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OTTOMAN EVIDENCE ABOUT THE GREEK AND
KARAMANLI EDITIONS OF EVANGELINOS MISAILIDIS - I

Evangelia BALTA*

This study inaugurates a series of articles – hence the Latin numeral “I” in its title – that will bring to light materials associated with to the publishing activity of Evangelinos Misailidis, the editor of the newspaper *Anatoli*¹. These materials were discovered in 2007 in the Ottoman Archives

* The National Hellenic Research Foundation

¹ To my knowledge, the first biography of Misailidis was published by Ioannis Polyvios in the first issue of the fortnightly Karamanli journal *Τερακκή* [Terakki] (May 15, 1888), pp. 53-56. A second biography came out in the Karamanli newspaper *Ανατολή* [Anatoli], of which Misailidis was publisher, on the fortieth day after his death (issue number 4292, Year 51 (5 February 1891). In addition, a brief announcement of his death accompanied by a biographical note was published in *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* 10 (5 January 1890), pp. 4-5. Some biographical information may also be found in the pamphlet *Εις αἰδῖον μνήμην του πολοκλαύστου Ευαγγελινού Μισαηλίδου, πρωτάνεως της εν Κων/πολει δημοσιογραφίας 1890* [To the eternal memory of the much lamented Evangelinos Misailidis, dean of the Constantinopolitan journalism 1890]. Another biography in Karamanlidika was published by I. Limnidis, entitled “Evangelinos Misailidis,” in *Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον Ο Αστήρ 1914, Ανατολή Ρουμλαρινά μαχσούς ιλιμί, εδεπί, φέννι μουσαββέρ σαλναμέ Νέβσεχιρλιλερίν “Παπά Γεώργιος” δεξιμετι ταραφηνταν Νέβσεχιρ Ρουμ μεκτεπλερί συσσίτιονη μενφαατηνά ολαράκ νέσρ ολονουόρ. Ικιντζί σενέ, Constantinople 1913, pp. 170-172. See M. I. Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα Χρονογράφου 1800-1913* [Notes of a Chronographer, 1800-1913], Athens 1932, p. 11 and Ch. Misailidis, “Το Ιστορικό Φανάρι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Κατά τον ΙΘ΄ και Κ΄ αιώνα)” [The Historical Fanar of Constantinople (During the 19th and 20th Centuries)], reprint of t. 31 of *Αρχείο του Λαογραφικού και Γλωσσικού Θησαυρού*, (Athens 1965), pp. 27-28. See also, R. Anhegger, “Evangelinos Misailidis'in ‘Temaşa-i Dünya’ adlı kitabı ve Türkçe Konuşan Ortodokslar sorunu», *Beşinci Milletler Arası Türkoloji Kongresi* (Istanbul,*

of the Prime Minister's Office in Istanbul (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*). As is well known, the printing house of this longest-lived Karamanlı newspaper published over one-third of the Turcophone, Greek-script book production, in addition to Greek editions.² The reason was that Misailidis showed a lively interest in the enlightenment of the Turcophone Orthodox populations of Asia Minor.³

My research focused on certain archival units of the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), where I thought I might discover information concerning the permits required by the Ottoman authorities for the publication of books, newspapers and journals. My innermost desire was to find the publishers' applications for these documents and, attached to them, Karamanlı manuscripts that had been submitted for approval, as well as notes by authors and translators of Karamanlı editions. In addition, I sought to record those titles that were rejected by the authorities and therefore went unpublished, and to learn about the censors' identities. I undertook such research in the Ottoman Archives of Istanbul because my interests are not restricted to locating unregistered Karamanlı editions, but extend to collecting information about the history of such editions. As is the case with the Karamanlı Press, my efforts to locate holdings of newspapers and journals in libraries around the world, so as to form complete series thereof, are co-ordinated with the hunt for information that will illuminate the

23-28 Eylül 1985), *Tebliğler, II. Türk Edebiyatı*, cilt 1, İstanbul 1985, pp. 15-24; idem, "Evangelinos Misailidis ve Türkçe Konuşan Dindaşları", *Tarih ve Toplum* 50 (February 1988) και 51 (March 1988), pp. 73-76, 175-177; T. Kut, "Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr u Cefâkeş'in Yazarı. Evangelinos Misailidis Efendi", *Tarih ve Toplum* 48 (1987), pp. 342-346.

² See S. Tarinas, "Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης: Το εκδοτικό έργο. Πρώτη αναγραφή αυτοτελών δημοσιευμάτων του" [Evangelinos Misailidis: The Publishing Activity. A First Catalogue of His Publications], *Η καθ' ημάς Ανατολή* 3 (1996), pp. 299-327.

³ See Evangelia Balta, "Périodisation et typologie de la production des livres Karamanlı", *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 12 (1997-1998), pp. 129-153. Reprinted in eadem, *Peuple et Production. Pour une interprétation des sources ottomanes*, İstanbul, Les Editions Isis, Analecta Isisiana XLI, 1999, pp. 259-281.

publishing adventures of newspapers. Because of its role and influence, the Press was subjected, inevitably, to the obstructive practices of Ottoman authorities.

What follows is not a study of a Karamanli but rather of a Greek edition of a play, whose protagonist is a Karamanli merchant by the name of Hadji Aslanis.

**The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis or How Evangelinos Misailidis
became envious of the glory of Dimitrios Vyzantios (that is, of
Dimitrios Aslanis son of Hadji Konstantis)**

In October 1998, during a conference of the Society for the Study of Modern Greek Culture and General Learning (Moraitis School), Giorgos Kehagioglou presented the unrecorded (until then) publication *Ο ΕΡΩΤΟΜΑΝΗΣ / ΧΑΤΖΗ ΑΣΛΑΝΗΣ / ΗΡΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΙΑΣ / ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ / ΕΙΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ / Συνταχθείσα υπό Ε. Μ. /* [typographical decoration], *in Smyrna/ - / 1871* [The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis, Hero of Karaman, Comedy in Five Parts, Composed by E.M.].⁴ The

⁴ See G. Kehagioglou, “Η παράδοση των Φαναριωτών και του Χατζηασλάνη Βυζαντίου στη Μικρασιατική ‘Καθ’ ημάς Ανατολή’: Η σμυρναϊκή κωμωδία Ο Ερωτομανής Χατζηασλάνης, ήρωας της Καραμανίας (1845, 1871)” [The Tradition of the Phanariots and of Hadji Aslanis Vyzantios in the Asia Minor ‘Greek East’: The Smyrna Comedy The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis, Hero of Karaman], *Ο Έξω-Ελληνισμός. Κωνσταντινούπολη και Σύμρνη 1800-1922. Πνευματικός και κοινωνικός βίος* [The Greek Diaspora. Constantinople and Smyrna 1800-1922. Cultural and Social Life] (Athens, 30-31 October 1998), Athens [2000], pp. 177-195. The first reference to this theatrical play was made in Kehagioglou’s study “Οθωμανικά συμφραζόμενα της ελληνικής έντυπης πεζογραφίας. Από τον Γρηγόριο Παλαιολόγο ως τον Ευαγγελινό Μισαηλίδη” [The Ottoman Context of Greek Printed Literature. From Grigorios Palaiologos to Evangelinos Misailidis], *Από τον Λέανδρο στον Λουκή Λάρα* [From Leandros to Loukis Laras], ed. N. Vagenas, Irakleion, ²1999, pp. 83, 90. Anna Stavrakopoulou also refers to the comedy, basing her remarks on Kehagioglou’s commentary: “Μισέ Κοζής (1848): Πολυπολιτισμικά νυχτοπερπατήματα στην οθωμανική Κωνσταντινούπολη” [Mise Kozis (1848): Multicultural Night Strolls in Ottoman Constantinople], *Ζητήματα ιστορίας του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στον Δημήτρη Σπάθη* [Issues in the History

first edition, which has yet to surface, was recorded in the *Smyrna Bibliography* by A.D. Hadjidimos, and later in the *Greek Bibliography* by Dimitrios Ghinis – Valerios Mexas, through an announcement in the newspaper *Amaltheia* (Dec. 8, 1845): “The very pleasant comedy entitled *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis, Hero of Karaman*, which had already been announced some time ago, has recently come out of the printing press.”⁵

The published text of Kehagioglou’s presentation did not clearly indicate whether the 1871 edition had been located in a British library or in the British Library. Consequently, when I set out on my quest for Ottoman archival materials relating to this edition, I searched for information that may have come to light after 1998. I contacted Popi Polemi, a collaborator of Philippos Iliou in the *Greek Bibliography of the 19th Century* and continuator of his work. Working methodically and indefatigably, Polemi located a copy at the British Library under the number 11758.a.11(5): I am very grateful for her interest and I am pleased that her research resulted in locating a copy of an edition that remained unrecorded until recently. I also owe many thanks to the librarian of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Eleni Molfesi, who co-ordinated the procedure of borrowing a copy of the work from the British Library. Since the 1845 edition has yet to surface, any references to the play *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis, Hero of Karaman*, have been based on the commentary and the excerpts given in Kehagioglou’s study.⁶

of Modern Greek Theater. Studies Dedicated to Dimitris Spathis], (eds.) Efi Vafeiadi, Nikiphoros Papandreou, Irakleion, 2007, p. 71.

⁵ See Ath. D. Hadjidimos, “Σμυρναϊκή Βιβλιογραφία, Μέρος Τρίτο (1877-1894)” [*Smyrna Bibliography, Part Three (1877-1894)*], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 6 (1955), no. 653: *Ερωτομανής Χατζή Ασλάνης, ήρωας της Καραμανίας*. Τυπογραφείον “Αμαλθείας”. 1845 (See Gkinis-Mexas no. 10477). *Ο Ερωτομανής Χατζή Ασλάνης, ήρωας της Καραμανίας*. Κωμωδία, Εν Σμύρνη 1871, 16ο, 88pp. The online version of the bibliography also registers the editions: http://www.benaki.gr/bibliography/search_simple.asp

⁶ See Anna Stavrakopoulou, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

Kehagioglou presented several conjectures regarding the play's author who was hiding under the initials E.M. of the title, and correctly pointed to Evangelinos Misailidis. In fact, it was already known that E. Misailidis was the author, since in his first biography that was published in 1888 in the Karamanli journal *Terakki*, there is explicit reference to this work. The biography refers, among other things, to the publication of the comedy "*The Eromaniac (sic) H: Aslanis, Hero of Karaman, yani Karaman, kahramani sevdali H: Aslan.*" Misailidis wrote the play after the destruction of his printing establishment in the great fire of Smyrna.⁷ Moreover, as the biography's author, Ioannis Polyvios, notes, Misailidis imitated the comedy *Babylonia*.⁸ Indeed, it is obvious from the title that Misailidis was inspired by *Babylonia*, which had been published by Dimitrios Aslanis, son of Hadji

⁷ In the comedy, Misailidis describes the Smyrna fire through Hadji Aslanis words: [...αχ ντι να σας μπω, εκκείνη η φωτιά μου γίνηκε εις το Ιμάμ-ογλου χάνι ιουνίου 21 ταριχί, μου τόγκαψε, άμμα ντι γιαγκήνι ήταν εκκείνο το δηιάβολο σε εις σε 15 ώραις μέσα σαν Σότομα Γκόμορρα έγκαμε γκοϊζελίμ Ιζμιρί, ταρούσες Λερόζο μου σάνκιμ, εκκείνο το γιαγκήνι, ένας εζταρχάζ με εφτά γκεφάλια γκαι γλώσσαιζ ορμάει αμπάνω σου! Αυτή τη φορά άρτουχ Λωτ τεγίλα Μώτ να ήταν γλυτωμό ντεν ειχε, οργή Τεού ήταν εκκείνο άνταμ! ντι λέξ εσύ, γκαλτή γκαι το φορτσέρι μου εγκαιούνταν, άμμα εγιώ χχήμ ετότεζ άρτουχ σαν χαμάλης εμπήρα αμπάνω μου, ως το χάνι έτρεζα, χέλεπτε νετόταιζ ώραιζ όχι χαμάλης, ίλλεμ γκαι γκαΐδαρος γένεσαι ντιγιά το πράμα σου, ζέρεμ ούλα τα γρόσσιγια μου εκει μέσα είχα, πολλοί γκαΐμένοι απέ φωτιγιά εγλύτωσαν νταις γκασέλαις τους, άμμα ύστεριζ γκλέφταις έγκλεψαν, ιστέ γιαγκήνι ντι τα πη, γλεψιγταιζ μπου γινηέκαν ετότεζ σόρμα άρτουχ γκετσιγγ..."] (σ. 28-29). ["Oh, what can I tell you! The fire that started in the Imam-oglou Han on June 21, burned me! What a devilish fire that was! Within 15 hours it turned beautiful Smyrna into Sodom and Gomorrah. My Lerozo, you would have thought that the fire was a dragon with seven heads and tongues that was attacking you. And this time, neither Lot, nor Mot could be saved. Divine wrath, my man! No question! The fire lit up and was burning a coffer of mine [full of precious items]. Like a hamal, I took it on my shoulders. I run to the han, because on such instance you can become not only a hamal but also a donkey in order to save your wealth. All my money was in there. Some luckless people managed to save their safes from the fire, but afterwards thieves robbed them. That's what a burning fire does. How many robberies took place back then! Don't even ask. Let it go..."].

⁸ One wonders is Ioannis Polyvios is really a pseudonym of Jordanis Limnidis who was a close collaborator of Misailidis.

Konstantis, under the pseudonym Dimitrios Vyzantios, at Nauplion in 1836.⁹ It was in that particular printing house that —before its immolation disappearance in the fire— E. Misailidis published *Μεκτεπούλ φινούνι μεσρηκή* (*Mektebü'l Fünñûn-i Meşriki* = *School of Eastern Sciences*), a journal in the Turkish language written in Greek script.¹⁰ As Polyvios notes, *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis* was obviously a best seller, because Misailidis used the money he earned through its sales to establish a new printing house in which he now published a newspaper.¹¹ It is not clear

⁹ D. K. Vyzantios, *Η Βαβυλωνία, α' και β' έκδοση* [I *Babylonia*, 1st and 2nd edition] (ed. Sp. Evangelatos), Athens 1972, pp. 1-76. See K. Biris, *Η Βαβυλωνία του Δ. Βυζάντιου, Ιστορική και σκηνική ανάλυσις* [The *Babylonia* of D. Vyzantios. Historical and Theatrical Analysis], Athens 1948. Emm. N. Frangiskos, *Δ. Κ. Βυζάντιος και "Βαβυλωνία". Ερμηνευτικές δοκιμές και μαρτύρια βίου* [D. K. Vyzantios and *Babylonia*. Interpretative Essays and Evidence for a Biography], Athens 2008.

¹⁰ Ath. D. Hadjidimos registers it as “*Μεκτεπούλ Φεννούνι Μεσρηκρί. Περιοδικό караμανλίδικο. Εκδ. Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης. Μηνιαίον εις οθωμανικήν διάλεκτον με ελληνικούς χαρακτήρας, Εικονογραφημένο. Τυπογραφείον Ν. Σταμένη. Αριθμ. 1. Σεπτέμβριος 1849. Αγγελ. "Εφημερίς της Σμύρνης" 25/11/1849*” [Karamanli Journal. Editor, Evangelion Misailidis. A monthly journal in the Ottoman Language in Greek characters. -Illustrated. Printing Press of N. Stamenis. No. 1. September 1849. Announc{ement} “Newspaper of Smyrna” 25 November 1849], see A. D. Hadjidimos “Σμυρναϊκή Βιβλιογραφία” [Smyrna Bibliography], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 4 (1948), 400, αρ. 217. H.S. Solomonidis also refers to the journal in his *Η δημοσιογραφία της Σμύρνης (1821-1922)* [Journalism in Smyrna (1821-1922)], Athens 1959, p. 143. The above bibliographical references are repeated in the corresponding entry by S. Tarina “Μεκτέπουλ Φιννούνι Μεσρηκή”, in (eds.) Loukia Droulia, Gioula Koutsopanou, *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Έθνου, 1784-1974* [Encyclopedia of Greek Press, 1784-1974], Athens 2008, t. III, p. 129.

¹¹ The *Terraki* text reads as follows: “*Λάκιν τολή ικιζαση Ισμυρίν πογιούκ γιακρηνηνά μαπκααση (sic!) γιανάρ, βε Μισαηλίδης παρασήζ πουλήζ τζαρεσίζ καλήρ. Τζαρεσίζμι; χάρ. Τζαρεγί, γιαρδημή κενδι μαλιουματηνδά πουλούρ. Δουτάρ, Βαβυλωνία κωμωδίαση κιδισινδέ «Ο ερωμανής (sic!) χ: Ασλάνης, ήρως της Καραμανίας» γιάνη, «Καραμάν καχραμανή σεβδαλή χ: Ασλάν» ονβανή αληνδά ροιμόζα πηρ κωμωδία νεσρ ιδέρ. Βε πουνδάν τζηκαρδηγή παραλέρ ιλέ γενιδέν πηρ μαπατά δουζέρ, βε αρτήκ ρισαλέϊ μεβκουτέ δεγίλ γαζέτα τζηκαρμαγιά πασλάρ...*”, *Τερακκή, Ον πές κουνδέ πηρ νέσρ ολουνούρ, Ρισαλέ-ι Μεβκουτέδερ*, 1st Year (15 Μαΐου 1888), fasc. 1, p. 56. [In the great fire of Smyrna, the printing press of Misailidis was burned down and he was left peniless and helpless. Helpless? No! He found help on his own. In the footsteps of *Babylonia*, he famously published *The Eromaniac* (sic!) *Hadji Aslanis*, Hero of *Karaman* in Greek. Using the

whether this newspaper was the Karamanlı *Πελοσάρét ιλ Μασρίκ* (*Persareti'l-Meşrik* = *Eastern Herald*) or the Karamanlı *ΣΣάρκ* (*Şark* = *East*).¹²

Kehagioglou further posited certain thoughts regarding the edition's number, because the title of the 1871 edition does not specify whether this is the second reprinting or another edition of the work. Two Ottoman documents, dated mid-June to beginning July 1872, can shed some light on the history of the 1871 edition. They are held at the Fonds of BOA *Maarifi Nezaret-i Mektubi Kalemi*, a collection that was catalogued and opened to researchers only recently.¹³

The story goes as follows: on June 17, 1872, a civil servant at the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Maarif Nezareti*) wrote a series of reports to the Sublime Porte (Bâb-i Âliye) and to the Prefecture of Smyrna (*Aydin vilayet-i celilesine*). In them, he noted that Evangelinos Misailidis, editor of the newspaper *Anatoli* (*Anadolu Gazetesi muellifi Evangelinos Misailidi*) had submitted a complaint against Antonios Damianos,¹⁴ a printer in Smyrna, because the latter had published the comedy *Karamanlı Hacı Arslan nam komediye* without his (Misailidis') permission. Obviously, in his written accusation, Misailidis made it clear that he was the author of the work, and the official repeated this piece of information. In addition, Misailidis declared that about twenty years earlier, he had published the same title in

money he made from this publication, he established a wholly new printing house. Only this time around, he did not publish a periodical, but a newspaper].

¹² Evangelia Balta, "Karamanlı Press (Smyrna 1845 - Athens 1926)", *İzzet Gündoğ Kayaoğlu Hatıra Kitabı Makaleler*, (eds.) Oktay Belli – Yücel Dağlı – M. Sinan Genim, Istanbul, Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 2005, pp. 27-33.

¹³ (BOA) MF. MKT 1/119 (11 Rebiülâhir 1289/17.06.1872) και MF. MKT 2/73 (29 Rebiülâhir 1289/ 05.07.1872), which can be found in the Appendix.

¹⁴ His was one of the oldest printing establishments in Smyrna. It was founded in 1832 and functioned until the beginning of the 20th century: see H.S. Solomonidis, *H δημοσιογραφία της Σμύρνης (1821-1922)* [Journalism in Smyrna (1821-1922)], Athens 1959, pp. 11, 127. A search in the online database of the Greek Bibliography indicates his rich publishing activity: <http://www.benaki.gr/bibliology/en/19.htm>

Smyrna (*yirmi sene mukaddem telif ve İzmir'de tab ve neşr etmiş olduğu Karamanlı Hacı Arslan nâm komediye dair risaleyi*).¹⁵

These documents leave no doubt as to the play's authorship. As Kehagioglou correctly surmised, behind the initials E.M. appearing in the 1871 book's title hides Evangelinos Misailidis. Moreover, in the conclusion of his remarks regarding the use of the initials E.M., Kehagioglou also noted that the possibility that the 1871 reprint may have taken place without Misailidis' knowledge or permission can not be ruled out.¹⁶ The Ottoman documents' information regarding the accusation against A. Damianos confirms that E. Misailidis did not know about the edition.¹⁷ The date of the *Maarif Nezareti* official's report (June-July 1872) leads to the conclusion that Damianos' edition had predated the report by at least six months.

We do not know whether the first edition of the *Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis* carried the complete name of Evangelinos Misailidis or just his initials. Neither do we know whether A. Damianos intentionally used only the initials of E.M. in the 1871 edition, since he printed it without the author's permission. Such questions will likely go unanswered until a copy of the first edition surfaces, if ever. Still, Misailidis' accusation and his claim of authorial rights gives additional weight to the view that the 1845 edition carried his name, something that allowed him to prove the accusation's legal validity.

Beyond the work's authorship, the Ottoman documents also shed light on the identity of the printer/editor of the 1871 edition, whose name does not appear on the title page. And this is not fortuitous, since, in order to grant publication permission, the *Maarif Nezareti* demanded that the title page

¹⁵ (BOA) MF. MKT 1/119.

¹⁶ G. Kehagioglou, op. cit., pp. 181-182.

¹⁷ The decree on authorial rights *Kitab Tab'ı Hakkında Nizamname*, was issued on 8 Recep 1289 (11 September 1872). See Fatmağül Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Devetimi", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, no. 5 (2004), p. 93.

carry the printing house's name and address. The absence of such information is an indirect indication that the edition was illegal, since it did not follow the proper procedure for obtaining a permit.

Moreover, thanks to the Ottoman archival materials, we can specify the edition's number. It is without doubt the second edition. The first edition, the one of 1845 which is still missing, had been printed at the *Amaltheia* printing house, where Evangelinos Misailidis was employed by Iakovos Samiotakis.¹⁸ I am very assertive regarding this matter, although I am well aware that the document refers to an interval of 20 years between the 1845 and 1871 editions. I am more inclined to consider that the number 20 is the result of rounding, since it is extremely unlikely that there is yet another missing edition of *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis*, which came out in Smyrna before 1850. It was in that year that E. Misailidis settled permanently in Istanbul.

As the Ottoman sources make clear, Misailidis' denunciation against the printer Damianos in 1872 triggered an investigation which clarified that the edition had come out the year before without proper permission from the *Maarif Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Instruction). This resulted in the immediate withdrawal of all copies from bookstores (*ruhsatsız olarak tab ve neşri bi'l-müzakere icabı ifâ olunmak üzere evvel emirde mezkûr risalenin men'-i neşriyle beraber satılan mahallerde mevcud bulunan nüshalarının hükümete kaldırılarak*), not only in Constantinople but also in Smyrna. Hence the fact that the censors sent a report to the Smyrna Prefecture directing it to apply the Sublime Porte's decision. All this explains the edition's rarity, since so far only one copy of it has surfaced.

The Ministry of Public Instruction received in advance control copies of all books to be published in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹ The procedure of

¹⁸ See *Εις αἰδιον μνήμην του πολυκλαύστου Ευαγγελινού Μισαηλίδου*, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁹ See P. Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, Paris, Librairie des sciences politiques et sociales, Marcel Rivière, 1907, pp. 29-70. See also A. Kabacalı,

obtaining such a publication permit (*ruhsat*) was as follows: the service received from the applicant two printed copies, each with a title page carrying the book's theme, the names of the author, the publisher and the printer and the publication date.²⁰ After approval by a committee, one copy was kept at the *Maarif Nezareti*'s Archive, and the other, affixed with the stamp of approval, one was returned to the printer for publication and distribution. For the approved book to be circulated, it had to carry on its title page the famous statement: *By permission of the Imperial Ministry of Instruction [Maarif-i Umimiyye nezaret-i celilesinin ruhsatiyle...]*, or in its version in title pages of Karamanli editions in either Greek or Arabic script: *Μααρίφ ναζαρέτ-ι δζελιλεσίν ρουχσατί ιλέ ή Μααρίφ ναζαρέτ-ι δζελιλεσίν ρουχσατί ιλέ νούμερολου ... ταριχλού ρουχσατή ιλέ ταπ ολουνομούς διρ.*²¹

Interestingly, in *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis*'s case, prohibition of circulation was not only due to the fact that the book was published without proper approval by the *Maarif Nezareti*, rather, its circulation was forbidden

"Sansür Tarihiyle İlgili İki Belge", *Tarih ve Toplum* 66 (1989), pp. 329-331. Fatmagül Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi", *ibid.*, pp. 89-104. The same author has also worked systematically on censorship during the era of Sultan Abdulhamit II. See eadem, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, İstanbul, Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2007, as well as the study of E. Boyar, "The press and the palace: the two-way relationship between Abdülhamid II and the press, 1876-1908", *Bulletin of SOAS* 69, 3 (2006), pp. 417-432. On the issue of control over the Greek periodical press in the Ottoman Empire, see Ali Arslan, "Türkiye Rum Basını", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, issue 3 (2003), pp. 49-113 and idem, *Ο ελληνικός τύπος στο οθωμανικό κράτος, όπως γράφεται από τα έγγραφα της εποχής* [Greek Periodical Press in the Ottoman Empire As Seen in the Era's Documents], trans. By Ch. A. Pampalos, Athens, Eptalofos, 2004, pp. 36-38.

²⁰ We will revisit this issue through the annotated publication of Ottoman documents with instructions to the applicant, Evangelinos Misailidis, on the process to be followed for future publications.

²¹ See e.g., the Karamanli edition *Απανθίσματα της χριστιανικής πίστεως ... 1883* [Selections from the Christian Faith] (see, S. Salaville-E. Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs*, t. III, no. 214) whose title is both in Greek and in Karamanli. The edition carries a note that publication took place after permission was granted by *Maarif Nezareti*. The note is both in Greek (*και τη αδεία του επί της Δημοσίας Εκπαιδύσεως Αυτοκρατορικού Υπουργείου*) and in Karamanli (*Μααρίφ ναζαρέτι δζελιλεσί ρουχσατή ιλέ...*).

mainly because of its provocative and indecent content (*muğayir-i edeb*), as stated in document BOA, MF. MKT 1/119. However, the reasons for considering it indecent in 1872 are not clarified, whereas as is well known the first edition did not merit such a designation. Of course, in 1845 there was no established control over the content of books published in the Ottoman Empire.²² The reading public evidently welcomed enthusiastically the play's publication, since its sales reached such a volume that Evangelinos Misailidis was able to re-establish his destroyed printing house. A survey of the Smyrna newspapers of the time will more than likely yield information about the staging of the 1845 play as well. This is yet one more of the research desiderata regarding the given edition.

Let us now return to the censorship of the work. As already mentioned, we lack any explanation of the reasons for branding the play indecent, if such an explanation was ever given by the censorship committee. Therefore, we can only speculate on the matter. One wonders whether the committee's members considered the work indecent because of its bold theme: a rich, old, uncouth Turcophone, Hadji Aslanis, who is madly in love with the young servant Maroula. One wonders whether what was deemed provocative was the plot cooked up by "wretched secondary characters who rob and ridicule him, but go unpunished in the end." After all, as Kehagioglou notes, the play "from its beginning unfolds as a collective plot to rob the wealthy Karamanlı Hadji Aşlanis"²³. Many different individuals participate in the conspiracy: the shoemaker from Tinos, Larezos, and his wife Irini, who are Maroula's parents; the matchmaker and whoremistress Maroukaki from Chios; the learned Leonidas/Leronidas from Kydonies (Ayvali), secretary of Hadji Aslanis, who uses *rusty bookish Greek*; master

²² It was only in 1858, following the example of French legislation, that Criminal Law (*Ceza Kanunnamesi*) included three articles concerning publishing matters. See N. Nuri İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, İstanbul, Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1982, pp. 200-201. See also, Fatmagül Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Devetimi", op. cit, pp. 92-93.

²³ See G. Kehagioglou, op.cit., p. 185.

craftman Manolielis from Mytilini with his apprentice Stratelis; and Maroula's lover, Captain Gerasimos from Cephallonia. All of these characters are representative of the Grecophone society of Smyrna, whose dialectal variety at the same time maps its speakers' origins.²⁴ Is it accidental that the author presents precisely these characters as the conspirators against their wealthy fellow Orthodox Christian, the Turcophone Anatolian?

To this Grecophone world is contrasted another world of the Ottoman Empire, that of the Turcophones. The iconography of the Turcophone *gayr-i muslim* side by side with their collingual Hadji Aslanis is complemented by other funny characters: the Armenian Hampartzoum (Harmparzoum means Anastasis, i.e., Resurrection) and his wife Meriem, in whose house Maroula works as a servant; Ham Solomon (the Jewish agent of Hadji Aslanis), his wife Rouhala as well as the rabbi of the synagogue. Each one of them speaks his or her own version of Turkish, stamped by the accent of his or her millet, and each represents two other non-Muslim millets of the Ottoman Empire, the Armenian and the Jewish. The play's end is marked by the intervention of the authorities, in the characters of the Muslim corporal and his soldiers, who escort the naive, robbed and abandoned Karamanlı to the lunatic asylum, while he (Hadji Aslanis) is lamenting his love for the unfaithful and heartless Maroula.

The play also satirizes, among other things, the prevailing promiscuity in Smyrna and castigates marriages that were based on the size of the dowry. Characteristic of such satire are Hadji Aslanis' remarks to his future father-in-law Larezos, as well as the comparisons he makes to corresponding customs of *Anadolu*:

... Anatolians immediately strive to marry high-class girls, no matter their kind (?), and the Smyrniotes search for large dowries, and they do not examine whether she has been poked and kissed. I, on the

²⁴ Following the title page, and under the list of dramatis personae, a note reads: "The scene takes places in Smyrna."

other hand, go for the one I like, even if she is poor, but she has to be honorable and a home maker.²⁵

Likewise, his comments to the matchmaker Maroukaki from Chios shows that he is fully aware of the customs of young couples in love in Smyrna:

...You are fully aware that here in Smyrna young people get engaged, talk it out freely with their sweetheart, and sometimes they take them to Kemer, or to Tuzla Burunu, or to some orchards, and nobody says anything about it. Would that we could do the same in our vilayet! They (pointing his finger) place you backwards on a donkey, and they trot you all over your hometown, and the lover does not see his sweetheart. Because if he sees her, then it is over!!! He leaves because it is a great shame for him to stay behind...²⁶

If therefore one supposes that the play was considered immoral because it presents precisely such new fangled amorous behaviour, one wonders why a similar fate did not befall the play *Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr-i Cefâkeş*²⁷ that Misailidis published in the same period in

²⁵ “...Οι ανατολίτες χέμεν γκντάζουν να μπαντρεύονται με αρχοντοπούλεις, ας ήναι ό,τι λοής γένη, και οι Συμυρνιώταις γκντάζουν όμποια έχει μολό προίκα, γκαι ντεν εξετάζουν αν ήναι τζιμπιμένη γκαι φιλιμένη, άμμα εγώ γκντάζώ εγκείνη μπου μαρέσει, ας ήναι γκαι φτωχούλα, άμμα ντιμημένη γκαι εχλιρίζισα...”. See, *Ο Ερωτομανής Χατζη Ασλάνης*, p. 12.

²⁶ “...εξέρεις μολό γκαλά εντώ μτέρα εις ντη Σύμρνη οι νέγιοι ραβωνίζονται, εμιλούν σελπές σελπές με ντην γιαβουκλού τους, γκαι γκαμία φορά δα ντην εμπαιρνουν γκαι μπαγαίνουν εις ντο Κεμέρι, η εις ντο Τουζλα μπουρνού, γιάχουτ εις σε μπεριβόλιγια, γκαι γκανείς ντεν εμιλά. μάαζ αλλάζ να ντο γκάνης εις το Βιλαέτι μαζ, εις σε (δαστυλοδεικτών) γκάϊνταρο ανάστροφο αμπάνω σε βάνουν, γκαί σε γυρίζουν ούλο ντο μελμεκέτι, γκαι γιαβουκλούς ντεν εγλέπει ντην γιαβουκλού του γκαι σαν εγλέπει, παπούτσι!!! Φεύγει ντροπή μεγιάλη είναι να στατή...”. See, *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁷ The original Karamanli novel was published in Latin transcription by R. Anhegger - V. Günyol, *Evangelinos Misailidis, Seyreyle Dünyayi (Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr u Cefakes)*, İstanbul, Cem Yayınevi, 1986. The novel is an adaptation of the work of Gr. Palaiologos, *Ο Πολυπαθής* [The Much-Suffering One], as was proved by the late Pinelopi Stathi, after publication of the transcribed edition in Turkey: see Pinelopi Stathi, “Πίστη και Γνώση” [Faith and Knowledge], *To Vima*, 26 October 1988 and idem, “Οι περιπέτειες του Πολυπαθούς του Γρηγορίου Παλαιολόγου” [The Adventures of the Much-Suffering One by Gr. Palaiologos], *Μνήμων* 16 (1995), pp. 131–145. See also, G. Kehagioglou, “Η σπασμωδική συγκριτική γραμματολογία του Νέου Ελληνισμού και η

Constantinople and in which there are pages devoted to prostitutes and to scenes from brothels frequented by A. Favini and his friends. Possibly, it was the dominant moralistic tone of the *Temaşa-i Dün̄ya* that differentiates it from the naturalistic representation (on stage!) of the Smyrna society as it appears in *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis*, and that at the end saved it from censorship.

Some further thoughts regarding the play's prohibition are in order. I think that we cannot overlook the fact that this play is replete with indecent words, as the example below shows, in this case as spoken by the matchmaker Maroukaki:

...what do you know, as we are standing there, our Hadji wanted to shit in his underwear...

Of course, she is metaphorically describing Hadji Aslanis' boundless love. Likewise, one needs to consider the fact that the play is full of swear-words, some of them very grave. Many a time, while speaking to his secretary, Hadji Aslanis uses the expletives: *o[ğ]lan bokoğlu bok, köpöğlu köpek, gahboğlu* (shithead, son of shit, scoundrel, son of a bitch), etc.²⁸ And he is not the only one, since others are equally adept at using bad language, such as Captain Gerasimos,²⁹ Maroukaki, Larezos, and even the rabbi. This latter one not only beats Hadji Aslanis, but also attacks him verbally when

‘γραικοτουρκική’ διασκευή του Πολυπαθούς του Γρ. Παλαιολόγου” [Incoherences of Modern Greek Comparative Literature: The Case of the ‘Greco-turkish’ Adaptation of G. Palaiologos’ *The Much-Suffering*], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 11 (1995–1996), pp. 125–136. Idem, “Οθωμανικά συμφραζόμενα της ελληνικής έντυπης πεζογραφίας” [The Ottoman Context of the Greek Printed Literature], *op.cit.*, pp. 79–91. At the *First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies* (Nicosia, 9–11 Sept. 2008), Anthi Karra presented aspects of the creative intervention of Evangelinos Misailidis on the canvas of the Much-Suffering One, and pointed out its ideological and cultural ramifications: see Anthi Karra, “From Polypathos to Temaşa-i Dün̄ya, from the safe port of translation to the open sea of creation” (in press).

²⁸ *Ο Ερωτομανής Χατζη Ασλάνης*, pp. 29, 39, 45, 61.

²⁹ He calls his Karamanli competitor Hadji Aslanis *son of the fart* (p. 33), in addition to all other derogatory remarks, because of his Anatolian origin and his being Turcophone. These characterizations are worth further commentary.

the Karamanli makes fun of him concerning the time of prayer in the synagogue.³⁰

It is worth noting that Misailidis sets up a number of conflict scenes in involving Jews. During these scenes, an Orthodox Christian and a Jew exchange swear-words that are not only full of slights but also delineate ideological stances against one other. Is it possible that it was these inimical relations between the millets and their consequences, represented vividly in the comedy, that led the censorship committee of the *Maarif Nezareti* to order the confiscation of all copies from bookstores? I consider it very likely.

For Hadji Aslanis, Ham Solomon is nothing but a *misikin Çifti* (leprous/dirty/disgusting Jew, since he has not been baptised and chrismated), an *eşek Çifti* “stupid [lit. *donkey*] Jew” who should be “obligated” to speak Greek:

Hadji Aslanis: Hey you, do speak fucking Greek now!...Why don't you speak Greek, and you speak Hebrew, eh?³¹

Ham Solomon: My dear bezirgân (= sesame oil seller/also denoting greed more likely ‘crook’), why are you yelling? For your father's sake, for your own sake, don't talk that way. Myyyyyyy eeeeeeyes, why do you speak Turkish? Is this right? Eh?³²

Likewise, in a scene in which Ham Solomon goes to Hadji Aslanis' house in order to supervise preparations for his master's wedding, he makes some remarks to Manolielis from Mytilini regarding the colors he used.

³⁰ Hadji Aslanis: *Χαχάμ μπασσηή! Έεε χαχάμ μπασσηή. Ολάν ντέν ακούτε;... χαχαχαχάααα! όλαν ντι είναι αφτό ντο μπασσίρι εις το γκεφάλισας γκρεμασμένο; σάνκιμ τερλοί είστε και γκοννίεσθε και ουρλιζετε σαν ισκυλιά ντι είναι αντό ; άαα. (σ. 51). [Hey, rabbi! Rabbi! Well, can't you hear? He-he! Hey, what is this towel hanging on your head? You shake yourselves, as if you were crazy, and you yell like dogs, what is this?].*

³¹ “Ολαν κέρατα ρωμαίγικα μίλα ντόρα ... Γιατί ντεν μιλάζ ρωμαίγικα, γκαι μιλάς Οβραίγικα; άαα;”. See, *Ο Ερωτομανής Χατζη Ασλάνης*, p. 46.

³² “Τζάνιμ μπεζιγιάν, πορκέ άβεζ σσαματά; ασέ μπίβα του Πάδρε, άσε μπίβα του καβέζα, σοιλέεεμ μπουλέ. Αμαγρια μούουου, γιατί εσύ μιλάζ τούρκικα; μπουλέ ολούουρι; άααα”, See *ibidem*, p. 47.

Misailidis takes the opportunity to show the Orthodox Christians' sentiments towards the Empire's Jews. The painter Manolielis calls him *pis Yahudi*, *pis mürted Yahudi* [evil Jew, evil apostate Jew] *yellow footed one* (from the signature yellow shoes of the Empire's Jews), *müzevir*, that is, the boss' spy. In turn, Ham Solomon replies by calling him *pork oğlu pork* [pig, son of a pig], since he eats the unclean pork)³³ together with several Turkish swear-words of the type: *pezevenk oğlu*, *gidi bok canına olsun* [son of a pimp; panderer, damn you!, lit. "shit in your soul"] and the like. The angry Ham Solomon mixes Greek with Ladino and Turkish, all colored with the characteristic Jewish accent with the long vowels and which is represented superbly fashion by Misailidis' pen.³⁴

I believe that a new edition of this play will provide the opportunity to conduct linguistic,³⁵ philological and historical studies based on the text.

³³ The Karamanli Hadji Aslanis makes fun of the Jewish kosher practices: "Ομορέ για φόβο του τσηφήτι για τουρφέ, βούτυρο δεν τέλει, άμμα γκάποτες μπουλί βγαίνει στο αυγό, γκαι μποζέκι μπέφτει στο ράμι, ιστέ τουρφέζ γίνηκενε!" [Hey, what fear do the Jews have of not keeping kosher! They don't eat butter, but sometimes they eat eggs and discover that a bird comes out. And an insect falls into the rum. Lo and behold, the kosher food is gone!].

³⁴ "(στρέφων την ράχην προς τον Μανολιέλην) αχάρβα με ότραβες σάνκι άλλη φολά κτύυπα, μπουλάσιν μεπελανί Μανολιέλης αν σου μορτάδ- Χάμ- Σολομών (πλησιάζων) για μια άλλη φολά κτύυπα ατροβάρ λα μεπελά, βε γκιορετζέξιν νε ολουούρ-Μανολιέλης-να-σου-νά-σου-να-σου (εξακολουθεί τύπτων)- Χάμ Σολομών (οπισθοδρομών). Άϊ πόκ τσανινά ολσούν νέγρο μιλλέτ, γιάμε του ιζζ μαμζέλ ογλού μαμζέζ, ως το σαπάχναμαζ να λέγον κτύυπα, βουρατζάκ, νο με αχάρβεζ, βούρμα μπάσταρδο... (σ. 56-57).

HAM SOL: (Turning his back to Manolielis) Don't hesitate, hiiit me once more! You will be in trouble!

MANOLIELIS: Here is another one, then.

HAM SOL: (coming closer) Hit me once more and you will be in trouble!

MANOLIELIS: (continues hitting him) Here is another one then, and one more, and yet another one!

HAM SOL: (stepping back) Shit on your soul, black millet! You bastard! I will keep saying 'hiiit me' until morning prayer. Don't hiiit me [in Ladino], don't hit me, you bastard! [in Turkish-Ladino].

³⁵ As an example, one could point out the phrase *σάνκι χιονί βρέχει*, (it's as if it's raining snow) said by Hadji Aslanis and rendering the Turkish *sanki kar yağıyor*. Such linguistic transfers from one language to the other merit further study. See G. Soyter,

Beyond its literary value, the play is also a treasure trove of the customs and ideology of the years just after the Tanzimat. *Babylonia, or the Corruption of the Greek Language in various places* mirrors the linguistic reality in the newly created Greek state (1836) by making use of the theatrical coexistence of dialects and producing a comedic result.³⁶ Similarly, *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis* represents the linguistic reality of the Ottoman Empire (1845) and the variety and multiplicity not only of Greek as spoken by the Grecophone characters of the comedy, but also of Turkish as spoken by the Karamanli Hadji Aslanis, the Armenian Hampartzoum and the Jews Ham Solomon and the rabbi. Circulation of this forgotten play will also provide the opportunity to compare the two types of Karamanlis in the comedies *Babylonia* and *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis*, or the Kayserli of the Constantinopolitan D. Vyzantios with the *samoladas* (= berzigân) Karamanli of Evangelinos Misailidis who was from Koula. Moreover, it will allow for comparative studies regarding Misailidis' conception of the Ottoman world, based on *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis* and the *Temaşa-i Dünya*, during the years 1845-1872, that is, from his youth to his maturity.

Therefore, we look forward to the publication of the scholarly edition of *The Erotomaniac Hadji Aslanis*, which G. Kehagioglou has already announced, and that will be accompanied by many pages of vocabulary which, as always, will explain everything.

Untersuchungen zu den neugriechischen Sprachkomödien Babylonia von D. K. Byzantios und Korakistika von K. H. Rhizos (Dissertation der Philosophischen Fakultät Sekt I der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität), München 1912.

³⁶ Hrysoula Karantzi, "Μετέπαναστατικός Διαφωτισμός και γλώσσα: Η Βαβυλωνία του Δ. Κ. Βυζαντίου" [Post-revolutionary Enlightenment and Language: The Babylonia of D.K. Vyzantios], *Μελέτες για την ελληνική γλώσσα* [Studies on Greek Language], Proceedings of 16th Annual Meeting of the Linguistics Department of Philosophy Faculty of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (4-6 May 1995), Thessaloniki 1996, pp. 494-504. See also, W. Puchner, *Η γλωσσική σάτιρα στην ελληνική κωμωδία του 19ου αιώνα, Γλωσσοκεντρικές στρατηγικές του γέλιου από τα "Κορακιστικά" ως τον Καραγκιόζη* [Linguistic satire in Greek comedy of the 19th century. Language-centred strategies of laughter from the "Korakistika" to Karagiozis], Athens 2001, pp. 246-305.

MF. MKT 1/119**Bâb-ı Âlî'ye**

Anadolu Gazetesi müellifi Evangelinos Misailidi'nin bundan yirmi sene mukaddem telif ve İzmir'de tab ve neşr etmiş olduğu Karamanlı Hacı Arslan nâm komediye dair risaleyi bu defa İzmir'de mukim Andon Damiyanos oğlu nâm kimesne kendüsüne müracaat etmeksizin tab' ve neşr ettirmiş olduğundan bahisle muamele-i nizamiyenin icrâsını müsted'î müellifi merkum tarafından takdim olunan arzuhal Meclis-i Maarif'e lede'l-havale merkum Damiyanos oğlunun tab ettiği mezkûr risalenin bir nüshası götürülerek mütalaa olundukta münderecatının bazılarında muğayir-i edeb ibareler görülmüş olduğundan ba'dehu hakk-ı telif ile bunun ruhsatsız olarak tab ve neşri bi'l-müzakere icabı ifâ olunmak üzere evvel emirde mezkûr risalenin men'-i neşriyle beraber satılan mahallerde mevcut bulunan nüshalarının hükumete kaldırılarak bu taraftan iş'ar-ı vuku'na değin tevkif husûsunun emirname-i sami-i cenâb-ı vekaletpenahileriyle Aydın vilayet-i celilesine emr ve işar buyrulması tezekkür olunduğu meclis-i mezkûrdan ifade olunmuş ve icabının ifâsı menut-ı emr ve irade-i aliye-i hidivleri bulunmuş olmağın ol babda ve her halde emr-i ferman hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir.

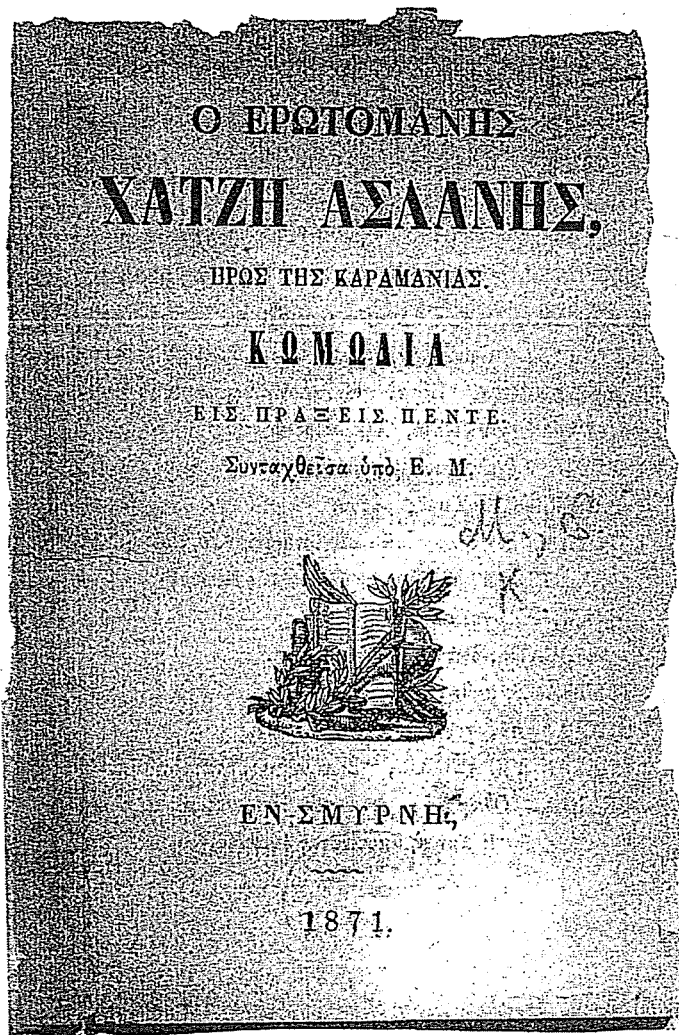
Fi 11 Rebiülahir sene [12]89 ve 5 Haziran sene [12]88

MF. MKT 2/73**Aydın vilayet-i celilesine**

Anadolu Gazetesi müellifi Evangelinos Misailidi'nin bundan yirmi sene mukaddem telif ve İzmir'de tab ve neşr etmiş olduğu Karamanlı Hacı Arslan nâm komediye dair risaleyi bu defa İzmir'de mukim Andon Damiyanos oğlu nâm kimesne kendüsüne müracaat etmeksizin tab ve neşr ettirmiş olduğundan bahisle muamele-i nizamiyenin icrâsını müsted'i merkum tarafından takdim olunan arzuhal ve Meclis-i Maarifin ifadesi üzerine keyfiyet cânib-i Babialî'ye lede'l-arz ol babda şeref-tastir ve tesyîr buyrulan

emirname-i sâmi-i hazret-i vekaletpenahi leffen irsal-i savb-ı vâlâ-yı düsturfleri kılınmış olmasıyla meal-i sâmisine nazaran iktizasının icrâ ve inha buyrulması babında emr ve irade hazret-i men lehü'l-emrindir.

Fi selh Rebiülahir sene 89 ve fi 24 Haziran sene 88



ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ



ΚΑΤΖΗ ΑΕΛΛΑΝΗΣ, έμπορος Καραμανιεύς.
 ΑΠΘΝΙΑΔΗΣ, Κυθωνιεύς, γραμματέυς καὶ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ.
 ΧΑΪΜ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ, Έβραῖος Θεσσαλονικεύς, μεσίτης αὐτοῦ.
 ΓΥΑΤΣΑ ΜΑΡΟΥΚΑΚΗ, Χία πρόξενήτρια.
 ΜΑΡΕΖΟΣ, Τήνιος ὑποδηματοποιός.
 ΚΥΡΑ ΕΡΙΝΗ, σύζυγος αὐτοῦ.
 ΜΑΡΟΥΛΑ, θυγάτηρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐρωμένη τοῦ Ἡρώος.
 ΧΑΪΜ ΠΑΡΙΖΟΤΙ, Αρμένιος, Κύριός τῆς Μαρούλας.
 ΜΑΡΤΙΝΙ, σύζυγος αὐτοῦ.
 ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛΗΣ, Μιτωληναῖος κτίτης.
 ΟΥΡΑΤΕΛΗΣ, μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ.
 ΕΥΧΑΛΑ, σύζυγος τοῦ Χαΐμ Σολομών.
 ΚΑΠΕΤΑΝ ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜΟΣ, Έπτανήσιος, ἐραστής Μαρούλας.
 ΑΕΚΚΑΝΕΥΣ, Οθωμανός, μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν του.
 Ἡ Σκηνὴ ἀποθῆται ἐν Συμόνη.



