



Between Phanar and the Ottoman Court: Greek Composers in Constantinople in 18th Century

GIOVANNI DE ZORZI

ABSTRACT: With the taking of Constantinople on 29 May 1453, a new capital made its appearance on the scene of the main cultural and artistic centres of the Islamic world. In this new context, Constantinople, although already having a millennial past, suffered from a certain cultural backwardness. Nevertheless, in just a few decades, forms and genres developed that would be typically and exclusively ‘Ottoman’. The birth of a new Ottoman art music (*maqām*) came about thanks to some particular characteristics that were rather rare in the Islamic world that the article takes into exam. Moreover, the ‘new’ Ottoman Art music was heavily influenced by the aesthetic of the earlier Byzantine tradition and by the presence of many Greek composers coming from the milieu of Phanar. The most renowned are certainly Zaharya Efendi (1680?-1740?) and his student Petros the Peloponnesian, Lambadarios of the Great Church (1735? 1740?-1778). Their life and works conclude, condense and significantly exemplify the article.

KEYWORDS: Phanar, Post-Byzantine Litterature, Post-Byzantine Art Music, Ottoman Art Music, *makām*, *maqām*.

After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople on May 29th 1453, the original Byzantine musical substratum received and metabolised new Arab-Persian contributions from the main cultural and musical centres of the time, above all Herat, Samarkand, Baghdad and Tabriz, and this led to the birth of a precious art music that would be uniquely Ottoman, and clearly recognisable as such among the Art music (*maqām*) of the vast Middle Eastern and Central Asian musical world.

For a comparison in the history of architecture and figurative art, the reader should think of the case of the Süleyman I mosque, built between 1550 and 1557 to the design of the great architect Sinan (1490-1588), which will be a reference point for all mosques in the Ottoman-Turkish area but which was built on the example of the nearby Byzantine cathedral of Hagia Sophia (6th A.D.); or think of the highly recognisable Ottoman miniature, which developed on the modules of the Timurid Herat and the example of the great Behzād (Herat, ca. 1450 - ca. 1535); the reader may also think of the unmistakable Ottoman ceramics, which were created on the example of those of the Persian world.

In the next few pages, I would like to focus on the birth of Ottoman art music (*maqām*) in the pre-existing Byzantine musical context and how it developed thanks to certain socio-musical components. As we will see, in this milieu grew great Phanariot¹ Greek

¹ The Phanariots (from the Greek Φανάρι, the name of the district of Istanbul where they lived, today's Fener) were predominantly wealthy merchants of Greek or Hellenised origin, some were probably



composers of the 18th century, familiar with the musical systems and languages *both* of Byzantine sacred music and of Ottoman secular art music.

Toward an Ottoman classical music

Ottoman classical music came into being thanks to some specific, and in the Islamic world rather rare, sociological features which, following Walter Feldman,² we feel are worth dwelling on.

Firstly, foreign experts were attracted at the Court, or at times captured in battle (for example at the conquest of Tabriz in 1514 or Baghdad in 1638). These foreign experts were known as *acemî*, *acemîyun* or *acemler*, the term being derived from the Arabic *ajam* meaning non-Arabic speaking, and therefore foreign. But in the Ottoman world the foreigners were mainly Persians or Azeris, who passed on their own knowledge and repertoires. The capture of foreign experts was one of the first ways in which the newly-founded court filled a lacuna in its musical activities. But obviously the birth of a new Islamic capital soon began to attract musicians from the major music centres of the day: Baghdad, Tabriz, Samarkand and Herat.

A second typical feature of Ottoman music in the modal classical world of *maqâm* (see below) was state support for training professional musicians at court and the creation of a resident ensemble, which trained at a school called the *Enderûn Mektebi* («school in the inner part of the palace»). In addition to music, verse-making, calligraphy and miniature painting were also taught at the *Enderûn*. The oral/aural kind of teaching and passing-on of knowledge and skills from master (*ustâd*) to student (*şâkird*) was generally known as *meşk*.

A third feature was the participation in court musical life of men who had completed theological or religious studies (*ulema*, *hâfîz* or *müezzin*).³ They always received a musical education, which in the Islamic world was unique to the Ottoman tradition.

A fourth feature of Ottoman music concerns the complex position of the dervishes. They were primarily the depositories of an already ancient and extremely sophisticated musical art that first appeared in the 13th century, when Konya was the capital of the Seljuk Empire; it was here that the order of the Mevlevî dervishes, better known in the West as the «Whirling Dervishes», originated. The order was based on the exemplary life of the poet and music-lover Mevlâna Jalâl-ud-Dîn Rûmî (Balkh, 1207–Konya, 1273). Music was a fundamental part of the Mevlevîs' rituals and their centres were looked upon as the «Conservatories of the Ottoman world», with the vast majority of Ottoman musicians and composers being trained in the Mevlevî order. Apart from

descended from ancient Byzantine families from Constantinople or Trebizond, others were from the Aegean Sea islands, Epirus, others were Albanian, Romanian or Levantine. On their cultural and poetic production, see: *φαναριώτικα και αστικά σιχουρηγήματα στην του νεοελληνικου διαφωτισμου*, Athens, Ακαδημία Αθηνών, 2013.

² Walter Zev Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*, Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, VWB, Berlin 1996, p. 39-93.

³ *Ulemâ* is the plural of *âlim*, “erudite, cultured or knowledgeable”. The term *müezzin*, here in the Turkish version, is derived from the Arabic *mu’addhin*, “he who proclaims the call to prayer” (Arabic, *’adhân*; Turkish *ezan*). *Hâfîz* (lit. “preserver”) is a person who knows the whole of the Koran by heart and is capable of cantillating it.



this specific order, music and sound played a central role in the practices of Sufism (*tasavvuf*) even in its early days in Baghdad, in the 10th century AD, where we find vestiges of a ritual that treatises called *samâ'* («listening, spiritual concert»). We can say, then, that in the Ottoman world there were two main ways of acquiring a musical education: either at the *Enderûn*, the selective palace school, or in the network of Sufi centres commonly found in the capital and territories of the expanding empire. It should moreover be noted that the dervishes did not reside permanently at court; they could at times be summoned to play music or to perform their compositions because the Sultan appreciated them, but in the evening, they would return to their centres where they would play or listen to classical music, often composed by other dervishes. According to the historian Evliya Çelebi (1611-1684), in the Constantinople of his day the dervishes had 577 *tekke* (large centres) and 6,000 *zaviya* (small centres).⁴

A fifth feature of Ottoman music was amateur music-making, i.e. music played for pleasure, not for money, by free men who loved music. Over the centuries this was to be a distinctive feature of the elite. Amateur Muslim musicians who found great favour would sometimes become the *musâhib* («companions») of the Sultan.

Lastly, there was a large presence of Armenian, Greek, Gypsy, and Slav musicians at court. Once the function of the foreign experts had been fulfilled and their teachings assimilated, musical activities at court were mainly delegated to them.

On the Byzantine contribution to Ottoman music

Byzantine culture didn't end with the Ottoman conquest: Constantinople, though 'occupied', will continue to be 'the city' (τὴν πόλιν)⁵, the reference point for the Greek community, and began what is called the period of post-Byzantine culture that arrives to the present.

Many Greek composers composed liturgical *and* secular music, considered as ἐξωτερικὴ μουσικὴ (*exoteriki musiki*, 'exoteric music', i.e. 'for the outside') or also θύραθεν (*thyrathen*, 'outside'). This secular Art music resonated mostly at the court and in the aristocratic milieus of the main urban centres of the Ottoman world.

Byzantine music writing system, which was initially created for the liturgy, was used to record also compositions of non-liturgical music: a rather recent trend in Musicology is the study of art music (ἐξωτερικὴ μουσικὴ) compositions transcribed according to Byzantine notation by composers, singers and musicians (not only Greeks) who were active at the court and in the centres up in post-Byzantine Constantinople. Most of the manuscripts come from liturgical collections, and are therefore lovingly preserved at various monastic centres in Greece and the Orthodox world. Later, during the 19th century, several printed anthologies dedicated to art music appeared in Constantinople. All in all, Byzantine music writing helped to preserve from oblivion several compositions of Ottoman art music that can now be studied, trans-noted and performed.

⁴ See in: Robert Mantran, *La vita quotidiana a Costantinopoli ai tempi di Solimano il Magnifico e dei suoi successori (XVI e XVII secolo)*, Rizzoli, Milano, 1985, p. 139.

⁵ As is well known, the same toponym Stamboul, from which Istanbul, is derived from the Greek locution εἰς τὴν πόλιν (eis ten pólin), meaning 'towards the city'. The toponym joined the official name Constantinople (*Kostantiniyye* in Ottoman) and gradually replaced it.



Far from dusty manuscripts, an episode describes Greek musicians in a sphere not strictly related to Byzantine ecclesiastical music, and their skilful use of musical writing. The episode comes from a 1584 collection of the lives of sultans and patriarchs entitled *Echtesis Chronica*: Sultan Mehmet II Fatih, the conqueror of Constantinople, learning that the Greeks had developed a system of notation that allowed them to transcribe any melody, invited two Greek singers, namely Gheorghios and Yerasimos, to court. Here, the sultan asked them to transcribe in real time a *tasnîf*, a traditional Persian vocal genre still alive today, which was sung by a Persian cantor. The two immediately transcribed the composition they had heard and shortly afterwards sang it themselves to the sultan, who admired their elegance and extraordinary skills; the Persian cantor himself, surprised, knelt in front of the two Greeks as a sign of respect⁶. The episode demonstrates several points: first of all, the astonishing ability to transcribe music in real time, a trait that has allowed several masterpieces of Ottoman music to come down to us, but also the vitality of the Ottoman musical melting pot in which musicians from different cultures played, a characteristic that was typical until recent times. Thirdly, this same ‘Greek ability’ will be features, as we will see, by the great Petros Lambadarios.

Greek composers and Greek genres in Ottoman music

Against this background there flourished a line of Greek composers of Ottoman classical music. To mention some of their names: Papa(s) Ferruh (XVII) and Tanbûrî Angeli (Άγγελος, d 1690?), both quoted in Dimitrie Cantemir’s (1673-1723) treatise *Kitâbu ‘Ilmi’l-Mûsiki ‘ala Vech al-Hurufât* («Book on the Science of Music according to the Alphabet») presumably composed between 1700 and 1703. During the *Lale Devri* («Tulip Era») there was a great deal of interaction between Greek Orthodox cantors, the *mevlevî* dervishes (“Whirling Dervishes”) and the Ottoman Court. Both post-Byzantine and Ottoman music display evidence of such interaction, as is apparent from the careers and compositions of Zaharya (Ζαχαρίας) Efendi and Petros (Πέτρος) the Peloponnesian (1740–1778), known to the *mevlevî* by the nickname «Tiryaki», and with whom the later great Greek composer Ilyas (Ηλίας, d 1799) studied. These constituted the main stream of «Classical Greek Ottoman Music composers», mostly originating from the Phanar.

Parenthesis: far from the aristocratic milieus, towards the end of the Empire a new hybrid musical language developed in the *gazino* nightclubs owned by Greeks and Armenians⁷ and was highly Greek-influenced. In it had a role the fashion of the boy dancers known as *köçekçe* and *tavşan*, who were usually of non-Muslim origin. In fact, in the late 18th century and during the 19th, many *köçek* were Gypsies or Greeks from

⁶ Christos Tsiamoylis, Paylos Ereynidis, Ρωμαίοι Συνθέτες της Πόλης. 17ος-20ός αι. (‘Romaei Composers of the City, XVII-XX’) Athens, Domos, 1998; on the episode: Georgios Papadopoulos, Ιστορική επισκόπησις της βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής από των αποστολικών χρόνων μέχρι των καθ’ ημάς, 1-1900 μ.Χ., (‘Historical outlines of Byzantine sacred music from the time of the apostles to the present, 1-1900 A.D.’), Athens, Τύπος Πραξιτέλους, 1904.

⁷ Walter Feldman, “Ottoman Music”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, Mac Millan Publishers, London-New York, 2001-2002, vol. 18, p. 811-812.



the island of Chios.⁸ Ottoman Art music was always open to various forms of music and dance from the of the Empire, and the great composer of the epoch, the Ottoman *mevlevî* dervish Hâmmamizâde İsmail Dede Efendi, wrote suites in this style. They were accompanied by an urban Greek ensemble which included the lira (Turkish *kaba kemençe*) and *laouto* (Turkish *kava lavta*). The most sought-after dance troupes performed at the imperial Court and also in taverns (*meyhâne*) found mainly in the Christian areas of Istanbul. *Köçek* dance lasted until the reign of Abdülaziz (1861–76), when it disappeared under new criteria of morality coming in from Europe.

The Phanar and his its written sources

Let us leave the taverns and return to the aristocratic environment of the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. The main master-disciple lineage is clear: Zaharya Hanende (1680?-1740?) taught Petros the Peloponnesian (1740-1778) who taught Ilyas (d. 1799). However, there were many lesser-known *prôtopsaltês*, such as Neochoritis Panagiotis and Yorgos Protopsaltis, who left beautiful secular compositions in the Ottoman style. It seems here very important to note that Ottoman secular music was diligently preserved in a plethora of manuscripts written in Byzantine notation from the 15th to the 19th centuries and conserved in Greek monasteries and libraries.⁹ Many of these manuscripts served as sources for books printed in the 19th century, such as *Efterpi* (1830), collected by the Precentors (“choirmasters”) Theodoros Fokaefs and Stavrakis Byzantios, and containing a lot of extra-ecclesiastical material by Turkish and Rum composers, followed by the huge collections in Byzantine notation, such as *Pandora* (1843 and 1846), *Armonia* (1848), *Mousikon Apanthisma* (1872).¹⁰ Such Greek sources on Ottoman music are now beginning to be studied by Greek and Turkish scholars, after years of disinterest on both sides.¹¹

⁸ For a selection of the vast *köçekçe* repertoire, see *Karçiğar ve gülizar köçekçeler*, by the Istanbul Fasil Topluğu in *Hâmmamizâde. İsmail Dede Efendi: Hüzzam Mevlevî Âyin-i Şerifi; Nevâ Mevlevî Âyin-i Şerifi; Şarkı ve Köçekçeleri*, Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Cemre Müzik, 3 CD, 96 34 Ü 877 009-10-11, Istanbul 1996.

⁹ Kyriakos Kalaitzides, *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)*, Orient-Institut Istanbul & Ergon Verlag, Würzburg, 2012; John Plemmenos, *Ottoman Minority Musics: The Case of 18th-century Greek Phanariots*, Lambert Academic Publishing, Saarbrücken, 2010.

¹⁰ For these anthologies see the first chapters of Matthias Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik in griechisch-osmanischen Liedanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin, 2002, in particular p. 26-71.

¹¹ For the Greek contributions see the studies mentioned in the previous footnotes, where the reader can find also the rich bibliography, unfortunately unaccessible to me. The Turkish scholars have focused their interest in the printed anthologies of the 19th century, see, for example, Cem Behar, “Türk Musikisinin Tarihinin Kaynaklarından Karamanlıca Yayınlar”, *Müteferrika* 2 (1994), p. 39-53; or Murat Bardakçı, *Fener Beyleri'ne Türk Şarkıları*, Istanbul, 1993. For the historical and cultural framework, see also Merih Erol, “Music and the Nation in Greek and Turkish Contexts (19th – early 20th c.): A paradigm of cultural transfers”, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 47 (2011), p. 165-175. Cfr. also the “classical” study by Rudolf Maria Brandl, “Konstantinopolitanische Makamen des 19. Jahrhunderts in Neumen: die Musik der Fanarioten” in: Jürgen Elsner (ed.), *Maqam – Raga – Zeilenmelodik. Konzeptionen und Prinzipien der Musikproduktion*, Berlin, 1989, p. 156-169.



The work of Kyriakos Kalaitzides occupies a special place in this recent trend; in his book, Kalaitzides examines approximately 4200 manuscripts written in Byzantine notation between the 15th and 19th centuries, conserved in Greek monasteries and libraries, in which the compilers lovingly and respectfully put together compositions from the Ottoman, Persian, Arab, Greek and Post-Byzantine traditions. This research sheds new light on the remote past of such traditions considered to be orally/aurally transmitted and provides a new historical perspective. At the same time, such compositions are a new source of pleasure and joy for music-lovers and it seems worth a remark that a new generation of Greek musicians who plays and studies Classical Ottoman music is raising.¹²

Zaharya Efendi (1680?–1740?)

I would like to conclude my paper with a look at the life and works of two of the most famous Phanariot composers Zaharya Efendi and Petros the Peloponnesian, Lambadarios. As Kalaitzides¹³ wrote:

In the Xeropotamou Codex 277, before a composition of his, the *Kalophonic Heirmos* (a form of Hymn) entitled *Thine Awesome Judgement Seat*, from the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, we find this comment: ‘The melody being that of the pre-eminent exponent of Persian Musical Art, the most noble Zaharya’. This suggests us the predominant position of Zaharya in secular art music. And Persian musical art may be intended as maqām. (...) Moreover we find information in Vatopedi codex 1427, in which the Hierodeacon Nikiphoros Kantouniaris of Antioch assembles biographical elements of ‘all those who at times excelled in music’. In 1818, just a few years after Zaharya’s death, he writes: ‘Zaharya Khanendeh / At the beginning of the 17th / student of many / being unfulfilled in spiritual music, / succeeded greatly in wordly music.’

As Kalaitzides comments, this passage tells us a lot about the life of Zaharya, because:

- It confirms his status as a *khanendeh*, a “cantor, singer”. And yet it seems worthy of note that *hanende* is a Turkish/Persian word.
- It dates his presence and activity, even if 17th must be read as 18th and the entire passage: At the beginning of the 18th.

¹² In fact, this recent interest in Greek composers of the Ottoman epoch has not only given rise to academic studies but also to some charming recordings, such as the recent *Hanende Zaharya*, En Chordais Music Ensemble, Istanbul, Kalan, 2005, CD: 344. Or *Fener'den Saray'a. Bestekar Ilya ve Zaharya Efendiler Anilina. From Phanar to the Ottoman Court. To the memory of cantors Ilya and Zaharya Efendi*, The Kudsi Erguner Ensemble, Istanbul, Equinox Music & Entertainment, 2008, EMCD 0011. I suggest also the listening to (and reading of) the recent CD book, *I compositori greci del maqām ottomano / Greek Composers of the Ottoman maqām*, bilingual scholarly booklet edited by Giovanni De Zorzi. Texts by Kudsi Erguner, Giannis Koutis, Giovanni De Zorzi, Giovanni Giuriati. Sung texts translated from Greek by Matthias Kappler and Gaia Zaccagni. Series Intersezioni musicali, Nota Edizioni, Udine, 2017 (CD book).

¹³ Kyriakos Kalaitzides, “Zakharia Khanendeh. Elements of a biography”, booklet of the CD *Hanende Zaharya*, En Chordais Music Ensemble, Istanbul, Kalan 2005, CD: 344: pp. 41-54, in particular p. 41.



- It tells us that he was a student of many, which we should take to mean that he was taught by many teachers; this was a characteristic of the traditional learning process throughout the Middle East area: a journey through many experts in different disciplines.
- From the passage we note “being unfulfilled in spiritual music: i.e. “in ecclesiastical music”; and this may explain the scarcity of ecclesiastical Byzantine works in the corpus of Zaharya; ‘succeeded greatly in wordly music’, in other words in secular music. And the term exceedingly tells us of the surpassing range of his composition and the fame he attained.

According to Ediboğlu¹⁴, Zaharya was born in Istanbul and lived a peaceful and musical existence in a *yali* between Bebeki and Therapeia. There are many question marks concerning Zaharya’s dates of birth and death (1680?–1740?) but, judging by different information from various sources, we can say that he was a singer (*hanende*) at Court (*Serail*) during the reigns of Ahmed III (1703–1730) and Mahmut I (1730–1754), in other words, during the core of the *Lale Devri*. Zaharya came from a very wealthy family who were involved in the fur trade, belonging to the guild (*esnaf*) of furriers, so that in many documents of his time he is referred to as Zaharya “Kürkçü” (“the Furrier”). According to Kalaitzides, this may provide a clue as to his origins, probably Kastoria or Siatista, both towns in the West Macedonia region of modern-day northern Greece. It is worth noting that the *esnaf* (“guild”) of furriers was one of the wealthiest guilds and was always controlled by Greek-speaking Christians from Constantinople.

According to scholars, Zaharya composed Byzantine liturgies (*kalophoni heirmologia*, doxologies and *stikhera*) as well as 100 works in secular Ottoman music genres (*beste*, *peşrev*, *semâi* in *yurük* and *ağır* versions) but, unfortunately, only 21 compositions have survived until today, in different ways: via oral sources transcribed by modern Turkish musicologists; via a handwritten personal codex by Zaharya’s pupil[?], Petros Lambadarios (1740-1778), conserved in the Gritsanes Library of the Holy Monastery of Zakynthos, intensively studied by Kalaitzides, and, finally, thanks to the printed collections *Euterpe* and *Mousikon Apanthisma* mentioned above.

In the present context, it is worth noting that in the lyrics of his secular compositions Zaharya alternates indiscriminately between texts by well-known Persian and Ottoman language poets such as Hafiz or Baki, and texts by anonymous poets.

Petros the Peloponnesian, Lambadarios of the Great Church

Petros was the musician, composer and music teacher of his time, but he was also a humanistic classical writer. To this day, his sacred works remain a guide to Byzantine sacred music, and it should be pointed out that in this field he was far more prolific than his master Zaharya¹⁵.

Petros was born around 1740 in the Peloponnese. As a child he was taught by a monk-musician in Smyrna, and later by John of Trapezon, the Archcantor of the Great Church, in Constantinople, chanting with him as second *Domestikos*. After John’s death, Petros

¹⁴ Baki Süha Ediboğlu, *Ünlü Türk Bestekârları*, Ak Kitabevi, Istanbul 1962, p. 21.

¹⁵ On his work, Oliver Gerlach, “Petros Peloponnesios. About Authorship in Ottoman Music and the Heritage of Byzantine Music”, *Porphyra*, n. 25, anno XIII, 2016: 144-183.



was made Lambadarios of the Great Church, when Daniel was Protopsaltes. As a Lambadarios, i.e. director of the left choir, Petros composed the whole series of prescribed music (*lectio*) for the holy calendar. He had many students (Greeks, Ottomans and Europeans) whom he taught Byzantine and/or Arab-Persian (*maqâm*) music.

Also of interest in the present context, he seems to have been an all-round well-known personality in the Constantinople of his day, as the following anecdotes indicate: Petros was famous among his contemporaries for his excellent ear. It is said that he could faithfully transcribe any melody even if chanted only once by somebody else, and because of this the Ottomans called him *Hırsız Petros* (“Petros the thief”). He also played the *ney* flute, and was familiar with the environment of the Sufi mevlvî centre (*tekke*, the *tekkedes* in the passage below) of Pera/Galata, where he was respected by the Dervishes (*dervisai*), who nicknamed him *Tiryaki*. Such musical exchanges between musicians and singers of different religious communities were a typical feature of Constantinople: here I would mention, as a luminous episode in those days of supposed clashes between religions, the participation in rituals at Mevlvî Dervish centres of Hebrew Synagogue singers¹⁶.

Petros seems to have equally at ease played among the dervishes, at the services of the Orthodox church or at the Ottoman court; may the following curious and touching anecdote about his interreligious and inter-musical personality serve as a conclusion for this contribution on common and shared tastes of an epoch:

At the funeral of Petros, which took place in the patriarchal church, the following incident occurred: the Dervisai from all the Tekkedes of the city came and asked for the permission of Patriarch Sophronios II that they might also sing their own funeral songs to the dead, as a sign of respect to the teacher. The Patriarch answered: ‘I also feel your great sadness, which was caused to all of us by the death of the blessed teacher. I do not say you no; but so that the Government does not get embittered, please could all of you follow us to the grave and there perform your duty towards him.’ The Dervisai obeyed to these words of the Patriarch, and followed in tears the dead and until the chanted *trisagion* and the deposition of the dead in the grave, they chanted passionately. One of them descended into to grave bringing in his hands his flute and said in Turkish: ‘O blessed teacher, receive this from us, your orphan students, this last gift, so that with it you might sing in the Paradise with the Angels’. And deposing the flute in the hands of the dead, he came out with tears. Then the Christians, buried Petros as prescribed¹⁷.

We take leave from the reader on this poignant note that resounded in an intercultural and inter-faith milieu, completely and uniquely Constantinopolitan.

¹⁶ Edwin Seroussi, “From the Court and Tarikat to the Synagogue: Ottoman Art Music and Hebrew Sacred Songs” in: Anders Hammarlund, Tord Olsson, Elisabeth Özdalga (eds.), *Sufism music and society in Turkey and the Middle East*, vol. 10, Sweden Research Institute in Istanbul (S.R.I.I), Istanbul 2001, p. 81-93, in particular p. 84.

¹⁷ <https://www.ec-patr.net/en/history/petros-lambadarios.htm#:~:text=At%20the%20funeral%20of%20Peter,of%20respect%20to%20the%20teacher.> (accessed on 07.06.2023)