans Tanatar Baruh, and Vangelis Kechriotis, 397-422. Athens: Alpha Bank Historical Archives.

Using Ottoman and Greek sources, Anastasiadou defines and portrays demographically and culturally the Greek Orthodox households in Istanbul during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The author combines the methodology of demographic analysis and microhistory and documents the transformation of the housing patterns of the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul in the late Ottoman period.

Behar, Cem, and Alan Duben. 1991. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940*. Cambridge, New York: CUP.

This book by Behar and Duben presents a social history of the Muslim population of Istanbul during the end of the 19th century up to the first decades of the Turkish Republic. Through the usage of the 1885 and 1907 population censuses, as well as contemporary novels and photographs, the authors focus on standards of living (wages and cost of living), household structures, social

dimensions of marriage (purposes, ages, polygyny) and fertility (fertility patterns, birth control and family planning), arguing that Istanbul had ‘the demographic attributes of many pre-20th century western European societies.’ The authors offer a rare glance into the quotidian lives of Muslim residents of Istanbul, at a time of rapid modernization and secularization.

Behar, Cem. 2003. *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

In this book Behar offers an urban history of a less known neighbourhood of Istanbul, the Kasap İlyas *mahalle* -situated near the western walls of the Old City-, in the late 19th century, with references also to its evolution from the 16th century onwards. By using census data, the *sicil* registries of the local kadi courts, as well as personal interviews, Behar offers a combination of social history and microhistory in order to elucidate patterns of migration and social stratification in the neighbourhood as well as its built environment and topography.

Behar, Cem. 1996. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin nüfusu, 1500-1927. Tarihi İstatistikler Dizisi c. 2*. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü.

This is the main reference book on the population data of the Ottoman and early Turkish republican society, offering a broad compilation of statistics. (Title translation: The population of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1927. Historical Statistics Series v. 2.)

Bierman, Irene A., Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi. 1991. *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*. New York: Aristide D. Caratzas.

The book consists of six essays by historians and art and architectural historians of the Ottoman world, exploring various aspects of city planning and its relation to political legitimacy, economic and social networks and functions, Islamic ideas and mechanisms. The book is divided into two parts, one exploring the Ottoman city as a whole and the other focusing on its component parts. Byzantine and Ottoman Istanbul, Crete and Cairo constitute the main examples through which the Ottoman city and its parts are dissected.

Çelik, Zeynep. 1986. *The Re-making of Istanbul, Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

In this book, Çelik offers a cogent and well-written account of Istanbul's urban and architectural transformation between the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty and the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. Her study of urban form unfolds in three interrelated themes: codes and regulations of city planning, principles of urban design, and architecture.

Eldem, Edhem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, eds. 1999. *The Ottoman City between East and West. Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization). New York: CUP.

In this study, the authors elaborate on three different cities of the Ottoman period, that is, Masters on Aleppo, Goffman on Izmir and Eldem on Istanbul. All three cities were ‘middle grounds’ between East and West, and Ottoman and Christian European worlds, due also to their flourishing commerce. By focusing on the ‘maturity’ period of these cities, that is, the 17th and 18th centuries, and by using European as well as Ottoman sources, the authors argue toward the rethinking of Ottoman urban history beyond widespread typologies of the ‘Islamic’, ‘Arab’, ‘Ottoman’ or ‘Mediterranean’ city.

Eldem, Edhem. 2005 [1999]. "Istanbul: from Imperial to Peripheralized Capital." In *The Ottoman City between East and West*, edited by Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, 135-206. Cambridge: CUP.

Eldem's contribution explores the multiple transformations that Istanbul underwent during the 19th century. He suggests that it was its 'capital of the empire' profile more than the 'port city' element that shaped its unique way of incorporation into the world capitalist system of the 19th century. Characterizing Istanbul as an interface between Europe and the Ottoman World, Eldem unfolds the city's social, economic and cultural dynamics during the long 19th century.

Eldem, Edhem. 2000. *Bankalar Caddesi. Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Voyvoda Caddesi*. Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Yayınları.

The outcome of an exhibition organized by the Ottoman Bank History and Research Centre, prepared by Edhem Eldem. Eldem offers a glance at late Ottoman and modern Turkish economic history through the story of the *Banks Highstreet* in Istanbul, the street that hosted the most prosperous financial institutions. The book offers a complete historical and photographic documentation of those institutions' establishments. (Title translation: Banks Street. Voyvoda Highstreet from Ottoman times to today.)

Eldem, Edhem. 1993. "A Vision Beyond Nostalgia: The Ethnic Structure of Galata." *Biannual Istanbul* 1: 28-33.

In his article, Edhem Eldem explores the socio-cultural structure of Galata, by shedding light to its demographic and economic profile during the late Ottoman era. Adopting a critical point of view towards anachronistic nostalgic views of the neighbourhood, he tries to reconstruct the identity of a region mostly characterized by various ways of contact and transactions among people with diverse social and ethno-religious backgrounds.

Girardelli, Paolo. 2005. "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: On the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul." *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* XXII: 233-264.

An illustrated study of religious buildings of Catholics in Ottoman Istanbul. After an overview of the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman policy towards the construction or repair of catholic buildings, Girardelli explores the architecture of religious catholic spaces in the 19th century, their relations (connections and aberrations) to the city's particular profile, and their social and ethnic dimensions.

Gedeon, Manouil. 1904. "Σημειώματα και Έγγραφα περί της Κοινότητας Σταυροδρομίου επί τη εκατονταετηρίδι του των Εισοδίων ναού." In *Εορτολόγιον Κωνσταντινουπόλιτου Προσκυνητού*. Istanbul: Patriarchikon Typographeion.

Manouil Gedeon's study of the Greek Orthodox parish of Stavrodromi sheds light on the region's origins, on the history of its Greek Orthodox population and its secular and religious establishments. Based on archival material, Gedeon makes special reference to the Church of Panagia in Pera, Beyoglu's oldest Orthodox Christian church. (Title translation: Notes and documents on the Parish of Stravrodromi on the occasion of the centenary of the Church of the Presentation of Mary.)

Goodwin, Godfrey. 1987. *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Goodwin's study is a reference book on Ottoman architecture. The author's basic argument is that the architecture of the Sultanate is a historical style in its own right. Using an extensive bibliography, the author treats both religious and secular buildings and constructions in their

historical perspective and social function. The last chapter is dedicated to the notion of Ottoman city.

Hamadeh, Shirine. 2007. *The City's Pleasures. Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*. Seattle, London: University of Washington Press.

The book of Hamadeh contributes to the architectural history of Istanbul in a little-known yet crucial period of its history. In a creative attempt and in the absence of architectural plans, she uses various mediums such as poetry, chronograms, and Ottoman and European paintings to reconstruct the architectural and social history of imperial palaces, palatial gardens, and fountains that were built by members of the royal family. Critiquing the paradigm of westernization, she draws our attention to both continuity and change in Ottoman architectural forms as well as the rise of an 'Ottoman idiom' that was a combination of eastern/Ottoman and western forms in architecture and decorative patterns.

Hamadeh, Shirine. 2004. "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 1: 32- 51.

Based on a close reading of Ottoman poetry and narratives, and European travellers' accounts, Hamadeh questions the notion of westernization as generally inferred from the visual and architectural evidence of 18th century Istanbul, and claims that architectural styles of this period were rather hybrid and innovative.

Inalcik, Halil. 1998. "Istanbul: An Islamic City" and "Ottoman Galata, 1453-1500." In *Essays in Ottoman History*. Istanbul: Eren.

Two essays in Inalcik's *Essays in Ottoman History* based on primary sources that explore the 'islamization' of Istanbul and the Ottoman presence in Galata during the first century after the city's conquest. Inalcik underlines the significance of Islamic faith and culture in the topographic making and the social structure of Istanbul.

Keyder, Çağlar, ed. 1999. *Istanbul. Between the Global and the Local*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

A collection of articles that shed light on Istanbul's profile and the identity of its inhabitants in an era of globalization. Critical towards old-fashioned dichotomies according to which Istanbul is seen as a battleground between East and West, the contributors touch upon issues of culture and politics of identities, of belonging, patterns of consumption, networking, and the cultural makeup of the city.

Kuruyazıcı, Hasan, and Eva Şarлак, eds. 2010. *Batılılaşan İstanbul'un Rum Mimarları*. Istanbul: Zoğrafyon Lisesi Mezunları Derneği.

This is a publication that accompanied the exhibition 'Greek Orthodox Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization' which was realized in the framework of the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, under the direction of the Zoğrafyon Alumni Association. This collection of articles highlights the otherwise unknown imprint of the Greek Orthodox community on the cultural life of modern Istanbul, elaborating on buildings and architectural projects, as well as the biographies of those behind them. (Title translation: Greek Orthodox architects of Istanbul in the era of westernization.)

Kuruyazıcı, Hasan, ed. 2010. *Batılaşan İstanbul'un Ermeni Mimarları*. İstanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfı.

This is a publication that accompanied the exhibition 'Armenian Architects of İstanbul in the Era of Westernization', which was realized in the framework of İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture and introduced more than 100 works by 40 Armenian architects, whose names have been mostly forgotten today. The collection traces the -widely unknown- contributions of Armenian architectures to the reshaping of İstanbul during the time of modernization in the 19th century. It focuses both on the biographies of separate architects, like the members of the Balian family, as well as on style and techniques employed by Armenian architects. (Title translation: Armenian architects of İstanbul in the era of westernization.)

Mills, Amy. 2018. "Cosmopolitanism as Situated Knowledge: Reading İstanbul with David Harvey." In *İstanbul: Living with Difference in a Global City*, edited by Nora Fisher-Onar, Susan C. Pearce, and Emin Fuat Keyman, 97-111. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

In this article, Mills relies on David Harvey's observation of an 'active revival of cosmopolitanism' in the time of spread of global neoliberalism, restricted through by the limits of geographic realities, and tests it in the case of the city of İstanbul. Drawing on three empirical studies, the author argues that even though cosmopolitanism is central to the way residents of İstanbul understand their city, their understandings of cosmopolitanism lack some of Harvey's assumptions regarding cosmopolitanism's emancipatory potential, which undermines old forms of state power and national belonging.

Mills, Amy. 2010. *Streets of Memory: Landscape, Tolerance, and National Identity in İstanbul*. Athens (Ga.), London: University of Georgia Press.

Mills's book on the Kuzguncuk neighbourhood in İstanbul, situated at the eastern shores of the Bosphorus, utilizes oral history in order to elaborate on a widely disseminated discourse which depicts certain urban areas of İstanbul as the remnants of a multi-religious cosmopolitanism characteristic of Ottoman İstanbul. The author shows how reference to such a discourse by those who are currently gentrifying Kuzguncuk is used in order to silence a more painful history of ethnic discrimination.

Mills, Amy. 2006. "Boundaries of the Nation in the Space of the Urban: Landscape and Social Memory in İstanbul." *Cultural Geographies* 13: 367-394.

In this article, Mills focuses on the neighbourhood of Kuzguncuk in İstanbul, at the eastern shores of the Bosphorus, known for its small-scale neighbourhood landscape and its multi-ethnic past, as well as its ongoing gentrification. Employing an anthropological perspective, Mills resided two years in Kuzguncuk and conducted interviews with people of diverse ethnoreligious and social background. The author argues that contemporary popular narratives deny contentious and traumatic minority history, through nostalgic references to a multicultural past, as well as highlighting the neighbourhood (*mahalle*) as the urban space of familiarity.

Ozil, Ayşe. 2013. "Greek Orthodox Communities and the Formation of an Urban Landscape in Late Ottoman İstanbul." In *The Economies of Urban Diversity: Ruhr Area and İstanbul*, edited by Darja Reuschke, Monika Salzbrunn, and Korinna Schönhärl, 145-64. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ozil's study examines the ways in which the Greek of İstanbul contributed to the built environment and the creation of a new urban landscape during the late Ottoman period. Arguing that scholarly literature has for the most part omitted the fact that modern İstanbul of the 19th century was, largely, the work of local Greek and Armenian architects, the author unfolds the

Greeks' architectural activities as well as their relation to the Ottoman state. According to Ozil, the study of buildings and landscape from a historical perspective can offer an interesting way of understanding socio-cultural changes.

Paspatis, Alexandros. 1862. *Υπόμνημα περί του Γραικικού Νοσοκομείου των Επτά Πύργων*. Athens: Lazaros D. Vilaras.

Doctor Alexandros Paspatis' study on the Hospital of the Rum millet of Istanbul is much more than a simple historical account of this institution's past and present. It is actually a quasi-manifesto propagating modern ideas for public and private health. It is also an innovative attempt to associate the patients' origin, profession and residence in the city with their health situation in order to extract concrete statistics and conclusions. Methodologically, he uses hospital archives such as patients' registries and empirical observation. The information he offers concerning the professional and guilt life of the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul is extremely valuable from the point of view of social history. (Title translation: Memorandum on the Greek Hospital of the Seven Hills.)

Preziosi, Donald. 1991. "The Mechanisms of Urban Meaning." In *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, edited by Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, 3-11. New York: Aristide D. Caratzas.

In the introduction of the first part of this interdisciplinary volume, Preziosi provides a theoretical framework for approaching the 'Ottoman city' as a living organism, within which the relations of individuals with the city were highly complex, and changed according to class, ethnic and religious belonging. Preziosi introduces the articles of the volume, which combine urban, architectural and social history in order to analyse the phases of political and social transition that cities like Constantinople (in Byzantine times), Istanbul and Herakleion (Crete) experienced.

Preziosi, Donald. 1991. "Power, Structure, and Architectural Function." In *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, edited by Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, 103-109. New York: Aristide D. Caratzas.

In the introduction of the second part of this edited volume, Preziosi presents the remaining contents of the book. He draws our attention to the historically-specific architectural meanings and connotations within Ottoman urban structures, and to the role specific buildings and building complexes have played in the Ottoman world. He also introduces the essays of part two, which analyse changes in the locus of governance in the Middle East during the first years of Islamic conquest, alterations of the urban fabric of Cairo during Ottoman control, as well as the mosques of Sultans in Istanbul as 'icons of imperial legitimacy'.

Refik (Altınay), Ahmet. 1988. *Istanbul Hayati*, 4 vols. Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi.

Historian and writer Ahmet Refik Altınay (1881-1937) published a four-volume history of Istanbul. His chronological spectrum covers four centuries, from the 16th until the 19th century; each volume deals with one century. Based on Ottoman archival material, Ahmet Refik composes a panorama of Istanbul's economic, social and intellectual life. He deals with a wide range of topics, from issues concerning palace administration and the presence of non-Muslims in the city to snapshots of everyday life. (Title translation: Istanbul.)

Rosenthal, Steven. 1982. "Minorities and the Municipality Reform in Istanbul, 1850-1870." In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society, Vol. I, The Central Lands*, edited by Benjamin Braude, and Bernard Lewis, 369-385. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers.

In this chapter, Rosenthal explores an important chapter of Istanbul's urban history during the time of internal reform and modernization, that is, the first experiment of a municipal administration in the Ottoman realm, which took place in the district of Galata with the founding of the Municipal Council in 1857. The majority of the council comprised of Greeks, Armenians and Jews. While the council failed to evolve into a truly representative body, the ensuing success of the Turkish-run municipality bears testimony to the fact that viable reforms were not beyond the capacity of the original minority council.

Rosenthal, Steven. 1980. "Foreigners and Municipal Reform in Istanbul: 1855-1865." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 2: 227-245.

In this study, Rosenthal argues that the contribution of foreign advice to the modernization reforms of the Ottoman Empire can be best observed in the realm of the urban administration of Istanbul starting from 1855. Foreigners and non-Muslim Ottomans holding foreign citizenship and residing in the capital provided the initial impetus for the formation of a municipal council in the district of Galata. Despite initial achievements of the council, the decline in government grants and difficulties in collecting tax revenues resulted, eventually, in the direct interference of the Ottoman government in the administration of the Galata district.

Zarinebaf, Fariba. 2010. *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul, 1700-1800*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

The book of Zarinebaf illustrates how Istanbul's underworld and the state's attempts to control it changed as Ottoman society began to show signs of tentative modernity. It argues that the Ottoman state allowed Muslim legal scholars to set the boundaries of morality for society, but it generally chose to punish violations of that code in its own way. Moreover, due to the diversity of religious communities, and the large presence of Europeans, there were multiple layers of legal systems, with the representatives of the Sultan being in charge of overseeing them all. Finally, Zarinebaf argues that Istanbul in the 18th century had much more in common with contemporary megacities in western Europe than it did with Max Weber's idealized paradigm of the 'Islamic city.' Zarinebaf highlights the significance of court records in the historical study of marginal social groups.

Ottoman modernity and public sphere

Abou-El-Haj, Rifa'at Ali. 1991. *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

In this much-cited book, the author challenges the widespread notion among Ottomanists that the Ottoman Empire experienced a period of decline from the 17th century onwards. By using *nasihatnames* ('advice to the ruler') and historical sources of the 17th century, mainly by Koçu Bey and Naima, Abou-El-Haj argues that the portrayal of a 'decline' was often the product of state officials who experienced personal decline amidst times of increased social mobility, and that the Ottoman society was, in fact, going through profound economic and social changes akin to the ones taking place in other early modern European states.

Artan, Tülay, ed. 1998. *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

This is a collection of articles focusing on the neighbourhood of Eyüp -situated at the western shores of the Golden Horn-, which has been a historically important area for Muslims. By using the records of the kadi courts of Eyüp, the author presents a socio-economic history of Eyüp in the 18th century, with a focus on peasants, land relations, migration and state-society relations. (Title translation: The social life of Eyüp in the kadi registries of the 18th century.)

Clogg, Richard. 2011. "Publishing for 'the Poor, Ignorant, and Oppressed Christians of Lesser Asia': Early 'Greco-Turkish' Translations of the British and Foreign Bible Society." In *Between Religion and Language. Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Evangelia Balta, and Mehmet Ölmez, 225-244. İstanbul: Eren.

Clogg elaborates in this article on the activities of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) -a non-denominational Christian agency founded in 1804 in order to distribute the Holy Scriptures in a wide variety of languages- in the Ottoman Empire. As the missionaries were unable to proselytise among the Muslims, they focused on the 'poor Ottoman Christians.' By using the reports of the BFBS as well as personal reports of the missionaries, Clogg analyses the reactions of the hierarchy of the Orthodox and Armenian Churches to these activities, as well as the efforts of the BFBS to reach Anatolian Christians through biblical translations in *karamanlidika*, that is, Turkish written with Greek characters.

Deringil, Selim. 1999 [1998]. *The Well-Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*. London, New York: I. B. Tauris.

In this much-cited book, Deringil makes extensive use of a wide array of Ottoman sources in order to explore the ways in which the Ottoman state sought to legitimize its existence at the end of the 19th century, both in the eyes of its subjects, as well as among European powers. The efforts of legitimization included a variety of methods, ranging from the symbolical level (state ceremonies, manifestations like the coats of arms, photography) to the level of applied policies (the proto-nationalist reformulation of Islamic legal practices, official proselytization to the Hanefi orthodoxy and the efforts to instil the idea of 'Ottoman citizenry' through an expanded education system).

Erol, Merih. 2013. "Surveillance, Urban Governance and Legitimacy in Late Ottoman İstanbul: Spying on Music and Entertainment During the Hamidian Regime (1876-1908)." *Urban History*, 40, no. 4: 706-725.

This article utilizes Ottoman sources such as petitions, the Ottoman Police Ministry records and spy reports in order to investigate the ways in which urban space was controlled during the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909). The focus is especially on the Greeks of İstanbul, and on activities such as the theatre, voluntary societies and cultural and education associations, as well as concerts. The author maintains that the Hamidian government sought to enhance its image through the opening of such spaces, simultaneously being keen to control the seditious discourse that could occur within their realms.

Exertzoglou, Haris. 2003. "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Gender, Class and Nation in Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th century." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34: 77-21.

In his article, Exertzoglou focuses on the Greek Orthodox middle-class groups of the big urban centres of the Ottoman Empire, especially İstanbul and Smyrna, during the 19th century and

especially its second half. The author deals with the impact of novel consumption patterns on the making of multiple social identities. He is analysing the discourses of various Greek Orthodox representatives on consumption, as these were articulated either in published articles or in the memoirs of important Greek Orthodox middle men and women, treating the Ottoman context not merely as the historical framework but as an interactive cultural field.

Exertzoglou, Haris. 2000. “Η συγκρότηση του δημόσιου χώρου στη Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19^ο αιώνα.” In *Ο Έξω Ελληνισμός: Κωνσταντινούπολη και Σμύρνη 18^{ος}-20^{ος} αιώνας*, 15-36. Athens: Etaireia Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias, Moraitis School.

The starting point for this study is that the dominant historiographic perception of the economic and cultural activity of the Greek Orthodox community of the Ottoman Empire largely reflects the national ideological atmosphere of the post-1922 era; thus, it represents the Rum millet as a homogeneous entity that after a long period of decline, reached prosperity in the 19th century only to be destroyed after the First World War. Against this view, Exertzoglou revisits the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul and examines the formation of public space through the construction of a sophisticated network of cultural, charity and educational institutions, as well as entertainment clubs. (Title translation: The Formation of Public Space in Istanbul in the 19th Century.)

Frierson, Elizabeth B. 2004. “Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere.” In *Public Islam and the Common Good*, edited by Armando Salvatore, and Dale Eickelman, 99-125. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Frierson argues in this chapter for the creation of a modern public sphere in Ottoman society in the 1890s, including the state apparatus, the press, as well as unofficial and private society. The author relies especially on the era’s press, which provided a field for contesting modern practices and ideas, as well as over the duties and responsibilities of Ottoman women, men and children in the struggle to save the crumbling Empire.

Gerber, Haim. 2002. “The Public Sphere and Civil Society in the Ottoman Empire.” In *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, edited by Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levitzion, 65-82. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

In this chapter, Gerber contributes to the discussions concerning the existence of a public sphere in the societies of the Middle East, by focusing on the Ottoman Empire. By approaching the area of law (guilds’ laws, land law) and of the *waqf* (pious foundations), the author argues that the Ottoman state was flexible enough to allow a certain degree of autonomous powers and initiatives on behalf of certain institutions (like the guilds), as long as these were not perceived as dangerous to the state’s security or to Islamic morals.

Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. 1995. *The Young Turks in Opposition*. New York, Oxford: OUP.

This pioneering book by Hanioğlu on the politics and ideologies of the revolutionary Young Turks concentrates on the least well-known stages of the CUP’s (Committee of Union and Progress) evolution, that is, its formative years from its modest beginnings among the students of the Royal Medical School in Istanbul, in 1889, to its first congress in Paris in 1902. The book depicts the ideological plurality among members of the CUP during its initial stages, which encompassed different opinions about vital matters such as Ottoman relations with foreign governments, as well as proposed tactics to end Abdulhamid’s rule. The pioneering aspect of this book relates also to the vast array of sources utilized by the author, including Ottoman archives, documents from the archives of many European states, as well as private papers and manuscripts of some leading Young Turk figures, as well as Young Turk journals and newspapers.

Ileri, Nurçin. 2017. "Nightlife and Temporal Order in Fin de Siècle Istanbul." *Etudes Balkaniques* 2: 295-325.

In this article, Ileri depicts how the Ottoman state tried to control night-time entertainment at the turn of the 20th century. By using both Ottoman state archives as well as travel books and memoirs of both Ottoman dwellers and European travellers, the author shows how the authorities tried to balance between presenting nocturnal activities as a sign of progress and economic vitality, and controlling such activities when they were perceived as threatening public security and morality.

Kanner, Euthymia. 2012. *Εμφυλές κοινωνικές διεκδικήσεις από την Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία στην Ελλάδα και στην Τουρκία. Ο κόσμος μιας Ελληνίδας χριστιανής δασκάλας*. Athens: Papazisis.

In this study, Kanner unfolds the story of Sofia Aliberti, teacher, intellectual and feminist activist from mid-19th century until the 1920s. Within a methodological framework of microhistory and history of social networking, Kanner approached Aliberti's personal archive, which is the study's basic primary source, to portray female agency in the rapidly changing urban centres of the Greek State, the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans. (Title translation: Gender-based social claims from the Ottoman Empire to Greece and Turkey. The world of a Greek Orthodox teacher.)

Kanner, Euthymia. 2004. *Φτώχεια και φιλανθρωπία στην Ορθόδοξη κοινότητα της Κωνσταντινούπολης, 1753-1912*. Athens: Katarti.

Based on rich archival material on various Greek Orthodox associations, institutions and parishes, Kanner analyses the philanthropic practices and discourses of the emerging bourgeois Greek Orthodox elite in Istanbul, during the late 18th and the 19th centuries. Mastering the vast bibliographic data on philanthropy in modern Europe, she offers a new spectrum on the social history of the Rum *millet* of Istanbul. (Title translation: Poverty and philanthropy in the Orthodox community of Istanbul, 1753-1912.)

Kırlı, Cengiz. 2004. "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire." In *Public Islam and the Common Good*, edited by Armando Salvatore, and Dale Eickelman, 75-97. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

In this article, Kırlı challenges assumptions about the absence of a public sphere in non-European contexts. By utilizing a formerly unknown source, the reports written by spies employed by the Ottoman state, who were active especially in the coffeehouses of the Ottoman capital, the author argues that such reports offer us the opportunity to approach a distinct trajectory of public opinion in the mid-19th century Ottoman Empire, beyond the dichotomies of 'individual opinion' and 'public opinion' proposed by Habermas. The author also elaborates on the main themes evolving in these reports, like Mehmet Ali's Egypt and public frustration over state officials, and argues that opinions routinely crossed confessional lines to create a common discourse.

Lyberatos, Andreas. 2020. "The Sounds of Modernity: Exploring the Balkan Capitals' Soundscape (Late 19th-Early 20th Century)." *Etudes Balkaniques* 2: 189-208.

The paper focuses on the sonic environment of three Balkan capital cities, that is, Belgrade, Sofia and Athens, at the turn of the 20th century, a period of modernization for all three cities. By using secondary literature, memoirs, as well as the Greek and Bulgarian press, the author elaborates on natural and biological sounds, on sounds produced by different ethno-religious groups and their implication for other communities, the sounds of peddlers, as well as the mechanical sounds, produced by the ongoing industrialization. Given that the sensory history of the Ottoman

Balkan urban centres is still very scarce, this is a welcome contribution to the social history of the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire, viewed from a formerly unexplored perspective.

Nassi, Gad, ed. 2001. *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Istanbul: Isis Press.

Editor and researcher Gad Nassi has assembled in this book two scholarly articles on the prolific printing and journalism activity of the Sephardim ('The Jewish Press in Turkey' by Avner Levy, and 'Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire' by Yaron Ban-Naeh), complemented by comprehensive lists of journals and bibliographies, and many photographs of the works discussed. The articles cover Jewish journalism from the Jewish settlement in the Ottoman Empire until the 1940s, and have been enhanced by bibliographies by Nassi's lists and Rifat N. Bali's 'A Bibliography of Works on Journalism and Book Printing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey'. Given that the literature on Sephardic journalism and printing activities in English language is extremely scarce, this is an invaluable source in order to research Jewish cultural life in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey.

Özbek, Nadir. 2007. "Defining the Public Sphere During the Late Ottoman Empire: War, Mass, Mobilization and the Young Turk Regime (1908-1918)." *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 5: 795-809.

The article elaborates on the relations between state and society during the second constitutional period in Turkey (1908-18). It argues that contrary to widespread notions, the existence of a dynamic public sphere during the Young Turk era, manifest in philanthropic activities of semi-official aid societies such as the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, did not necessarily mean a more democratic political environment. Rather, such activities were utilized by the regime for its own benefits, which included directing funds and human energy towards nationalist and patriotic causes.

Özbek, Nadir. 2005. "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism and the Hamidian Regime, 1876–1909." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 1: 59–81.

In this study, Özbek examines state-society relations in the formation of public sphere and civic society during the late Ottoman period. His focus is on the voluntary activities of various social groups with philanthropic and patriotic purposes during the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909). Contrary to mainstream historiography, the author argues that there is no particular methodological conflict between an autocratic regime and a dynamic public sphere. Rather, in the Ottoman context, a dynamic public sphere was, in fact, one of the key elements of the Hamidian regime's legitimation strategies.

Özdalga, Elisabeth, ed. 2005. *Late Ottoman Society. The Intellectual Legacy*. London, New York: Routledge Curzon.

This edited volume by Özdalga is the outcome of the Ottoman Intellectual Heritage Conference, organized by the Swedish Institute in Istanbul in 2001. In the preface, Özdalga argues that, while the modernization process, which took place in the Ottoman Empire with the Tanzimat reforms stipulated after 1839, has been viewed mainly from an administrative and economic perspective, attention should be equally given to the educational institutions and the ideologies flourishing in the empire during the same period. The articles comprising this volume shed light on issues such as the late Ottoman materialists, the influences of French positivism, Islamic mysticism, Pan-Islamism, the education of Christian children and the impact of missionaries, the formation of a women's readership, and the Ottoman press, as well as the leading role of non-Muslims in printing activities.

Salvatore, Armando, and Eickelman, Dale, eds. 2004. *Public Islam and the Common Good*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

This edited volume explores the public role of Islam in contemporary world politics. Drawing on examples from the late Ottoman Empire, Africa, South Asia, Iran and the Arab Middle East, the essays of this interdisciplinary volume utilize the concept of public sphere by Habermas and others, as well as the concept of common good, and show how within public Islam -including modes of communication, actors in the public sphere and forces that impede contribution to the public sphere- there exist competing notions and practices of the common good and a way of envisioning alternative political and religious ideas and realities.

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

In this article, Strauss contributes to the social and intellectual history of late Ottoman society by providing a broad view of the literary activity (including publishing, printing presses and editors, literary taste) taking place within and among diverse languages such as Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian, but also linguistic communities such as the Spanish-speaking Sephardic Jews, the Turcophone Armenians and the Greek Orthodox. The importance of the article lies in the fact that it pleads for a view of Ottoman literature which encompasses all spoken languages of the Empire, and is not confined to Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Strauss, Johann. 2003. "The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History." In *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters Since the Enlightenment*, edited by Dimitris Tziouvas, 47-67. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Strauss describes in this article the 'Greek connection' within Ottoman intellectual life during the 19th century. He argues that a closer look at the lives and works of eminent Ottoman statesmen, writers and poets throughout the 19th century will allow readers to appreciate many facets of the 'Greek connection', that is, the preoccupation with themes like the Greek language and civilization, as well as the close ties and connections which existed between many members of the Ottoman intellectual elite and Greeks or the Greek lands.

Spaces of sociality and entertainment

Akyazici Özkoçak, Selma. 2007. "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul." *Journal of Urban History* 33: 965-986.

This article sets to explore the degree to which coffeehouses in early modern Istanbul contributed to the formation of what Habermas has called 'cultural public sphere'. Based on secondary literature, and using also visual material, the author analyses the social function of coffeehouses, and argues Istanbul coffeehouses contributed in the formation of public sphere and consequently of a critical public within the current regime. Moreover, the coffeehouse functioned as complementary to traditional domestic hospitality, and as a bridge to modernity, and to the era of clubs and societies.

Evren, Burçak. 1996. *Eski İstanbul'da Kahvehaneler*. İstanbul: Milliyet.

The author offers a vivid and wide view of the social life of Ottoman Istanbul through portraying its coffeeshops, the different social classes that mingled in them, as well as the leisure activities and games that were part of the culture of coffeeshops. (Title translation: Coffeehouses in Old Istanbul.)

Georgeon, François. 1997. "Les Cafés à Istanbul à la fin de l'Empire Ottoman." In *Cafés d'Orient revisités*, edited by Hélène Desmet-Grégoire, and François Georgeon, 39–78. Paris: CNRS Ethnologie.

Based on descriptions of European travellers and Ottoman literature, Georgeon explores the diversities of the phenomenon of Turkish coffeehouses. (Title translation: The coffeehouses of Istanbul at the end of the Ottoman Empire.)

Georgeon, François. 2002. "Ottomans and Drinkers: The Consumption of Alcohol in Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century." In *Outside in: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, edited by Eugene Rogan, 7-30. London: Routledge.

Based on travellers' accounts and on limited primary sources, Georgeon explores places, neighbourhoods and habits of Istanbul's Muslim and non-Muslim population with reference to the selling and drinking of alcohol during the 19th century. Even though alcohol is prohibited in Islam, the author shows how the changing political and social conditions, especially from the reign of Mahmut II onwards, affected the consumption of alcohol, which in many cases was presented as a sign of westernization.

Koçu, Reşat Ekrem, ed. 1947. *Eski İstanbul'da Meyhaneler ve Meyhane Köçekleri*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap.

The book consists of a collection of short articles on Istanbul's nightlife during the 19th and 20th centuries and of its various representative characters. More specifically, the writer describes the different types of taverns (*meyhane*), their legal status and controversies, their owners and patrons, and cites relevant historical sources including poems and verses of the Ottoman lyrical tradition. Special reference is made to dancing boys and some of their life stories. This is a monumental book on the *meyhanes* as places of intense social and gendered interaction in late Ottoman Istanbul (Title translation: The taverns and their dancing boys in Old Istanbul.)

Örs İlay. 2002. "Coffeehouses, Cosmopolitanism, and Pluralizing Modernities in Istanbul." *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 12, no. 1: 119-145.

In her article, Örs elaborates on the stereotypical dichotomy of the traditional coffeehouse of the Mediterranean as opposed to the European café, symbol of modernity and civilisation. Arguing that coffeehouses in Istanbul were among the first known commercial establishments, she revisits these places in order to question an all-encompassing notion of a single modernity. Instead, Örs introduces the notion of pluralizing modernities, placing emphasis on everyday practices.

Sevengil, Refik Ahmet. [1927]1998. *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu? (1453-1927'ye kadar)*, edited by Sami Önal. İstanbul: İletişim.

In his book, Sevengil provides a panoramic view of the ways in which Ottomans residing in Istanbul would entertain themselves in their daily lives, ranging from strolling next to the shores of the Golden Horn to the bathhouses, the public storytellers, the theatres, the dancing-boys (*köçek*) and the popular minstrels (*aşık*). (Title translation: How did Istanbul had fun? (1453-1927).)

Yaşar, Ahmet. 2018. *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri. Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

This book comprises the studies of five historians concerning the impact that coffeehouses had on the making of the Ottoman public sphere from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Their common features are that they stand critical to the relation of coffeehouses and public space and they examine the economic, social and cultural function coffeehouses acquired throughout four

centuries. (Title translation: Ottoman coffeehouses. Spaces, sociality, power.)

Woodall, G. Carole. 2010. “‘Awakening a Horrible Monster’: Negotiating the Jazz Public in 1920s Istanbul.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30, no. 3: 574–82.

In her article, Woodall explores the debates on jazz and charleston dance in Istanbul during the interwar era, with a special emphasis on the 1920s. The author historicizes jazz as a cultural product, characterised by official Turkish public opinion as a threat to Turkish cultural order because of its character that surpassed all kinds of boundaries (ethnic, gendered and class).

Woodall, G. Carole. 2008. “Sensing the City: Sound, Movement, and the Night in 1920s Istanbul.” PhD diss., New York University.

In her PhD, Woodall examines the urban modern experience in Istanbul and the district of Beyoğlu during the 1920s. Based on Turkish and foreign press (illustrated magazines, satirical press etc), travel guides and writings, memoires, photographs and illustrations, Woodall explores Istanbul’s popular culture and portrays the city’s sensorial profile. Moreover, the author analyses the narrative on decadent cosmopolitan and polyglot Beyoğlu and Pera, and argues that relevant public debates were central to the perception of the modern in the newly-born Turkish republic.

Ethnoreligious communities and intercommunal relations

Aboona, Hirmis. 2008. *Assyrians, Kurds, and Ottomans: Intercommunal Relations on the Periphery of the Ottoman Empire*. Amherst, New York: Cambria Press.

This study comprises a social history of the Assyrians, an indigenous ethnic group of Assyria, which covers territories of today’s Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria. Through a wide array of primary sources in English, Arabic and Syriac, the author follows the history of Assyrians from their ancient origins up to the Ottoman 19th century. The importance of this study lies both in its focus on an ethnic group on which we have very limited knowledge, and in the documentation of this group through its relations to neighbouring communities (i.e. the Kurds).

Bali, Rifat, 2016, 2017. *Meçhul Yahudiler Ansiklopedisi I, II*. Istanbul: Libra Kitap.

Turkish-Jewish researcher and writer Rifat Bali composes the life stories of rather unknown-everyday Turkish-Jewish people of Istanbul. Based mainly on oral testimonies, through these life stories Bali examines the social history of Istanbul’s Jewish minority and of the city itself, during the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the first decades of the Turkish Republic. (Title translation: Encyclopedia of anonymous Jews.)

Barkey, Karen. 2008. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

In her book, Karen Barkey approaches the Ottoman Empire as a polity whose success and longevity can be attributed to the way it treated diversity, arguing thus also against the widespread notion that the Empire was declining from the 17th century onwards. According to Barkey, it was flexibility and pragmatism on the part of the Ottomans which made them tolerate difference and even use it to their own benefit.

Barkey, Karen. 2005. “Islam and Toleration: Studying the Ottoman Imperial Model.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 19: 5-19.

With this article, Karen Barkey contributes to the ongoing discussions around Islam and its relations to religious fundamentalism. She proposes an approach focused less on issues of

theology, and more on the actual historical and social conditions in which Islam produced tolerant or intolerant polities. To this end, she uses the paradigm of the Ottoman Empire, which she depicts as a polity marked by toleration to non-Muslims, accomplished through policies like the subordination of religion to the state, or institutions like the millet system.

Braude, Benjamin, and Bernard Lewis, eds. 1982. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1 & 2. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers.

This is a pioneering collection of articles which sheds light to various aspects of the presence of non-Muslim populations in the Ottoman Empire throughout the centuries. By focusing on the history of Jews, Christians and Armenians from the Ottoman conquest up to the end of the Ottoman Empire, and by providing an analysis of their social, economic and institutional relations with the Ottoman state, this book succeeds in re-evaluating widespread myths about the *millets* in the Ottoman Empire.

Cohen, Julia P. 2014. *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*. Oxford, New York: Oxford UP.

A historical study of Ottoman Sephardi Jews and their relationship to the Ottoman state following the Tanzimat reforms. The author explores the myth of a special Jewish relationship to the Ottoman state and argues that Jewish imperial citizenship was a process and a patriotic project which evolved throughout the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century, together with the meanings of Ottomanism itself.

Davison, Roderic H. 1954. "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century." *The American Historical Review* 59, no. 4: 844-864.

The Ottoman reforms stipulated between 1839 and 1856 and known as the Tanzimat reforms have more often than not been viewed from an institutional perspective. On the contrary, Davison focuses in this article on the people, Muslims and non-Muslims, and argues that both parts reacted with opposition to the reforms, for a variety of reasons. While ecclesiastical hierarchies were afraid that their former prerogatives were threatened, ordinary non-Muslims had gradually been radicalized through the spread of nationalist ideologies. Muslims, on the other hand, had difficulty in accepting non-Muslims, whom they had viewed as inferior for centuries, as equals.

Galanti, Avram. 1947. *Türkler ve Yahudiler. Tarihî, Siyasî Tetkik*. Istanbul: Tan Matbaası.

A historical and social survey of Jews in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, by Avram Galanti. The book is rich in historical information pertaining to the Jewish community in the Ottoman Empire, its internal history and its relation to the Ottoman state. The author sites an array of primary sources (historical documents, newspaper articles, etc.) and includes also a section on Jewish musicians of the Ottoman Empire. (Title translation: Turks and Jews: Historical and social survey.)

Gkara, Eleni, and Giorgos Tzentopoulos. 2015. *Χριστιανοί και μουσουλμάνοι στην οθωμανική αυτοκρατορία*. Athens: HEAL. <https://repository.kallipos.gr/handle/11419/2882>

This is a coursebook that surveys and analyses the history of Christians and the Christian Church within the Ottoman polity. Through a variety of sources that include archives but also works of art or folk music, the authors examine both institutional aspects (like the incorporation of the Christian churches to the Ottoman polity), as well as social aspects (e.g. practices of syncretism, individuals who changed their religion from or to Islam) pertaining to the position and role of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. (Title translation: Christians and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.)

Göçek, Fatma Müge. 1996. *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*. Oxford: OUP.

The demise of the Ottoman Empire has been depicted mainly as the result of the Empire's difficulty to keep up with an industrialized western world. On the contrary, the author of this pioneering work provides a sociological history of the Ottoman 19th century and explains the demise of the Empire on account of competing social classes with different agendas. Based mainly on Ottoman archives, the author analyses the formation of a 'bifurcated bourgeoisie' that encompassed a Muslim bureaucratic element and a largely Christian and Jewish commercial one. By the early 20th century, however, the administrative bourgeoisie had largely displaced the commercial bourgeoisie, paving the way for the emergence of a Muslim Turkish nation-state.

Goffman, Daniel. 2002. *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: CUP.

Goffman provides with this textbook a thorough introduction to the history and the institutions of the Ottoman Empire, accompanied by maps and illustrations, a glossary and a chronological table. In an effort to save historiography on the Ottoman Empire from a 'Eurocentric mythologizing', he proposes the concept of 'Ottomancentrism' and depicts the Ottoman Empire as a diverse and religiously-tolerant polity. Remarkably, his book was published in the series 'New Approaches to European History' of Cambridge University Press.

Issawi, Charles. 1982. "The Transformation of the Economic Position of the Millets in the Nineteenth Century." In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Benjamin Braude, and Bernard Lewis, vol. I, 261-285. New York: Holmes and Meier.

In this article, Issawi explores the role of the Ottoman *millet*s during the 19th century from a socio-economic perspective. He argues that, while the *millet*s' members gained influence as middlemen between Muslim masses and European capital, which increasingly penetrated the Middle East during the 19th century, their power subsequently declined when Muslims increasingly carried out themselves the functions of such middlemen and when growing nationalism demanded that members of *millet*s, as well as foreigners with similar functions, be replaced by ethnic Turks, Egyptians, Iraqis, or Persians.

Kılıçdağı, Ohannes. 2016. "Ottoman Armenians in the Second Constitutional Period: Expectations and Reservations." In *The Ottoman East in the Nineteenth Century: Societies, Identities and Politics*, edited by Ali Sipahi, Yaşar Tolga Cora, and Dzovinar Derderian. London: I. B. Tauris.

The author of this chapter elaborates on the expectations raised by the various ethno-religious groups of the Ottoman Empire following the Young Turk revolution of 1908, especially by educated Ottoman Armenians, belonging to the urban middle classes. By making extensive use of the time's press, the author follows the different stages of this reaction: initial expectations through a comparison with the Hamidian regime, shock following the March 1909 mutiny which broke out in Istanbul, and the Adana massacres of the same year, but also persistent and continuous expression of demands for more participatory and democratic governance, also in the provinces, the rule of law, and complete equality.

Levy, Avigdor, ed. 1994. *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press.

The essays of this edited volume comprise a social, political and economic history of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire in three chronological periods: the rise (15th to 16th centuries) and fall (17th-18th centuries) of the prominence of the Jewish community, with an emphasis on the skills brought by the Iberian Jews to the Ottoman Empire; the impact of the reforms implemented in the

19th century, which are generally assessed as positive; and the Jewish communities in the Turkish Republic in the 20th century, including the Jews fleeing Nazi Germany.

Masters, Bruce. 2004. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization). Cambridge: CUP.

Masters offers a social history of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Arab lands spanning a period of four hundred years. He argues that while non-Muslims experienced initially a political subordination to Muslims, the intrusion of western powers through trade from the 17th century on altered this social and economic hierarchy evident in Christian-Muslim relations. In presenting the rising sectarianism of the 19th century as an outcome of the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the ‘capitalist world system’, Masters adheres to other seminal works in the field, like the one by Ussama Makdisi.

Nirenberg, David. 2014. *Neighboring Faiths. Christianity, Islam and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

In this book, Nirenberg examines the relations between Muslims, Christians and Jews in medieval Iberia, with an emphasis on microhistory and local specificity. He argues that interfaith relations were not monolithic, and included a wide spectrum of relations, ranging from violence and extermination to interfaith marriage, as well as efforts to approach each other through language and poetry. The work of Nirenberg refuses to view interfaith relations in teleological terms and argues that identities were ‘co-produced’ through interactions in time.

Nirenberg, David. 1996. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

This book, while focusing on the Middle Ages, constitutes a milestone in the literature on inter-communal relations and, specifically, their connection to violence. By examining specific attacks on minorities (including Jews, and stigmatized groups such as people with leprosy) in 14th-century France and the Crown of Aragon (Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia), and using archives from various Spanish cities, Nirenberg argues that such manifestations of violence were not independent of the roles each group played in society. The pioneering aspect of the book lies also in the inclusion of cases of interfaith sexuality, as well as respective collective anxieties, and the way ‘culprits’ of such interfaith intercourses were being punished by society.

Ozil, Ayşe. 2013. *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia*. New York: Routledge.

While the history of the Ottoman *millet*s has mostly been viewed from a theoretical perspective, approaching them as rigid communities, Ozil focuses on the Greek Orthodox populations of the Hüdavendigâr province (today’s Bursa) in order to explore how the concept of community worked on the ground. By using a wide array of Greek, Ottoman and English primary sources, the author follows the actual social and institutional practices among Orthodox Christians in issues like administration, taxation, judicial practices, as well as nationality.

Petrov, Milen V. 2005. “Everyday Forms of Compliance: Subaltern Commentaries on Ottoman Reform, 1864-1868.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46, no. 4: 730-59.

In his pioneering article, Petrov seeks to explore the Tanzimat reforms ‘from below’, asking how ordinary non-Muslims reacted to the new reforms. Contrary to common notions according to which non-Muslims opposed the reforms due to the rising currents of nationalism, Petrov uses a hitherto unknown source, that is, the interrogation protocols (*istintaknames*) of the newly founded Tanzimat courts, and argues that Bulgarians residing in the Ottoman province of Tuna (Danube)

quickly learned how ‘to speak Tanzimat’: In the framework of the newly founded secular courts, ordinary Bulgarian litigants were very quickly eager to make use of the new legal institutions and language, introduced by the reforms, in order to put forward their claims in a series of penal cases.

Quataert, Donald. 2000. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. Cambridge: CUP.

This is a seminal survey by Donald Quataert, used widely in universities as a coursebook for the history of the Ottoman Empire. It provides a social, diplomatic, economic history of the Ottoman Empire from the 17th century onwards, touching upon all the important events and institutions of the Empire. Special attention is being paid to gender issues and to hotly debated topics such as the treatment of minorities.

Rodrigue, Aron. 1996. “Difference and Tolerance in the Ottoman Empire” (Interview to Nancy Reynolds). *Stanford Electronic Humanities Review* 5.1. <https://web.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-1/text/rodrigue.html> (September 2015).

In this interview, historian Rodrigue Aron conceptualises the relation between the Ottoman state and its Muslim and non-Muslim populations before the 19th century, under the light of temporal distinction and interplay between formal frameworks, as well as day-to-day realities and practices. He proposes the term ‘difference’ (as one of the organizing principles of Ottoman society) instead of minority/majority or ruler/ruled, and approaches the Ottoman society before the 19th century as a system of multiplicities depending on religion, regional affiliations, professional life and individual networking.

Stamatopoulos, Dimitrios. 2006. “From Millets to Minorities in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire: An Ambiguous Modernization.” In *Citizenship in Historical Perspective*, edited by Steven G. Ellis, Gudmundur Halfdanarson, and Ann Katherine Isaacs. Pisa: Pisa University Press.

This article constitutes a rare attempt to view the different Ottoman *millets* (Christian, Armenian and Jewish) in comparison to each other, and to historicize their trajectories especially during the time of the Tanzimat reforms, when *millets* were gradually secularized and further institutionalized. By making use of existing literature, as well as excerpts from the regulations of each *millet* drafted during the 19th century, the author argues that both the reforms and the rise of nationalist movements in the Balkans resulted in an uneven development of the *millets* and in their further break into new millets.

Svolopoulos, Konstantinos. 1994. *Κωνσταντινούπολη 1856-1908. Η ακμή του Ελληνισμού*. Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon.

In this book Svolopoulos focuses on the economic and social presence of the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul from the second half of the 19th century up until the rise of the Young Turks in power. Based on secondary bibliography and archival material of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the General British Archives, the author studies the demographic profile, the topographic distribution and the economic and cultural activities of the Greek Orthodox community of the capital city. (Title translation: Istanbul 1856-1908. The heyday of Hellenism.)

Valensi, Lucette. 1997. “Intercommunal Relations and Changes in Religious Affiliation in the Middle East (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries).” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 2: 251-69.

This article offers a broad view of changes in religious affiliation/conversion taking place in the Middle East between the 17th and 19th centuries as well as the way in which such conversions affected and were affected by intercommunal relations. It elaborates on abundance or rarity of conversions in different settings and their reasons, the practices of inter-confessional matrimony

(and what happened to their offspring), motives and barriers for conversion, as well as the procedures with which conversions were being carried out.

van Dobben, Danielle J. 2008. "Dancing Modernity: Gender, Sexuality and the State in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic." MA Thesis, University of Arizona.

This unpublished MA Thesis explores the changes in dance practices that took place between the late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic, with an emphasis on modern views on gender issues. By using an extensive secondary literature, the author argues that during the course of modernization and westernization, Turkish elites came to disapprove early Ottoman dance practices which allowed for a certain degree of sexual and homoerotic expressions, as well as 'belly dance', which was associated with non-Turkish performers. On the contrary, from the 19th century onwards, state elites used the theatre as a new cultural expression of 'Turkishness' and the 'New Woman'.

Zarinebaf, Fariba. 2012. "Intercommunal Life in Istanbul During the Eighteenth Century." *Review of Middle East Studies* 46, no. 1: 79-85.

The author of this article makes use of the Islamic court records of Istanbul and Galata in order to investigate the changing ethnic, religious, and social composition of Istanbul's residential neighbourhoods, their internal organization, and the role of the state in defining and reinforcing confessional and legal boundaries in the 19th century. She also examines the role of individuals, especially women, in redefining and negotiating these boundaries.

II. MUSIC

Authors: Eleni Kallimopoulou and Gerasimos-Sofoklis Papadopoulos

(Late) Ottoman musical history

Aksoy, Bülent. 1985. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Musiki ve Batılılaşma." In *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, edited by Murat Belge, and Fahri Aral, 1211-1236. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

A comprehensive historical overview of Ottoman music from the 19th century up until the transition to the early republican era, with a particular focus on issues of court and public patronage. The chapter follows a periodization based on the successive sultans and tracks the developments of both eastern and western music, including newly emerged western light popular genres. Major-figure musicians, composers and theoreticians are mentioned accordingly alongside instructive information on forms, orchestras, notation and music publishing. (Title translation: Music and westernization from Tanzimat to the Republic.)

Aracı, Emre. 2010. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*. Istanbul: YKY.

An extensive study on the history of Istanbul's celebrated opera house *Naum Theatre*, based on rich archival material. The book covers in depth the history of the theatre from various angles, including its architectural significance, its role as an agent of westernization, the featured repertoire and the operating musical and social networks. A study of a representative institution supporting novel forms of sociality, which contributes to the cultural history of late Ottoman Istanbul. (Title translation: Naum Theater: Italian opera of 19th century Istanbul.)

Artan, Tülay. 2013. "A Composite Universe: Arts and Society in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century." In *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre. Vol. 1: The Age of Mozart and Selim III (1756–1808)*, edited by Michael Hüttler, and Hans Ernst Weidinger, 751–94. Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag.

A critical reappraisal of late 18th-century Ottoman music, poetry and visual arts and their respective historiographies. The author cautions against the uniform application on Ottoman cultural forms and reforms of unitary explanatory models, whether these are based on concepts of continuity with Persianate trends, or of westernization, secularism, or locally generated modernity. The chapter includes a substantial section on corresponding problems and trends in music and Ottoman musicology.

Behar, Cem. 2015. *Osmanlı/Türk Musikisinin Kısa Tarihi*. Istanbul: YKY.

This book comprises previously published material, yet significantly reworked, expanded and bibliographically updated. Organised in four sections, the author precedes from a comprehensive historical overview of Ottoman/Turkish music to core research topics such as the relation between space and performance aesthetics, the notion of virtuosity, and of orality and literacy in musical learning and transmission. Section III offers a thorough and critical biography of the celebrated Ottoman composer İsmail Dede Efendi. (Title translation: Short history of Ottoman/Turkish music.)

Behar, Cem. 2006. "The Ottoman Musical Tradition." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol. 3. The Latter Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, 393-407. Cambridge: CUP.

A brief but comprehensive introduction to the Ottoman musical tradition spanning the period from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Includes sections on teaching and transmission; music and society; notated music and written sources; secular and *tekke* music; groups, instruments and performers; and secular forms and the *fasıl* suite. Behar situates the emergence of a specifically Ottoman/Turkish musical tradition in the second half of the 16th century.

Behar, Cem. 2005. *Musikiden Müziğe. Osmanlı/ Türk Müziği: Gelenek ve Modernlik*. Istanbul: YKY.

A collection of informative and critical essays on several topics pertaining to basic research on the history of Ottoman/Turkish music. The book is divided into four sections, namely Biographies, Texts, Sources, and Tradition and "Modernization", and covers the life and works of major historical figures related to the oral and written transmission of repertoire. The book includes an invaluable guide to musical manuscripts located in major western libraries as well as to the 19th century *Karamanlidika* musical publications, and sets a critical framework for assessing modernising attempts following the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. (Title translation: From "musiki" to music. Ottoman/Turkish music: Tradition and modernity.)

Behar, Cem. 1987. *Klasik Türk musikisi üzerine denemeler*. Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.

A collection of critical essays on issues of Ottoman/Turkish music related to sources, musical theory and ideological debates on cultural identity with reference to nationalism. The content of this book marks the early stages of a critical turn in modern Turkish music historiography. It introduces certain innovative approaches to the history of Ottoman/Turkish music, which the author developed further in his later output. (Title translation: Essays on classical Turkish music.)

Faroqhi, Suraiya, and Arzu Oztürkmen, eds. 2014. *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*. Calcutta: Seagull Books.

A critical exploration of a broad range of historical performances in the Ottoman Empire, including high art and urban public space celebrations, puppet theater, early Ottoman comedies, and European-style theater in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Includes three parts, on celebration and entertainment; Ottoman theatre and theatricality; and European encounters.

Feldman, Walter. 1996. *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire* (Intercultural Music Studies 10). Berlin: VWB - Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung.

A comprehensive historical overview of Ottoman court music in the 17th and 18th centuries, a dynamic period of transformations in its form, practices and theoretical concepts. Includes sections on musicians and performance, dealing with changes in patterns of professionalism, musical genre and instrumentation; *makam*, dealing with the tonal basis of Ottoman court music; and *peşrev* and *semai*, dealing with historical developments in the compositional principles of the two instrumental genres.

Feldman, Walter. 1990/1991. "Cultural Authority and Authenticity in the Turkish Repertoire." *Asian Music* 22, no. 1: 73-111.

An overview of the composed repertoire of Ottoman music, its history and transmission, its compositional forms, cyclicity and typologies, its relation with other Muslim cyclical repertoires, as well as its reception in 20th-century Turkey. Includes sections on the Turkish *fasıl*; other Muslim cyclical repertoires; composers of the Turkish repertoire; transmission of the Ottoman composed

repertoire; the lineage of the science of music; and the origin of classical Turkish music. The author contends that despite sharing with other medieval Muslim civilizations the tendency to connect the musical repertoire with the mythological lineage of the Science of Music, the Ottomans' development of cyclical composed genres displayed highly original features, such as the ascription of the composed repertoire to historically attested musicians.

Greve, Martin, ed. 2015. *Writing the History of "Ottoman Music."* Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag.

A historical survey of the development of Ottoman music, the volume brings together current research and discourses in the field of Ottoman musicology. Includes four parts, namely, on writing the history of Ottoman music; periodization of Ottoman music; history of Anatolian folk music; and the reconstruction of historical Ottoman music.

İnal, İbnülemin Mahut Kemal. 1958. *Hoş Sadâ. Son Asır Türk Musikişinasları.* Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi.

This is an invaluable source of the history of Ottoman/Turkish music by the legendary literate figure İbnülemin Mahut Kemal who witnessed the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic and devoted himself to the history of Ottoman bureaucracy and literate elites, with particular reference to poets, calligraphers and musicians. *Hoş Sadâ* is a biographical anthology of musicians with entries modelled after the traditional bibliographical style *tercüme-i hal*. The work remained unfinished by İbnülemin and was completed with the addition of entries based on his archival collection. The entries are rich in anecdotal material, some of it based on the author's own experience. (Title translation: Pleasant echoes. Last century's music aficionados.)

Mestyan, Adam. 2012. "Cultural Policy in the Late Ottoman Empire? The Palace and the Public Theatres in 19th Century Istanbul." In *Kültürpolitik und Theater: Die kontinentalen Imperien in Europa im Vergleich*, edited by Philipp Ther, 127–49. Vienna: Böhlau.

A study of the connections between official authorities and theatres in Istanbul between the 1830s and 1890s, aimed at understanding the attitudes of the imperial authorities toward public art. The article examines the entangled relations between court and public entertainment, between palace and city, and between Sultan and municipality as cultural authorities in the theatrical life of Istanbul at a period when the city sees the implementation of new models of urban planning.

Olley, Jacob. 2016. "Towards a Global History of Music? Postcolonial Studies and Historical Musicology." *Ethnomusicology Review* 20.

A critical discussion of the limitations of both historical musicology, which constructed the non-European Other as a means of self-fashioning, and of postcolonial theory and the Saidian discourse in particular, which in unveiling the Eurocentrism of historical musicology deprived the Other of historical agency. The article argues for the need to acknowledge the interdependency between European music history and the history of world musics, and to adopt a global music history perspective that will 'attend to the very real sounds, documents and practices of non-European musics'.

Özalp, Mehmet Nazmi. 2000. *Türk Müsîkîsi Tarihi.* 2 vols. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.

A history textbook of Turkish music covering a broad timespan from the early Ottoman era to the late 20th century and an array of topics including court patronage, transmission and educational institutions, musical theory, religious and secular forms, organology and types of orchestras, notation, music and performing arts, radio and the record industry. The textbook covers both classical and folk music. It contains short biographical notes of all major musicians of

Ottoman/Turkish music, including a separate section on “Turkish Minority Musicians”. (Title translation: History of Turkish music.)

Öztuna, Yılmaz. 2006. *Türk Mûsikîsi: Akademik Klasik Türk San’at Mûsikîsi’nin Ansiklopedik Sözlüğü*, 2. vols. Ankara: Orient.

A musical dictionary of Turkish music (updated edition of the previously published versions of *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi*) that comprises entries in alphabetical order on musicians, forms, musical instruments and theoretical terms pertaining to Ottoman/Turkish music from the early Ottoman era to the Turkish Republic. The musical dictionary constitutes a useful reference book for research on Ottoman/Turkish music. (Title translation: Turkish Music [mûsikî]: Encyclopedic dictionary of academic classical Turkish art music.)

Öztuna, Yılmaz. 1990. *Büyük Türk Mûsikîsi Ansiklopedisi*. 2 vols. Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı. See Öztuna 2006. (Title translation: Great encyclopedia of Turkish music.)

Öztuna, Yılmaz. 1969–76. *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi*. 2 vols. Millî Eğitim Basımevi. See Öztuna 2006. (Title translation: Great encyclopedia of Turkish music.)

Öztuna, Yılmaz. 1987. *Türk Mûsikîsi. Teknik ve Tarih*. Istanbul: Türkp petrol Vakfı Lâle Mecmuası Neşriyâtı.

A concise history of Ottoman/Turkish music consisting of a section on contemporary musical theory of modes (*makam*) and rhythmic cycles (*usul*), and a section on history that covers the topics of sources, notation and musical education. The historical periodization is based on subsequent centuries from the 13th to the 20th century. (Title translation: Turkish music: Technique and history.)

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. 1977. “Osmanlılar Zamanında Saraylarda Musiki Hayatı.” *Bellekten* 41: 79–114.

Based on archival sources, like musicians’ payrolls of the court, this article provides a historical outline of the music in the Ottoman court. The author follows a periodization based on the successive sultans and the musicians active in their courts. This traditional periodization demonstrates the transformation of musical patronage throughout history and gives an important insight on the economic aspect of music history. In addition to the lists of musicians active at different times in the court, Uzunçarşılı provides a survey of the musical instruments and orchestras of the court. (Title translation: Music life in the court at the time of the Ottomans.)

Orality, literacy and transmission

Ayangil, Ruhi. 2008. “Western Notation in Turkish Music.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, vol. 18, no. 4: 401–447.

A survey of the use of western notation in Turkish *makam* music. The article starts with a description of early antecedents (Wojciech Bobowski/Ali Ufki Bey, European travelers) and proceeds to applications of western notation following its official introduction in the Muzika-i Hümayun in 1827 (the notation systems of Hacı Emin Efendi, Dar’ülelhan, Rauf Yekta Bey, Arel-Ezgi-Uzdilek, Mildan Niyazi Ayomak, Kemal Ilerici, and Gultekin Oransay are considered). It then discusses questions related with *ahenk*s and with expression and ornamentation elements, and concludes with a summary of the problems of notating Turkish *makam* music in western notation.

Behar, Cem. 2013. "Text and Memory in Ottoman/Turkish Musical Tradition." In *Ottoman Intimacies, Balkan Musical Realities*, edited by Risto Pekka Pennanen, Panagiotis C. Poulos, and Aspasia Theodosiou, 3–12. Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens.

A concise but illuminating introduction to the changing status and interrelations between orality, memory and the written text in the Ottoman/Turkish musical world. The article questions the notion of a strict oral-written duality and provides insightful examples, spanning a period from the 17th century to the present, of overlaps between an oral musical environment and the written text.

Behar, Cem. 2019. *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz*. Istanbul: YKY.

This is the expanded seventh edition of the 1998 pioneer book on the history and evolution of the learning and transmission process in Ottoman/Turkish music. The author documents in detail the notion of *meşk* (practice) as the systematic educational institution that constitutes the backbone of Ottoman/Turkish musical performance and composition.

Behar, Cem. 1992. *Zaman, mekân, müzik: Klasik Türk musikisinde eğitim (meşk), icra ve aktarım*. Istanbul: Afa Yayınları.

A collection of essays covering the processes of musical learning and teaching in Ottoman/Turkish music, in connection to issues of performance, composition and evolution of the musical repertoire. (Title translation: Time, space, music: Education (*meşk*), performance and transmission in classical Turkish music.)

Wright, Owen. 1996. "Middle Eastern Song-Text Collections." *Early Music* 24, no. 3: 454-469.

A thorough summary of middle eastern song-text collections as a valuable record for the history of music in the Islamic Middle East. The article focuses especially on the eastern repertory which is documented in two distinct groups of collections: an earlier one (late 15th-16th centuries) in which Persian verse predominates, and a later specifically Ottoman group (from the 17th century) in which Turkish verse prevails. The comparative analysis within and between the two groups allows important insights into aspects of mode, rhythm, form and text-setting.

Wright, Owen. 1992. *Words without Songs: A Musicological Study of an Early Ottoman Anthology and its Precursors*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

This systematic examination of four song-text collections, dated roughly in the period between the mid-16th and mid-17th centuries and associated with the Ottoman court, sheds light on the emergence of a specifically Ottoman musical tradition during this period and lays the ground for further historical research into Ottoman music history. Through a close interrogation of the four texts, Wright is led to the hypothesis of the existence in parallel of two musical traditions during this period in the Ottoman court.

Enlightenment, modernities and nationalisms

Aksoy, Bülent. 2008. *Geçmişin Müsiki Mirasına Bakışlar*. Istanbul: Pan.

A collection of essays covering a wide range of topics concerning the history of Ottoman/Turkish music and modern Turkish music historiography, divided into two respective sections. The author examines the relation between music and court literature, the effect of the broader imperial cultural context on music, the significance of non-Muslim musicians, and the role and position of women musicians in court life. Drawing on this background, the author offers a critical cultural history of Ottoman music as well as innovative interpretations on the constitution

of 20th-century historiographical approaches to the Ottoman musical heritage, its origins and continuity through history. (Title translation: Views on the music [musiki] heritage of the past.)

Chatzigiakoumis, Manolis. 2014. “Η μουσική μεταρρύθμιση του 1814 και η Μεγάλη του Χριστού Εκκλησία” (Speech delivered at the anniversary of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Constantinople 2 November 2014). Athens: Kentron Ereunon kai Ekdoseon.

A brief introductory overview of the New Method, i.e. the reform of the notation system of Greek Orthodox music implemented by the so-called Three Teachers (Chrysanthos of Madytos, Gregorios Protopsaltis and Chourmouziou Chartophylax) and officially adopted by the Great Church in 1814. The article explains the importance of the reform in musicological and historical terms. (Title translation: The musical reform of 1814 and the Great Church of Christ.)

Chatzipantazis, Thodoros. 1986. *Της Ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί... Η ακμή του αθηναϊκού καφέ αμάν στα χρόνια της βασιλείας του Γεωργίου Α΄*. Athens: Stigmi.

A thorough study, based on primary sources and press articles in particular, of the reception of *café amans* in late 19th-century Athens. The study brings to the forth the debate surrounding ‘Eastern’ or ‘Asian’ music, a music that was condemned by some modernizing sections of the Athenian intelligentsia and praised by others. (Title translation: The suitors of the Asian Muse. The upsurge / growth of the Athenian *café aman* during the reign of King George I.)

Erol, Merih. 2011. “Music and the Nation in Greek and Turkish Contexts (19th – early 20th c.): A Paradigm of Cultural Transfers.” *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 47: 165–75.

A comparative examination of musical debates in the Greek and Turkish context in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The author draws attention to a common repertoire of symbolic tropes and themes as these developed in the two contexts, and proposes an analytical approach based on the notion of cultural transfers.

Erol, Merih. 2014. “Musicological Debates between Greeks and Turks in the Late Ottoman Empire: Dialogue and the Creation of the ‘Other’.” In *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, and Arzu Oztürkmen, 359–76. Calcutta: Seagull Books.

An essay on late Ottoman ideological debates between Greek Orthodox and Muslim literate elites, situated within the broader context of competing nationalisms of the Ottoman “long 19th century”. As argued by the author, music functioned as a discursive field for the negotiation of national identities, yet preserving the pluralistic character of Ottoman society.

Feldman, Walter. 2019. “The Emergence of Ottoman Music and Local Modernity.” *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 1: 173-179.

A brief but synthetic account of 17th- and 18th-century developments in Ottoman art music, as glimpsed through the extant sources. The article revolves around the question of the internal need that produced several forms of Ottoman musical notation and substantiates the hypothesis of a ‘locally generated modernity’.

Kallimopoulou, Eleni. 2017. Measuring Intervals between European and ‘Eastern’ Musics in the 1920s: The Curious Case of the Panharmonion or ‘Greek Organ’. In *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World: Essays in Honour of Owen Wright*, edited by Rachel Harris, and Martin Stokes, 146-170. London, New York: Routledge.

Through an examination of the Panharmonion, a pipe organ designed to accommodate the non-tempered intervals of the Greek Octoechos, the chapter delves into the late-Ottoman debate

around the Europeanization of indigenous musical practices, and points to similarities in the defense of Ottoman art music and Greek Ottoman church music, which were both rejected as backward by sections of the Greek and late Ottoman modernizing society.

O’Connell, John Morgan. 2013. *Alaturka: Style in Turkish Music (1923–1938)*. Farnham: Ashgate.

A historical account of musical life in the early republican era in Turkey, based on archival and ethnographic sources. Through a consideration of the musical career and reception of vocalist Münir Nurettin Selçuk (1899-1981), the book explores the debate over musical style, the so-called *alaturka - alafranga* divide, and the intersections between music and national identity.

O’Connell, John Morgan. 2005. “In the Time of Alaturka: Identifying Difference in Musical Discourse.” *Ethnomusicology* 49: 177–205.

A study of the discursive construction of musical difference in 19th-century Turkey. The article traces how an orientalist conception of Turkish style was appropriated to define a native musical tradition (*alaturka*) in contrast to western musical practice (*alafranga*), and explores the ways in which the *alaturka* discourse served to construct historical, cultural and gender distinctions.

O’Connell, John Morgan. 2000. “Fine Art, Fine Music: Controlling Turkish Taste at the Fine Arts Academy in 1926.” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32: 117–42.

A study of the establishment of the Fine Arts Academy in the context of the modernizing reforms of the early republican era in Turkey. The article focuses on the politics of taste that surrounded the foundation of the Academy, which led to the promotion of western art music (*alafranga*) to the detriment of Turkish classical music (*alaturka*).

Plemmenos, Giannis. 2003. *Το μουσικό πορτρέτο του Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού*. Athens: Psifida.

An introduction to the musical dimension of the so-called Greek Enlightenment (1770-1820), offered through the portraits of seven important Greek musicians and composers active in this period and context. The book contains their musical biographies as well as indicative excerpts of their musical compositions. (Title translation: The musical portrait of Greek Enlightenment.)

Romanou, Katy. 1996. *Εθνικής μουσικής περιήγησις, 1901-1912: Ελληνικά μουσικά περιοδικά ως πηγή έρευνας της ιστορίας της νεοελληνικής μουσικής*. Athens: Koultoura.

A comprehensive survey of musical discourse in the Greek music press over the period 1901-1912. Part I contains an overview of the history and major transformations of Greek musical life as documented in the music journals of the period. Part II contains an invaluable catalogue of the music journals, including the Index and Abstracts of all the articles that document Greek music; and the comprehensive Contents of all the journal issues. (Title translation: A journey through national music 1901-1912: Greek music journals as a source of research on modern Greek music.)

Ethnoreligious communities, minorities and social groups

Andrikos, Nikos. 2015. *Η εκκλησιαστική μουσική της Σμύρνης (1800-1922)*. Athens: Topos.

A monograph that studies the special ecclesiastical musical style that developed in Smyrna during the 19th century, placing it in socio-historical context. Biographies of the most representative chanters and composers, as well as an analysis of their innovative and influential aesthetics and ideas are included. (Title translation: The ecclesiastical music of Smyrna from 1800 to 1922.)

Erol, Merih. 2015. *Greek Orthodox Music in Ottoman Istanbul. Nation and Community in the Era of Reform*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

In the transitional late Ottoman period, the Greek and other non-Muslim minorities sought to relocate themselves in the context of modernity and of competing nation-oriented and empire-oriented ideological visions. The book examines the formative role of the discourse on musical reform in this process of relocation. It includes sections on the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul; liturgical music and the middle class; confrontation with the musical past; the music debate and tradition; music and national identity; and singing and political allegiance.

Erol, Merih. 2014. "Dini Muzik, Milli Muzik: Osmanlı son döneminde Rum Musiki Cemiyetleri." *Toplumsal Tarih* 242 (Subat): 69–75.

See Erol 2015. (Title translation: Religious music, national music: Rum music [*musiki*] societies in late Ottoman era.)

Feldman, Walter. 2000. "Ottoman Music", accompanying booklet to CD *Osmanlı Türk Müziği Antolojisi, Lâlezâr topluluğu* [Ottoman Turkish Anthology, Lâlezâr ensemble]. Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi.

The explanatory booklet accompanying this CD offers an illuminating introduction to Ottoman music (with subsections on the periodization of Ottoman music; modes and compositional form; the instruments; non-classical secular genres; the *taksim*; prosody and music; and musical sources). Separate sections are devoted to the *Segah faslı*; the music of the Ottoman sultan-composers; the music of the Ottoman minority composers; and the music of the dancing boys/ *köçekçeler*.

Jackson, Maureen. 2013. *Mixing Musics: Turkish Jewry and the Urban Landscape of a Sacred Song*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

A monograph on the social history and contemporary musical resonances of *Maftirim*, a paraliturgical vocal repertoire in Hebrew that synthesized Jewish sacred music and Ottoman art music and brought in cultural interaction the Jewish minority with other non-Muslim minorities and the Muslim majority. A foundational contribution to a growing literature on the musical and cultural life of non-Muslim minorities in the cities of the late Ottoman and the Turkish republican period.

Jackson, Maureen. 2011. "Crossing Musical Worlds: Ottoman Jewry, Music Making and the Rise of the Nation." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 31: 569–87.

An exploration of the social dimension of Turkish Jewish religious music based on ethnographic and archival sources. The study highlights multiethnic music-making in the passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic and traces the diminishing avenues of musical interchange across ethnoreligious communities in the national era. The sections on Gramophones and *gazinós*, and on Departing Turkish Jews, arriving European Jews, shed light on the transformations of the Jewish soundscape in the 1930s and 1940s.

Kalaitzidis, Kyriakos. 2015. "Post-Byzantine Musical Manuscripts as Sources for Oriental Secular Music: The Case of Petros Peloponnesios (1740-1778) and the Music of the Ottoman Court." In *Writing the History of "Ottoman Music"*, edited by Martin Greve, 139–50. Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag.

An abstract of Kalaitzidis' PhD thesis (published by Ergon Verlag in 2012), the text surveys the use of post-Byzantine musical manuscripts as written sources for the secular music of the Middle East. Special attention is given to the three collections of secular music by Petros Peloponnesios (1740-1778) which contain a significant number of Ottoman compositions transcribed in the old Byzantine notation.

Kerovpyan, Aram, and Altı̇ğ Yılmaz. 2011. *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler*. Istanbul: Surp Pırgıç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı.

A broad historical study on the relation and role of Armenian musicians in Ottoman classical music. The book is based on a wide range of Ottoman-Armenian primary sources. The authors situate Armenian musical activity within the broader Ottoman cultural context stressing the importance of the communal musical domain, comprising liturgical and other musical practices, as a parallel influential field to the shared urban genres. They discuss the usage of the Armenian notational system (*khaz*) in church music and its utilization in Ottoman court repertoire in parallel to the process of musical modernization and westernization in the late Ottoman Empire. (Title translation: Classical Ottoman music and Armenians.)

Michailidis, Andreas. 2008. “Οι συνθέσεις του Ντεντέ Εφέντη μέσα από τις ρωμαίικες συλλογές εξωτερικής μουσικής: μεταγραφή αυτών από τη βυζαντινή σημειογραφία στο σύγχρονο μουσικό σύστημα καταγραφής της Τουρκίας.” BA thesis, Technological Educational Institute of Epirus.

This BA thesis examines 38 compositions by Dede Efendi included in three 19th-century Greek printed musical collections of Ottoman art music (*Euterpi*, *Pandora*, *Mousikon Apanthisma*). These are transnotated into the contemporary Turkish notation system and compared with existing versions of Dede Efendi's compositions in this system (Fatih Salgar). The comparison reveals considerable differences, which point to the formative role that the notation system plays in committing an oral composition to writing. (Title translation: The music compositions of Dede Efendi in the secular music collections by Ottoman Greeks: transcriptions from the Byzantine notation to the contemporary Turkish notation system.)

Olley, Jacob. 2017. “Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul. Ottoman Armenians and the Invention of Hampartsum Notation.” PhD diss., King's College.

This important thesis traces the invention and career of the Hampartsum notation system in the Ottoman musical world of the 19th century. The author places the notational reform in the context of a larger cultural revival among Ottoman Armenians, which developed in parallel with the reform of the Byzantine notation system in the Greek Orthodox chanting milieu. In addition, the adoption of Hampartsum notation by Muslim musicians is discussed in relation with print technology, institutionalization and nationalist ideologies.

Papadopoulos, Georgios I. 1904. *Ιστορική επισκόπησις της Βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής από των Αποστολικών χρόνων μέχρι των καθ' ημάς (1 - 1900 μ.Χ.)*. Athens: Praxitelis.

An exposition of the history and evolution of ecclesiastical music from the Apostolic age to the author's times (1-1900 AD). The subject matter is chronologically ordered, with the last section dealing with the New Method, i.e. the reform of the notation system of Greek Orthodox music implemented by the so-called Three Teachers and officially adopted by the Great Church in 1814, and subsequent developments in the field of ecclesiastical music. (Title translation: Historical overview of Byzantine ecclesiastical music from the Apostolic times to the present day (1-1900 A.D.).)

Papadopoulos, Georgios I. 1890. *Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν της παρ' ημίν εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής και οι από των Αποστολικών χρόνων άχρι των ημερών ημών ακμάσαντες επιφανέστεροι μελωδοί, υμνογράφοι, μουσικοί και μουσικολόγοι*. Athens: Typographeion kai Viliopoleion Kousoulinou and Athanasiadou.

A comprehensive overview of ‘the most illustrious melodists, hymnographers, musicians and musicologists of ecclesiastical music from the Apostolic age to our days’. The subject matter is chronologically ordered, with the last of three parts including substantive sections on schools for ecclesiastical music and musical societies, as well as biographical entries on the protagonists in the field of 19th-century ecclesiastical music. (Title translation: Contributions to the history of our ecclesiastical music and the most prominent melodies, hymnographs, musicians and musicologists that flourished from the Apostolic times to the present day.)

Poulos, Panagiotis C. 2021. “Μεταξύ Π. Νικουσίου και Α. Μαυροκορδάτου: ο Wojciech Bobowski/Ali Ufkî (1610?-1675) και οι διαπολιτισμικές σχέσεις των διερμηνέων της Υψηλής Πύλης.” In *Proceedings of the International Conference Από τη Χίο στην Πόλη και από εκεί στη Μολδοβλαχία. Η αρχή μιας δυναστείας: Αλέξανδρος ο Εξ Απορρήτων (1641-1709) και Νικόλαος, Ηγεμόνας Μολδοβλαχίας (1680-1730)*, edited by Nikos Mavrelos. Athens: Gutenberg.

An examination of the “in-between state” that characterized the position of dragomans of the Sublime Porte through the lens of cultural history and the history of everyday-life and musical orality. Through the case of the polymath, musician and dragoman Wojciech Bobowski/Ali Ufkî (1610?-1675), the study questions the social and cultural boundaries of the dragomans’ milieu in the period of the succession to the post from Panagiotis Nikousios to Alexandros Mavrokordatos. (Title translation: From P. Nikousios to A. Mavrokordatos: Wojciech Bobowski/Ali Ufkî (1610?-1675) and intercultural relations among the dragomans of the Sublime Port.)

Poulos, Panagiotis C. 2014. “Greeks and Turks Meet the Rum: Making Sense of the Sounds of ‘Old Istanbul’.” In *When Greeks and Turks Meet: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Relationship Since 1923*, edited by Vally Lytra, 83–105. Farnham: Ashgate.

Based on a consideration of the contemporary reception by Greeks and Turks of Ottoman pieces composed by Rum composers and recorded by the musical ensemble “Bosphorus”, the author examines the transformation of non-Muslim Istanbulite musicians into ‘minorities’ and how this affected the ways they were been “listened” to in an anthropological sense.

Poulos, Panagiotis C. 2013. “The Non-Muslim Musicians of Istanbul: Between Recorded and Intimate Memory.” In *Ottoman Intimacies, Balkan Musical Realities*, edited by Risto Pekka Pennanen, Panagiotis C. Poulos, and Aspasia Theodosiou, 51–68. Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens.

By juxtaposing two instances of remembrance of Istanbul’s non-Muslim musical heritage in modern Turkey, the author explores how half-told stories are fulfilled by nostalgia in order to create a narrative in which cosmopolitanism and nationalism seem to function as interrelated ideals.

Seroussi, Edwin. 2004. “From the Court and Tarikat to the Synagogue: Ottoman Art Music and Hebrew Sacred Songs.” In *Sufism, Music and Society in Turkey and the Middle East: Papers read at a conference held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, November 27–29, 1997*, edited by Anders Hammarlund, Tod Olsson, and Elisabeth Özdalga, 81–93. London: Routledge Curzon.

In this article Seroussi provides a short historical outline of the interaction between Jewish musicians and Ottoman musical tradition, mainly that of the Sufi *tarikats* and the consequent

development of a distinct repertoire of Hebrew poems set in *makam* music. The author points to the fine boundaries between community liturgical music and the new syncretic genre known as *Maftirim*. There are references to important Hebrew handwritten *mecmû'âs*, to key figures in the development of the genre, with emphasis on Rabbi Israel Najara (c. 1555-1625). The article includes an example of a vocal *peşrev* in Hebrew which is analysed in terms of its form.

Seroussi, Edwin. 1991. "The Peşrev as a Vocal Genre in Ottoman Hebrew Sources." *Turkish Music Quarterly* 4: 1–9.

This is a pioneer study on the paraliturgical singing tradition of the Jewish community of the Ottoman Empire known as *Maftirim*. More specifically, the study examines the practice of adapting liturgical text in Hebrew to *makam* compositions that often originate in the Mevlevi tradition. Seroussi focuses particularly on the case of the *peşrev*, an Ottoman instrumental form which is prominent both in secular and *Sufi* repertoire, and analyses its transformation into a vocal form in the Jewish context.

Tietze, Andreas, and Yahalom, Joseph. 1995. *Ottoman Melodies - Hebrew Hymns: A 16th Century Cross-Cultural Adventure*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

This is a fundamental work on a very significant and largely understudied phenomenon of poetic and musical syncretism in the Ottoman Empire. More specifically, this joint study by Andreas Tietze and Joseph Yahalom examines the development of the Jewish mystical poetry in the 16th century and its various interactions and overlaps with the realms of the Ottoman music, poetry and mysticism. The authors trace the links between the Hebrew hymns and their Ottoman Turkish complement songs and discuss both the intracommunal and the intercommunal ideological, religious and cultural implications of this phenomenon.

Music and space

Behar, Cem. 1992. *Zaman, mekân, müzik: Klasik Türk musikisinde eğitim (meşk), icra ve aktarım*. Istanbul: Alfa Yayınları.

For a description of Behar 1992 see above (II. Music: Orality, literacy and transmission).

Oner, Onur. 2019. "A Collective Biography Study of Musicians: Patterns, Networks and Music as a "Profession" in the Late Ottoman Era and the Early Republican Years in Istanbul." PhD diss., Istanbul Şehir University.

A study of the social history of musicians active in the late Ottoman and early republican musical milieu in Istanbul. The thesis employs quantitative analysis in order to document the social demography, geographical mobility, educational patterns, professional networks and career trajectories of musicians, and to illuminate the ways in which musicians responded to broader socio-political changes in the period in question.

Poulos, Panagiotis C. 2018 (2019). "Spaces of Intercommunal Musical Relations in Ottoman Istanbul." *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 1: 181-189.

An overview of the analytical importance of the notion of "space" (in both a narrow and a symbolic sense) in the historical study of intercommunal musical relations in Ottoman Empire. The article covers the historical period from the 17th to the late 19th centuries and presents unpublished archival material of the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul demonstrating its importance and analytical usage in the abovementioned research inquiry. The author argues that

the spatial dimension of music not only reinforced cultural distinctions but also forged ties between different social and ethno-religious groups.

Poulos, Panagiotis C. 2017. "At the House of Kemal: Private Musical Assemblies in Istanbul from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic". In *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World: Essays in Honour of Owen Wright*, edited by Rachel Harris, and Martin Stokes, 104-122. London: Routledge.

A study of İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal Inal's *meclis* (house-gathering, salon), its social, intellectual and musical milieu in late 19th- and early 20th-century Istanbul. Such private gatherings, which involved poetry, conversation and musical performance "functioned as a connecting element between private lives and the emerging public sphere of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic" and attest to "a higher degree of musical continuity than is usually thought".

Poulos, Panagiotis C. 2014. "Özel Mekanlar, Kamusal İlgiler: İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul'da Müzikli Ev Toplantıları (meclisleri)." *Toplumsal Tarih* 242, 82-89.

An overview of the music *meclises* (house-gatherings, salons) of Istanbul at the transition from the late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic and their instrumental role as private institutions of musical patronage which contributed to the continuity of musical transmission and performance. (Title translation: Private space, public concerns: Music house-gatherings in Istanbul from the Empire to Republic.)

Musical forms, modal system and analysis

Helvacı, Zeynep, Jacob Olley, and Ralf Martin, eds. 2017. *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.

A volume presenting the proceedings of an international congress organized by the University of Münster in 2014. Includes articles focused on the history of *usûl*, its relationship to musical structure, its descriptions in written sources, its influences on regional traditions and cultures, and its development in the years of the Turkish Republic.

Nardella, Federica. 2020. "The Late Ottoman 'Şarkı' and the Interweaving of Registers: Towards an Ideology of Song." *Musicologist* 4, no. 1: 1-33.

The article discusses the controversy around 'Ottoman Turkish' in contrast to 'Republican era Turkish'. It investigates the notion of language continuity and diversion, based on Turkish used in 'Şarkı' songs composed in the late 19th century.

Olley, Jacob. 2018. "Towards a New Theory of Historical Change in the Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire." In *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World: Essays in Honour of Owen Wright*, edited by Rachel Harris, and Martin Stokes, 22-41. Aldershot: Ashgate.

By comparing *peşrevs* recorded in the early 19th century to their previous versions, the author reappraises Wright's (1988) hypothesis about melodic density, structural transformation and the augmentation of the rhythmic cycle, and proposes a new model of historical change.

Olley, Jacob. 2017. "Rhythmic Augmentation and the Transformation of the Ottoman Pesrev, 18th – 19th Centuries." In *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*, edited by Zeynep Helvacı, Jacob Olley, and Ralf Martin Jäger, 179-88. Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag.

Taking into account two additional sources from the 18th and 19th centuries, this paper proposes a new hypothesis, different from the one supported by Owen Wright (1988), regarding the augmentation of the rhythmic cycle observed in some Ottoman *peşrevs*.

Olley, Jacob. 2012. “Modal Diversity in Early Ottoman Music: The Case of Makâm Sabâ.” *Near Eastern Musicology Online* 1: 39–54.

This study outlines the structural development of *mâkam sabâ* during the 17th century, based on notated musical collections of the period. The author questions the notion of modality as a static and predefined system, and instead considers Ottoman collections as reflections of a changing and changeable musical culture.

Papadopoulos, Gerasimos-Sofoklis. 2020. “Transcribing Neo-byzantine Chants in Turkish Five-line Score: Why and How?” In “...chanting consciously to Thee in praise...”: *Proceedings of the 3rd International Musicological & Chanting Conference, May 30 - June 2, 693-849*. Volos: Volos Academy Publications.

In this article the author describes his rationale and methodology of transcribing byzantine pieces from the New Method notation to the Turkish five-line score. He also exams previous transcriptional attempts made by chanters or/and musicologists.

Wright, Owen. 2017. “The Ottoman *Usul* System and its Precursors.” In *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*, edited by Zeynep Helvacı, Jacob Olley, and Ralf Martin Jäger, 31–48. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.

An article that reveals the complex paths through which the various rhythmic cycles acquired their normative structure in the mid 17th century. The low level of continuity that theoretical treatises from pre-Timurid era onwards demonstrate is approached as a result of creative freedom in performance.

Wright, Owen. 2011. “How French is *frenkçin*?” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3rd series, 21: 261–81.

This article explores references and anecdotes retrospectively linked to the origin of the rare *usul* “*frenkçin*”, as well as elements of its development derived from various collections. Important findings are made regarding the relationship between tempo and melodic density.

Wright, Owen. 1988. “Aspects of Historical Change in the Turkish Classical Repertoire.” *Musica Asiatica* 5: 1–107.

Comparing a group of Ottoman *peşrevs* documented in 17th-century collections with their modern versions, the author develops his theory of a gradual amplification and embellishment of the original simple melodies, which began in the 17th and was completed in the mid 19th century. Furthermore, Wright formulates a set of rules on the basis of which this melodic elaboration took place.

Zannos, Iannis. 1990. “Intonation in Theory and Practice of Greek and Turkish Music.” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 22: 42-59.

This is a pioneer study in foregrounding the comparative and syncretic character between the Byzantine modal system of *echos* and the Ottoman/Turkish *makam*. Although Zannos’ primary focus is on the issue of intonation in comparative perspective, he includes some important remarks regarding the level of intercommunal interaction between musicians and music theorists in the Ottoman era.

Editions, translations and printed sources

Anonymous. 1852. *Mecmû'â-i şarkı*. Istanbul: n.p.

This is the first Ottoman printed song-text collection. It comprises solely vocal pieces from the urban classical repertoire. The collection is divided in 43 sections corresponding to different *makams*. (Title translation: Collection of *şarkı*.)

Apostolopoulos, Thomas, and Kyriakos Kalaitzidis. 2019. *Rediscovered Musical Treasures. Exegeses of Secular Oriental Music*, Part 1 (Edited and transcribed from post-Byzantine music manuscripts into staff notation). Bucharest: Editura Universității Naționale de Muzică din București.

A collection of a representative sample of non-ecclesiastical pieces transcribed from the Old Byzantine notation to the current Turkish five-line system. A set of introductory texts explains the general methodology of the transcriptions and the difficulties that arose.

Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza. 2001. *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, edited by Ali Şükrü Çoruk. İstanbul: Kitabevi.

This is a collection of published articles by the chronicler Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza (1842-1928) on a variety of topics pertaining to the everyday life of Istanbul. Written from the point of view of someone who lived the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic Ali Rıza's texts constitute an important source for the social and cultural history of Istanbul. (Title translation: Life in Istanbul in the olden days.)

Behar, David, Hazan İsak Maçoro, and Hazan David Sevi, eds. 2009. *Maftirim: Turk-Sefarad Sinagog Ilahileri / Turkish-Sephardic Synagogue Hymns / Kantes de Sinagoga Turko Sefardi*. Istanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın.

A collection of orally transmitted Jewish hymns chanted by Turkish Sephardi, recorded by the last three masters of liturgical music: Rav Isak Maçoro, David Behar, and Rav David Sevi. Translations of the lyrics into Turkish, English, and Judeo-Spanish are included.

Behar, Cem, ed. 2010. *Şeyhülislâm'in müziği: 18 yüzyılda Osmanlı/Türk Musikisi ve Şeyhülislâm Es'ad Efendi'nin Atrabü'l-Âsar'ı* Istanbul: YKY.

Based on the biographical encyclopaedia (*tezkire*) of musicians written by Şeyhülislâm Es'ad Efendi (1685-1753), this book provides brief information about the life and work of nearly a hundred Ottoman music composers who lived in the 17th and early 18th centuries. By evaluating every piece of information given by Es'ad Efendi and placing it in its historical and social context, the editor sheds light on the formation of the Ottoman musical tradition and traces the expansion of social limits within the musicians' milieu. (Title translation: Sheyhulislam's music: 18th-century Ottoman/Turkish music and the *Atrabu'l-Asar* of Sheyhulislam Es'ad Efendi.)

Chourmouzios Chartophylax, ed. 1825. *Ειρμολόγιον των Καταβασιών Πέτρου του Πελοποννησίου μετά του Συντόμου Ειρμολογίου Πέτρου Πρωτοψάλτου του Βυζαντίου*. Istanbul: Vretanniki Typographia Kastrou.

One of the most important collections of neo-Byzantine chants, containing most of the pieces that belong to the Heirmologic genre. The melodies are attributed to Petros Peloponnesios and his student Petros Vyzantios, who both lived in Istanbul in the second half of the 18th century, a period of intense intercommunal relations. (Title translation: *Heirmologion* of *Katavasies* by Petros Peloponnesios with the Short *Heirmologion* by Petros Vyzantios the Protopsalt.)

Chrysanthos of Madytos. 2010. *Great Theory of Music*. Translated by Katy Romanou. New Rochelle: The Axion Estin Foundation.

An English translation of the theoretical treatise written by the protagonist of the reformation of the Neo-Byzantine musical system that took place in Istanbul in the early 19th century.

Chrysanthos of Madytos. 1832. *Θεωρητικόν μέγα της μουσικής*. Trieste: Michele Weis.

The theoretical treatise based on which the reformation of the Neo-Byzantine musical system took place in the early 19th century in Istanbul. Its author, Chrysanthos bishop of Madytos, attempts to describe and systematize the psaltic practices of his era, by combining ancient Greek classifications with Byzantine traditional notions and signs, as well as concepts developed in both western and Ottoman musical systems. (Title translation: Great theory of music.)

Ekinci, Mehmet Uğur, ed. 2016. *Kevserî Mecmûası: 18. Yüzyıl Saz Müziği Külliyyatı*. Istanbul: OMAR and Pan Yayıncılık.

Analytical description and critical musical edition (in staff notation) of the 18th-century Ottoman musical collection known as *Kevserî Mecmûası*. (Title translation: *Kevserî Mecmûası: 18th-century collection of instrumental music.*)

Gedeon, Manouil. 2002. *Μουσικαί διαχύσεις οικιακαί. Εγκρίδες ή λαλάγγια*. Athens: Morphotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezis.

Two essays by the Istanbulite polymath Manouil Gedeon on aspects of social life of the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul. The first essay is an invaluable source on the reception and role of the Phanariot singing tradition in Greek house gatherings. The author makes important remarks on the syncretism between Turkish and Greek musical and literary traditions as well as on the tension between secular entertainment and church tradition. (Title translation: Musical home entertainment. *Enkrides* or *lalangia*).

Hâşim Bey. 1269/1853. *Mecmû 'â-i kârâ ve nakışhâ ve şarkiyât*. Istanbul: n.p.

This is the first edition of Hâşim Bey's song-text collection. The collection is divided in the customary manner in sections of different *makams* and includes vocal repertoire in all forms (*kâr*, *beste*, *şarkı*, *koşma*, *mâni*). Song-texts are recorded and are followed by indications of formal divisions and repetitions. Transcriptions of the sections with nonsense syllables (*terennüm*) are also included. (Title translation: Collection of *kâr*, *nakış* and *şarkı*.)

Hâşim Bey. 1280/1864. *Mecmû 'â-i kârâ ve nakışhâ ve şarkiyât*. [*Mecmû 'â*]. Istanbul: n.p.

The second edition of the major Ottoman printed song-text collection containing Ottoman art vocal forms and a small number of folk poetic genres. This edition features an additional theoretical section describing the Ottoman *makams* and their corresponding musical scales in western music theory. (Title translation: Collection of *kâr*, *nakış* and *şarkı*.)

Hâfız Hızır İlyas Ağa. 2011. *Osmanlı Sarayında Gündelik Hayat: Letâif-i Vekâyi-i Enderûniyye*, edited by Ali Şükrü Çoruk. Istanbul: Kitabevi.

The Ottoman chronicler Hâfız Hızır İlyas Ağa describes the political, social and cultural life of the Ottoman Court during the reign of Mahmud II. The text includes information on the music life of the period. (Title translation: Everyday-life in the Ottoman Palace.)

Kiltzanidis, Panagiotis. 1881. *Μεθοδική διδασκαλία θεωρητική τε και πρακτική προς εκμάθησιν και διάδοσιν του γνησίου εξωτερικού μέλους της καθ' ημάς Ελληνικής Μουσικής κατ' αντιπαράθεσιν προς την Αραβοπερσικήν*. Istanbul: A. Koromilas and son.

Mainly based on previous theoretical treatises, the author makes a detailed comparison of the New Method theory and terminology with the Ottoman *makam* theory. He also cites melodic examples of the various *seyirs* using neo-Byzantine notation. (Title translation: Theoretical and practical method for the teaching and dissemination of the authentic secular repertoire of our Greek Music in comparison with the Arab-Persian one.)

Leyla (Saz) Hanımefendi. 2001. *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans: Daily Life at the Çırağan Palace during the 19th Century*. Translated by Landon Thomas. Istanbul: Hil Yayın.

Leyla (Saz) Hanımefendi is a prominent female figure in the history of late Ottoman music. Her memoir is an invaluable source on the musical life of the Çırağan palace, including information on court patronage and etiquette, music education, musical ensembles and instruments. The text is also a significant source for the understudied field of music and gender in the Ottoman Empire and, in literary terms, for the development of the genre of memoir both in the Ottoman context and in general.

Music Committee of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. 1888. *Στοιχειώδης Διδασκαλία της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής επινοηθείσα επί τη βάσει του ψαλτηρίου*. Istanbul: Patriarchikon Typographeion.

A theoretical treatise that revised some aspects of Chrysanthos' theory. The purpose of its authors was to describe more accurately the practices of their era, and thus they proposed new measurements of the intervals and introduced the concept of "melodic attraction". The current theory of chanting is mainly based on this revision. (Title translation: An elementary teaching method of ecclesiastical music, formulated on the basis of the *psalterion*.)

Phokaeus, Theodoros, and Staurakis Vyzantios. 1830. *Βίβλος καλουμένη Εὐτέρπη περιέχουσα συλλογὴν ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ ἡδυτέρων ἐξωτερικῶν μελῶν, με προσθήκην ἐν τῷ τέλει καὶ τινῶν ρωμαϊκῶν τραγωδιῶν εἰς μέλος ὀθωμανικὸν καὶ εὐρωπαϊκόν*. Istanbul: Kastor.

The first printed collection of Ottoman vocal pieces recorded in the New Method notation. Some Greek pieces following the Ottoman, or a more western compositional style are included in the end. (Title translation: The book called *Euterpi* containing a collection of the most modern and beautiful secular pieces, with the addition in the end of some Rum songs having Ottoman and European melody.)

Phokaeus, Theodoros. 1846. *Ἡ Πανδώρα ἤτοι συλλογὴ ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ ἡδυτέρων ἐξωτερικῶν μελῶν*. Istanbul: Typographeia Kastrou.

A two-volume collection of Greek and Ottoman vocal pieces recorded in the New Method notation. Some of these are included in the previous collection of the editor, called "Euterpi". (Title translation: *Pandora*, that is a collection of the most modern and beautiful pieces.)

Popescu-Judet, Eugenia, ed. 2002. *Tanburî Küçük Artin: A Musical Treatise of the Eighteenth Century*. Istanbul: Pan Yayincılık.

This is an edition of the 18th century musical treatise by the Armenian musician Tanburî Küçük Artin. The text is written in Armeno-Turkish and covers topics of modal and rhythmic organization of music, cosmological and astrological associations, and original comparative material on Persian and Indian music based on the author's visit to Persia in 1736 as part of an Ottoman embassy where he spent time in the court of Nadir Shah (r. 1736-47). The edition is accompanied by an introduction and commentary by Eugenia Popescu-Judet. This is an important musical source that is placed within the broader framework of 18th century theoretical thinking, alongside the works by Dimitrie Cantemir and Abdülbaki Dede.

Popescu-Judet, Eugenia, and Adriana Ababi Sirli, eds. 2000. *Sources of 18th Century Music: Panayiotis Chalatzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos' Comparative Treatises on Secular Music*. Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık.

This book analyses the treatises written in the early 18th century by two Greek chanters living in Istanbul. In these treatises, Byzantine modes are compared to the *makam* system. In the analysis, the socio-cultural context as well as other sources of the period are considered.

Stephanos Domestikos. 1843. *Ερμηνεία της εξωτερικής μουσικής και εφαρμογή αυτής εις την καθ' ημάς Μουσικήν*. Istanbul: Patriarchiki Typographeia tou Genous.

An analysis of the various Ottoman *makams* by juxtaposing the Arab-Persian theoretical terms with the Byzantine ones. The author is mainly based on Kyrillos Marmarinos' treatise, while in the end he cites a long vocal piece (*kâr*) in which 52 *makams* are included. (Title translation: An interpretation of Ottoman secular music and its application in Greek ecclesiastical music.)

Tayyâr-zâde Atâ. 2010. *Osmanlı Saray Tarihi: Târih-i Enderûn*, 5 vols, edited by Mehmet Arslan. Istanbul: Kitabevi.

An Ottoman chronicle on the political, social and cultural life of the Ottoman Court in the 19th century, completed in 1291/1876 by Tayyâr-zâde Ahmed Atâ. The text includes important notes on the prominent musicians who were under court patronage.

Tsiamoulis, Christos, and Paulos Ereunidis. 1998. *Ρωμηοί Συνθέτες της Πόλης. 17^{ος}-20^{ος} αιώνας*. Athens: Domos.

A music collection of Ottoman instrumental and vocal pieces composed by *Rum* musicians who lived in Istanbul from the mid 17th to the early 20th centuries. Short biographies, some historical elements, introductory information about *makams* and *usuls*, as well as some morphological clarifications are included. (Title translation: *Rum* Composers of Istanbul, 17th-20th centuries.)

Üngör, Etem R. 1981. *Türk musikisi güfteleri antolojisi*, vol. 2. Istanbul: Eren Yayınları.

A two-volume anthology of song-texts of the Ottoman/Turkish repertoire. The lyricist, composer and *makam* are noted. (Title translation: Anthology of Turkish music lyrics.)

Yekta, Raouf. 1922. "La musique turque." In *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire. Première partie: Histoire de la musique. Vol. [5]*, edited by Albert Lavignac, and Lionel de la Laurencie, 2845–3064. Paris: Librairie Delagrave.

In this famous article, Raouf Yekta lays the foundations of the modern system of Turkish music, describing its intervals, modes and rhythms, and quoting 73 musical examples. He also introduces an adaptation of western five-line notation for the purposes of notating Ottoman pieces.

Wright, Owen. 2000. *Demetrius Cantemir: The Collection of Notations. Vol. 2: Commentary*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

A comprehensive commentary that accompanies Demetrius Cantemir's collection of Ottoman instrumental pieces, dated around 1700. Beyond some biographical details, Wright analyses Cantemir's theoretical systematization of modal and rhythmic issues, and demonstrates his response to complex historical and social changes reflected in music.

Zographos, Ioannis G. (Nikaeus). 1856. *Απάνθισμα ή Μεδζμουάι Μακαμάτ, περιέχον μεν διάφορα τουρκικά άσματα*. Istanbul: Thaddaios Tivedtsian.

A collection of Ottoman pieces recorded in the New Method notation. Also included in the beginning is a version, in both Turkish and Greek, of Haşim Bey's essay on the main Ottoman rhythmic patterns (*usul*). (Title translation: A compilation of various Turkish songs.)

Zographos, Ioannis G. (Keivelis). 1872. *Μουσικόν Απάνθισμα (Μεδζμουάι Μακαμάτ) διαφόρων ασμάτων μελοποιηθέντων παρά διαφόρων μελοποιών*. Istanbul: "I Anatoli", Euangelinos Misailidis.

A two-volume collection of Greek and Ottoman vocal pieces recorded in the New Method notation. Some of these pieces were also included in the previous collection by Zographos. (Title translation: Musical Compilation of various songs composed by various composers.)

Survey catalogues

Bardakçı Murat. 1993. *Fener Beyleri'ne Türk Şarkıları*. Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık.

A short historical review of the Byzantine notation system followed by a presentation of seven of the most important music collections of Ottoman pieces recorded in the New Method notation. Includes lists of the notated works. (Title translation: Turkish songs for the Phanariots.)

Behar, Cem. 2005. *Musikiden müziğe. Osmanlı/ Türk Müziği: Gelenek ve Modernlik*. Istanbul: YKY. (Ch.3, "Tarihsel Kaynaklarından: Karamanlıca Yayınlar")

For a description of Behar 2005 see above (II. Music: (Late) Ottoman musical history).

Chatzitheodorou, Georgios I. 1998. *Vivliographia tis Vyzantinis Ekklesiastikis mousikis, Periodos A' (1820-1899)*. Thessaloniki: Patriarchikon Idryma Paterikon Meleton. (Title translation: Bibliography of Byzantine Church Music, 1st Period (1820-1899))

This is an extended bibliography of publications on church music published between 1820-1899. The book consists of an articulate introduction and three sections: Books of Church Compositions, Books Theory, History, Musicology and Books of Secular Songs [Asmata Exoterikis Mousikis]. Each entry is followed by a detailed description and commentary. (Title translation: Bibliography of byzantine church music, 1st period (1820-1899).)

Kalaitzidis, Kyriakos. 2015, 2012. *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.

A study on music manuscripts that include secular pieces (especially Ottoman) notated in the old Byzantine notation. On the one hand, the study refers to the scribes and the history of the sources, while, on the other hand, it describes the instrumental and vocal genres, the modal and rhythmic structures, and the musical transcriptions.

Kıyak, Hüseyin. 2015. "Haşim Bey Mecmuası: Birinci ve İkinci Baskının Mukayesesi." *XI. Milli Türkoloji Kongresi Bildirileri*, 11-13 Kasım 2014, 2 vols, 682-745. Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi.

This is comparative presentation of the two editions (1853 and 1864) Hâşim Bey's song-text anthology. Kıyak presents the context of the two publications and provides a detailed description of the content of each edition. The article includes comparative tables of the forms, *makams*, composers featured in the two editions and an appended comparative list of contents. (Title translation: Haşim Bey's collection: Comparison of the first and second edition.)

Korkmaz, Harun. 2015. *The Catalogue of Music Manuscripts in Istanbul University Library*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations.

A comprehensive, detailed and valuable catalogue of the musical manuscripts of Istanbul University Library. It contains all music-related material from Ottoman song-text collections (*mecmû'âs*), theoretical treatises and collections of notated music.

III. LITERATURE

Authors: Nikos Mavrelou and Sofia Prokou

Literary histories, 18th-19th centuries

Andrews, Walter. 1976. *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry*. Minneapolis and Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica.

This is a comprehensive introduction to Ottoman lyric poetry that renewed in content and approach the classical reference works (i.e. Gibbs). The author treats extensively the issues of rhythm and rhyme and devotes a section on rhetoric which explores the issue of the expressive manners (e.g. symbolic allusions) of the Ottoman literate elites. Major literate figures and their works are presented and analysed.

Athini, Stesi, and Giannis Xourias. 2015. *Νεοελληνική γραμματεία 1670-1830*. Athens: HEAL. <https://repository.kallipos.gr/handle/11419/3325>

A study on the overall literary production of the Enlightenment era. It is a sort of history of literature for the aforementioned period. (Title translation: Modern Greek literature 1670-1830.)

Athini, Stesi. 2010. *Όψεις της νεοελληνικής αφηγηματικής πεζογραφίας, 1700-1830. Ο διάλογος με τις ελληνικές και ξένες παραδόσεις στη θεωρία και την πράξη*. Athens: Institutou Neoellinikon Ereunon-Ethniko Idryma Ereunon.

A study on the prose fiction of the overall Enlightenment era. It is a sort of history of literature for the aforementioned period. (Title translation: Aspects of modern Greek narrative prose, 1700-1830. The dialogue between Greek and foreign traditions in theory and practice.)

Aynur, Hatice. 2006. "Ottoman Literature." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 3. The Latter Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, 481-520. Cambridge: CUP.

This is a comprehensive and rich overview of the history of Ottoman literature. The author outlines the role and importance of literary activity, mainly poetry, in Ottoman court culture and surveys the major figures and their works. The formation of Ottoman poetry is discussed with reference to influences and diversions from the Iranian and Arabic literary traditions. The different poetic genres and their historical evolution are described as well as the prominent trends and exponents. There are references to the relation between poetry to music and the tradition of mystic minstrels, and an illuminating section on women poets.

Holbrook, Victoria Rowe. 1994. *The Unreadable Shores of Love: Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

This is a pioneer and partly controversial study on the late 18th-century Ottoman Turkish romance *Beauty and Love* by poet Şeyh Galip. With her influential book, Holbrook exposed an English reading audience to the poetics and sensitivities of Ottoman lyrical poetry as well as to significant parts of the actual poetic text. Moreover, she employed the analytical tools of (postmodern) literary criticism renewing and challenging the field of Ottoman philology.

Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi [1942]1997. *19uncu asır Türk edebiyatı tarihi*. Istanbul: Çağlayan Basımevi.

This is a classic history of 19th-century Ottoman literature by the celebrated philologist and novelist Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. The book provides a broad survey of the period dividing the

century into the first half and the Tanzimat era. The author discusses the major trends that followed Tanzimat and presents the major literary figures namely, Ziya Paşa, Namik Kemal, Ahmed Midhat Efendi, Recâî-zâde Mahmud Ekrem Bey, Abdülhak Hâmid and Muallim Naci Efendi, their biographies and works. (Title translation: History of 19th-century Turkish literature.)

Tonnet, Henri. 1996. *Histoire du roman grec des origines à 1960*, Paris: L'Harmattan,

A brief history of the Greek (ancient and modern) novel up until the 20th century, with some references on the 18th- and 19th-century novels. (Title translation: History of the Greek novel.)

Enlightenment and the Phanariot legacy

Katsiardi-Hering, Olga. 1992. “Η βιβλιοθήκη του Κύπριου λόγιου Ιωάννη Καρατζά. Σκέψεις γύρω από τον πνευματικό του άξονα.” In *Αφιέρωμα στον πανεπιστημιακό δάσκαλο Βασ. Βλ. Σφυρόερα από τους μαθητές του*, edited by Marianna Kolyva-Karaleka, 201-226. Athens: Lychnos.

A study which not only comments on Ioannis Karatzas' library but also touches the issue of authorship of the work *Erotos Apotelesmata*, tracing his relation with A. Psallidas and others. (Title translation: The library of the Cypriot scholar Ioannis Karatzas. Thoughts on his spiritual axis.)

Kondylis, Panagiotis. 2000. *Ο Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός. Οι φιλοσοφικές ιδέες*. Athens: Themelio.

A general study on Greek Enlightenment with an emphasis on the philosophical and ideological dimensions of the movement. (Title translation: The Modern Greek Enlightenment. The philosophical ideas.)

Mackridge, Peter. 2019. “Enlightenment or Entertainment? The Intolerable Lightness of Phanariot Literature 1750-1800”. Updated version of a keynote speech at the 12th Conference on Southeast European Studies (Bucharest, 2-6 September 2019): “Political, social and religious dynamics in South-East Europe.”

https://www.academia.edu/41212631/Enlightenment_or_entertainment_The_intolerable_lightness_of_Phanariot_literature_1750-1800

An overview of the literary (narrative prose, poetic and theatrical) production by Phanariots during the second half of the 18th century, considered in historical perspective. The study examines the cultural identity of the Phanariots and characterizes it as a “hybrid” identity.

Mavrelou, Nikos. 2010. “Ο Παπατρέχας και η νεότερη ιδεολογία. Η μεταμυθοπλαστική – ‘ναρκισσιστική’ όψη του αφηγηματικού λόγου του Κοραή”. In *Η νεοελληνικότητα στη νεοελληνική λογοτεχνία και κριτική του 19^{ου} και του 20^{ου} αιώνα. Πρακτικά της 18^{ης} Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης του Τομέα Μεσαιωνικών και Νέων Ελληνικών Σπουδών αφιερωμένης στη μνήμη της Σοφίας Σκοπετέα (Θεσσαλονίκη, 27-29 Μαρτίου 2009)*, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής, period Β', vol. 12, 79-95. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

This article traces the ideology of modernity in the Prolegomena of the Iliad edition made by Korais. The narrative is widely known as a separate novelistic fictional narration presenting the editor's (and narrator's) vision for the new Greek State. (Title translation: *Papatrechas* and modern ideology. The post-fiction – “narcissistic” aspect of Korais's narrative discourse.)

Mavrelou, Nikos. 2007. “Νικόλαου Μαυροκορδάτου, Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα: Η μυθοπλαστική εγκυκλοπαίδεια ανάμεσα στην Ανατολή και τη Δύση.” In *Ο ελληνικός κόσμος ανάμεσα στην εποχή*

του Διαφωτισμού και στον εικοστό αιώνα. Πρακτικά του Γ' Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (ΕΕΝΣ), Βουκουρέστι 2-4 Ιουνίου 2006, vol. Α', edited by Konstantinos Dimadis, 99-113. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.

http://www.eens-congress.eu/?main_page=1&main_lang=de&eensCongress_cmd=showPaper&eensCongress_id=28

A study on the generic identity and the realistic representation of the first modern Greek novel, in which Constantinople is described: its people of all *millets*, buildings and everyday life. (Title translation: *Filotheou Parerga* by Nikolaos Mavrokordatos: The fictional encyclopedia between East and West.)

Moullas, Panagiotis. 1965. “Μεταφράσεις και πρωτότυπα κείμενα από τον 18^ο αιώνα (Περιγραφή ενός κώδικα).” *Ερανιστής* 3: 215-17.

Description of a manuscript containing Greek songs of the 18th century. (Title translation: Translations and original texts from the 18th century (Description of a code).)

Phanariot verse, Ottoman lyric poetry and song forms

Andrews, Walter G. and Irene Markoff, 1987. “Poetry, the Arts and Group Ethos in the Ideology of the Ottoman Empire.” *Edebiyat* I, no.1: 28-70.

In this co-authored article, philologist Walter Andrews and ethnomusicologist Irene Markoff attempt an innovative approach towards Ottoman poetry and the arts by exploring the underlying structures that connect the expressive cultures of different social registers. The authors employ the notions of *compartmentalization* and *concentricity* in their comparison between divan poetry, visual arts, shadow theatre Karagöz and the ritual tradition of the Alevi. Through this comparison the authors conclude that the artistic manifestation of both “high” and “low” cultural practices are bound to a common “group ethos” which acts as a connecting element to them, regardless of their external differences.

Athini, Stesi. 1998/99. “Ιωάννης Καρατζάς ο Κύπριος και Αθανάσιος Ψαλίδας. Τα αποτελέσματα μιας πιθανής συνεργασίας.” *Μολυβδοκονδυλοπελεκητής* 6: 265-71.

The article focuses on the issue of authorship, attributing *Erotos Apotelesmata* to two scholars. (Title translation: Ioannis Karatzas the Cypriot and Athanasios Psalidas. The results of a possible collaboration.)

Aynur, Hatice, Müjgân Çakır, Hanife Koncu, Ali Emre Özyıldırım and Ersu Pekin, eds. 2019. *Dîvân'dan nağmeler: farklı boyutlarıyla edebiyat-mûsikî ilişkileri* (Eski Türk Edebiyatı Çalışmaları XIV). Istanbul: Klasik.

This conference proceedings consist of novel studies by researchers working in the fields of philology and music. The papers explore various aspects of the relation between Ottoman lyric poetry, song-texts and music. (Title translation: From poetry collection's to tunes: Literature-music relations with different dimensions)

Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Julia, Chariton Karanasios, Matthias Kappler, and Charalampos Chotzakoglou, eds. 2013. *Φαναριώτικα και αστικά στιχουργήματα στην εποχή του νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού*. Athens: Academy of Athens.

A collective volume with many contributions on the so called “Phanariot songs” by many prominent researchers covering a wide range of topics. The book contains a detailed catalogue of Phanariote verse from manuscript and printed sources. (Title translation: Phanariotic and urban poems in the era of the modern Greek Enlightenment.)

Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Julia. 2013. “Old Tones, New Tones: (Re-)defining the ‘Phanariot Verses’ of the Greek Enlightenment”. *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 10: 161-87.

An article which examines the so called ‘Phanariot verses’ as a corpus of texts, either in *mismayes* or in short story collections as those by Rigas and Katadzas and/or Psallidas.

Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Julia. 2005. “Ιωάννης Καρατζάς ο Κύπριος και Αθανάσιος Ψαλίδας, ή ο έρωτας και τα αποτελέσματά του στη Νεοελληνική Λογοτεχνία του Διαφωτισμού.” *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 31: 249-84.

A study on *Erotos apotelesmata*. It comments on its relation to the “erotic” fiction of the 18th century, on the way verses are embedded in the narrative text and their role in the text as a whole. The interrelation of these features is critically discussed. (Title translation: Ioannis Karatzas the Cypriot and Athanasios Psalidas, or love and its consequences in the Modern Greek Literature of the Enlightenment.)

Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Julia. 2001. “Το ‘Σχολείο των ντελικάτων εραστών’ και το ‘Έρωτος αποτελέσματα’”. Νέα στοιχεία για τα στιχουργήματά τους.” *Ερανιστής* 23: 143-65.

A very thorough study on the frame within which the author of the works is moving, with information on the authorship and the nature of the verses/songs included in the works, based on sources and manuscripts. There is also a very important part that comments on the existing bibliography in an exemplary way. (Title translation: *Scholeion ton ntelikaton eraston* and *Erotos apotelesmata*. New elements for their lyrics.)

Feldman, Walter, 1996. “The Celestial Sphere, The Wheel of Fortune and Fate in the Gazels of Na‘ilî and Bâkî.” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28: 193-215.

In this highly original study, Walter Feldman traces a shift in the imagery evoked by certain *topoi* (celestial sphere, wheel of fortune, fate etc.) in the Ottoman poetic form *gazel* from the 16th to the 17th century. More specifically, the author closely reads and compares the works of the poets Bâkî and Na‘ilî. While in the first case metaphors of the spheres allude to the material world, in the second case, that of Na‘ilî, they demonstrate the departure of the classical trope. As argued by Feldman, Na‘ilî, who was also connected to the musical circle of this time and is credited with the inclusion of the song form *şarki* in his *divan*, was much influenced by the “Indian style” in Persian poetry known as *Sebk-e Hindî*.

Ieronymaki, Thaleia. 2014. “Η ‘στιχηρά επιστολογραφία’. Για μια θεώρηση του είδους της ποίησης σε επιστολή.” In *Νεοελληνική Λογοτεχνία και Κριτική από τον Διαφωτισμό έως σήμερα. Πρακτικά ΙΓ΄ Διεθνούς Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (3-6 Νοεμβρίου 2011)*. Μνήμη Παν. Μουλλά, edited by Natalia Deligiannaki, 563-75. Athens: Sokoli-Kouledaki.

The article is about the generic form of letter in verse form which is found in *Erotos Apotelesmata*. (Title translation: The “poetic correspondence”. Towards an approach of the genre of poetry in letters.)

İnalcık, Halil. 2010. *Has-bağçede 'Ayş u Tarab. Nedîmler, şâîrler, mutribler*. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

This is a rich historical study on Ottoman court literary culture. The book approaches Ottoman poetic tradition as a cultural institution embedded in the various historical phases of the court. İnalcık provides an illuminating background of the historical relation to the Persian tradition and examines in details issues of patronage, composition, performance and literary trends through the biographies and works of major Ottoman literary figures. There are various references to the relation between poetry and music, and there is also a section on music sources in the bibliography. (Title translation: Joy and enchantment at the private/royal garden: Courter, poets, musicians)

Kamarianou, Adriana. 1959. “Λαϊκά τραγούδια και φαναριώτικα στιχουργήματα Ελλήνων και Ρουμάνων του 18^{ου} και 19^{ου} αιώνας.” *Λαογραφία* 18: 94-112.

One of the first studies on the popular urban songs by Romanians and Greeks in the 18th and 19th century. (Title translation: Folk songs and Phanariotic poems by Greeks and Romanians of the 18th and 19th century.)

Kappler, Matthias. 2013. “Two Cities of Beloveds, One Garden of Love: The Case of *Erotos Apotelesmata*.” In *Φαναριώτικα και αστικά στιχουργήματα στην εποχή του Ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού*, edited by Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Chariton Karanasios, Matthias Kappler, and Charalampos Chotzakoglou, 89-105. Athens: Academy of Athens, University of Cyprus.

This is one of the rare studies that examine systematically the Phanariot literary production within the broader Ottoman cultural framework. The study focuses on the celebrated Phanariot text *Erotos Apotelesmata* and analyses comparatively the semantics of common literary *topoi*, such as the garden, between the Phanariot verse and Ottoman lyrical poetry. The author observes that the Phanariot verse bares certain parallels and similarities to the song form *şarki* rather than the poetic form *gazel* as it lacks the mystical and spiritual connotation that constitute crucial features of the latter.

Kechagioglou, George. 1991. “1790-1800: Γέννηση, αναβίωση, ανατροφοδότηση της ελληνικής ερωτικής πλασματικής πεζογραφίας;” *Σύγκριση/Comparison* 2-3: 53-62.

An article on the erotic element of literature in Greek between 1700 and 1800, with references to *Erotos Apotelesmata*. (Title translation: 1790-1800: Birth, revival, feedback of Greek erotic fictional prose?)

Mackridge, Peter. 2017. “Η πατρότητα των διηγημάτων του *Έρωτος αποτελέσματα* και η ρηματική κατάληξη -εταν.” *Κονδυλοφόρος* 15: 259-63.

A recent article based on the fact that the initials I. K. used in the “archaic in language dedicatory note” are only for the authorship of *Erotos Apotelesmata*. It is also argued that it is probable that Karatzas was not at all an author of the work and that only Psallidas wrote it. The criteria for the conclusion are linguistic and stylistic, not historical. (Title translation: The paternity of the short stories of *Erotos Apotelesmata* and the verb suffix -εταν.)

Strauss, Johann. 2013. “The New Status of Turkish in the Phanariot Era. Notes on the Turkish Elements in Phanariot Prose and Poetry Writing.” In *Φαναριώτικα και αστικά στιχουργήματα στην εποχή του Ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού*, edited by Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Chariton Karanasios, Matthias Kappler, and Charalampos Chotzakoglou, 263-286. Athens: Academy of Athens, University of Cyprus.

This is an exemplary analysis of the linguistic and cultural relations between the Phanariot and Ottoman Turkish literary traditions. The author provides the general framework within which networks of Ottoman literate elites operated. Then he departs on a close comparative analysis between the common imagery and themes between the Phanariot verse and the Ottoman lyrical poetry. The author concludes that, despite the shared literary themes and *topoi*, and the loan words that can be identified, the Phanariot verse developed primarily independent from the Ottoman lyric poetic tradition.

Pistas, Panagiotis. 1967. “Η πατρότητα των στιχουργημάτων του Σχολείου των ντελικάτων εραστών.” *Ελληνικά* 20, no. 2: 393-412.

One of the older studies on Rigas’ *Scholeion ton ntelikaton eraston*, examining both the narrative and the embedded songs in it. (Title translation: The paternity of the lyrics of *Scholeion ton ntelikaton eraston*.)

Plemmenos, Giannis. 2003. “Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα, έργο φαντασίας ή εθνογραφία της φαναριώτικης μουσικής;” *Αριάδνη* 9: 167-79.

A study on the verses in *Erotos Apotelesmata*, aiming to differentiate between those used prior to its publication and those written for its purposes by the author(s). (Title translation: *Erotos Apotelesmata*, fiction story or ethnography of Phanariotic music?)

Savvidis, Giorgos P. 1991. “Στοιχειώδεις πίνακες για τη μελέτη των Φαναριωτών ποιητών και στιχουργών.” *Μολυβδοκονδυλοπελεκητής* 3: 31-53.

An article on the names of poets and verse makers appearing in *mismaya* collections. (Title translation: Elementary tables for the study of Phanariot poets and lyricists.)

Vranousis, Leandros. 1955. *Οι πρόδρομοι*. Athens: Vasiki Vivliothiki.

One of the older studies on the so-called “Phanariot verses” (songs). (Title translation: The precursors.)

Xourias, Yannis. 2016. “Σύνθεση και δομή του ‘Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα’.” In *Λογοτεχνικές διαδρομές. Ιστορία – Θεωρία – Κριτική. Μνήμη Βαγγέλη Αθανασόπουλου*, edited by Thanasis Agathos, Christina Ntounia, and Anna Tzouma, 381-92. Athens: Kastaniotis.

The study comments on the typology of love and the effects of the stories on the readers. The collection is correctly examined as a united whole and not as three separate stories, as the editor insists. (Title translation: Composition and structure of *Erotos Apotelesmata*.)

Xourias, Yannis. 2015. “L’européanisation fictive des Phanariots.” *Cahiers Balkaniques, Numéro Hors-Série: Les élites grecques XVIII^e-XX^e siècles. Identités modes d'action, représentations*: 119-28.

A study that focuses on Eros as the subject in *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα*. The researcher connects the content of the work with the ‘Europeanization’ of the Phanariots in the fields of culture and education.

Xourias, Yannis. 2007. “Τα δικαιώματα του πάθους. Τα “έρωτος αποτελέσματα” στο φαναριώτικο τραγούδι.” *Σύναμις* 6: 70-83.

Article on the incorporation of the verses in the narrative fiction of *Erotos Apotelesmata*. (Title translation: The rights of passion. *Erotos Apotelesmata* in Phanariot songs.)

Phanariot prose

Mavrelou, Nikos. 2017. "Ο Αρχιδιάβολος στο μπουντουάρ: από τον Μακιαβέλι στον Ρωσέτι." In *Πρακτικά του 3^{ου} Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου των Νεοελληνιστών των Βαλκανικών Χωρών. Ο Ελληνισμός ως πολιτισμικός και οικονομικός παράγοντας στα Βαλκάνια (1453-2015): Γλώσσα, λογοτεχνία, τέχνη, κοινωνία* (Βουκουρέστι 16-17 Οκτωβρίου 2015), edited by Tudor Dinu, 248-60. Bucharest: UER Press.

Commentary on the Greek novel of the end of the 18th century that represents the private life of an aristocrat lady in Constantinople. The novel is compared to Machiavelli's short prose "Belfegor Arcidiavolo", which inspired Rossetti to write his novel, although he created a completely different narrative. (Title translation: Belfegor Arcidiavolo: from Machiavelli to Rossetti.)

Mavrelou, Nikos. 2017. "Η 'ναρκισσιστική αφήγηση' της πρώιμης νεωτερικότητας και η περιοδολόγηση της ελληνικής δημιουργικής πεζογραφίας." In *Πρακτικά του 8ου Συνεδρίου Μεταπτυχιακών Φοιτητών και Υπομηφίων Διδασκόντων του Τμήματος Φιλολογίας του Ε.Κ.Π.Α., Τόμος Α': Βυζαντινή Φιλολογία, Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, 123-40. Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

<https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=sites&srcid=ZGVmYXVsdGRvbWVpbnw4dGhhY3B8Z3g6MjE0NWQ2OTY5MTJhNTc1Mw>

An attempt to trace the prose fiction works in Modern Greek that use generic experimentations and contain the ideology of modernity. It is about the predecessors of metafiction, described by Hutcheon as "narcissistic narratives". (Title translation: The "narcissistic narrative" of early modernity and the periodization of the Greek creative prose.)

Mavrelou, Nikos. 2016. *Η «επαρχία της ανυπάρκτου»: Είδη, διακείμενα, γλώσσα και νεωτερική ιδεολογία στην Αληθή Ιστορία («Ανώνυμος του 1789»)*. Athens: Sokoli-Kouledaki.

Alithis Istoria (widely known as "Anonymos tou 1789") is a satiric text that comments on education, religion and upper social classes of the Ottoman Empire. It is characterized as libertine narration and it is in open dialogue with texts both from the Greek and Byzantine, but also the western European textual tradition, using widely the older category of parody. (Title translation: The "province of the non-existent": Types, intertexts, language and modern ideology in *Alithis Istoria* ("Anonymous of 1789").)

Mavrelou, Nikos. 2015. "Το αινιγματικό στοιχείο και η 'αστυνομική' πλοκή σε προδρομική μορφή: *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα* (1716) του Ν. Μαυροκορδάτου." In *Αναπαραστάσεις και αποχωρισμοί. Τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη της Μάρθας Πύλια*, edited by Maria Dimasi, Paschalis Valsamidis, Bakirtzis Ioannis, Papazoglou Alexandros, and Ahmet Nizam, 229-41. Komotini: Democritus University of Thrace.

An article tracing the way in which the urban environment of Constantinople is used for scenery to make a mutatis mutandis detective plot in the first modern Greek novel. (Title translation: The enigmatic element and the "detective" plot in a precursor form: *Philotheou Parerga* (1716) by N. Mavrokordatos.)

Papacostea-Danielopolu, Cornelia. 1977. "La satire sociale-politique dans la littérature dramatique en langue Grecque des principautés (1774-1830)". *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* X, 1: 75-92.

The first presentation of the unpublished and unedited manuscripts of Greek satires found in the Romanian Libraries.

Tonnet, Henri. 1995. "Réflexions sur l'évolution du thème de l'amour dans la nouvelle et le roman grecs des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle." In *Βουκόλεια. Mélanges offerts à Bertrand Bouvier*, edited by Anastasia Danai Lazaridou, Vincent Barras, and Terpsichore Birchler, 203-224. Geneva: Belles-Lettres.

A thematic approach on Eros as the subject in Greek novels not just for Constantinople but for other places.

Tsalikoglou, Elina. 2004. "Satire in the Greek Enlightenment (1750-1821)." PhD diss., University of Oxford.

A rather descriptive outline of the satirical production from 1750-1821. It could serve as an introductory book for those who want to have a first contact with Enlightenment satire in Greek.

Veis, Nikos. 1970. "Η συλλογή διηγημάτων 'Ερωτος αποτελέσματα' και ο συγγραφέας αυτών." *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbüher* 20: 345-66.

The first study on the authorship of *Erotos Apotelesmata*. (Title translation: The collection of short stories *Erotos Apotelesmata* and their author.)

City, space and literature

Aynur, Hatice. 1998. "Istanbul in Divan Poetry: 1453-1600." In *Akten des 13. CIEPO - Symposiums, 21-25 September 1998, Wien, Acta Viennensia Ottomanica*, edited by Markus Köhbach, Gisela Procházka-Eisl, and Caludia Römer, 43-50. Vienna: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Orientalistik.

A preliminary study on the place and representation of Istanbul in Ottoman lyric poetry from 1453 to 1600. The author presents the different poetic genres in which Istanbul appears as their subject and lists the representative poets of the period in question, accompanied by demonstrative examples of poems in the original language and in English translation. The survey concludes with the identification of common themes, namely Geographical location, Hagia Sophia, Galata, with the later contrasted to historic Istanbul. For a more thorough treatment of the topic that extends to the 18th century, see the article by the same author *Portraying the city with words: Istanbul in Ottoman literary texts*, in the web-based encyclopedia *History of Istanbul from Antiquity to XXIst*, <https://istanbultarihi.ist/>.

Georgiadou, Zoe. 2019. "The Mysteries of Constantinople. Greek "Social Fiction" in the Ottoman Empire. A Discourse about a Constantinopolitan Greek Collective Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century?" PhD diss., University of Hamburg.

This doctoral thesis focuses on a group of authors who either originated from and lived in Constantinople or simply had a thorough knowledge of the city by living there for some time. Their *City Mysteries* novels, published in the second half of the 19th century, referred to the Constantinopolitan Greek community and the formation of its collective identity as the by-product of two competing forces of the time, namely, *Megali Idea* and *Greco-Ottomanism*. The idea of the thesis is that these texts appear to be involved in the ideological discourse between the "ethnocentric" and the "cosmopolitan" perspective of the Constantinopolitan Greek society during a particularly critical moment.

Mavrelou, Nikos. 2019. “‘Φιλόκαλοι περιπατητές’ και ‘έμψυχη εικόν’: Η πόλη και η θεραπευμένη φύση στον Ν. Μαυροκορδάτο και στον Μοντεσκιέ.” In *Ποιητική του Τοπίου. Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου*, vol. Α’, edited by Evripidis Garantoudis, Vicky Patsiou, and Ourania Polykandrioti, 143-62. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.

A commentary on the urban environment (artificial nature and buildings) and the people as these are represented in Mavrokordatos’ (c. 1717) and Montesquieu’s (1721) novels. Mavrokordatos represents in a realistic way his own City, which he knows very well, whereas Montesquieu represents it in an orientalist way, without knowing it at all. (Title translation: *Philokaloi peripatites* and *empsychi eikon*: The city and the cured nature in N. Mavrokordatos and Montesquieu.)

Mavrelou, Nikos. 2017. “Urban Life and Landscape Depictions as an Aspect of Early Modern Identity: The Turn to ‘Reality’ in Enlightenment Fiction.” In *Ταυτότητες, Γλώσσα & Λογοτεχνία: Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου για τα 20 χρόνια λειτουργίας του Τμήματος Ελληνικής Φιλολογίας του Δ.Π.Θ.*, vol. Β’, edited by Nikos Mavrelou, and Polyxeni Symeonidou, 398-412. Komotini: Democritus University of Thrace, Saita Publications.

<http://www.saitapublications.gr/2018/04/ebook.223.html>

A study that traces the descriptions of the urban landscape and its anthropogeography in Greek Enlightenment prose fiction, from *Philotheou Parerga* (c. 1717) until the beginning of the 19th century.

Tonnet, Henri. 2004. “Η Κωνσταντινούπολη στα ελληνικά διηγήματα και μυθιστορήματα του τέλους του ΙΗ’ αιώνα και του ΙΘ’ αιώνα: περιγραφές και κρίσεις.” In *Μια διάλεξη και ένα μελέτημα*, 31-44. Piraeus: Institutouto Meletis tis Topikis Istorias kai tis Istorias ton Epicheiriseon.

A short study on the role and the myth of Constantinople in the prose fiction of the 19th century. (Title translation: Constantinople in Greek short stories and novels of the end of the 18th century and the 19th century; descriptions and judgments.)

Tsapanidou, Anastasia. 2012. “Η Κωνσταντινούπολη στην ελληνική πεζογραφία (1830-1880).” PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

An overview of the Greek prose fiction with images of Constantinople. It mainly refers to works published mainly in Greece and in the Ottoman Empire. The author analyses the role of places (geographically speaking) in the short and long fiction works and the setting of the urban environment, both in the case of major and minor writers. This rather descriptive thematic approach is very useful for those who want to have an overview of the period or to study the role of urban environment in Greek fiction. (Title translation: Constantinople in Greek prose (1830-1880).)

Tsilenis, Savvas, and Dafna Kalliroi. 2017. “Ο χώρος στο στιχούργημα της *Βοσπορομαχίας*: Τόποι και μνημεία της Πόλης τον 18^ο αιώνα.” *Σύγχρονα Θέματα* 137: 100-125.

A thorough study on the representation of Constantinople in *Vosporomachia*, and other texts (travelogues, geographic and literary). (Title translation: The space in the poem *Vosporomachia*: Places and monuments of Istanbul in the 18th century.)

Languages and their texts

Balta, Evangelia, ed. 2018. *Karamanlidika Legacies*. Istanbul: The Isis Press.

This is the fourth volume in the series of scholarly publications that started in 2010 by Evangelia Balta and distinguished various collaborators that seek revitalising and expanding the field of Karamanlidika studies (see below). The book consists of an introduction and twelve chapters that address novel research question in the field and foreground both published and unpublished texts.

Balta, Evangelia, ed. (with the contribution of Mehmet Ölmez). 2014. *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: The Isis Press.

Along the same lines with the two preceding publications of this series (see Balta and Kappler; Balta and Ölmez 2011) the studies featured in this book expand the field of Karamanlidika studies towards the study of intercommunal relations, with particular emphasis on issues of linguistic and cultural syncretism.

Balta, Evangelia, and Mehmet Ölmez, eds. 2011. *Between Religion and Language. Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslim and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire* (Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi 48, National Hellenic Research Foundation). Istanbul: Eren.

This is an intriguing collection of articles covering the diverse linguistic traditions of the Ottoman Empire and their different selections of scripts used in their literary manifestation. Among the cases covered by the studies of this volume are Ottoman Turkish written in Syriac, Cyrillic, and Greek (*karamanlidika*) alphabets, Hebrew-Turkish, Armeno-Turkish, Greek written in the Arabic alphabet (Aljamiado) and Frangochiotika. Overall, this book broadens the field of intercommunal relations in the Ottoman Empire and highlights the complexity of the political and cultural implications involved in linguistic and literary practices.

Balta, Evangelia, and Matthias Kappler, eds. 2010. *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books, Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies*, Nicosia, 11-13 September 2008, *Turcologica* 83. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.

Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books is the first book in a series of publications led by Evangelia Balta in collaboration with other distinguished scholars working on the Karamanlidika literary production and, generally, on issues of language and identities in the Ottoman Empire, that seek renewing and expanding the field. This volume consists of seventeen original studies and an introductory chapter by Balta. The featured studies cover a wide range of topics, from text based analysis to more historical issues related to various aspects of the political and cultural identity of the Turkish speaking Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire.

Lewis, Geoffrey. 1999. *The Turkish Language Reform. A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford Linguistics). Oxford: OUP.

The book attempts to document the government-inspired language reform that was adopted at the beginning of the 1930s in the framework of Kemalist reforms and lasted for more than fifty years. The reform of the Turkish language is claimed to be a linguistic engineering in order to eliminate the Arabic and Persian grammatical features and the numerous borrowings that formed part of the language. Its undeniable success is considered catastrophic, partly because of the loss of Ottoman Turkish but mainly because of the loss of the natural development of Turkish.

Tsilenis, Savvas, and Dafna Kalliroi. 2016. “Οι τουρκογενείς λέξεις στο στιχούργημα της *Βοσπορομαχίας* και η χρήση τους σε κείμενα του 18^{ου} αιώνα.” *Σύγχρονα Θέματα* 134-135: 116-35.

A study that describes the use and meaning of Turkish words in *Βοσπορομαχία*. (Title translation: The Turkish words in the poem *Vosporomachia* and their use in texts of the 18th century.)

Zachariadis, Nikos. 2014. *Λεξικό του Κωνσταντινουπολίτικου Γλωσσικού Ιδιώματος*. Athens: Gavriilidis.

This is a lexicon of Greek of Constantinople. It registers words and idioms which were in use over the period of a century, i.e. from the time of the Tanzimat Reforms, mid-19th century, until the middle of the 20th century. (Title translation: ‘Dictionary of Constantinople language’.)

Greek published sources, anthologies and memoirs

Anonymous. 1989. “Αληθής Ιστορία” [or “Ο Ανώνυμος του 1789”]. In *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, edited by Konstantinos Dimaras, 413-60. Athens: Ermis.

Within these pages of Dimaras’ study we have a photocopy of the printed text. It is an anticlerical satire printed towards the end of the 18th century, where we have references to Constantinople, Bucharest and Iasi, among others. It is a rather distorting (due to the satirical identity) representation, but very close to reality. (Title translation: “True story” [or the “Anonymous of 1789”].)

Anonymous. 1809. *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα, ήτοι ιστορία ηθικοερωτική με πολιτικά τραγούδια. Συντεθείσα μεν εις την απλήν ημών διάλεκτον προς ευθυμίαν των νέων, αφιερωθείσα δε τω ευγενεστάτω άρχοντι Μαγίωρω, κυρίω Στεφάνω Ιωαννοβίκη, και αύθις μεθ’ όσης επιμελείας, εκ των πολλών αυτής σφαλμάτων διορθωθείσα, και ήδη τυπωθείσα, δι’ εξόδων του φιλογενούς εν πραγματευταίς κυρίου κυρίου Κωνσταντίνου Κουσκουρούλη του Λαρισαίου*. Vienna: Georgios Ventotis.

The second edition of Anonymous 1792, with minor changes by the editor.

Anonymous. 1836. *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα, ήτοι ιστορία ηθικοερωτικά με διάφορα εν τω μεταξύ χαρή και ερωτικά τραγούδια. Νεωστί εκδοθέντα μετά της προσηκούσης επιμελείας και διορθώσεως*. Venice: Frangiskos Andreolas.

The third edition of Anonymous 1792, the same work with substantially more changes by the editor.

Anonymous. 1792. *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα, ήτοι ιστορία ηθικοερωτική με πολιτικά τραγούδια. Συντεθείσα μεν εις την απλήν ημών διάλεκτον προς ευθυμίαν και εγλεντζέν των ευγενών νέων, αφιερωθείσα δε τω ευγενεστάτω άρχοντι Μαγίωρω, κυρίω κυρίω Στεφάνω Ιωαννοβίκη*. Vienna: Georgios Ventotis.

This is considered as the first Modern Greek short story collection, which at the same time is a *mismaya* (*mecmû‘â*) containing already known songs, apart from the new ones written especially for the book, by the author(s). (Title translation: Eros’ results, that is, a moral-erotic story containing *politika* songs. Composed in our simple dialect for the joy and merry-making of the noble youth, and dedicated to the most noble lord Mr. Stefanos Ioannovikis.)

De la Croix, Pierre. 1695 (vol. I-III), 1696 (vol. IV). *État général de l'Empire otoman depuis sa fondation jusques à présent*. Paris: P. Hérisant.

A French historical four-volume work which includes a report of the Sultans' succession and the Ottoman Empire (written by Hussein Efendi as stated). Among other information, it offers reports on the everyday life and customs of many *millet*s (Turkish, Rum, Armenian and Maronite). In the introduction it is also stated that the editor uses notes written by Panagiotis Nikousios, the famous first Rum Dragoman of the Sultan.

Frantzi, Anteaia. 1993. *Μισμαγιά. Ανθολόγιο φαναριώτικης ποίησης κατά την έκδοση Ζήση Δαούτη*. Athens: Estia.

A critical edition, with an introduction by Frantzi, of a *mismaya* containing various songs in Greek. (Title translation: *Mismaya*. An anthology of Phanariot poetry published by Zisis Daoutis.)

K[aratzas], I[oannis]. 1993. *Ερωτος Αποτελέσματα*. Edited by Mario Vitti. Athens: Odysseas.
A new edition of Anonymous 1792.

Kodrikas, Panagiotis. 1991. *Εφημερίδες*. Edited by Alkis Angelou. Athens: Ermis.

An edition of Kodrikas' diary, edited by Alkis Angelou. The text describes various facts (personal or public) and persons or places towards the end of the 18th century. (Title translation: *Ephimerides*.)

Komninos-Ypsilantis, Athanasios. 1870. *Εκκλησιαστικών και πολιτικών των εις δώδεκα: ήτοι τα μετά την άλωση (1453-1789) (Εκ του χειρογράφου ανεκδότου της ιεράς μονής του Σινά) Εκδίδοντος Αρχιμ. Γερμανού Αφθονίδου Σιναΐτου*. Istanbul: I. A. Vretos.

A historical account which describes the succession of Sultans and Patriarchs from 1453 until 1780, with detailed reports on some of the most important facts. (Title translation: On ecclesiastical and political [history] in twelve [books]: that is, the [events] after the fall [of Constantinople] (1453-1789).)

Mavrokordatos, Nikolaos. 1989. *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα*. Edited, translated and commented by Jacques Bouchard. Athens-Montreal: Omilos Meletis tou Ellinikou Diaphotismou-Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

The novel *Philotheou Parerga* (Mavrokordatos 1800), in a new critical edition with a French translation.

Mavrokordatos, Nikolaos. 1800. *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα. Νυν πρώτον τυπωθέντα*. Edited by Grigorios Konstantas. Vienna: Schrambl Franz Anton.

The first modern Greek novel of the new era (despite the fact that it is written in an archaic form of Greek). It contains a detailed description of Constantinople and the Empire in general, not only in terms of the public but also of the private sectors and sphere. (Title translation: *Philotheou Parerga*. Printed for the first time.)

Momars, senior. 1792. *Βοσπορομαχία: ήγγουν φιλονεικία Ασίας και Ευρώπης, εις το κατάστενον της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Ποίημα / συντεθέν κατά το αψνβ' σωτήριον έτος υπό του ποτέ Ενδοξοτάτου και Αξιοπρεπεστάτου κυρίου Σενιόρ Μόμαρς Πρώτου Δραγουμάνου, του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Πρέσβεως του Αουστριακού Κράτους. Νυν δ' αύθις τύποις εκδοθέν μετά δύο άλλων ποιηματιών Ηθικών, και μετά πλείστης επιμελείας διορθωθέν*. Venice: Dimitrios Theodosiou.

A long narrative poem which refers to Constantinople. (Title translation: *Vosporomachia*.)

Nikolidis, Ioannis. 1794. *Έρμηνεία περι τοῦ πῶς πρέπει να θεραπεύεται τὸ γαλλικὸν πάθος, ἡγουν ἡ Μαλαφράντζα. Βιβλίον πολλά ωφέλιμον και ευκολομεταχειρίστον εις κάθε απλὸν ἄνθρωπον, Συνθεμένον απλά ρωμαίικα προς κοινήν ωφέλειαν και διηρημένον εις δύο μέρη.* Vienna: Josef Baumeister.

A medical book written in a very simple popular language. It includes a manifesto on the language, in which the patients' everyday lives are described in detail (including the most intimate moments), due to the disease. (Title translation: XXXX.)

Papadopoulos, Stefanos. 1978. *Αναμνήσεις από την Πόλη.* Athens: n.p.

Stefanos Papadopoulos (1886-1973) was a well-known journalist in Istanbul. He worked in various Greek Orthodox newspapers from the beginning of the 20th century until 1957, when he was deported to Greece. The status of journalist and reporter offered him the opportunity to socialize with many people from different social ranks and ethnoreligious origins. Written between 1967-1968, his memoirs present a wide variety of topics: politics and ideology, with special reference to Turkish national politics, the topography and archaeology of Istanbul, description of certain neighbourhoods and their characteristics, snapshots of everyday life, traditions of the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul, the Greek press of Istanbul, etc. (Title translation: Memories from Istanbul.)

Puchner, Walter. 2014. *Κοινωνικές σάτιρες στο ελληνικό προεπαναστατικό θέατρο (1800-1820). Κωμωδία νέα της Βλαχίας - [Τα αγγούρια του Γενεράλη] - Ο χαρακτήρ της Βλαχίας.* Athens: Idryma Kosta kai Elenis Ourani.

In this study Puchner focuses on the theatrical plays in prose with a satirical identity, circulating in manuscript form towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. It contains descriptions of everyday life in Constantinople and Bucharest. (Title translation: Social satires in the Greek pre-revolutionary theater (1800-1820). *New comedy of Vlachia - [The cucumbers of Generali] – The character of Vlachia.*)

Rossetis, Konstantinos. 2003. “Η κομψή ιστορία. Το κατ' Ευμενείαν και Σαφριάδην ή και κατάσκοπος των του κόσμου πραγμάτων, την επωνυμίαν είληχθε.” In *Antologie de literatură greacă din Principatele Române. Proză și teatru. Secolele XVIII-XIX* [=Ανθολογία της ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας των Ρουμανικών Χωρών. Πεζογραφία και θέατρο. Αιώνες 18^{ος}-19^{ος}], edited by Lia Brad-Chisacof, 37-105. Bucharest: Pegasus Press.

A novel representing everyday (mainly private) life of the Phanariots in Constantinople with some libertine descriptions and ideas (boudoir scenes). (Title translation: XXXX.)

Soutsos, Georgios N. 1995. *Αλεξανδροβόδας ο ασυνείδητος.* Edited by Dimitris Spathis. Athens: Kedros.

A theatrical play representing everyday life in the court of the Wallachian Voevod in Bucharest, comparing it to life in Constantinople and in Russia. (Title translation: XXXX.)

Soutsos, Georgios N. 2013. “Alexandrovodas the Unscrupulous”. Translated by Anna Stavropoulou. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 31, no. 2: 287-96.

An English translation of Soutsos' theatrical play with an introduction by Stavropoulou.

Tzelepis, Panos, 2003. *Ιστορίες του Νταή-Σταβρή... Στον καιρό των Σουλτάνων.* Athens: Trochalia.

Panos Tzelepis, an architect and writer who was born and brought up in Istanbul, wrote the stories of his relative and friend Stavris, who used to be a *dayi*, meaning a swagger, of Istanbul. Stavris's stories, as Tzelepis remembered them from his narrations, concern marginal urban

figures, both Muslim and non-Muslim, who lived their lives in their own ways. (Title translation: Stories of Dayı Stavri... At the time of the Sultans.)

Vaios, Charalampos K. 2000. *Η Κωνσταντινούπολη διηγείται...* Athens: Tsoukatos.

An anthology of short stories by male and female writers from the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul, who lived and wrote during the period 1907-1997. Among them we find Athina Gaitanou-Gianniou, Giorgos Theotokas, Thrasos Kastanakis and Tatiana Stavrou. (Title translation: Istanbul narrates...)

Velenstinlis, Rigas [?]. 2011. “Το σαγανάκι της τρέλας”. In *Πήγας. Ανέκδοτα έργα*, edited by Lia Brad Chisacof, 55-263. Athens: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kyprou, Gutenberg Publications.

A theatrical play attributed to Rigas by L. Brad-Chisacof. It depicts everyday life in the Wallachian court in Bucharest, a city which he compares with Constantinople, due to the Phanariots who were one of the dominant classes in both cities. (Title translation: The *saganaki* of madness.)

Velenstinlis, Rigas. 1971. *Σχολείον των Ντελικάτων Εραστών*. Edited by Panagiotis Pistas. Athens: Ermis.

This short story collection is an adaptation of some stories from Restif de La Bretonne’s *Les Contemporaines*. The changes made by Rigas are many, including the introduction of many songs (as in *Erotos Apotelesmata*) that render the book a sort of *mismaya*. (Title translation: The School of Delicate Lovers.)