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Kemangeh Roumy, a Multistring Instrument in Epirus

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Introduction

While I was carrying out research on the violin in orchestras of Epirus, Greece, in order to record a compact disc, an intriguing challenge was unexpectedly revealed to me. Looking carefully at the details of some early twentieth-century photographs, I discovered a photograph taken in 1909 in Bayia (Μπάγια), today's Zagori Kipi (Κήπι). The photograph depicted the *kombania* (band) of the clarinet player Nikolas Ninos, who was probably the first clarinetist to play in Epirus in the area of Zagori (fig. 1).¹ This *kombania* appeared to consist of two clarinets, three violins, two *laouta* (lutes) and two *defia* (tambourine/bendir). On more careful examination, I was surprised to discover that the three instruments were not violins. They looked at first glance like the viola d'amore, as it is known in Western Europe, or the *sinekeman* in the Ottoman East. Indeed, in this case, all three fit this description. Astonished by the revealing photograph, I assumed this must have been something unique, coincidental, and extremely rare in that region and time. I began to seek information relating to this musical instrument, newly discovered within the music of Epirus. I searched for photographs of this *kombania* and of any other band active in Epirus in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Surprisingly, I discovered nearly twenty photographs of this instrument; it was hardly exceptional. After that, I asked local musicians, collectors of instruments, and elderly villagers living near where the photos were found, if they remembered the use of this instrument in festivities. Unfortunately, nobody knew anything about it, as it had never appeared in this region within living memory. Furthermore, I tried to discover useful information in newspapers and magazines of the era that discussed Epirotic music. I had no success, partly because such printed sources were scarce in Epirus at that

1. John Demos, ed., *Zagoriotów Blos* [Zagori: The Life of a Community] (Athens: Rizarion Foundation/Institution Stavros S. Niarkos, 2003), 121.



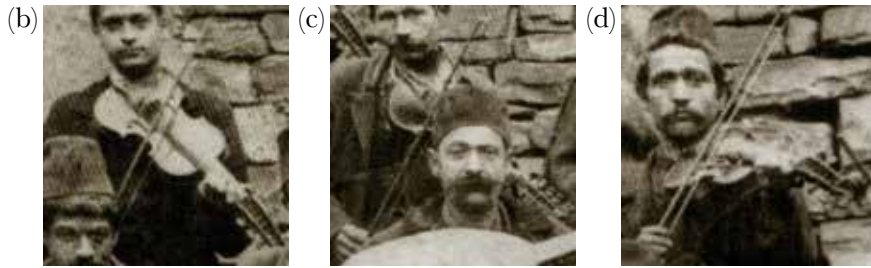
FIGURE 1a. A *kombania* (band) in Kipi (Bayia) of the Zagori region, Greece, 1909, includes three bowed multistring instruments. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 121.

time.² Also, it is difficult for ordinary people to distinguish a viola d'amore from the common violin. Consequently, references to this instrument do not exist at all in the previously known literature on the music of Epirus, nor has any surviving remnant of this instrument been found. A search of old photographs from other regions of Greece was likewise unproductive. Even in photos from such major urban centers as Thessaloniki and Athens, and in the Greek islands, where the violin maintains a leading role in Greek traditional music, no further photographic evidence was found.³ All in all, inadequate bibliography, as well as the absence of oral testimony, were the most serious obstacles to this research.

The predominant sources of this research were thus the photographs found depicting *kombanies* at various feasts, weddings, and gatherings.

2. The first and last photos found dated from 1890 and 1916, respectively. For more information see: George Kitsios, "Lost Voices and Singing Texts: Reconstructing the Cultural Past of Ioannina During the First Half of the 1870s," *IMS-RASMB, Series Musicologica Balcanica* (1 January 2020) e-ISSN:2654-248X DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26262/smb.v1i1.7766>; and George Kitsios, "Το ους ημών το ξεκουρδισμένο . . ." : Αστική πολιτισμική συγκρότηση και ψυχαγωγία μέσα από την έντυπη σάτιρα (Ιωάννινα, αρχές δεκαετίας 1870) ["Our Detuned Ear . . ." : Urban Cultural Formation and Entertainment through Printed Satire (Ioannina, Early 1870s)] (Athens: Nisos, 2018).

3. Perhaps in today's Southern Albania (Northern Epirus) we could find some remnants of these instruments, since we have several photos found in villages near the Greek-Albanian border; after all, regions of North Epirus were from 1822 to 1913 part of the territory of the Ottoman pasha of Ioannina.



FIGURES 1b–d. Details of fig. 1a.

Relevant photographs appeared in books, articles, and albums, as well as photographs published online from private collections, but no information related to the unusual, d’amore-like instrument was found.

This research aspires to identify a new instrument within the organology of Epirus and Greek folk music. Because the instrument has been rediscovered through pictures, not through words, its proper name is a puzzle, whose answer demands a thorough consideration of the little-researched history of Byzantine instrumental music since Ottoman times and earlier. I shall begin now to refer to the instrument as *kemangeh roumy*, that is the multi-stringed bowed chordophone of the *Rum* (Greeks). My reasoning for this choice will be explained in its different facets along the way, and my argument will be complete at the conclusion of this article, where the fitness of the name is discussed once more.

The lack of later photographs suggests that the *kemangeh roumy* disappeared from Epirotic music not long after 1916; no equivalent instrument is to be found in Epirus today. Fivos Anoyanakis, in his monumental survey of Greek folk instruments, has no detailed reference to this instrument.⁴ Nor does *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* refer to its use by the Greek residents of the Ottoman Empire. In the entry for Greek music, it is only reported that the *sinekeman* is an instrument found in Cappadocia, in the form of a box with sympathetic strings, played resting vertically on the legs of the performer, like the *Lyra* of Pontos (*Kementzes*) and without any reference to the *sinekeman* of Constantinople.⁵

4. Fivos Anoyanakis, *Ελληνικά Λαϊκά Μουσικά Όργανα* [Greek Popular Musical instruments] (Athens: National Bank of Greece, 1976).

5. Sotirios Chianis and Rudolph M. Brandl, “Greece: (iv),” *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.013.6002276685>, “Cappadocia had an ensemble consisting of *sine keman* (a box-shaped fiddle with resonating strings) and *outi*, sometimes with *toubeleki* (a pair of goblet drums).” *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* contains a brief reference to a different instrument with a similar name: “. . . in

The Instrument and Music of Epirus

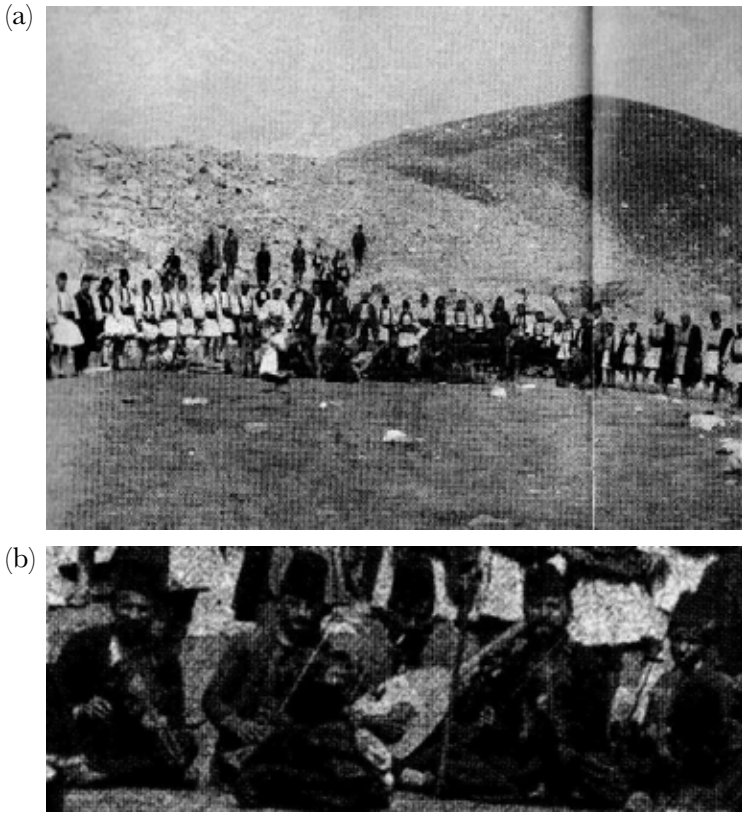
All the photos found illustrate feasts such as *panigyria* (religious festivities), *gamilia glentia* (wedding parties), and private gatherings, from different regions of Epirus and specifically from the prefecture of Ioannina. The villages mentioned in the photographs are Papigo, Doliana, Koukouli, Pogoniani, Kefalovyryo, Dikorfo, Kipoi, Monodentri, Vissani, Vathipedo, Skamneli, and Tristeno. These are scattered throughout the prefecture of Ioannina, which lies west, east, and mainly north of the capital city, reaching the current Greek-Albanian border.

No photographs showing this instrument have been found from the Ottoman city of Ioannina (Yanya), and there is no reference to the use of this instrument in the court music of the local pasha or in the *café-aman* that existed in Ioannina and in other major cities of Epirus like Preveza and Arta. Nor is there any reference to the use of this instrument by the Jewish community of Ioannina *Romanioles*, where the violin was the leading instrument, with great tradition, in Jewish music all over the world and especially in the Balkans. With the exception of Constantinople, I know of no other information for such an instrument in other major centers of the Ottoman empire.

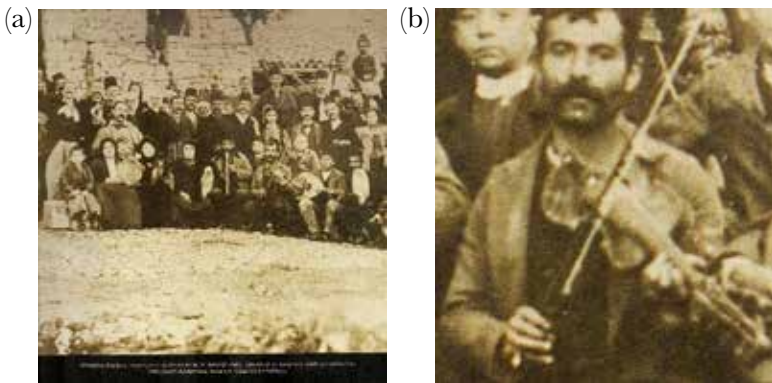
On the contrary, all the evidence and references for this instrument were found far away from the city. Uses in the Rum (Greek)⁶ community were in festivities with a strong religious character such as *panigyria* or *gamilia glentia*, and only in the rural areas of Epirus and sometimes in high altitude areas, hardly accessible and particularly remote from the city. For example, in the oldest photograph found, showing a Sarakatsani wedding at Papigo (1890), four such instruments participated in the *kombania* (fig. 2). It is also significant to note that this instrument was used by all the important and differentiated cultural groups of the Rum community, such as the Zagoriosis, Pogoniosis, Sarakatsanous, and Vlachs. Therefore, it is obvious that the music played on these instruments mainly would be

western Turkey the *kemençe* is similar to the Greek *lira* of the eastern Aegean type and is sometimes called the *fasl kemençesi* ("classical *kemençe*") or *kemene rumi* ("Greek *kemençe*"). It has a pear-shaped body and three metal or gut strings that are stopped from the side with the fingernails. It is rested on the player's knee or held against the chest and played with underhand bowing." *Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second ed. by Laurence Libin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3: 104.

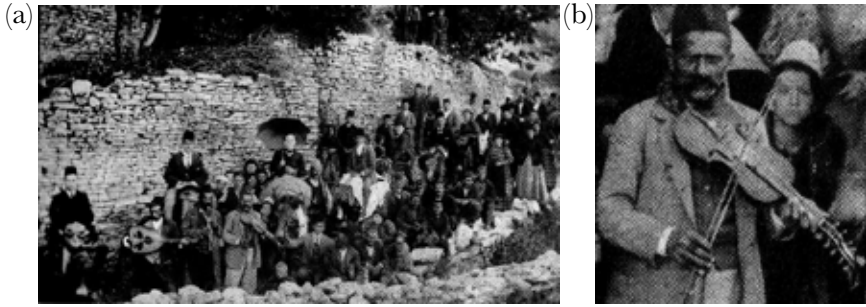
6. The term Rum (Ρομ) was used historically by the Ottomans to define the Greek Orthodox Christian residents of their empire.



FIGURES 2a–b. (a) In Papigo, Greece, 1896, the Sarakatsani wedding music of G. Tsoumani includes three or four bowed multistring instruments. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 388–89. (b) Detail of fig. 2a.



FIGURES 3a–b. (a) In Doliana, Greece, 1898, a *kombania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from Thanasis Vakalis, *Τα Άνω Ραβένια και τα Δυτικότερα Ζαγοροχώρια* [Ano Ravenia and West Zagori villages] (Athens: Militos, 2003), 338. (b) Detail of fig. 3a.



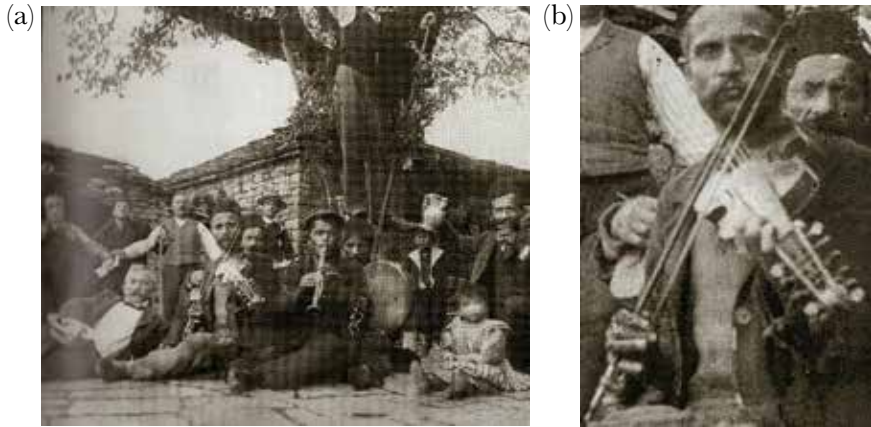
FIGURES 4a–b. (a) Koukouli, Greece, end of the nineteenth century, a *kombania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 145. (b) Detail of fig. 4a.



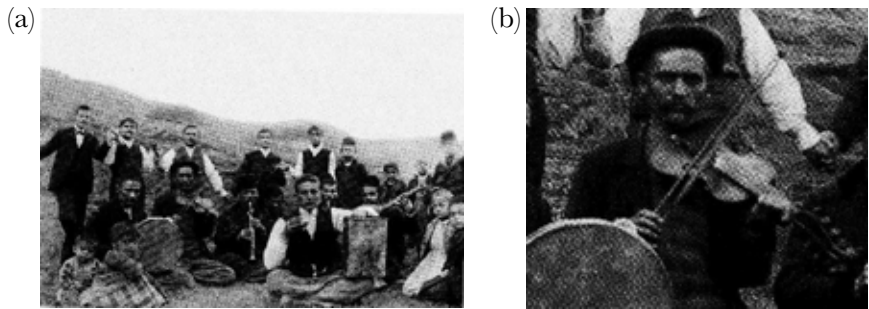
FIGURES 5a–b. (a) In Vostina (Pogoniani region), Greece, 1900, a *kombania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photographed by Georgios Pantazidis. From Konstantinos Kostoulas, *Georgios Pantazidis: The Pioneer Photographer of Pogoni* [Γεώργιος Πανταζίδης: ο πρωτοπόρος φωτογράφος του Πωγωνίου] (Ioannina: 2005), 109. (b) Detail of fig. 5a.



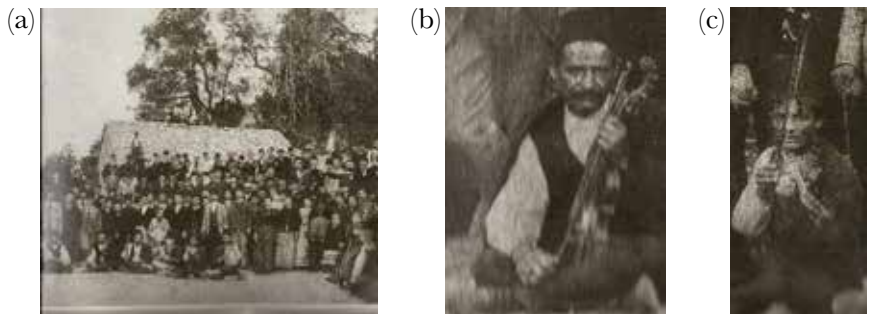
FIGURES 6a–b. (a) In Dikorfó, Greece, 1904, a *kombania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Kimon Kiriazis archive. From *Music of Epirus, vol. 1, The Greek Archives: Authentic Rare Recordings*, compact disk booklet, 29. (b) Detail of fig. 6a.



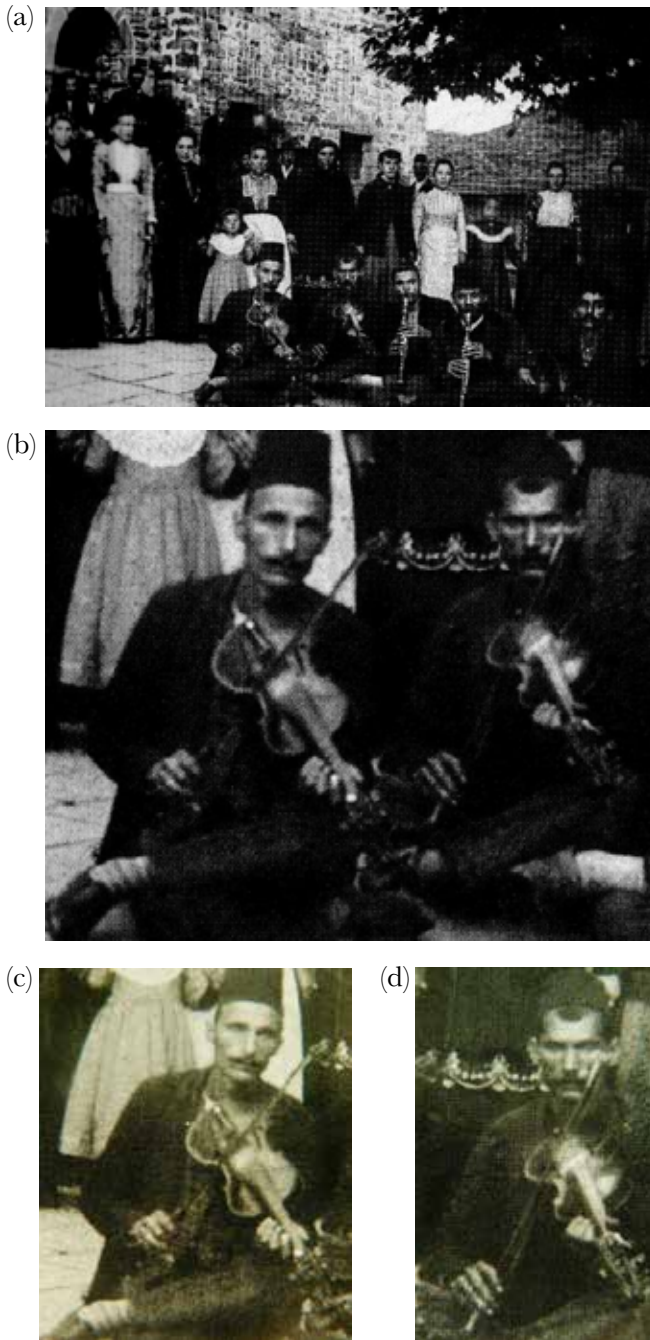
FIGURES 7a–b. (a) In Kipi (Bayia, Greece), 1905, a *kombania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 173. (b) Detail of fig. 7a.



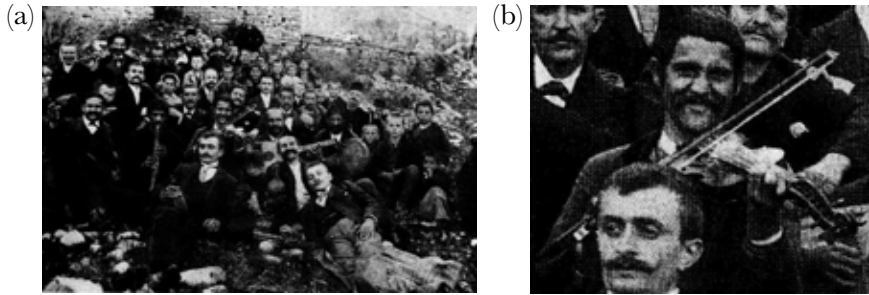
FIGURES 8a–b. (a) In Kipi (Bayia, Greece), 1905, a *kombania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 172. (b) Detail of fig. 8a.



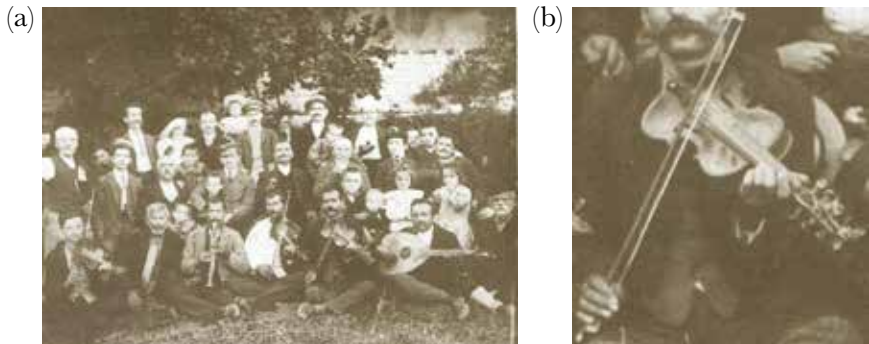
FIGURES 9a–c. (a) In Monodendri, Greece, 1905, a *kombania* (band) includes two bowed, multi-string instruments. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 127. (b–c) Details of fig. 9a.



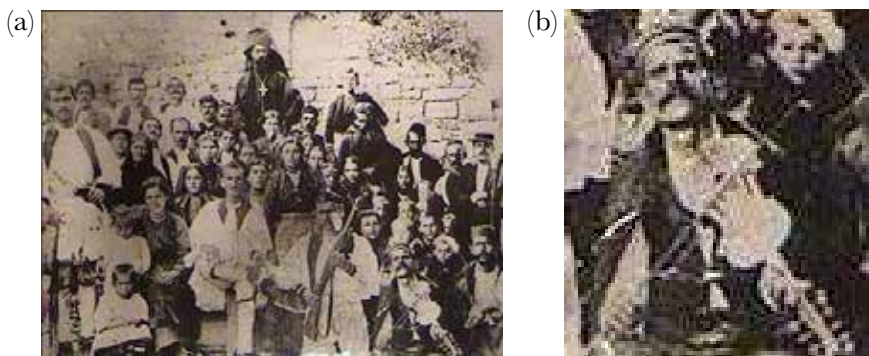
FIGURES 10a–d. (a) In Kipi (Bayia, Greece), early twentieth century, a *kombania* (band) includes two bowed, multi-string instruments. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 161. (b–d) Details of fig. 10a.



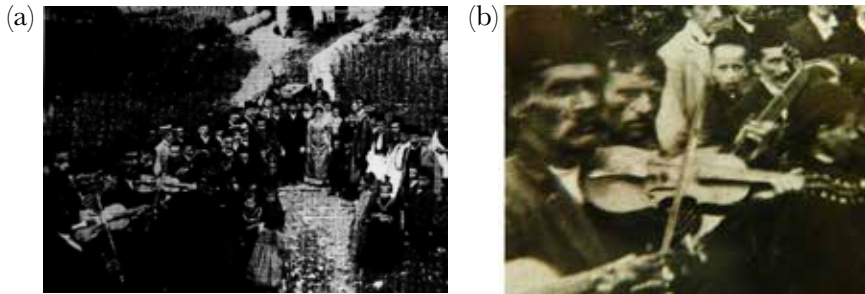
FIGURES 11a–b. (a) In Kipi (Bayia, Greece), early twentieth century, a *komania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 176. (b) Detail of fig. 11a.



FIGURES 12a–b. (a) In Dilofo, Greece, 1908, a *komania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from Petros Fragkoulis, *Ζαγορισίων Πολιτεία* [Zagorision State] (N.p., 2000). (b) Detail of fig. 12a.



FIGURES 13a–b. (a) In Vathipedo, Greece, 1916, the wedding of D. Theodorou includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from <http://www.vlahoi.net/gallery/displayimage.php?album=1&pos=-850>. (b) Detail of fig. 13a.



FIGURES 14a–b. (a) In Skamnelli, Greece, ca.1920, a *kombania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 131. (b) Detail of fig. 14a.



FIGURES 15a–b. (a) In Tristeno, Greece, ca.1920, a *kombania* (band) includes a bowed, multi-string instrument. Photo from Demos, *Zagori*, 152. (b) Detail of fig. 15a.

the *paradosiaki mousiki* (traditional music), the rural music of Epirus and not the urban music of Ioannina or the Ottoman music of the court. As Feldman states,⁷ Ottoman music was “the dominant music of those urban areas of the Ottoman Empire (1389–1918) where Turkish was the secular literary language of the Muslim population”; this is not the case with Ottoman Ioannina, where even in the court the secular literary language was Greek.⁸

7. Walter Zev Feldman, “Ottoman Music,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.52169> “Ottoman music may be defined as the dominant music of those urban areas of the Ottoman Empire (1389–1918) where Turkish was the secular literary language of the Muslim population; primarily in Istanbul, Edirne, Izmir, Thessaloniki and, until the later eighteenth century, the cities of south-east Anatolia. Elsewhere genres of Ottoman music were supported by certain social classes in a predominantly non-Ottoman musical environment, for example in Cairo, Baghdad, Belgrade and Sarajevo.”

8. For more details on the use of the Greek language in the Ottoman court see Vasilis Panagiotopoulos, “Η ελληνόφωνη επιστολογραφία στο Αρχείο του Αλή Πασά” [The

The music in these religious festivities and weddings (*panigyri*, *gamilio glenti*)—tunes, songs, and dances of the community—has changed relatively little in the last century. The main repertoire of this instrument would be the same as today’s violin repertoire in the music of Epirus.⁹ The photographs I discovered confirmed that these multistring instruments were always part of the traditional band (*kombania*), which in the oldest photographs were presented without the participation of the *klarino* (clarinet).¹⁰ During the course of the twentieth century, the music of Epirus saw three significant trends: (1) the emerging sovereignty of the clarinet, (2) the disappearance of the *tambouras* (a kind of *saz/bozuk*) and the *tzamara* (a kind of *flogera*, or shepherd’s flute), formerly very important; and (3) a partial modification in the role of the violin, from a solo to an accompanying instrument.¹¹ The disappearance of this multistring instrument in the beginning of the twentieth century obviously coincided with the rise of the clarinet. In particular, the replacement of the clarinet in C initially used, by the clarinet in B-flat, led to a change in all the tonalities of the tunes played in Epirus (to a major second lower). The immediate result was the degradation and disappearance of this multi-stringed instrument, due to tuning and technical difficulties in performance. In the many multi-string bowed instruments of Eastern as in Western Europe, tunings (*scordatura*) of the bowed and sympathetic strings varied by region. There is a great deal of confusion in their names and attributes in the East and West.¹² Of all these bowed string instruments, those most resembling the photographs

Greek-language correspondence in the Archive of Ali Pasha], *Meseonika kai Nea Ellinika* 8 (2006): 269–85; and Vasilis Panagiotopoulos, *Αρχείο Αλή Πασά: συλλογή Ι. Χώτζη, (Γενναδείου Βιβλιοθήκης)* [Ali Pasha Archive: collection I. Chotzi (Gennadios Library)] (Athens: National Research Foundation, Institute of Modern Greek Studies, 2009): 154–55.

9. A typical example are the important recordings of Alexis Zoumbas in the early twentieth century in USA, where the recorded tunes are some of the most important of the violin repertoire, even today. See, for example, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CK-W3loiYkgk>

10. See figs. 2, 5, 13.

11. Sotirios Katsouras, “Τεχνική του Βιολιού στην Ηπειρώτικη Παραδοσιακή Μουσική” [Violin Technique in Epirotic Traditional Music] (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: MA thesis, 2001): 31–33.

12. In Western Europe, names such as *viola d' amore*, *violino d' amore*, *violino pomposo*, *viola bastarda*, *viola di bordone*, *violetta marina*, English violet, *baryton*, *lira da braccio*, *lirone*, *tenor viol*, *division viol*, *quinton*, *pardessus de viole*, *hardanger fiddle*, *sultana*, *cither viol*, etc., refer to instruments with similar characteristics. In the Near and Middle East and in the Balkans, there are also similar instruments and names such as *sinekeman*, *kamancha*, *kemance*, *kemane*, *k'aman*, *lyra*, *lyrica*, *gadulka*, and *kemençe Rumi*.

from Epirus are the viola d' amore in the West and sinekeman in the East.¹³ It is necessary to note the different manifestations of form of these instruments, since the performers on the viola d'amore and sinekeman considered their instruments as identical, an interesting variant of the violin family; performance techniques and aesthetic preferences were shared with the conventional violin.¹⁴ This instrument was variously called "violino d' amore" in Europe, keman or sinekeman in the Ottoman Empire, and kemangeh roumy in Egypt, as discussed below.

The Viola d'amore

The viola d' amore is a type of viola, known in Western European music as early as the late seventeenth century, but more particularly in the eighteenth century. Speaking generally, it had the size of a conventional viola, but was built on a viol pattern.¹⁵ That is, it had a flat back, wide ribs flush with the top and back, sloping shoulders, a carved head at the top of the pegbox, a circular opening at the top of the belly (ornamented with a rosette), and sigmoidal soundholes (shaped like a flaming sword);¹⁶ these reveal an Eastern influence. Most distinctively, the viola d'amore has more strings than the usual four of the conventional viola, in addition to sympathetic or resonance strings. In Western Europe, the viola d' amore has fourteen strings. Seven gut strings are bowed and fingered, while the other seven wire strings pass underneath the fretted fingerboard and vibrate sympathetically. The viola d' amore is held under the performer's chin and played like the violin. The sound of the viola d' amore is sweet and soft, not as loud as the violin or viola. Unlike members of the viol family, it has no frets.¹⁷ The absence of frets is considered by Boyden et al. as a

13. It is remarkable that all the different manifestations of the form of construction of these instruments were found both in the West and in the East, respectively.

14. In the photographs, the same performer was illustrated in different photos and on several occasions with a time deviation of some years, first using this multistringed kemangeh roumy and later with a common violin. See figs. 6 and 12.

15. Myron Rosenblum, "Viola d' amore," *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29448>.

16. ". . . the "flaming-sword" soundhole (symbolic of Islam) on the viola d' amore suggests a Middle Eastern influence." Rosenblum, "Viola d' amore."

17. Ian Woodfield and Lucy Robinson, "Viol," *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29435>.

crucial element separating the violin family from the viol family.¹⁸ All the features in the viol type instruments mentioned above, as well as others, can show significant variations and changes, depending on the time, the maker, and the place where the viola d' amore was found.

Instruments preserved today and the written evidence available show that there have been two types of viola d' amore: a small viol-shaped type of the seventeenth century with metallic strings and without sympathetic strings, and a later larger type from the eighteenth century, the size of a viola, but viol-shaped with sympathetic strings. In 1741, Joseph Majer also described two types of twelve-string viola, one the size of the violin and the other the size of the viola, with six wire and six gut strings combined (6/6).¹⁹ Twelve-stringed (6/6) violas d'amore appear early, preceding the construction of the fourteen-stringed viola d'amore (7/7), and remain more common in the eighteenth century. Boyden states that while the name viola d' amore usually refers today to a viol-shaped instrument of the size of the viola, the authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries describe another type of instrument in the size of the violin (i.e., 14 inches), but it is difficult to clarify whether that instrument took the shape of the violin or the viol (*dessus de viole*).²⁰

The Sinekeman

As early as the seventeenth century, significant references are made to an instrument that is considered the viola d' amore of the Ottoman East, called the sinekeman. The Turkish name is a compound word of two

18. David Boyden, Peter Walls, Peter Holman, Karel Moens, Robin Stowell, Anthony Barnett, Matt Glazer, et al. "Violin," *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41161>. "It is unfretted, a feature that distinguishes the violins from the viols."

19. Joseph Friederich Bernhard Caspar Majer, *Museum Musicum Theoretico-Practicum: das ist: Neu-eröffneter Theoretisch- und Praktischer Musik-Saal* (Schwäbisch Hall: Georg Michael Majer, 1732), 83.

20. David Boyden, "Ariosti's Lessons for Viola d'amore," *Musical Quarterly* 32, no.4 (1946): 553. "What passes today for a viola d' amore in museum catalogues is usually the instrument just described, an instrument probably made not much before 1720 and not much later than 1790. But this is not the instrument to which the name "viole d' amour" was originally applied. Seventeenth as well as eighteenth-century writers describe another type of instrument which corresponds in body length and in register to the violin (body length about 14") . . . It is hard to determine whether this instrument had a violin body or the body of a viol of violin length—that is, a treble viol (*dessus de viole*)."



FIGURE 16. A sinekeman player in Ottoman Constantinople, early twentieth century. Detail of photo from De Zorzi and Pontarollo, “Tracce fresche di una viola d’amore,” *Per Archi* 11, no. 8–9 (2016): 134.

parts, both derived from Persian. The word *sine* means chest or breast,²¹ while the word *keman* means a small bow and derives from the Persian root of the word *kamanche* or *kemanche*.²² Today, in Turkey and North Africa, *keman* usually denotes the so-called European violin.²³ The name *sinekeman* means “chest violin,” possibly interpreted as the European violin played on the chest, as opposed to the violin played on the legs. In North Africa, there are examples where the European violin and viola are played on the performer’s knees (e.g., in Morocco)²⁴ and, in many cases, arched strings are generally referred to as *keman*. The name *sinekeman* appears to be a newer conception, coming to replace the name *keman* for *viola d’amore* in Turkey.

21. Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, (1892) 1963): 719. “Sina: The bosom, breast”; Corey Miller and Karineh Aghajanian-Stewart, *A Frequency Dictionary of Persian: Core Vocabulary for Learners* (New York, Routledge, 2018): 102. no.1872. “سینه sine: breast.” In addition, *sine* is used with the same meaning in other Eastern languages, such as Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Kashmiri, and Dogri.

22. Jean During, Robert Atayan, Johanna Spector, Scheherazade Qassim Hassan, and R. Conway Morris, “Kamānchēh.” *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14649>.

23. Boyden et al., “Violin.”

24. Philip Schuyler, “Morocco, Kingdom of,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19156>. “Both Arab and Berber shikhāt are accompanied by a small ensemble of male musicians on *kamanja* (or European violin or viola played vertically on the knee).”

According to a Turkish music encyclopedia dating from 1985,²⁵ sinekeman is a kind of seven-string European violin (keman) used in Turkish classical music, but held on the chest and having the size of a viola. In this definition, there is no mention of the sympathetic strings, nor whether the instrument is of the violin or viol pattern, but importance is given to the number of playable strings. In an article dating from 1920, Raouf Yekta Bey describes in his private collection a sinekeman constructed by Mathias Thir in Vienna in 1793, according to its label.²⁶ Until now, the only known old sinekeman photograph is from Ottoman Constantinople and dates to the early twentieth century, as De Zorzi and Pontarollo mentioned (fig.16).²⁷ These instruments show all the construction characteristics of the ordinary type of viola d' amore, as mentioned earlier, i.e., the viol pattern of body form, fingerboard, pegs, etc. It appears to be a 14-string viola d' amore with seven playable and seven sympathetic strings (7/7). The only exception to the type of the sinekeman which appeared in Turkey is presented by the contemporary performer Hasan Essen, described in De Zorzi and Pontarollo's article. Essen mentioned a twelve-string sinekeman, in the pattern of the violin family, with six playable and six sympathetic strings (6/6). He states that "The sine kemani has six gut strings here [in Turkey]"²⁸ and adds that he "reproduced the six strings with a mixture of violin and viola strings." Essen apparently asked a craftsperson to rebuild the instrument based on a design found in kemani Hizir Aga's book as mentioned below (fig. 23). "There was not a single written note" to aid the builder, he continued; "There is currently no craftsman (*usta*) producing sine kemani."²⁹ Thus, the name sinekeman can denote instruments built

25. "Sinekeman. A type of violin with seven strings, formerly used in Turkish art music, in the size of a viola, played mostly by relying on the chest." Ahmet Say, "Sinekeman," "Kemani Corci," In *Muzik Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Baskent Yayinevi, 1985): 1130. "Sinekeman. Turk sanat muziginde evvelce kullanilmis, viyola buyuklugunde, daha ziyade gogse dayanmak suretiyle calinan, 7 telli keman cesiti."

26. Raouf Yekta, "La Musique Turque," *Encyclopedie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire 1*, vol. 5: 2945-3063, ed. Albert Lavignac (Paris: Librairie Delgrave, 1920): 3014, fig.512. "Ainsi, le Siné-Kéman dont je donne ici la figure, et qui appartient à ma collection particulière, porte à l'intérieur l'étiquette suivante: Mathias Thir fecit. Viennae, Anno 1793" [Thus, the Siné-Kéman whose figure I am giving here, and which belongs to my private collection, bears the following label inside: Mathias Thir fecit. Vienna, Anno 1793.]

27. Giovanni De Zorzi and Pierpaolo Pontarollo, "Tracce fresche di una viola d amore," *Per Archi* 11, no. 8-9 (2016): 134.

28. *Ibid.*, 136. "I sine kemani qui [in Turchia] hanno sei corde di budello."

29. *Ibid.*, 136-7. "Ho riprodotto le sei corde con un miscuglio di corde di violino e di

on both the violin and viol patterns; the significant element is the multistring identity, and not the form of the instrument.

The Sinekeman in Paintings and Drawings

Several paintings that date back to the eighteenth-century depict men or women playing the sinekeman. Accompanying these illustrations are some interesting descriptions, such as the postcard acquired from the library of SOAS, University of London (fig. 17). The image shows a Greek violin (sinekeman) performer in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. An identical painting was found online at the Ankara Ethnographic Museum, where a Greek (Rum) is again depicted playing a sinekeman (fig. 18). In his book on folk instruments, Karakassis also provides another image of a sinekeman (named viola d' amore) performer, unfortunately without any further information on the source of the image (fig. 20.)³⁰

A similar drawing, in the book *Music, Dance and Image*, shows a performer on the sinekeman in traditional costume, described by the author's source as an Armenian playing the sinekeman (fig. 19).³¹ The same book shows two illustrations of the dance "Romeika" as a dance of Greek women in Constantinople, one painted by G. Leonardi (fig. 21) and the other by M. d'Ohsson in 1790 (fig. 22). In these illustrations, sinekeman are played by performers in postures similar to the Greeks (Rum) in the paintings mentioned above. Indeed, Goulaki-Voutyra mentions that the images of the violinists playing the sinekeman at the Romeika dance are typologically influenced by the image shown in fig. 19. All these images

viola. Non c'era una sola nota scritta; . . . Ora come ora non vi è alcun artigiano (usta) che produca sine kemanı."

30. "Picture 57 keman (viola d' amore 7-stringed with 7 sympathetic)." ["εικόνα 57 Κεμάν (Βιόλα ντ' αμόρε 7χορδη με 7 συμπαθητικές)."] Stavros Karakassis, *Ελληνικά Μουσικά Όργανα: Αρχαία Βυζαντινά Σύγχρονα* [Greek Musical instruments: Ancient Byzantine Modern] (Athens: Difros, 1970), 82.

31. Alexandra Goulaki-Voutyra, *Μουσική, Χορός και Εικόνα* [Music, Dance and Image] (Athens: Association for Diffusion of Useful Books, 1990): 99. The author says she was unable to find this engraving at the Gennadio Library, where it is known to exist, although she saw it from a photograph in the archives of the Asia Minor Research Center. The costume of the musician described as an Armenian with a sinekeman is the same with the costumes of the previous three illustrations and with the engravings presenting the "Romeika" dance, danced by Greek women in Constantinople (see below). So, is the characterization of the sinekeman player as Armenian based on the musician's costume or does it derive from other information?



FIGURE 17. “Greek fiddle-player. Third quarter of eighteenth century. From an original water-color album of Ottoman costume in SOAS Library, unsigned.” Card acquired from SOAS library. Picture number: UOL120681.



FIGURE 18. Rum Sinekeman performer. [Sinekeman çalan Rum.] Catalogue des Costumes Turcs, ca. 1818. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 8283, y. 95. Accessed from <https://gr.pinterest.com/pin/45387846867477853/>



FIGURE 19. Engraving of a sinekeman performer. Image from Alexandra Goulaki-Voutyra, *Μουσική, Χορός και Εικόνα* [Music, Dance, and Image] (Athens: Association for Diffusion of Useful Books, 1990), 99.



FIGURE 20 Sinekeman performer. Image from Stavros Karakassis, *Ελληνικά Μουσικά Όργανα* [Greek Musical Instruments] (Athens: Difros, 1970), 82.



FIGURE 21. Sinekeman performer at a Romeika dance Detail of an image from Goulaki, *Music, Dance, and Image*, 99



FIGURE 22. Sinekeman performer at a Romeika dance, 1790. Detail of a lithograph from Goulaki, *Music, Dance, and Image*, 91.

identify and refer to Greek (Rum) males playing the sinekeman to accompany the Greek dance called Romeika.³² Four more images show women playing the sinekeman.³³ Each picture shows a sinekeman of the same type as in the early twentieth-century photograph from Constantinople: a viola d'amore with all the construction features of the viol type. At this time in Constantinople, no sinekeman on the violin pattern was found. Therefore, this is the significant difference between the pattern of sinekeman that is depicted in Constantinople (viol type) and the instrument discussed below by Fonton, Hizir Aga and Villoteau (violin type).

Sinekeman Performers

Apart from the drawings and watercolor paintings, there are also significant references in the literature of the Ottoman period for sinekeman performers in Constantinople. They are referred to as kemani and not as sinekemani, since this designation was not used at that time.³⁴ The first known (sine)keman performer was Stravogiorgis or “Yorgis the blind”

32. Interesting research on Romeika dance has been published by the late professor Dimitrios Themelis, “Ο Χορός “Ρωμείκα” σε Μουσικές Καταγραφές Ξένων Περιηγητών” [The Dance “Romeika” in Music Transcriptions of Foreign Travelers] in *Proceedings of the Sixth Symposium of Folklore of Northern Greece: Historical, Archaeological, and Folklore Research on Thrace, Komotini-Alexandroupolis, 7-10 May 1989* (Thessaloniki, 1991): 109–30.

33. (1) Kemani, Recueil de costumes et vêtements de l'Empire ottoman au 18e siècle-Monnier, Joseph Gabriel (1745–1818) https://culture.bourgenbresse.fr/osiros/result/notice.php?queryosiros=%20Recueil%20de%20costumes%20et%20v%C3%AAtements%20de%20l%27Empire%20ottoman&spec_expand=1&sort_define=score&sort_order=1&osirosrows=10&osirosstart=0&idosiros=3146139&fq=fulltext%3A%28Recueil+de+costumes+et+v%C3%AAtements+de+l%27Empire+ottoman%29

(2) Sinekemani çalan kadın. 1818 civarı. Catalogue des Costumes Turcs, 1818. Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi, 8283, y.195. <https://gr.pinterest.com/pin/453878468674777861/?nic=1>

(3) Sinekemani çalan hanım. Abdullah Buharı imzalı. 1744. İÜK T9364,y.10a [Lady Playing the Sinekemani. Signed by Abdullah Buhari, 1744. İÜK T9364,y.10a]

<https://turkishmusichouse.com/#&gid=1&pid=14>

(4) Yüzyıl da sine-i keman çalan bir cariye [A concubine playing the violin in the nineteenth century]

<https://i.pinimg.com/1200x/a8/88/af/a888afea6a7c676fc29a3a51b85cc8c1.jpg>

34. Esen argues that all the eighteenth-century violinists and sinekeman performers are indiscriminately referred to as “kemani,” such as the famous sinekeman performers George (Corci) and Myron. “In fact, in the sources of that period, the appellation ‘sinekemani’ is never seen adjoining the name of any musician.” De Zorzi and Pontarollo, “Viola d amore,” 136.

(ca.1680–1760). He was referred to by the Turks as Kemani Corci,³⁵ that is to say, the performer on the keman. He is believed to have been active in the court of Sultan Mahmud I (reigned 1730–1754) and the first to perfect and introduce the (sine)keman to the palace from the taverns or *meyhane*,³⁶ which were always Rum or Armenian businesses.³⁷ Specifically, Fonton says that “Yorgis” introduced the *violon d’ amour*, and he does not use any other French terms as *viole d’amour* or *alto*. This is of particular importance, since Fonton had brilliant knowledge of musical instruments, and the use of *violon* would be a reliable description of the instrument’s type. Another George, Kemani Yorgi (ca.1750–1810), a violinist at the court of Sultan Selim III (1789–1808), was confused by Papadopoulos with the earlier George (Corci), because he was also blind and an excellent performer on the (sine)keman.³⁸ Myronis (ca.1760–1842) was an important performer of the sinekeman and student of the first George (Corci).³⁹ Leg-

35. John Plemmenos, “‘Micro-Musics’ of the Ottoman Empire: The Case of the Phanariot Greeks of Istanbul” (PhD diss., St Edmund’s College, Cambridge, 2001): 48. “Another famous eighteenth-century Greek composer of Ottoman music was Stravogeorgis, or Blind George (ca.1680-1760). He was known to the Turks as Corci Kemani, or “player of the keman” (seven-stringed fiddle), for, although stripped of his sight, he is believed to have perfected this instrument by adding three more strings to the original four.”

36. Eckhard Neubauer, *Der Essai sur la Musique Orientale von Charles Fonton*, ed. Fuat Sezgin, *The Science of Music in Islam 4* (Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 1999): 73–74. Charles Fonton in about 1751 reported about Greek George, the Ottoman music hero, who was active in the court of Sultan Mahmud I (1730–54) and introduced the “violon d’ amour” to the palace from the taverns of Rum. “Le heros de leur musique, le premier musicien de la Cour ottomane, le fameux Grec GEORGES, qui joue de tous les instruments, et entre les mains duquel, selon le langage de ses compatriotes, la matière la plus ingrate, le corps le moins harmonieux, deviendrait sonore, GEORGES, dis-je, a etabli surtout sa reputation par les accords touchants de son violon d’amour, que personne n’avait su manier avant lui, et qu’il a le premier introduit parmi les Orientaux.”

37. Feldman, “Ottoman Music,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001.

38. “Stravogeorgis was born in Tataoulis in Constantinople around the middle of the eighteenth century and he passed away in 1810. He was a teacher of musical instruments, composer and melody maker of secular music. He gained distinction by playing the four-string lyra, to which he added another three strings, creating the seven-string lyra (the great violin, or in Turkish, the ‘keman’).” Georgios Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαί εις την Ιστορία της παρ’ ημίν Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* [Contribution to the History of Our Liturgical Music] (Athens: Kousoulinou Athanasiadou, 1890): 345. “Ο Στραβογεώργης εγεννήθη εν Ταταούλοις της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως περί τα μέσα του ΙΗ’ αιώνας, ετελεύτησε δε τω 1810. Διδάσκαλος μουσικών οργάνων, μελοποιός δε και μελωδός της εξωτερικής μουσικής πεφημισμένος. Μεταχειρίζετο ιδία την τετράχορδον λύραν, εις ην προσέθηκεν ούτος και ετέρας τρεις χορδάς και απετέλεσε την επτάχορδον λύραν (το μέγα βιολί, τουρκιστί Κεμάν καλούμενον).”

39. Papadopoulos, 345. He is referred to as Myronis [Μυρώνης] (Kemani Myron) or Myron [Μύρων]. “Myronis, a prominent melody maker, who acquired rare and exquisite musical skills, originating from Iasio of Moldovlahia, died at the age of eighty



FIGURE 23. Eighteenth-century sinekeman, painted by Rapayel. Detail from Hızır Ağa, “Tefhîmü'l—Makâmât fi Tevlîdî'n—Nağamât,” 1777.

endary musician Tanburi Isaac was a sinekeman student under Myronis.

Hızır Ağa (1710?–1796?), born in Aleppo of Syria, settled at a very young age into the Ottoman court. He learned to play the sinekeman under kemani Corci (the earlier George) around 1720–35, at Enderun, the famous music school of the court.⁴⁰ Uslu mentions that Hızır Ağa must have completed his lessons with Corci in 1753⁴¹ when, as Uzunçarşılı reported, Sultan Mahmud presented the honorary award to violinist Corci.⁴² Before his death in 1796/9, he became a well-known musician and composer, reaching very high positions in the court, where he was also *müşahip*, a consultant and interlocutor of the musically educated Sultan Selim III.⁴³ His most important work was *Tefhîmü'l-Makâmât fîtil Tevlîdi'n-Nagamât*, written in 1777.⁴⁴ In the second part of his book are several illustrations of instruments, including a twelve-string (6/6) sinekeman. The illustrated sinekeman (fig. 23) is a link between the instrument created by Stravogiorgis (Kemani Corci, ca.1680–1760), and later illustrations. This instrument has the most similarities to the instrument examined in this essay and to the kemangeh roumy, as mentioned below. In all these illustrations and mentions, use of the sinekeman was mainly by Rum (Greek) performers, initially in the taverns outside the Ottoman court and later inside the court, as a dominant instrument in Ottoman music, culminating in the period of Sultan Selim III (1789–1808). At that time, the sinekeman was considered the most famous instrument in Ottoman music and its combination with the Ney and the Tanbur was considered exceptional.

in Constantinople in 1842 AD.” “Ο Μυρώνης, διαπρεπέστατος μελωδός, εκέκτητο σπάνια και έξοχα μουσικά προσόντα. Κατήγετο εξ Ιασίου της Μολδοβλαχίας απέθανεν ογδοηκοντούτης εν Κων/πολει τω 1842 μ.Χ.”

40. Ahmet Say, *Muzik Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Müzik Ansiklopedisi, 1985), 710. “KE-MANI CORCI XVIII Yuzyilda yasadı. “Ama Corci” adıyla da bilinir. İyi bir sinekemani icracısı olarak un yapan Corci, bir süre Enderun ‘da calismıştır.” [Kemani Corci had lived in Turkey. He is also known as “Ama Corci.” A good sinekeman performer, known as Corci, worked for a period of time at Enderun.]

41. Recep Uslu, *Saraydaki Kemancı Hızır Ağa ve Görüşleri* [The Violinist Hızır Ağa in the Palace and His Views] (Ankara: Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sozlugu, 2014), 201.

42. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, “Osmanlılar Zamanında Saraylarda Mûsikî Hayatı” [Musical Life in the Palaces in the Ottoman Era], *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, XLI, no. 161 (1977): 79–114, at 95.

43. Haluk Yucel, “Kemani Hizir Ağa ve Tefhîmü'l-Makâmât fi Tevlîdi'n-Nagamât Çevirisindeki Perdeler” [Frets [perde] in the Translation of the Violinist Hizir Ağa and Tefhîmü'l-Makâmât fi Tevlîdi'n-Nagamât], *Akademik Bakis Dergisi* 37 (August 2013): 1–16.

44. Hızır Ağa, *Tefhîmü'l-Makâmât fi Tevlîdi'n-Nagamât*. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, no. 1793 (1777).



FIGURE 24. Detail of “kemangeh Roumy, au de la viole Grecque” from Guillaume A. Villoteau, “Description historique, technique et littéraire, des instrumens de musique des orientaux,” in *Description de l’Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1809), 881.

Kemangeh Roumy: Villoteau's Report

In a survey of Eastern instruments of music published in 1809, Guillaume Villoteau mentioned the “kemangeh roumy, ou de la viole grecque.” meaning the kemanche of the Rum, which he also signifies as the Greek viola.⁴⁵ The drawing in his book (fig. 24) shows an instrument with twelve strings, six playable, and six sympathetic strings passing under the fingerboard (6/6). It is built on the violin pattern, except for the distinctive soundholes, which are shaped like linked arches, or “double Cs.” Villoteau states that “This viola is very much like the instrument we met, not long ago, in France and Italy, by the name of viola d' amore. Maybe this viola came to us from the Greeks.”⁴⁶

Other instruments are mentioned as early as the ninth century by Arab writers as being Byzantine, with the distinctive title Rum. Farmer, in his reference to Byzantine instruments,⁴⁷ quotes Ibn Khurdadhbhīh's texts from the ninth century to cite an instrument called the *fandurus al-Rumi*. Karakassis notes that “It is *fanthura* (φαντούρα) or *panduri* (πανδούρι), often referred to in Byzantine texts and in the *Akritiko epos*, and it belongs to the Lute family.”⁴⁸ In addition to Fandurus al-Rumi, Ibn Khurdadhbhīh also refers to the Byzantine *lura*, a lyre, as a five-stringed rabap.⁴⁹ Another bowed chordophone bearing the distinctive title Rum is the *kemence Rumi* (Greek kemence). As During et al. mentioned,

45. Guillaume A. Villoteau, “Description historique, technique et littéraire, des instrumens de musique des orientaux,” in *Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches* (Paris: Imprimerie imperiale, 1809), 881. “Lè nom de kemângeh suivi du mot roumy, qui signifie 'grec.’” [The name of kemângeh followed by the word roumy, which means ‘Greek.’]

46. Villoteau, “Instrumens de musique des orientaux,” 882. “Cette viole ressemble beaucoup à l'instrument qu'on connoissoit, il n'y a pas très-long-temps, en France et en Italie, sous le nom de viole d'amour. Peut-être cette viole nous étoit elle venue des Grecs.”

47. Henry G. Farmer, “Byzantine Musical Instruments in the Ninth Century,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925): 299. “He certainly begins his reference to the Byzantines in Al Masudi by quoting a certain Fandurus al-Rumi on the affinity between the strings (of the lute) and the ‘temperaments.’”

48. Karakassis, *Greek Musical Instruments*, 45–46. “Πρόκειται για την φαντούρα ή πανδούρι που συχνά αναφέρεται σε βυζαντινά κείμενα και στο Ακριτικό έπος και είναι της οικογένειας του λαούτου.”

49. Farmer, “Byzantine Musical Instruments,” 303. “Ibn Khurdadhbhīh is dealing apparently with contemporary musical instruments of Byzantium, and we recognize the following: . . . lura = λύρα (= rabap) . . .”; “Among the musical instruments of the Byzantines are: . . . the lura which is the rabap, and it is made of wood and has five strings.”

in western Turkey the kemençe is similar to the Greek lira of the eastern Aegean type, and is sometimes called the *fasıl kemençesi* (“classical kemençe”) or kemençe Rumi (“Greek kemençe”). This type of kemençe is used mainly in classical fasıl (Turkish art music) and is becoming rarer as the keman (European violin) gains in popularity.⁵⁰

Villoteau’s reference to kemangeh roumy attributes a Byzantine origin to this instrument. The instrument found by Villoteau, given the name kemangeh roumy by Arabs in eighteenth-century Egypt, as well as the aforementioned illustrations and evidences about Rum sinekeman performers, add weight to the hypothesis that it may have been developed from an instrument of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium). It could be a development of the kamancheh, although its introduction to Byzantium seems to happen much later than Ibn Khurdadhbhbih’s account of the Byzantine *Lura* in the ninth century, as During mentions: “The word kamānchēh is documented from the tenth century, and the instrument probably reached Byzantium in the eleventh or twelfth century via Anatolia.”⁵¹ It is possible that a bowed string instrument, such as the Byzantine lura-lyre or a similar construction, ancestor of the kemangeh roumy, traveled during the Byzantine period to Egypt, a Byzantine province, and remained there until the later years of the Ottoman empire, where Villoteau saw it.

Such a scenario is possibly the reason that George Andrews in 1908 described the “Kemangeh Roumy” as existing in Africa, separate from the kemangeh of Turkey and Persia.⁵² In addition, Jules Rouanet remarked that “When this instrument was brought to Algeria by the people of Roum, tradition says, its harmony was found so beautiful that the awakened musicians exclaimed *‘el khemal dja! . . .* perfection has arrived.”⁵³ This oral tradition lasted in Algeria until the twentieth century. Could the name of the kemanche have derived from the Arabic of this expression of admiration for a new instrument?

50. During et al., “Kamancheh.”

51. During et al., “Kamancheh.”

52. “Kemangeh Roumy” *The Imperial History and Encyclopedia of Music: Musical Instruments*, ed. George Andrews (Toronto: T. J. Ford & Co, 1908):149, 235–44.

53. Jules Rouanet, “La Musique Arabe,” in *Encyclopedie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire* 1, vol. 5: 2676–2944. ed. Albert Lavignac (Paris: Librairie Delgrave, 1920), 2925. “Quand cet instrument fut apporté en Algerie par le gens de Roum, dit la tradition, ses accords furent trouvés si beaux que les musiciens éinerveilles s’écrierent el khemal dja! . . . La perfection est arrivée.”



FIGURE 25. Dimitris Charalambous playing a pogoniso drone, 2001. Photo by Sotirios Katsouras.

The term Rum, Roum, Rumi or Roumy may be attributed to these instruments because of the way the performers held the instrument and the playing techniques that they used, and not necessarily because of morphological characteristics. Thus, if this bowed string instrument was played on the arm (*da braccio*,⁵⁴ as the Europeans would say), or on the chest (*sine* as the Ottomans would add later), or even as the violin is held today in Epirus to play a drone to the *pogoniso*⁵⁵ tune, the manner could have been invented or established by the Rum (fig.25). That is to say, the Byzantine techniques of performing might have been noted as differing from the vertical position typical of Eastern players of the kemanche. The “lyra way” playing, mentioned in John Evelyn’s diary (20 November 1679) as the first known reference to the viola d’ amore,⁵⁶ could have denoted a way of playing an instrument similar to kemangeh roumy and as referred in the diary, with a very sweet sound, which could also signify the existence of the sympathetic strings.

Perhaps “lyra way” also attributes a particular Byzantine origin to this

54. The term *da braccio* which is used for these instruments derives from the Latinized Greek word *brachionas*, *brachium*, *bracchium* (βραχίονας, βραχίων); the name for viola in German is Bratsche.

55. Katsouras, “Violin Technique”, 83–86.

56. Rosenblum, “Viola d’ amore.” “The first known mention of the name ‘viol d’ amore’ appeared in John Evelyn’s diary (20 November 1679): ‘. . . but above all for its sweetness & novelty the Viol d’amore of 5 wyre strings, plaied on with a bow, being but an ordinary violin, play’d on Lyra way by a German, than which I never heard a sweeter instrument or more surprising’”

instrument. For this reason, as Sachs⁵⁷ argued, the Byzantine lyre (*lira*) also known as the fiddle, vielle, or viola, became Europe's dominant arched string instrument in the Middle Ages, and from the beginning it was supported mainly on the arm, and the bow was held with the palm downward, as with today's violin. Consequently, Maliaras's conclusion also probably applies to the instrument under consideration:

the most important technical developments relating to the shape, the holding of the instrument and the bow, the playing techniques, etc., were cultivated in Byzantium and transmitted almost complete to the West.⁵⁸

The Instrument Found in Epirus: Kemangeh Roumy

The specific case of the instrument under examination in this study is remarkable and particularly rare for Greek organology. It raises questions as to why many experienced researchers and musicians involved in the music of Epirus have not seen or recognized this instrument as being different from the violin, and thus have not written about it. Surely a photograph of this instrument would have been seen, as many photographs have been published in books, in collections and on the internet⁵⁹ as well and even in compact disk recordings, where musicological commentary is also made.⁶⁰ The same lack of notice, however, happened in the West with

57. Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, second ed. (Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, 2006; first published 1940), 276; 277. "The Byzantine lira, under the names of fiddle, vièle, viola, became the principal bowed instrument of Europe in the Middle Ages." "But in Europe, almost from the beginning, the position was changed; the fiddle was shouldered like a modern violin, and the bow was held in 'pronation' with the palm downward, the fingers above and the thumb below."

58. Nikos Malliaras, "Μουσικά Όργανα στους Χορούς και τις Διασκεδάσεις των Βυζαντινών" [Musical Instruments in Byzantine Dances and Entertainments], *Archaeology & Arts* 91 (2004): 69. "Έτσι αποδεικνύεται ότι οι σημαντικότερες τεχνικές εξελίξεις, που αφορούσαν το σχήμα, το κράτημα του οργάνου και του δοξαριού, τον τρόπο παιξίματος κ.λπ., καλλιεργήθηκαν στο Βυζάντιο και μεταδόθηκαν σχεδόν ολοκληρωμένες στη Δύση."

59. A video on YouTube, viewed more than 134,467 views at this writing, shows the photograph of fig. 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bcqiwEkYu2M>, posted on 2 June 2011.

60. E.g., fig.12, a photograph from Dilofo, taken in 1908. See George Kokkonis, *Μουσικός Χάρτης του Ελληνισμού: Μουσική από την Ήπειρο* [Musical Map of Hellenism: Music from Epirus] (Athens: Parliament of Greece, 2008): 36 and fig. 6; *Music of Epirus, vol. 1, The Greek Archives: Authentic Rare Recordings*, compact disk booklet, 29.

the viola d' amore. Bricqueville states that despite the great popularity of viola d' amore, he is surprised to find that it is not mentioned in important music books. Furthermore, he adds that while calendars and almanacs mentioned many professors of the pardessus viol, he was able to find the address of only one musician, named Corsin, who teaches viola d' amore, in the first *Almanach Musical* of 1783.⁶¹

The instruments in question, examined mainly through iconographic analysis, all follow the same pattern, and no significant differences from one to another are apparent from the images. They differ markedly from the European violin and viola, but show only minor differences when compared to the viola d' amore and the sinekeman. The specific appearance of these instruments in Epirus is not exactly identical to a viola d' amore in its usual form, nor to a sinekeman (based on the information available from Constantinople, either as paintings and drawings or from the photograph). It is more of a hybrid instrument between today's violin and viola d' amore, more like the instrument pictured by Villoteau in 1809, which he names the kemangeh roumy, that is, the kemanche of the Greeks (Rum), or what Fonton calls violon d' amour. Yorgis introduced it into the Ottoman palace, and later it is seen in the image of kemani Hizir Aga (1777). It resembles an older type of twelve-stringed viola d' amore, made in the size and shape of a regular violin, formerly referred to as violino d' amore in Western Europe. The instrument appears in different regions of Epirus, in different kompanies (bands), in the hands of different performers, and in quite a large number of photographs. On several occasions, two or three such instruments are found together in the same photograph.⁶² The instrument was therefore not a unique exemplar produced by or for an individual performer, nor a local variation within a narrow regional area. Instead, the photographs provide evidence of systematic and long-term use of this instrument by many players at that time, in different regions of Epirus.

61. Eugene de Bricqueville, *La Viole d' Amour* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1908): 10. "Quand on voit la faveur dont jouissait autrefois la viole d' amour, on est surpris de ne la trouver mentionnée ni dans le a 'Traité' de Jean Rousseau [*Traité de la viole*] (1687), ni dans les 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la musique' (1738), ni dans la 'Défense' de l'abbé Leblanc [*Défense de la basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncelle*] (1740). Bien plus, alors que les Almanachs, Tablettes, et autres organes de publicité citent quantité de professeurs pour le pardessus, c'est à peine si nous trouvons, dans 'l' Almanach musical' de 1783, l'adresse d'un nommé Corsin, qui 'montre la viole d'amour.'"

62. See figs. 1, 2, 9, 10.

The question of nomenclature for this instrument is no small thing, because the author knows of no relevant name from oral tradition in Epirus. It would be unjust to call this type of instrument the sinekeman or viola d' amore, as these names were probably never used in Epirus, nor were they known among folk violinists. If you ask today a local *violitzi* (violin player), he will not know the terms viola d'amore or sinekeman, even if he or she knows the Turkish term "camsakiz" as the name for the bow rosin.⁶³ The name keman would arguably be more appropriate, because it was the unique name mentioned by the researchers Vrellis and Chrysanthos.⁶⁴ However, it seems preferable for three reasons to refer to the instrument as kemangeh roumy, that is the multistring bowed chordophone of the Rum (Greeks). Firstly, because the instrument under consideration shares the morphology of Villoteau's design and detailed description. Secondly, because Villoteau's attribution of the term roumy coincides with the history, previously highlighted, of an instrument used mainly by the Rum community. Finally, because in the music of Epirus is found another instrument called Tzamara. This is a kind of *φλογέρα* (flogera or ney), and its name could have a similar ancestry, closely resembling that of the Egyptian *Zummarā*.

According to a detailed examination of the photographs, the characteristics of the type of instrument appearing in Epirus are the following.

The external shape of the back and top plate. These are similar to the common violin of today, but not the common viola d' amore or the viol family. The back is not flat, as is the back plate of the viol family, and the shoulders of the instrument come perpendicular to the back and top plate as in the violin, and not sloping as in the viola d' amore. Neither does it resemble the sinekeman, as depicted in the watercolors or the unique photograph of the twentieth century from Constantinople.

The size. These instruments appear to be no bigger than the common violin, when an estimation is made by comparison with the performer's body. As Boyden argued, the original form of the viola d' amore was the size of the violin. An example of a viola d' amore in its early form is thus to be found in Epirus.

63. Katsouras, "Violin Technique," 63.

64. See the appendix to this article.

It is a multi-string instrument. Twelve strings are tuned by twelve pegs, which appear very clearly in many of the photographs presented (figs. 7, 8, 11, 14). In all the photographs examined, no variation was clearly visible. The instrument type seems to be stable and consolidated by the time of the images from Epirus. It can be clearly seen (fig. 7), that the playable strings on the fingerboard are between five and six.

The sympathetic strings. Unfortunately, from the photographs, it is not clear whether there are sympathetic strings, nor how the sympathetic strings are secured under the fingerboard. There could, of course, be six double strings tuned in pairs (*diplochordo*, in Greek violinist terminology, means two strings, one close to the other, placed and tuned either in the same tone or in a different octave).⁶⁵ This case of double stringing (*diplochordo*) on all pitches is found in an instrument referred to as *sultana* or *psaltery* or *salter*, although this does not appear to be the case in the photographs.⁶⁶

The soundholes. On the top plate, the soundholes of these instruments show the classic f-shape, as on today's violins. They lack characteristic Eastern features that are preserved even on some European string instruments: C-shaped holes, the scheme of a flaming sword (as on the viola d' amore and sinekeman), and the rosette. How is it, in such an oriental setting as Ioannina under the Ottoman Empire, that such Western elements were more dominant than the Eastern influences? Even violas d' amore in the West at that time exhibited these oriental features, such as flaming

65. Katsouras, "Violin Technique," 76. Double-stringed (*diplochordo*) tuning has been used in Greek traditional music until today and has lent its name to a series of instrumental tunes. There are also many recordings from the early twentieth century with double-stringed tuning in homonymous pieces such as *tsifteteli diplohordo* or *taximi diplohordo*. Of course, in these cases double strings were used only for the high string, the "*kantini*" as it was called, and not for all strings, as mentioned here.

66. It is striking to note that in far-away Ireland too, the viol-type viola d' amore makes an appearance without sympathetic strings, called "sultana" or "saltery," around 1767. An important point to be highlighted is that the name of this instrument is used in the female gender as "sultana" and not as "sultan," the male counterpart. Such an instrument could have been used in the feminine harem, as mentioned earlier, with the sinekeman female performers. "Sultana" is widely used as a woman's name among the Greek (Rum) community in Constantinople. The name may also indicate a possible origin and use and the movement from Constantinople to Ireland during the Ottoman Empire. "Sultana or cither-viol. A type of viola d' amore or bowed English guitar (guitar) introduced by Thomas Perry of Dublin . . . The sultana normally has five pairs of strings." "Sultana," *Grove Music Online*; <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.L2232768>.

sword soundholes and a rosette, while in Epirus these Eastern influences never appeared.

Can it be assumed from this that these instruments are more likely from manufacturers in major centers in Italy, such as Venice, with which the commercial relations of the Epirus people were highly developed? Is it more likely that the route of the instrument was from Italy to Epirus and via Wallachia and Moldova to Constantinople? Or vice versa? The violin is also found with sympathetic resonating strings in southern Moldavia, as Cooke, Dick, et al. reported,⁶⁷ which is particularly interesting for this research. Is it a usual four-string violin with sympathetic strings (4/7) or a fourteen-stringed instrument (7/7) like the common viola d'amore?

The fingerboard, tailpiece, and chinrest. Fingerboard and tailpiece are much wider than on a common violin, since both should serve at least six playable strings, as shown in figs. 1 and 7. The tailpiece in fig. 5 is very wide, open, with a small curve and very different from the tailpiece of a common violin. In addition, the fingerboard of these instruments is not short in length, as with the Baroque-era violas d'amore,⁶⁸ or as presented by Villoteau. They appear to be of regular length, such as today's violin. The fingerboard did not have frets in any instrument of the photographs examined, distinguishing them from the fretted instruments of the viol family. In keeping with violins of their time, the photographed instruments follow the changes made to more modern instruments, such as the length of the fingerboard, which is not as short as in the Baroque instruments.⁶⁹ However, none of the instruments under consideration bears a chinrest.⁷⁰ Although the innovation of the chinrest was described by Spohr in 1820 and had been in use in Europe for many years,⁷¹ there was no instrument bearing this innovation in Epirus at the beginning of the twen-

67. "The violin in south-west Moldova usually has seven sympathetic strings, probably a relic of the Turkish kemence, with sympathetic strings." Peter Cooke, Alastair Dick, et al., "Violin, II. Extra-European and folk usage," *Grove Music Online*, 2001

68. "The [baroque] fingerboard is wedge-shaped and, again, shorter than the modern fingerboard. . . . Classical instruments lie mostly somewhere between seventeenth-century and modern averages." Boyden et al., "Violin."

69. "Compared with Baroque period models, original necks from the later eighteenth century tend to be longer and slightly tilted back." *Ibid.*

70. "Violins (and violas) lacked chin rests." *Ibid.*

71. David D. Boyden and Peter Walls, "Chin Rest," *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05615>.

tieth century.

It would be interesting, if it were possible, to examine the inclination of the neck of the photographed instruments. Was the neck of the instrument parallel to the belly, or was it tilted back like the more modern violin, giving greater height to the bridge and therefore a louder sound? Unfortunately, the photographs did not help on this score. However, it is possible that these instruments were constructed according to older designs.

The bridge. The instrument's bridge has a significant curvature, as shown in figs.1, 7, 11, and 12. It is not flat, like the bridges of the Pontic *lyre* or *kemane* of Cappadocia. But it is not possible to discern whether it is more or less curved than the bridge of today's violins. The height of the bridge would be of great importance for the sound color and the volume produced by these instruments. The six strings that pass over the bridge possibly exerted too much pressure to allow the instrument's top belly to withstand a raised bridge like today's violins. As Boyden, Cooke, and Walls report, the old bridges are lower in height than modern ones, making the sound less penetrating, as it was in the Baroque and Classical period.⁷² It is probable that most older violins in Europe suffered the conversions and transformations Sachs describes in his book, and although this happened in Epirus about a century later:

At the end of the eighteenth century, when music strove for more brilliancy and power, the bridge was raised and more highly arched. Consequently, the strings had to run downhill from the bridge to the pegs, and the neck and fingerboard were slanted back to follow the angle of the strings; thinner strings were used, and the bass bar became heavier to counterbalance the stronger pressure. Not only were new violins made after this pattern; old instruments that were still in use were transformed, so that it is extremely rare to find a violin in its original condition.⁷³

72. "They were also fractionally lower than modern bridges (inevitable given the alignment of the neck on early violins). These features contribute to the characteristic (less penetrating) sound of 'Baroque' and 'Classical' violins." David D. Boyden, Peter Cooke, and Peter Walls, "Bridge (i)," *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03976>. "Bridges were cut to a more open pattern and were very slightly lower." Boyden et al., "Violin."

73. Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 360–61.

The weight of the instrument. In the neck and the pegbox of the 12-string instrument, the weight is much greater than in a usual violin, due to the larger size of the fingerboard, the large number of pegs, and the elongated pegbox. The instrument's holding posture—resting on the left arm—and playing technique appear to have been greatly influenced by this weighty construction. (This may even explain the attitude and position of the standard violin subsequently used in the music of Epirus; rarely do violinists of the region hold the instrument in an upwards inclination, as in adjacent countries with a rich violinistic tradition, such as Romania and Hungary.) The typical image of holding a violin in Epirus seems to be the same as for the *sinekeman*, which is on the arm for solo playing, or turning vertically on the chest for accompaniment⁷⁴ (fig. 25).

Links of Trade and Culture between Epirus and the East

Studying the history of Epirus, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Constantinople during the period of the Ottoman Empire, one realizes the close relationship and bidirectional commercial and intellectual influence of these cultural regions. In the history of Wallachia and Moldavia, we find many Epirus boyars and officials who work closely with the princes from Fanari in Constantinople. Throughout the Ottoman Empire, the people of Epirus emigrated and showed special skills and success in areas such as trade and education. Merchants from Epirus are found in important market centers of Italy such as Venice, but also based (sometimes with large fortunes) in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Constantinople. The rich merchants left important fortunes and bequests to churches of Epirus, Wallachia, and Moldavia. These bequests were present until the twentieth century. At that time, there were also active communities of immigrants from Epirus in Constantinople. Likewise, educators, teachers and intellectuals from Epirus moved between Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Italy. For example, the established academies of Bucharest and Iasi had Greeks as teachers, who used the Greek language to teach. Important personalities from Epirus such as Lambros Fotiadis, Zarzulis, Boulgaris, Soug-

74. About the violinist's posture in Epirotic music, see Katsouras, "Violin Technique," 81–92.

douris, Costantinou, etc., taught at the academies of Bucharest and Iasi.⁷⁵ Epirotic intellectuals also significantly influenced music and music education, for example, Dionysios Fotinos, who is mentioned in the appendix as a student of Lambros Fotiadis from Epirus, at the Academy of Bucharest. Therefore, the post-Byzantine merchants from Epirus and their trade network, reaching through Italy, to Epirus, to Moldavia and Constantinople, are suggestive of the possible journey of these or similar instruments. Of course, people from Epirus (merchants, academics, musicians), dispersed from Italy to Iasio and Fanari of Constantinople, would be a likely trade link. This hypothesis might also explain the claim of Yekta,⁷⁶ who, in his article in the *Encyclopaedie Lavignac*, reports that the *viola d' amore* came to the Ottoman world via Serbia and Wallachia (today's Romania).

Conclusions

It is important that a new instrument be recognized in the organology of Epirotic music. As shown above, this multistring instrument was used very frequently, in a wide geographical range in the prefecture of Ioannina, by all cultural groups of the Rum community, for the traditional music of Epirus. Its earliest appearance and use in the music of Epirus cannot yet be determined, but its definitive disappearance occurred in the early decades of the twentieth century. It is the only documented use of this instrument in Greek traditional music, and the most complete and detailed writings of Greek organology have no reference to it.⁷⁷ By the photographic evidence, the morphology of the instrument was constant, with no suggestion of ongoing development or experimentation. It is not the creation and innovation of any one player, nor of any one band; instead, a widespread and long-term use of the instrument is documented.

However, based on the illustrations of *Romeika* dance in Constantinople, the testimony of Iakovos Elias from Megara of Attica as described by

75. For more information, see Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Academiile Domnesti din Bucuresti si Iasi*; Institutul de Studii Sud-est Europene, Biblioteca istorica XXVIII (Bucharest: Academiei Romania, 1971), 328.

76. Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 3014. "Au contraire, nous croyons que la viole d'amour a pénétré de l'Autriche-Hongrie à Constantinople par la Valachie et la Serbie."

77. See the appendix to this article.

Karakassis,⁷⁸ and the engraving by Cochrane in 1837, depicting a wedding in Athens,⁷⁹ it is possible that these instruments were also used in other regions of Greece, and perhaps in other Balkan countries as well. It seems that this instrument, which survived in Epirus until the twentieth century (the last photo found dated from 1916), was an instrument of universal acceptance throughout the Rum community, and subsequent research may provide evidence for the existence of these instruments in Epirus, Greece, Albania, or other Balkan regions. Consequently, the use of this instrument in Epirus or elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire is not only a matter of local interest but of great importance in Greek and Balkan organology.

The common size of viola d' amore is not documented in the musical history of Greece, but an early type of 12-stringed viola d'amore in the form and size of a common violin is reported. Indeed, the course of this instrument in Epirus in the nineteenth century seems to resemble its evolution in the Baroque era of Western European music. In both eighteenth-century Europe and nineteenth-century Epirus, the 12-string (6/6) viola d' amore appeared earlier than the 14-string (7/7), mostly commonly in a size resembling the violin. In both domains, the stages of development, construction innovations, uses and techniques, bowings and holdings of instruments, and playing techniques, may have followed largely parallel paths. This instrument found in Epirus in the late nineteenth century is additional evidence for the original form that the first twelve-stringed (6/6) viola d' amore may have had. Some innovations in the construction and use of the Western viola d' amore have been observed in kemangeh roumy, while at the same time, other—perhaps older—innovations were not incorporated. For example, kemangeh roumy's fingerboard grows in length compared to the previous century and the soundholes show the classic f-shape, but on the other hand, no chin rest is ever added to it. Many questions arise from the complete disappearance of these instruments from the Epirus region. No instrument has been found to survive, at least in this form, to date. Were they converted into "normal" violins? This intriguing question remains unanswered. When, how, and by whom could the conversion of these instruments have taken place in Epirus?

78. Karakassis, *Greek Musical Instruments*, 154. See the appendix below. I prefer to keep the spelling of the name of Karakassis with double "s" as he mentions his name in French as Caracassis in several articles he wrote for the *Epetiris tou Laografikou Arxeiou* of the Academy of Athens. See <http://editions.academyofathens.gr/epetirides/xmlui/handle/20.500.11855/2>

79. See the appendix following this article.

This instrument greatly influenced the music of Epirus, the musical aesthetics of the people living in Epirus, and the way in which the other instruments, especially the clarinet, of the kombania were played and used. The sweetness of the sound that attracted comment in the West (the *d' amore* designation is not accidental), the rich harmonic frequencies it produces, along with the much lower frequencies, created a different audio field and tone style that was transmitted throughout the music of Epirus. In combination with the rest of the instruments of a musical ensemble that existed many centuries before the appearance of the clarinet in Epirus,⁸⁰ a different color of musical sound was heard, in comparison to today. Despina Mazaraki's reference is indicative of the distinctive musical atmosphere that existed in Epirus: the people "wanted the clarinets to sound soft and sweet,"⁸¹ because they were used to hearing the soft sound of the *nayia* (neys). Today, Mazaraki's reference could be complemented by adding to the musical atmosphere the existence and important influence of kemangeh roumy. Indeed, apart from the use of them in the traditional music of Epirus, the grouping of these instruments (*sinekeman*, *tanbur*, and *ney*) was also prized in Ottoman music during the period of Sultan Selim III. This instrument, documented as an important tool for educating of Eastern musicians and teaching the Byzantine *octoechos*, it may have been a useful tool for training and education in the traditional music of Epirus. The clarinet, designed and produced in Western Europe to produce tempered tones and scales, is now used in the music of Epirus with an individual tone color and with microtones and characteristic *glissandos*. This style is possibly a result of lessons that clarinet players took from kemangeh roumy players and applied to their playing style. Many references to musical families in Epirus establish that most clarinet performers learned this music from violinists.⁸²

The use of these instruments in Greek music today is particularly important because there is a distinct relationship between the common people

80. In addition to the kemangeh roumy, these instruments were the *tambouras* (long-neck fretted lute), *tzamara* or *floyera* (end-blown flute), *laouto* (lute), and *defi* (frame drum).

81. Despina Mazaraki, *To Λαϊκό Κλαρίνο στην Ελλάδα* [The Folk Clarinet in Greece] second ed. (Athens: Kedros, 1984): 65. "στην Ήπειρο θέλαν τα κλαρίνα μαλακά—γλυκά από τα νάγια."

82. Sotirios Katsouras, *Ala Rum*, compact disk booklet (Ioannina: Noisyland Recordings, 2019). A sample of this music, played by the author, is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9DaaN5OE5Lk&list=OLAK5uy_kADk5yJx-L7YPkLghXQenu-9uKdSogsjJg

and bowed strings, which has existed and has been maintained for many centuries, transmitting technical instrumental peculiarities and preferences, which preceded the Ottoman domination. On examination of the data on viola, from many centuries, it is likely that the creation and use of this instrument had its roots in Byzantium. Many elements now point to the creation and development of the viola d'amore as a Byzantine instrument of the Rums. As described more fully in the Appendix, the viola of the Rums defines and significantly influences Greek music.⁸³ From the Byzantine *lira* of Ibn Khurdadhbhbih in the ninth century through the use of the name viola for Byzantine *kratima* in 1336; the references of Tincoris (1435–1511), Villoteau (1809), and Sachs (1940) to the Byzantine *lira* and viola and the European *lira da braccio* (λύρα του βραχίονα); and the “lyra way” playing of a common violin as the first known reference to the name viola d' amore (1679); a tradition continued of using these instruments in Epirotic music until the early twentieth century. Perhaps the instrument under examination will help to revise opinions that have ignored the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods in organology, henceforth appreciating the Byzantine influence on the course of evolution of musical instruments. As Malliaras states,

the study of the musical instruments of the Byzantine culture has so far remained essentially outside the research process. Thus, the influence that Byzantium had on the course of the evolution of the musical instruments used in Europe, but also on the Mediterranean civilizations, has not been understood so far, nor has its extent and importance been appreciated.⁸⁴

This new perspective might help deconstruct the Greek ideology concerning the “westernity” of the violin, as compared to the “tradition” of the *lyra* or *kemenze*. The family of bowed strings being played on the arm should no longer be considered a western creation, foreign to Greek music and an expression of Western musical perception. Perhaps the kemangeh

83. See the appendix following this article.

84. Nikos Malliaras, “Μουσικά Όργανα στο Βυζάντιο: Προβλήματα και Πρώτα Αποτελέσματα μιας Έρευνας” [Musical instruments in Byzantium: Problems and first Results of a Survey], *Polyfonia* 1 (2002): 9. “Όμως η μελέτη των μουσικών οργάνων του Βυζαντινού πολιτισμού έχει ως τώρα μείνει ουσιαστικά έξω από αυτή την ερευνητική διαδικασία. Έτσι, η επίδραση που το Βυζάντιο άσκησε στην πορεία της εξέλιξης των μουσικών οργάνων που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στην Ευρώπη, αλλά και στους Πολιτισμούς της Μεσογείου, δεν έχει γίνει ως τώρα κατανοητή, ούτε έχει εκτιμηθεί η έκταση και η σημασία της.”

roumy, the “violon d’amour” of Epirus, is the expressive and special instrument of the Rums, more “traditional” and not necessarily “western”; for centuries, it has fully expressed Epirotic musical preferences. Is the total absence of any kind of *lyra* played vertically in the region of Epirus due to this instrument?

It would be important if future research uncovered any surviving instruments of this type, so that the tunes and songs of Epirus, created with their use in mind, can be studied better. This instrument is respected in both Eastern and Western music worlds, although its origin is debated by significantly diverse cultures. It is an instrument at the crossroads of the cultures of the East and the West, one of fusion and creative assimilation of the East and the West, and thus a typical Greek instrument, a typical Rum instrument: *Kemangeh Roumy*.

APPENDIX

Sources in Greek Literature

The first time the term “viola” is mentioned in Greek music literature is in a *kratima* (κράτημα) of Ioannis Koukouzelis in 1336.⁸⁵ It is the name of a musical piece composed in the style of a Byzantine *kratima* of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Byzantine *kratima* or *vastama* (βάσταμα)⁸⁶ is the extension of a given melody with meaningless syllables. One of the aims of this piece is to relax and distract the listener from the meaning of the text in order to focus the listener’s attention on the musical progression and enjoyment of the *echos*, thereby ascribing particular importance to the music itself as part of a religious worship. In 1336, the term βιόλα (viola) is used as the name of a musical instrument, among many other musical instruments named as Byzantine *kratima*. The next reference to the viola occurs

85. Grigorios Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη* [Kratimata in Chanting Art] 12 (Athens: Foundation for Byzantine Musicology, 2005): 369.

86. Kyriakos Filoxenos, *Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* [Dictionary of Greek Church Music] (Constantinople: Evangelinou Misailidou, 1868): 129. “Μάθημα του Κρατηματαρίου, ο λέγεται και Βάσταμα, (Ιωάννης Μαΐστορ ο Κουκουζέλης εις το Μαθηματάριον) ήτοι το γνωστόν Κράτημα το μελωδικόν.”; Emmanouel Vamvoudakis, “Byzantine music Kratimata,” *Yearbook of the Society of Byzantine Studies* 1(1933): 353. “Είναι δε Κράτημα – άλλως Βάσταμα’—επέκτασις δεδομένης μελωδίας υπό αλόγουσ συλλαβάσ ή λέξεισ άποσκοπούσα ή εις διάρκειαν αυτής ή και εις καλλωπισμόν.”

much later, in 1832, when the Archbishop Chrysanthos,⁸⁷ in *Theoreticon Megatis Mousikis* clearly distinguishes and defines the following bowed string instruments: the seven-string *eptachordon* (keman), the violin (European four-string), and the lyre (three-string), although he mentions the whole family of arched string instruments generally as *lyra*, regardless of the instrument's shape (pear-shaped or guitar-form or bottle-form) and regardless of how it is played (horizontally or vertically). The generic name of all the arched string instruments as *lyra* derives from older Byzantine names of chordophones, such as *lura* or *lyre*. Chrysanthos says, "There are three kinds of lyre among us, *trichordon* (three-stringed), which is the joy of the vultures of the present-day Greeks, the *tetrachordon* (four-stringed), which is used by the Europeans, called the violin in French, and the *eptachordon* (seven-stringed), which the nobles of the current Greeks and Ottomans like immensely, known as *keman* in Turkish."⁸⁸ The *eptachordon* that Chrysanthos knew of at the time is likely to be similar to the plans of the viol-type *sinekeman*, which date from the same period. It is very likely that at the time the instrument also had sympathetic strings, even though Chrysanthos did not say anything about them. However, the instrument is also referred to by Chrysanthos as a *keman*, and not as a *sinekeman*. In 1868, only thirty-six years after Chrysanthos, Filoxenus in his Dictionary of Church Music mentions a "multi-stringed instrument. (See violin)"⁸⁹ in the entry "*eptachordon*" (seven-stringed). In the entry "violin," he states: "A stringed instrument, commonly known as the official violin is the four-string, the so-called 'kemane' in Turkish," and also "the seven-stringed violin, big and formal, which also has seven brass strings for the brilliance of the sound"⁹⁰ In this case, the discrimination between the instruments is clear and the sympathetic strings are noted. In Greek literature, there are also descriptions of a twelve-string (*dodekachordi*) lyre in ecclesiastical hymnography and, as Plemmenos states, "The description of the

87. Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής* [Grand Theoretical Treatise of Music] (Trieste: Michele Weis, 1832), 196.

88. Ibid. "Είδη δε της λύρας καθ' ημάς τρία· το τρίχορδον, ω μάλιστα χαίρουσιν οι χυδαίοι των νυν Ελλήνων· το τετράχορδον, ω μάλιστα χρώνται οι Ευρωπαίοι, ονομάζοντες αυτό Γαλλιστί violin, και το επτάχορδον, ω καθ' υπερβολήν ενηδύνονται οι ευγενείς των νυν Ελλήνων και Οθωμανών, ονομάζοντες αυτό τουρκιστί Κεμάν."

89. Filoxenus, *Dictionary*, 92. "Όργανον τι πολύφθογγον. (Ιδε Βιολί)."

90. Filoxenus, *Dictionary*, 35. "όργανον τι έγχορδον το κοινώς γνωστόν και επίσημον βιολί το τετράχορδον, το καλούμενον Τουρκιστί 'Κεμανέ'" 2) Βιολί το επτάχορδον, μεγάλον και επίσημον, εις ο υπάρχουν υποτενταμένα και επτά ορχάλκινοι χορδαί προς ζωηρότητα προσωδιακής ηγήσεως"



FIGURE 26. Βιολί (violin) from Athanasios, *New Exegesis* [Νέα Έξήγησις] (Venice: Michael Varvonios, 1705).

twelve-string lyre may also conceal one of the many-stringed (polychorda) Byzantine instruments in the harp family, such as the psalterio. However, it can also be a bowed instrument with six strings and six ‘sympathetic’ strings, such as the current kemanes, a pear-shaped lyre of the Greeks of Cappadocia.”⁹¹ While Plemmenos proposes the kemane as the twelve-string lyra, he does not exclude the instrument under consideration with this reference.

In recent years, Karakassis and Anoyanakis⁹² made fleeting references to the existence of such instruments in Greek music, but they did not present any specific evidence or information. A unique and extremely interesting testimony is presented by the folk violinist Iakovos Elias, who complements and emphasizes the importance of these organological findings in Epirus. Karakassis states:

91. John Plemmenos, “Ta mousika organa stin Ekklesiastiki Ymnografia” [Musical Instruments at Ecclesiastical Hymnography], *Polyfonia* 1 (Athens: Kouloura, 2002): 109. “Η περιγραφή της δωδεκάχορδης λύρας ενδέχεται να υποκρύπτει και ένα από τα πολύχορδα βυζαντινά όργανα στον τύπο της άρπας, όπως το ψαλτήριο (για το οποίο ο λόγος κατωτέρω). Μπορεί όμως και να πρόκειται για τοξωτό όργανο με έξι χορδές και έξι ‘συμπαθητικές’ χορδές, όπως ο σύγχρονος κεμανές, αχλαδόσχημη λύρα των Ελλήνων της Καππαδοκίας.”

92. Anoyanakis, *Greek Popular Musical Instruments*, 275. He mentioned that the violin “as a folk instrument used to have sympathetic strings.”

According to information from the Megara folk violinist Iakovos Elias, “the violin in the old days used to have four strings like today and four hidden strings under the violin’s fingerboard, which resonated, doing the ‘iso’ as we say, as it is also called in European music” It is certainly an imitation of the viola d’ amore, which seems to be widespread enough in the old days to affect folk players too, because as is well known, it is not customary to add “sympathetic” strings to the violin.⁹³

Perhaps the conclusions of the research on this instrument should be extended to all Greek territory, since, if the reports of Iakovos Elias are true, it seems that while this instrument survived in Epirus until the first quarter of the twentieth century, it has also been universally accepted in all Greek music. One such example of using this instrument outside the Epirus region may also be seen in an engraving by Cochrane in 1837, depicting a wedding in Athens.⁹⁴ Due to the low resolution of this image, detail of the violin should be examined with great caution, but it appears to have more than four pegs, perhaps six or eight. It would seem that Karakassis is not aware of the instrument described in this article, since he notes that “it is not customary to add ‘sympathetic’ strings” to the violin, while it can be concluded that the violinist Iakovos Elias appears to be accurate in the description of an eight-string violin with four main and four sympathetic strings.

In addition, a drawing presented by Karakassis from a psaltery⁹⁵ of Athos monastery, published in Venice in 1705, shows three double strings (diplochordo) on a bowed string instrument otherwise conforming to the familiar violin family. Although interesting, the painting is probably unreliable, as the painter seems to present quite questionable evidence: the upper bout is simply curved on one side but festooned on the other side.

93. Karakassis, *Greek Musical Instruments*, 154 “Σύμφωνα με πληροφορίες του λαϊκού βιολιτζή Ιάκωβου Ηλία, από τα Μέγαρα, “το βιολί είχε τον παλιό καιρό τέσσερις χορδές όπως τα σημερινά και τέσσερις χορδές κρυφές κάτω από την γλώσσα του βιολιού, οι οποίες έκαναν αντήχο, το ίσο που λέμε, όπως λέγεται και στην ευρωπαϊκή μουσική”... Πρόκειται ασφαλώς για απομίμησης της βιόλας ντ’ αμόρε, που φαίνεται πως στα παλιά τα χρόνια θα ήταν αρκετά διαδεδομένη, ώστε να επηρεάσει και τους λαϊκούς οργανοπαίκτες, γιατί όπως είναι γνωστό, στο βιολί δεν συνηθίζεται να προσθέτουν χορδές “συμπαθητικές.”

94. See <https://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=60058>.

95. Karakassis, *Greek Musical Instruments*, 76. Psalterio in this case is not an instrument but a music book: Athanasius [monk, of Crete], *Νέα Έξήγησις* [New Exegesis] (Venice: Michael Varvonios, 1705). The editor of the volume was Athanasios Tzangaropoulos; the author's full name was likely Athanasios Varouchas [Barouhas].

Also, at the waist, the festooned side of the asymmetrical instrument exhibits two niches, the other side only one. Instead of conventional tone holes, it has two sigmoidal perforations on each side of the instrument, which also seems quite strange. The form of this instrument seems unlikely as no other evidence of anything similar is known. However, it is noteworthy that a “viola d’amore or “şine keman” exists in the Horniman museum. Labelled “Fabe Chateaufort Constantinople,” it is symmetrical in body, with six bowed strings (three double courses) and three sympathetic strings (6/3).⁹⁶ The maker is presumably Jean Chateaufort (1850–1880).

Apart from Karakassis, Aristotle Vrellis, the researcher and author from Epirus, may have had some information about these instruments.⁹⁷ In the Violin entry in his dictionary, he states that “In the past it also had sympathetic strings and tuned ‘Ala Turka’ or in a ‘*low duzen* (low tuning).”⁹⁸ Also in the *eptachordo* (seven-stringed) entry he mentions “keman in Turkish . . . a string instrument with seven strings.”⁹⁹ It is very likely that these multi-stringed instruments in Ioannina were simply referred to as keman, as in the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Logically, the name sinekeman must have been created and used later than keman because of the distinction in the Turkish language between the Eastern multi-stringed keman (today’s sinekeman) and the Western European keman, that is the four-stringed violin without sympathetic strings. This theory is supported by Chrysanthos’s mention of it as a keman and Filoxenus’s¹⁰⁰ reference in two instances to a keman as a big, seven-string violin with sympathetic strings. As already mentioned, there is no reference to a performer in the past being entitled sinekemani, even though the instrument was in use. All the players of this instrument are referred to as “kemani,” as are the players of the common violin without sympathetic strings. Examples of

96. See <https://www.horniman.ac.uk/object/3825>.

97. Aristotelis Pan. Vrellis, *Λεξικό των Ελληνικών Λαϊκών Μουσικών Όρων* [Dictionary of Greek Folk Music Terms] (Ioannina, 1988), 59. “Παλιότερα είχε και συμπαθητικές χορδές και κουρντίζονταν “αλά τούρκα” ή σε “χαμηλό ντουζέτι.”

98. Katsouras, “Violin Technique,” 74. “The violinist Dimitris Charalambous had also told me about the tuning of ‘Ala Turka’ while working on the essay for the technique of violin in Epirus. Unfortunately, at that time I was not aware of the existence and use of the instrument in consideration in Epirus, so I did not even mention it.”

99. Vrellis, *Dictionary*, 104. “το τουρκ. Κεμάν 239.141. Έγχορδο μουσικό όργανο με εφτά χορδές.”

100. Filoxenus, *Dictionary*, 35 and 38; Entries “Violin [*Βιολί*]” and “Vythos [*Βυθόν*].”

violinists who play the sinekeman but who are referred to as “kemani” are, i.e., kemani Corci or kemani Hizir Aga.

Important information about this instrument is also provided by Economidis in a review of an article by Tiberius Alexandru,¹⁰¹ when he reports that “Our very own Dionysios Fotinos, the well-known historian of Dhakia” knew that the violin replaced the keman, which is a kind of violin. According to Pann, a prominent student of Fotinos and a prominent figure in Romanian music, Dionysios Fotinos was an excellent performer of the tambur and keman and the author of an important educational work on Byzantine music of which unfortunately there is no copy in existence today.¹⁰² It is probable that Fotinos demonstrated in this book his knowledge, teaching ability, and experience from the schools of Byzantine music where he taught, as well as the direct link with the teaching of Byzantine and Eastern music with the tambur and keman instruments. In this case, it is also likely that keman is the seven-stringed instrument, today referred to as a sinekeman, and referred to by Filoxenus¹⁰³ in an explanatory parenthesis, as a “big violin” in the same place and century. There is a noteworthy coincidence of Fotinos’s and Filoxenus’s views about the use of the seven-stringed violin-keman as an excellent teaching tool of Byzantine and Eastern musical theory and practice. Therefore, Filoxenus mentions that the violin-keman is “An instrument of assistance to beginners in Arabic-Turkish music, with which [its teachers] make a good presentation of the basis of echos [the fundamental tone of a mode] and the active part of the low register of the scale”¹⁰⁴

101. Demetrios Economidis, “Βιβλιογραφία” [Bibliography] review of “Instrumentele Musicale ale Poporului Romin,” by Tiberius Alexandru, *Ethnologia* no.1 (1968): 588.

102. Nicolae Gheorghita, “Photeinos (Moraitēs) Dionysios,” *Grove Music Online*, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.2289986>. “He was acknowledged as an excellent performer on the tambur and keman, but also played the piano. He was the author of a musical grammar, *The Theoretical and Practical Didaskalia of Church Music Written in Particular for the Tambur and Keman Instruments*, a work that is now lost.”

103. Filoxenus, *Dictionary*, 38. “Οι Τουρκοάραβες Μουσικοί, τας χορδάς ή φθόγγους των μαρτυριών τούτων, παριστάσι μεν εις τας εαυτών παραδόσεις δια του οργάνου ‘Κεμάν’ (Βιολί μεγάλο) στερούνται όμως τας μελωδικάς αυτών γραμμάς ή θέσεις τας γινομένας κατά βυθόν μαρτυρίας . . .” [The Turkish-Arab Musicians, the strings or the sounds of these testimonies, presenting themselves in the traditions with the ‘keman’ (big violin)]

104. Filoxenus, *Dictionary*, 35. “Όργανον βοηθητικόν μέσον, διά την εις τους αρχαίους παράδοσιν της Αραβοτουρκικής Μουσικής δι ου παριστωσι καλώς (οι διδάσκοντες αυτήν) τα θεμέλια των ήχων, και των δραστηριών κλάδων της κάτω διαπασών”

In the discussion about the term viola, Herbert Whone's opinion about the bow and its origin is also of interest. He states that "the ancient Greek word for bow is *viós* (*βίος*) and it is worth noting that the similar word *víos* (*βίος*) means life."¹⁰⁵ This thought stems from the Byzantine lexicographer of the ninth century A. D. Suidas, for whom the word *βιοίο* or *βίος* means the string of the bow.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the name viola, violin (*βιόλα*, *βιολί*, *βιολίον*) may also derive from the Greek root of the word *viós* (*βίος*), which was transferred, used in Byzantium, and lends its name today to all instruments of the bowed strings family. In addition, the direct correlation of the Persian root of the word kamanche and the Greek word *viós* (*βιοίο* or *βίος*) should be mentioned, since they both have the same meaning of "bow" in their respective languages. On the contrary, as Remnant mentioned, the term fiddle "did not imply the use of a bow."¹⁰⁷

It is worth reconsidering that the Flemish composer and theorist Johannes Tinctoris (1435–1511) stated in 1484 that "The viol, as they say, was invented by the Greeks."¹⁰⁸ It is possible that something that used to look like a vague, strange, and possibly untrue reference to the past hides a very interesting version of truth; if the invention of the instrument belongs to other civilizations outside Byzantium (possibly from the far East) then it is possible that the name was given to this type of instrument by the Greeks.

105. Herbert Whone, *Η Απλότητα του Βιολιού: Τεχνική και Διδασκαλία* [Greek trans. of *The Simplicity of Playing the Violin*] Transl. Tabakaki and Fragoulaki (Athens: Oriolos, 1977), 40. "Η αρχαία ελληνική λέξη για το τόξο είναι βίος και αξίζει να σημειώσουμε ότι η παραπλήσια λέξη βίος σημαίνει ζωή."

106. See "βιοίο," "βίος," "βίος," *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1854), 220.

107. Mary Remnant, "Fiddle," *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09596>

108. Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 276. "The Byzantine lira, under the names of fiddle, vièle, viola, became the principal bowed instrument of Europe in the Middle Ages, and long after historical evidences of the origin of the European viola had been lost, the Flemish musician, Johannes Tinctoris, had a vague idea of the truth when he wrote in 1484: 'The viol, as they say, was invented by the Greeks.'"