

Chapter Five

The Displaced Commons-place

*Κίτ τὰ δουνιανήγ οὐδζουνὰ καδάρ, κινὲ κερὶ διονέρισιν
βε σεβκιουλεριγὶν γιανηνδὰ δζανηγή τεσλιμ ιδέρσιν.*

*Go even to the ends of the earth and, still, you'll return again
And you'll give up the ghost by the side of your companions.*

- From *The Book of Fortunes and Fates* (Παχτ βε Τεδζελλι κιταπη), 20.α.1, 1934¹

Introduction

Can a language and a literature survive displacement? I mean here a double displacement—not just geographical but material as well: the all-out “eviction” of an entire language from the print media in which it had long found a home. Such was the question facing many of the displaced refugees who had grown up in the final years of Ottoman Anatolia speaking Turkish and identifying as *Rum* (Greek Orthodox)—most of whom, unlike Nikolaos Kazakoglou from the previous chapter, could not speak Greek. Less than a decade after the conclusion of the Population Exchange and their forced removal from these lands, the only trace you could find of them in Anatolia were the inscriptions that they’d left on their churches, tombs, and buildings: Turkish written in the Greek alphabet. Words now bereft of an audience. But even more striking than this was the scene across the sea in Greece, where the survivors had been “relocated”: for

¹ The full title is: “The Book of Fortunes and Fates: Whatever your question may be you’ll find your answer in the following pages; [set to paper] by Papas Efendi, who is among the inhabitants of the village of Andaval, in the district of Niğde, from the city of Ann Arbor, in 1934” (Παχτ βε Τεδζελλι Κιταπηδηρ: χέρ νέκι σιβάλ ιδέρ ισέν σανὰ δζεβαπηνή άρκαδακή πεντελερδὲ άλήρσην: Ίσπου κιτάπ νίγδε σανδζαγηνὰ ταπι άνδαβάλ καρισι σακινλερινδέν Παπάς έφένδι ταραφηνδάν τεγκιμ κηληνημής, άν άρπουρ σεχρινδέν 1934).

despite the fact that hundreds of thousands of these refugees continued to live and breathe and speak in Turkish, their written language was even harder to find here. At least, that is, if you looked in Greece's mainstream media.

Known collectively as the Karamanli community (a term used disparagingly at first²), their language has in turn been called Karamanlica or Karamanlidika. Its print apparatus had thrived in the 18th and especially the 19th centuries under the auspices of, primarily, the prolific publisher, writer and adapter Evangelinos Misailidis, circulating newsprint, scientific and educational journals and monographs and, as the nineteenth century wore on, a sizeable corpus of short stories and novels.³ Yet with the collapse of the Ottoman regime and the mass deportation of this population to Greece, their formerly robust print apparatus crumbled almost immediately. “The production of Karamanlidika books,” Evangelia Balta has written,

stopped fatefully with the Exchange of Populations in 1925; the short-lived bilingual newspaper *Prospfygiki Phoni / Μουχατζήρ Σεδασή* [ended in 1927], [while] a few Karamanlidika *feuilles-volantes* printed by Greek politicians, when, in order to catch votes, they were obliged to speak the “language of the refugees,” all ceased around 1935. Henceforth no Karamanlidika printed matter would circulate, since the Greek State's policy of linguistic homogenization as well as the Turcophones' need to integrate as rapidly as possible into the new *status quo*, imposed the monolingual culture. (2010:11)

The fate of their newspaper *Muhacir Sedası* (The Voice of the Refugee) is particularly telling. As Balta has documented elsewhere, the paper was attacked by the mainstream

² See Evangelia Balta (2012:163-4). She quotes extensively from a 1911 article in *Le Mercure de France*, which concludes thus: “The masses [of Anatolian Orthodox Christians] speak only Turkish. Is this a crime? Most naturally not but the Greek speakers of Istanbul, Izmir and Europe do not agree. In their eyes, the Anatolian is only half Christian, not worthy of the name Greek. The nickname ‘Karamanli’ is sufficient to indicate this.”

³ According to Balta's calculations, Misailidis alone published 92 titles (2012:134), most notably the impressively long-lived newspaper *Anatoli*. For a discussion of the serialized fiction in *Anatoli*, see Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek (2014). The other two major publishers were religious: the Orthodox church and Western missionaries, whose printed books constituted over half the total of Karamanli books known in the bibliography (Balta 2012:169).

outlet *Eleftheron Vima* in the summer of 1925, just over a year after the former had begun circulating. Ignoring the historically large indigenous output of Karamanli print material, the editor of *Eleftheron Vima* attacked Karamanli books as the product of foreign missionary societies. Even more vehemently, he insisted on the “inappropriateness” of the Turkish language itself and its use “in the streets of Athens by the Karamanlis.” He continued:

Efendiler! Do not pollute the Greek-speaking refugees, allowing them the desire to learn the daily news from a newspaper published in Turkish. We recommend that you cease to publish the newspaper in this non-existent language. Replace the language of your newspaper with Greek. Because, alas, regardless of the freedom of the Press, it would be right for the Government to take action.⁴

Harsh and painful words. Apparently, when the larger media establishment of Greece was not ignoring the Karamanlis, it ostracized them for speaking a “pollution” that was, in any case, “nonexistent,” going so far as to legally threaten them. Given such a toxic environment, it is not surprising that the newspaper folded within two years.

Yet while I recognize the devastation that such a closure must have meant to the literary and linguistic community of Karamanlis, I wonder whether, from the 1930s onward, it’s right to “close the book” on Karamanli literature entirely. While it is true that, save for a few political tracts (and, importantly, a single collection of poems printed around 1935⁵), Karamanli literature would never again⁶ be printed—to our knowledge, at

⁴ Quoted and translated in Evangelia Balta and Aytek Soner Alpan (2016:163).

⁵ I am alluding to the *destans* (ballads) of Kosmas Çekmezoğlu, *Ta Traγούδια της Νέας & Π. Καρβάλης του Ναζιανζού: Από το 1923 μέχρι το 1935* [The Songs of New and Old Gelveri of Nazianzos: From 1923 to 1935], the longest of which has been reprinted in Balta (2012), pp. 73-86.

⁶ I exclude here, of course, the publications of later scholars, some of whom have reprinted particular poems or novels. Another intriguing exception is the novel *Σινιρδışı Saatler-Σηνηρδησι Σαατλερ* (2003) by the Cypriot writer Mehmet Yaşın, which I will treat separately in a later study.

least—does this necessarily mean that no literature was produced through other means or circulated beyond the market? Such an assumption is problematic. It derives from an implicit consensus that only the major media of the centralized nation state (i.e., standardized, bound books, printed in bulk) qualify as literature and only commercial sales qualify as indices of circulation. Stated in the obverse, it overlooks the possibilities that Karamanli literature might in fact have continued to find a material outlet elsewhere—not only in private media, such as letters, but in what I would call non-standardized “codex assemblages,” a small corpus of which I explore in this chapter. Such codices recycled, repurposed, and recombined source materials, sometimes confusing print and manuscript, sometimes confusing original, adaptation, and copy, sometimes rebinding and remixing multiple texts. Given their makeshift nature, these composite codices never achieved industrial reproduction; each traced out a singular trajectory. Nevertheless, I will argue that even as singular objects they achieved some degree of public circulation, however small, moving from hand to hand beyond the bounds of the nation-state and its authorial regimes. Despite their singularity, these books were startlingly mobile. In the decades following the Population Exchange, pieces of their contents were produced successively in Turkey, Greece, and finally the United States, and they were in turn passed from hand to hand by multiple users who, as the decades wore on, moved them again across this geography. Fluid in every scale of their production and circulation, these books transmit literary intensity⁷ at its greatest capacity.

⁷ For the specialized sense in which I use this term, see the final section of chapter one.

Books Behaving Badly

In the small village of Zografou, a few kilometers inland and uphill from the northern shores of the Aegean, if you know the right person you can find an old copy of the Alexander Romance, written in Turkish and printed in Istanbul in 1871: *Alexandros Makedonialı Meşhur Padişah* (Alexander of Macedon, the Famous Sultan).⁸ While it has perhaps lost its popular appeal today, the Alexander Romance, which narrates the mythical exploits of Alexander the Great, is among the oldest and most widely diffused works of fiction on our planet, spanning dozens of languages and several religious traditions (including Judaism, Christianity and Islam), and actively and continuously evolving from at least the third century ACE to the end of the nineteenth.⁹ Precisely because of this wild diffusion, however, Alexander's story is impossible to pinpoint; it was continually reshaped by those who told it, heard it, and passed it along, subtly or extensively incorporating into it their individual and communal histories. Within the story of Alexander hide the stories of his many handlers.

The copy in Zografou is no exception. Indeed, this is true not simply for the edition but even the particular codex. Open the book and you find, in the verso and recto of the first two folios—i.e., before the text proper has even begun—a short and anonymous

⁸ The person in question is Yorgos Kallinikidis, a retired steel mill worker who graciously hosted me in August of 2016. I will return to him later in this chapter. The book's full title is *Alexandros Makedonialı Meşhur Padişahın eyyam-i padişahlığında ettiği seferlerin ve cenklerin, ve min evvelinden el ahirine dek, yani doğduğu günden ta vefatine kadar nasıl ve ne tarzile gelip geçtiğinin nakliyeti* (The Story of Alexander of Macedon the famous sultan, and the campaigns and battles that he made in the days of his sultanate, and how and in what way he came and went from his beginning unto his end, which is to say from the day of his birth until his death). The title page is missing, so that it is impossible to determine the edition, yet it seems likely that it is from 1871. Many of the subsequent pages are also missing, although they have been carefully reproduced in manuscript form—imitating the typeface and layout of the print—and subsequently bound into the codex in the place of the original folios.

⁹ For influential treatments, see *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, edited by Z. David Zuwiyya (Brill 2011) and *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, edited by Stoneman, Erickson and Netton (Barkhuis and Groningen University Library, 2012).

manuscript poem, inscribed in a meticulous hand. It's the story not of "Alexander the Famous Sultan" but of a common soldier, wasting away in protracted military service far from his home. Conscripted into the Ottoman army, he writes to his own Sultan—indeed, addressing the poem to him—and demands permission to return to his village amidst a growing wave of bitter complaints. "If only you knew how broken and abject [*üftade*] I am, my Sultan Abdülaziz, you'd weep too," he writes at the end of the second stanza. The poem poignantly if subtly complicates the entire narrative of the Alexander Romance before it has even begun, demonstrating the human cost of an imperial military apparatus and the displacements and uprootings that it produces. It asks the reader, if nothing else, to compare the two narratives and join them in dialogue. Towards the bottom of the recto, we reach the start of the poem's second stanza and what is, for me, its rhetorical climax in a beautiful and moving chain of interlocked images:

kitabım dürülü kaldı
dilimde koranım ağler
bülbulüm kafeste kaldı
sılada Gülşanım ağler

my book remained closed, unread is each page
on my tongue the Quran keeps on weeping
my songbird remained enclosed in its cage
in my homeland my Gülşan is weeping

Gülşan is the speaker's beloved (soon followed by their children in the next line), yet more striking than her weeping is, in my mind at least, the image of the "closed book" with which this excerpt begins. On one level, the original Turkish phrase (*kitabım dürülü kaldı*) suggests a metaphorical understanding of "book" as life itself, which, for the speaker, has been prematurely "closed," far away from his native soil. On another level, however, the closed book of this poem, prominently planted in the blank recto that heads

the larger codex, ironically raises another question: will the actual, physical book that we hold in our hands also remain shut, foreclosed from a chance at life? Whose book was this? Where has it been, where was its own homeland? Was it “closed” before its time?

While the next line provides no immediate answers, it does offer hope. We read that despite the closure of one book, another remains open: the Quran, which seemingly weeps upon the tongue of the speaker. If the “book of life” remains shut to him, the speaker nonetheless maintains access to his holy book of faith, whose recitation he continues in exile even as he adapts it to his own needs (lamentation and, in a sense, petition). Yet there is another, meta-textual irony here: the owner of this book and the man who has inscribed the poem into its first pages—the man who, with his pen at least, hosts the Quran on his tongue—is not a Muslim. He’s a Karamanli Christian, as one can deduce both from his name, Agathangelos, and through the Greek alphabet in which he has written down the poem:

κιταπημ τιουριουλιου καλτη
τιλιμτε κορανημ άγλερ
πιουλπιουλουμ καφεστε καλτι
σιλατα κιουλσανημ άγλερ

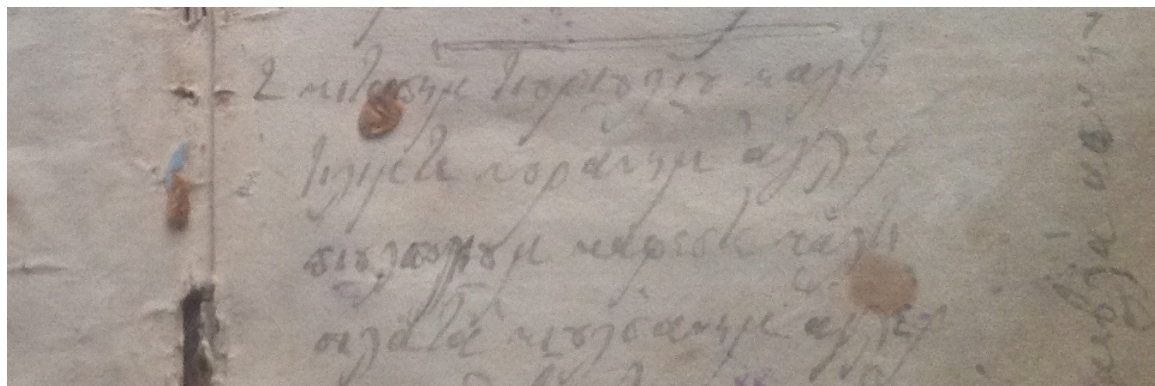


Figure 8. A detail of folio 2 recto of *Alexandros Makedonialı Meşhur Padişah* (Alexander of Macedon, the Famous Sultan), containing the four lines of the poem discussed above. Courtesy of Giorgos Kallinikidis.

Despite their difference of religion, however, Agathangelos and the speaker of the poem share something deeper: they are both “exiled” in foreign lands, one an unwilling conscript and the other a refugee. This is further reinforced by another couplet, the last two lines of the first stanza, which Agathangelos, as if to emphasize the power it held over him, has written twice, repeating it vertically in the outer margin:

γιαρατὰν μεβλὰ ασκηνὰ
κόιμα πενὶ σου κούρπεττε

for the love of God who has created us
do not cast me into foreign lands¹⁰

The emphatic repetition of this couplet in the margins, I suggest, bears witness to just how deeply Agathangelos identified with the poem’s speaker and his plight.¹¹ Despite his own Orthodox faith (indeed, he worked as a cleric!), what ultimately leads him to assume the performative mask of a Muslim soldier here, weeping through the Quran, is their shared experience of exile and displacement.

¹⁰ In the third and final stanza, Agathangelos repeats this refrain yet again, slightly modifying it: Τιοβλετιν ασκηνὰ (for the love of your state).

¹¹ While I’ve already implied it through the designation of “anonymous poem,” it’s important to note that this work is not Agathangelos’ original creation. Nonetheless, there are several words, lines (including the couplet in the margin) and entire stanzas that are not present in the other extant version that I’ve found, leaving open the strong possibility that Agathangelos (who *did* write his own, original poetry as well) has created these variations.

1. *Επιθυμῶ σὺν ἡμῶν ἔργῳ*
ἀποδοχῆς βαρὸν σμαρτὴν
τοῦ γινώσκου τοῦτοῦτα ἔργου
λαχθῆναι σαρτὴν
γινώσκου μετὰ γινώσκου
σάρτῳ ἔργῳ γινώσκου
γινώσκου γινώσκου βαρὸν
γινώσκου μετὰ γινώσκου
μετὰ γινώσκου σαρτὴν
 2. *Ἐπιθυμῶ σὺν ἡμῶν ἔργῳ*
ἀποδοχῆς βαρὸν σμαρτὴν
τοῦ γινώσκου τοῦτοῦτα ἔργου
λαχθῆναι σαρτὴν
γινώσκου μετὰ γινώσκου
σάρτῳ ἔργῳ γινώσκου
γινώσκου γινώσκου βαρὸν
γινώσκου μετὰ γινώσκου
μετὰ γινώσκου σαρτὴν
Ἐπιθυμῶ σὺν ἡμῶν ἔργῳ
ἀποδοχῆς βαρὸν σμαρτὴν
τοῦ γινώσκου τοῦτοῦτα ἔργου
λαχθῆναι σαρτὴν
γινώσκου μετὰ γινώσκου
σάρτῳ ἔργῳ γινώσκου
γινώσκου γινώσκου βαρὸν
γινώσκου μετὰ γινώσκου
μετὰ γινώσκου σαρτὴν

Figure 9. Folio 2r. Note the reproduction of the first stanza's last couplet in the outer margin.

Like Nikolas Kazakoglou from the previous chapter, Agathangelos was forced in the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish war and population exchange to abandon his native village—in this case, Andaval in central Anatolia. Carted, marched and shipped across approximately one thousand kilometers of hinterland and sea, he eventually found himself in Greek Macedonia, where he stayed for two years. Unlike Kazakoglou, however, Agathangelos left again, setting out for the United States in 1927 at the request of his two sons, who had already settled there. It was in Michigan that he spent the rest of his life, as one can tell from the *ex libris* stamped upon the obverse of the same leaf.

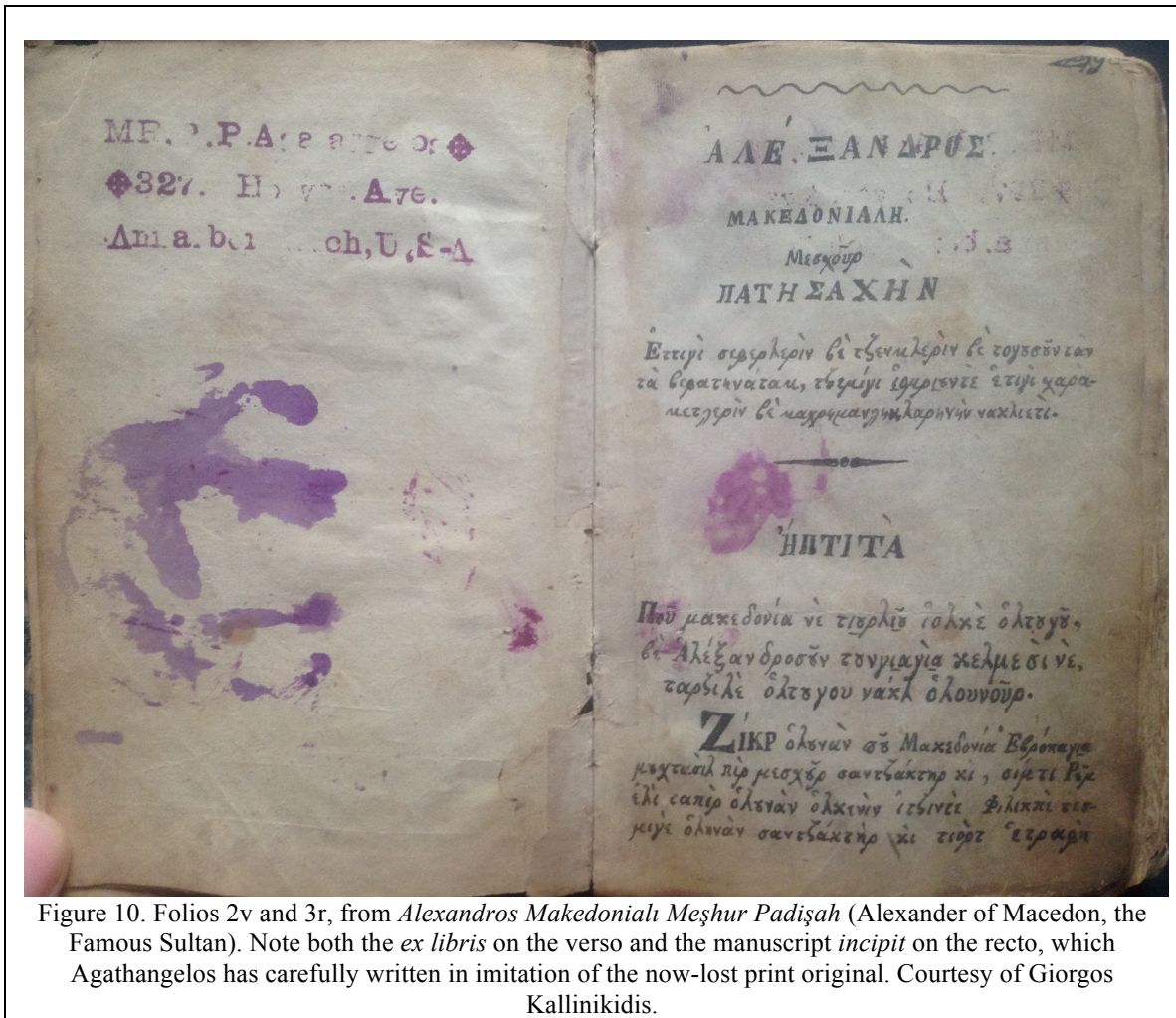


Figure 10. Folios 2v and 3r, from *Alexandros Makedoniali Meshur Padişah* (Alexander of Macedon, the Famous Sultan). Note both the *ex libris* on the verso and the manuscript *incipit* on the recto, which Agathangelos has carefully written in imitation of the now-lost print original. Courtesy of Giorgos Kallinikidis.

But more than just geography, there is something else that renders Agathangelos distinct from Kazakoglou: he told his story not through the authorship of Stratis Doukas and the publishers of Athens but, instead, through a series of books that he re-inscribed, translated, adapted or created ex nihilo, rebinding and recombining multiple texts into what were often composite codices. He continued to assemble these books for twenty years after the Population Exchange, working creatively into the 1940s. If Kazakoglou had narrated himself through mainstream Greek-language print media, Agathangelos clearly chose a different tack. Of course, I don't mean to place either narrative strategy over the other in a hierarchy of value: both these complicated stories are worthy of study, and each has found an equal platform in my project. Nevertheless, for reasons I will ponder briefly in the conclusion to this chapter, the textual assemblages of those like Agathangelos have garnered less attention than they deserve.

Physically poaching printed books and a startling variety of paper sources, inscribing poems into the blank leaves of printed codices, adapting entire Greek novels into his own Turkish versions, and composing original long poems (*destanlar*) in a commonplace book that he also filled with, among other things, popular Ottoman songs and a printed saint's life (Saint Paraskevi), Agathangelos was building a narrative just as culturally complex, historically valuable and aesthetically vibrant as what might be found in *A Captive's Story*. Crucially, he made these books not only for himself (although they were clearly a central part of his own identity and vocation) but for his wider community of Turkish-speaking readers, at least some of whom have, in turn, left their own marginalia and notes in his books, which continued to circulate and be read well after his death. Agathangelos' books, and the stories, geographies and communities that they

assemble through their pages, deserve careful consideration by scholars of twentieth-century Aegean literature, even if it means recalibrating our understanding of that last term. In naming this section “books behaving badly,” therefore, I refer not to illicit subject matter or to censorship but, quite literally, to books that stop behaving as a modern reader would expect them. Books that accrue both media and meanings, that come apart and are re-assembled in unexpected ways, bringing together multiple modes of inscription, contents, geographies and handlers. Books, in other words, that have become what Deleuze and Guattari would call a nomadic war machine.

Although it functions primarily as a trans-historical paradigm for Deleuze and Guattari, the nomadic war machine is in fact grounded in a particular historical object: a makeshift chariot, assembled by nomads in the Altai mountains circa 400 BCE. In Deleuze and Guattari’s understanding, this chariot circulates beyond the outermost margins of any state formation and its concomitant standardized field of production. The state, conversely, only develops its own forms by congealing the fluid works of the nomads into templates, in a long chain that leads, for example, from a wooden chariot pieced together for a particular need in a particular steppe in Asia to a Predator drone manufactured in bulk by General Atomics in California, to be deployed globally. Or, in our case, we might speak of the long chain leading from a particular commonplace book, assembled by a survivor of the Greco-Turkish War and Population Exchange, to a high school history textbook, whose production and bulk reproduction the Greek or Turkish state oversees. Importantly, of course, I cannot emphasize enough just how long, complicated, and rich the continuum is between these two extremes. If Deleuze and

Guattari have the occasional tendency to slip into binaries (though never for very long¹²), such as the nomad vs. state, Manuel DeLanda reminds us that we might just as productively replace such oppositions “with knobs that can be set to different values” (2016:3). Along the continuum traversed by means of these knobs, then, the forms of the nomadic war machine may occasionally bleed into those of the state, yet it is always possible to “turn our knobs” again and locate examples that approach a fluid multiformity, what Deleuze and Guattari call “an irruption of the ephemeral and the power of metamorphosis” (1987:388).

And while Deleuze and Guattari begin their discussion with and frame it through the example of warfare, this is by no means the only or even primary lens to understand the concept. It is not about weapons so much as modes of production.¹³ More helpful than the chariot, in this sense, are the gothic cathedrals to which Deleuze and Guattari later turn. These buildings, they write, “mark a qualitative change [in architecture]: the static relation, form-matter, tends to fade into the background in favor of a dynamic relation, material-forces. It is the *cutting* of the stone that turns it into material capable of holding and coordinating forces of thrust [...]. The vault is no longer a form but the line of continuous variation of the stones” (401-402). In other words, the standard dichotomy of form vs. matter (by which the form necessarily precedes and shapes the matter, e.g., by

¹² Already in *Anti-Oedipus*, for example, they wrote that “a pure nomad does not exist; there is always and already an encampment where it is a matter of stocking—however little—and where it is a matter of inscribing and allocating, of marrying, and of feeding oneself” (2009:148).

¹³ Not only did industrialization and capital accumulation congeal and standardize labor; it also divided and alienated intellectual from manual labor, erecting a wall between architect and mason, or between writer, publisher, typesetter and so on. As Deleuze and Guattari write, “If the State always finds it necessary to repress the nomad and minor sciences, [...] it does so not because the content of these sciences is inexact or imperfect [...] but because they imply a division of labor opposed to the norms of the State” (406-407). As witnessed in categories such as “Higher” and “Lower” criticism, which kept literary and textual criticism in isolation from each other for over half a century, this division still implicitly shapes some work in the humanities.

which a blueprint determines how large the beam will be and where it will be used within the building) fails to take root in the gothic cathedral. Instead, this assemblage of stones is driven by the dynamic relation of “force and material.” It’s not a blueprint or a schema that shapes the material but rather the particular action of the craftsmen as they first encounter the stone at hand, squaring it in accordance with its own material particularities. By replacing “form” with “force,” Deleuze and Guattari abandon the dichotomy of two hierarchically structured nouns and introduce instead a synergy of noun and verb, stone and cutting, matter and action, a synergy that is performative and ephemeral and contingent. In effect, we are asked here to emphasize the *-ing* of the building, viewing it not as a fixed and settled structure but an open process. Form is not the standard by which the material is shaped but rather the incidental outcome of a dynamic relationship between action and material. “In nomad science,” they write, “matter is never prepared and therefore homogenized matter, but is essentially laden with singularities” (407). For better or worse, the journeymen of such cathedrals refuse templates, shifting and adapting their force to each new material that they encounter.

The books of Agathangelos are just such cathedrals, just such assemblages, laden with singularities. Like the medieval journeyman, he incorporated a vast array of materials and stories into his production, *without* a predetermined schema or form imposing restrictions on them. It was the day-to-day encounter of the bookmaker with both his physical materials (e.g., paper sources and bindings) and narratives (e.g., a ballad of the Population Exchange or an anti-war song from the Crimean war) that brought together, took apart, and rearticulated the books that have reached us today. Working on the margins of and building multiple connections to Turkish and Greek literary networks,

Agathangelos nonetheless never standardized his codices or his identity according to either of them.

In the following sections, I will turn to a more careful consideration of these books, but before I transition there I want to emphasize that similar complexities could be observed in the larger Karamanli community and the “narrative of self” that they had been negotiating well before the war’s upheaval. In other words, Agathangelos was not telling his story in a vacuum but was building upon a complex communal process of self-definition that had, for decades, been drawing from both Greek and Turkish cultural systems. It had long lived on the margins of these systems, yet over the second half of the nineteenth century the Karamanli community was increasingly targeted for standardization and codification by multiple, often conflicting parties, aligned in various ways with either Turkish or Greek nationalism. Writing in 1899, the Turkish nationalist Şemseddin Sami claimed,

It is almost proven that the more than half a million Orthodox population which lives in Anatolia, having absolutely no relationship with the Greeks, and speaking nothing but Turkish, have arisen from the mixture of the ancient inhabitants of Anatolia with the Turkmens. [...] They should therefore not be regarded as Greeks. Just as every Muslim is not a Turk, an Orthodox Christian is not necessarily a Greek. Faith stands on belief, and nationality on language.¹⁴

The entire debate was, as can already be sensed here, grounded upon the pseudo-historical question of origin. Greek nationalists, in turn, countered that the Karamanlis derived from Byzantine Greek settlements that had begun speaking Turkish after centuries of “isolation.”¹⁵ To “bring them back into the fold,” three separate actors began

¹⁴ Quoted and translated by David Kushner (1977:53). I’m grateful to Balta (2010), pp. 52-53, for leading me to this text.

¹⁵ For a summary of both positions, see Balta, (2010:50-51).

formalizing Greek language instruction through the formation of schools, syllabi, and faculty: first, philanthropic societies of Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians in Istanbul and Izmir; second, metropolitan bishops representing the Orthodox Church in the provinces, and; third, the Greek state. (Recall from the previous chapter what effect these schools had on Nikolas Kazakoglou and his fellow villagers in Çirkince.) Balta writes, “Schools ceased to be treated only as an instrument of education and socialization, and acquired an additional mission, as a means of nationalization and nation-formation.” Thus, Greek “was called on to take the place of the existing mother tongue, Turkish, and to oust it” (2010:69-70).

Amidst these ideological maneuvers, what did the Karamanlis themselves say? As Balta has helpfully noted, we might best set aside questions of origin to instead “investigate the consciousness of the Turcophones themselves in their historical place and time” (51). Interestingly, the major media outlet of the Karamanli language during the nineteenth century, the ephemeral paper *Anatoli*, was at least partially complicit in the ideological project of Greek-speaking nationalists. For while it celebrated the distinct and localized culture of the Turkophone Orthodox of Cappadocia and defended the Karamanlis against the denigrating attacks of Greek-speaking chauvinists, it might nonetheless be said to have encouraged their gradual Hellenization. Foti and Stefo Benlisoy summarize the situation thus:

Anatoli tried on the one hand to support, represent and act on behalf of the Anatolian Turcophone Orthodox and further their interests, as in the case of the issue concerning the change in the election regulation of the communities of Istanbul which made it impossible for most Anatolian migrants to vote. But on the other hand, the paper constituted one of the basic ideological mechanisms of their inclusion into the Ottoman Greek Orthodox community and their “hellenization.” (2010:103)

In other words, as crucial as *Anatoli* had been in building a Karamanli print community and a literary network, the ideological aims of its editors were not entirely innocent. In truth, as Foti and Stefo Benlisoy continue, “one of the greatest ambitions of *Anatoli* was the ‘reacquisition’ of the Greek language,” the fulfillment of which, as they ironically note, “would in due course lead the newspaper to extinction” (106). Nevertheless, their editors did not appear to hold a monopoly on the voices in the paper’s columns, and certainly not within the larger community. Other voices both within the paper and beyond it indicate that Turkish continued to be a vital part of the community’s identity—voices such as Yannis Gavrilidis, who wrote in the same paper of the principal importance of teaching their children good Turkish in schools (to be prioritized over both science and theology!),¹⁶ or the collective Orthodox community of Nevşehir, who tacitly withheld their support from a philanthropic educational society at least in part for its insistence on keeping minutes only in Greek.¹⁷ Taking in a broader range of voices, one soon understands that the web of attachments by which the Karamanlis defined themselves were far more complex and fluid than either Greek or Turkish nationalism was prepared to recognize. The Greek writer Kosmas Politis, in a small but noteworthy vignette from his novel *In the Hadjifrangou Neighborhood* (1962), writes of the Karamanlis living in turn-of-the-century Izmir, side by side with the larger community of Greek-speaking Orthodox. When the latter decide to put a Greek flag up in celebration for a sporting victory (despite the fact that they are Ottoman subjects), an old Karamanli pulls a boy aside and tells him, in a strange confluence of Greek and Turkish, *Ογλούμ, βάλε και μπιρ Οσμανλί μπαϊράκ* (“My son, put up an Ottoman flag as well”). Not only does he feel the

¹⁶ See Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek (2010:116).

¹⁷ See Irini Renieri (2010).

need for both flags to express himself, but both languages. As one of the narrators suggests, “After thirty years in the city of infidels his Greek was still Turkish” (2006:15). And if this was the case within the urban centers of the coast, just imagine the rich Anatolian connections that were piecing together the Karamanli identity in the hinterland. Looking at an aggregate body of forwards to printed books in the late nineteenth century, Balta notes that “‘our fatherland, Anatolia’ is often mentioned, which rules out any confusion with the other fatherland across the sea, Greece. Also, however hard we search for the ethnic proonym ‘Greeks,’ we shall not find it anywhere. Whenever they are declared ‘ethnically,’ they are always declared as Rum, which alludes to the *Rum milleti*, and wherever the word ‘Greek’ and its derivatives occur, they denote the language” (2010:65). Some Greek-speakers, in turn, continued to remark the resistance of Karamanlis to Greek identity. Ioakeim Valavanis, a celebrated scholar from Cappadocia (although, importantly, he was from a Greek-speaking village), wrote in 1888:

Today, if you ask any [Cappadocian] Christian, even if he speaks this corrupted Greek language,
- What are you?
- Christian, he will reply without hesitation.
- Well, there are many other Christians, the Armenians, the Franks, the Russians.
- I don't know, he will say. Yes, they believe in Christ, but I am Christian.
- Maybe you are Greek?
- No, I am nothing! I have already told you that I am Christian, and I repeat that I am Christian, he will say impatiently. (Quoted and translated in Balta 2010:63)

Like Odysseus cornered in a cave, some Karamanlis declared in the face of Greek and Turkish nationalisms: “I am nothing.” To find the something hiding behind these nothings, more recent scholarship has begun to look beyond the mainstream media of those final decades, whether to footnotes, forwards, or archival records: “cries and

whispers,” to borrow Balta’s evocative phrase. Like the manuscript poem of an exiled Muslim soldier, fronting and framing Agathangelos’ copy of the *Alexander Romance*, it is in such textual assemblages that we can hear more clearly the multiple and complicated stories that Karamanlis told about themselves. And these textual stories, I insist, did not stop with the Population Exchange.

Assembling Agathangelos’ Commonplace Book

It’s unknown when Agathangelos was born, yet by 1902¹⁸ he was already acting as a priest at the church of Saint Nikolaos in Andaval. This was the village that he identified as his home and, as becomes clear from his poems, was the apple of his eye.¹⁹

Nevertheless, he was by no means tied down to Andaval; he served as an itinerant confessor to the Christians of the surrounding region as well, moving between Hasaköy (Χασάκιοϊ), Misti (Μίσθι), and Çarıklı (Τσαρικλί).²⁰ This comfortably regional mobility, of course, could not prepare him for the mass uprooting that would mark his life at some point in 1924, when he and his fellow villagers were deported to Greek Macedonia, arriving in early 1925. While I have no textual evidence to confirm this, it was likely here in Macedonia that Agathangelos began composing the poems now found in what I would

¹⁸ From a signed and dated promissory note (*senet*) now held by Joanne Sitterlet, Agathangelos’ great granddaughter in Michigan, United States.

¹⁹ It was also the village in which his wife, who had died young, remained buried. With the Population Exchange in 1924, then, Agathangelos would be torn not only from his homeland (*sila*) but from his beloved, who remained behind—not unlike the Muslim conscript of the poem fronting the *Alexander Romance*, torn from his Gülşan.

²⁰ From an official license issued by the Orthodox Church in Niğde and dated 1913, now held in the village of Zografou, Greece. In fact, this license has been incorporated into the back cover of one of Agathangelos’ hand-made codices (containing the *Βιβλίο Ψυχωφελέστατον*); I only discovered the document upon closer inspection of the binding.

call his *mecmua*, or commonplace book.²¹

If the primarily print-based codex of the *Alexander Romance* opens with a manuscript poem, it's perhaps fitting that the primarily manuscript-based codex of the *mecmua* begins with a printed text, the Greek-language pamphlet *Βίος τῆς Ὁσιομάρτυρος Παρασκευῆς* (Life of the Holy Martyr Paraskevi), printed in Istanbul in 1894. After fifteen pages detailing the life and death of Paraskevi, the pamphlet abruptly ends and gives way to a lengthy manuscript poem, titled «Ἄνδαβὰλ καριεσὶ ἰτζοὺν διουζιουλὲν δεσδάν» (Destan arranged for the village of Andaval), which might be understood easily enough as its own kind of martyrology: it's a long poem in Turkish, describing the final days of Agathangelos and his community in Andaval, as they await the Kemalist bureaucrats and ox-carts that will uproot them forever from their village. Modeled on the *destan* form (i.e., ballad) of the Anatolian aşık / aşuğ (minstrel) poets, the work maintains a strict meter and rhyme scheme: quatrains (*koşma*) of hendecasyllabics in AAAB.²² The final word in each stanza (i.e., the “B” of the rhyme scheme) is invariably the same: a fatalistic *n'eyleyim* (“what can I do?” / “what’s to be done?”). I plan to publish the *destan* in its entirety separately, along with a more detailed study of its thematic web, yet I want to walk through two or three particular excerpts here because, I think, they will help us better understand the function of the larger codex.

²¹ As M. Sabri Koz (2012) has written, there are far fewer textual witnesses of Turkish *mecmuas* in the Greek and Armenian script than in Ottoman—indeed, he characterizes them as “extremely rare” (194). Nonetheless, I wonder whether part of this supposed scarcity is not due to the violence of the ethnic cleansing and population movements that characterized the first decades of the twentieth century. In other words, I cannot help but think that there are many more Karamanli *mecmuas* hiding in the private libraries of third- and fourth-generation refugees in Greece, the United States and elsewhere.

²² I will maintain neither the rhyme scheme nor the meter in my translation. I hope that a more capable poet is able to render this poem in a suitable form, one that echoes the elegance of the original without risking the strident “singsong” that an English rhyme scheme of AAAB would unavoidably produce in hendecasyllabic meter.

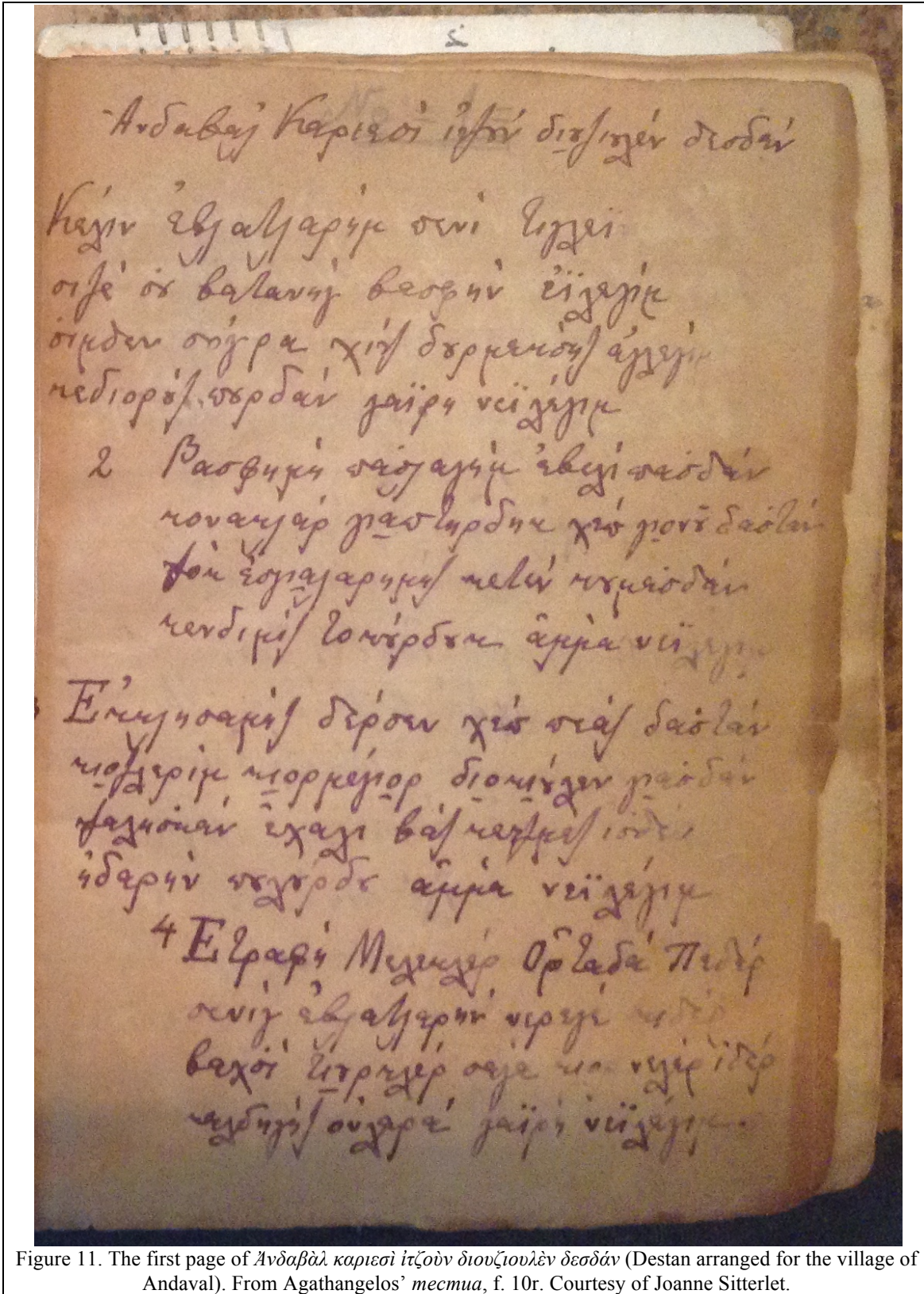


Figure 11. The first page of *Ανδαβάλ καρισσι ιτζον διουζιουλέν δεσδάν* (Destan arranged for the village of Andaval). From Agathangelos' *mecmua*, f. 10r. Courtesy of Joanne Sitterlet.

Much of the poem is devoted to documenting and amassing the historical and ethnographic details of the village. It's a kind of epic catalogue, an aggregation of objects—murals, buildings, rivers, crops, quarries and stones—that is driven, I think, by a desperate impulse in the poet to record a life and a world that were about to vanish. As such, in what might have otherwise become the driest of historical records one can sense a charged and raw emotion just beneath the surface. It makes itself felt, if nowhere else, in the ineluctable “what’s to be done?” that closes each stanza like the tolling of a bell:

Βασφημὴ πασλαγῆμ ἔβελλι πασδάν
 κονακλάρ γιαπτηρδῆκ χέπ γιονοῦ δαστάν
 τζὸκ ἐσγιαλαρημῆζ κετέν κουμασδάν
 κενδιμιζ τοκουρδουκ αμμα νεϊλεγιμ

Vasfım[a] başlayım eveli başdan
 konaklar yaptırdık hep yonu taştan
 çok eşyalarımız keten kumaşdan
 kendimiz dokurduk amma n'eyleyim

Let me start my description from the beginning:
 we built our homes from freestone;
 many of our possessions are from linen
 that we wove ourselves, but what's to be done?

At other moments, this subtle emotional charge spreads out from the final refrain and contaminates entire lines or even stanzas. In such cases, the poem's historical project of assembling objects and documenting their stories is interrupted as the impending deportation violently pulls the frame into the present (or even aorist future) tense. We see this, for example, in a lengthy portion of the poem narrating the church's construction, which I excerpt here:

Πῆγ σεκίζ γιοῦζ κῆρκ ἰκὶ ταριχὶ ἰσέ
 κοῖμουσλαρ τεμελιν πῆρ πασδαν πασα
 καρῆ τζολοῦκ τζοτζουκ κοσμουσλαρ ἰσέ
 γιεργέτ ἐδιπ γιαπτηρημῆσλαρ νεϊλέγιμ

Κιμι τοπράκ κιμι δασηνή δασήρ
 σάνκι ἰουστλερινδὲ βάρδηρ μουπασηρ
 πιλμεδιλέρ κελσὶν πιολγέ πῆρ ἄσηρ
 πρακδηλάρ περκουζάρ ἄμμα νεϊλέγιμ

[***]

Παντοκρατορουνού τζεβρεσί Μελέκ
μερδιβέν κουρούπδα γιανηγά βαράκ
νούρλου σουφατηγά γιουζιουμιούζ σιουρέκ
σὸγ σελαμὴν βεριπ κιδέκ νεϊλέγιμ

Biñ sekiz yüz kırk iki tarihi ise
koymuşlar temelini bir başdan başa
karı çoluk çocuk koşmuşlar işe
gayret edip yaptırmışlar n'eyleyim

In the year of eighteen forty two, then,
they laid the fundamentals from end to end.
Everyone, women and children, set to work.
Their efforts saw the church built, but what's to be done?

Kimi toprak kimi taşını taşır
sanki üstlerinde vardır mübaşır
Bilmediler gelsin böyle bir asır
brakdılar bergüzar amma n'eyleyim

Some bore soil on their backs, some bore stones
as if there were a bailiff looking over them;
they had no idea a century like this would come.
They left it as an heirloom for us, but what's to be done?

[***]

[***]

Pandokratoruñun çevresi Melek
merdiven kurup da yanıña varak
nurlu sufatiña yüzümüz[ü] sürek
soñ selam[i] verip gidek n'eyleyim

Christ sits in the vault, the angels round the rim.²³
We'll set up a ladder and climb up next to him
and rub our face against his bright countenance;
we'll say our last goodbye and leave, what else can be done?

The longer description of the church, only part of which I've excerpted here, uses for the most part past tense forms to stage the history of the village's collective struggle—at one point even selling their individual chattel property to pool a common fund (*eşyaların[i] satıp borcu verdiler*). Yet in the second stanza quoted above, the present starts to pry its way into the narrative, in a dark and ironic act of foreshadowing: “they had no idea a century like this would come.” And come it does, filling all four lines in the final stanza, with the heart-breaking image of an entire village ascending a ladder, one by one, to bid farewell to the murals in their place of worship.

Later, the poem turns to Andaval's major resource: its water.²⁴ Yet here too the poem's initial aim of objective documentation is occasionally overpowered by the impending violence of deportation:

²³ A reference to the murals painted upon the dome of the church.

²⁴ Some second- and third-generation descendants of the refugees with whom I have spoken continue to mention even today the village's springs and watermills.

Ανδαβαλήγ σουγοῦ ὄβαδὰν καῖνάρ
ὄν πῖγ διονίουμ χαρήμ σουλανήρ κανάρ²⁵
τζιφδε δεγριμενλέρ ἀρτανδὰν διονέρ
γιογουδου ἀκρανη ἔσι νεῖλέγμ

Χὰν ἰογιουνδὲν καῖνάρ σουγουνουγ παση
ἀγτηκδζα κιοζιουμδεν ἀκάρ κιοζ γιαση
Ανδαβαλ ἰοζιουνιουγ βάρμηγητη ἔσι
σίμιτι βαχσιλερε καλτῆ νεῖλέγμ

Ἦληδζὰκ σουγοῦ βάρ δερινδὲν καῖνάρ
ἰουτζ τζεσιτ παληκλάρ ἰτζίνδε οἰνάρ
τζολοῦκ τζοδζουκ κιδέρ ἀγ ἰλὲ ἀβλάρ
[γε]μεσινὲ δογελμάζδη νεῖλέγμ

[***]

Τζιοσμεμιζιν σουγοῦ χαρλαγήπ ἀκάρ
μουχαδζηρλάρ πίζε κέν κιτι πακάρ
ἐβμῖν σεβτασῆ δζιερίμ[i] γιακάρ
βάζ κετζέμεγιορούμ εἰβὰχ νεῖλεγμ

Andavaliñ suyu ovadan kaynar
on biñ dönüm harım sulanır kanar
çiftde değirmenler artandan döner
yoğudu akranı eşi n'eyleyim

Andaval's waters spring up from the plain:
ten thousand dönüm²⁶ of gardens are watered and sated
and the watermills are turned with what remains.
They had no equal, but what can be done?

Han önünden kaynar suyunun başı
ahtıkça gözümden akar göz yaşı
Andaval özünüñ var mıydı eşi
şimdi vahşilere kaldı n'eyleyim

In front of the Han the fountainhead springs up;
as I recall it tears spill from my eyes.
Was there an equal to Andaval?
Now it's left to the savages, what can be done?

Ilıcak suyu var derinden kaynar
üç çeşit balıklar içinde oynar
çoluk çocuk gider ağ ile avlar
[ye]mesine doylmazdı n'eyleyim

The water's warm, it springs up from the depths.
Three kinds of fish play about inside of it.
All the kids would go and catch them with their nets;
they couldn't get their fill of food, but what can be done?

[***]

[***]

çöşmemizin suyu harlayıp akar
muhacırlar bize ken gibi bakar
evimin sevdası ciğerim[i] yakar
vaz geçemiyorum eyvah neyleyim?

The water of our fountain bubbles up and flows.
The muhacirs²⁷ look at us with hate.
The love I feel for my home sears my insides;
I can't bring myself to leave, my God!, what can be done?

There are again remarkable confusions of temporality here (in the second stanza the speaker recalls what, at least in the dramatic frame of the poem, he has not yet left), but

²⁵ Used in the sense of “doyar.”

²⁶ About 2,500 acres.

²⁷ The Muslims deported from Greece and brought to Turkey—in this case, to Andaval.

rather than discuss such devices further I want to use these excerpts towards another end: what to do with the hatred and contempt (“savages”; “with hate”) that tie the two groups of refugees together? It is, unfortunately, a tragic misplacement of rage. The touching inter-confessional solidarity that I discussed in the previous section, by which Agathangelos chose a Muslim conscript, exiled from his village, as the “frontispiece” to his *Alexander Romance*, is lacking in this *destan*. Deeply wounded by the impending violence that will tear him from Andaval, Agathangelos strikes out, more than once, against the “savage Turks.”²⁸

Nonetheless, I insist that a careful reading can help the poem channel its anger towards more constructive ends. At certain moments, the speaker seems to identify a more apposite target of his rage, when he rails against what are clearly the petite bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic administration (*düşkün ehalinin idaresi*) of the nearest urban center (Niğde), who have come to divvy up the Karamanlis’ belongings: “The Muslims of Niğde have taken on the airs of a Vizier [/] the belongings of the Rum have been disgraced” (*Niğde’niñ İslamı oldu bir vezir [/] Rumların malı oldu rezil*). They come before the Karamanlis have even been removed from the village, purchasing the mobile properties of the latter for next to nothing—or, in the language of the poem, *for nothing*: “The Muslims come from Niğde, from Tepeviran [/] and take all our goods for free” (*Niğde Tepeyranıñ İslamı gelir [/] bütün malımızı bedelsiz alır*), without even deigning to ask a price (*fiyat sormasına etmez tennezül*). Such instances in the poem quietly but indisputably point to the true engines of displacement—the “they” who “have

²⁸ Lacking too is any sense of the tragedy that awaited the Karamanli refugees in Greece, where they would struggle in abject poverty for years, deprived of some of the most basic housing and infrastructural needs, to say nothing of the social discrimination and exclusion that they would face throughout their lives. None of these tribulations appear in the poem, leading me to believe that Agathangelos composed it almost immediately after the Exchange, in the initial months of their resettlement, if not sooner.

made us strangers to our homeland” (*Sılamızdan yat etdiler bizleri*): not the religious other but the dense network of diplomats, lawyers, statesmen, provincial bureaucrats, land-owners, international treaties, and local proprietary arrangements—what others might call, for short, the state and the market.

If only Agathangelos had known the stories of the Muslim refugees, the very refugees whom he saw entering Andaval (doubtlessly weary and exhausted after months of travel and ill-treatment) as he was leaving. For they had fallen victim to the same systemic forms of exploitation and violence in Greece—only to arrive in Andaval to houses that had already been emptied by the petite bourgeoisie and administrators of Niğde. If only Agathangelos had been able to hear or to read the stories of these refugees, to transcribe them into his book, as he did the story of the Muslim conscript in the *Alexander Romance*, I am hopeful that he would have identified more carefully and specifically the objects of his anger in the *Destan for Andaval*.

The remaining sections of the *mecmua* only reinforce this hope. The codex is a patchwork of texts, some of them poetic creations by Agathangelos (for the most part, other *destans* or ballads), while others are popular or anonymous songs that he has transcribed. When brought into dialogue, these various texts reveal the complicated identity suturing the Karamanli together. Look, for example, to his transcription of the—still popular—Sevastopol Battle (what he calls “A Soldier’s Song from the Russian War”). While it is today performed as a nationalist and indeed militarist march (“Sevastapol March”), the version that Agathangelos arranges is notably darker and anti-militarist. Not only that, but it is, again, sung from the perspective of a Muslim conscript, decrying the needless death of “the Muslim community”—details that today’s versions

have excised. While there are many variations to this song, all that I know maintain the following refrain:

Aman padişahım izin ver bize
vermez isen dök bizi denize

My Sultan, give us permission
If you don't, then throw us into the sea

The meaning of the refrain is admittedly ambiguous. The “permission” (*izin*) here might possibly be understood as “leave” or indeed permission to flee the battle, yet some versions include other lines that make the meaning clear: “permission to attack.”²⁹ Many likewise include the gung-ho line: “If we die, we’ll be martyrs; if we live we’ll be heroes” (*ölürsek şehidiz, kalırsak gazi*). No matter how one interprets this refrain, however, in Agathangelos’ version it is irrelevant, for the simple reason that he does not use it. Instead, he supplies an entirely different variation, which I have been unable to locate elsewhere—one that leaves no ambiguity whatsoever:

Ἀμὰν Πατισαχῆμ βαζ κέλ ποῦ ἰσδέν My Sultan, abandon this war
ἰουμέτι μουσλιουμὰν κετζδι κηληνδζδάν The community of Muslims has been put to the sword

Driving him to this refrain are the atrocities of the war, such as “the brooks [that] run over with blood instead of the spring flood” (*δερλερδέν σέλ γερινὲ κὰν ἄκαρ*) or the more mundane if devastating agents of death, such as hunger and disease:

Καρσηγ καλασήνδα μουχασάρ όλδούκ In the tower of Kars we were surrounded
καπανδῆκ καλεγιὲ ἀτζληκδάν ἰολδιουκ shut up in the tower we died of hunger
σεκσέν πιγ κισιδέν σεκίζ πιγ καλδήκ from eighty thousand eight thousand we became

And after every such atrocity, Agathangelos supplies the same refrain, crying out against the senseless slaughter of the Muslim faithful. The fact that he planted such a song in the *mecmua*—that he consciously chose this variation, if he did not indeed invent pieces of it

²⁹ For example, “My Sultan, give us permission [/] if you do we’ll give you news of victory” (*Aman padişahım izin ver bize [/] Zafer haberini verelim size*).

himself—demonstrates again his unproblematic and frequent identification with Ottoman Turkish Muslims, while at the same time he never severed his ties to the Greek Orthodox tradition. This is clear, for example, in the next song of the codex, the “Dance of Zalongo,” a Greek piece on the Souliote War at the start of the nineteenth century. This is in turn followed by a Turkish song from the Black Sea, praising Turkish sailors and—in Agathangelos’ variation—their resistance to the imperialist encroachments of Russia (an Orthodox Christian state!). Running throughout these songs, finally, is another, perhaps subtler indication of the complicated amalgam of the Karamanli identity: the fact that for each of them, even those most deeply rooted in the Muslim Turkish tradition, Agathangelos has provided *παρασημαντική* (Byzantine musical notation). As such, one reads, for example, a Turkish hymn (with a Greek title) to the Ottoman Sultan, explicitly sung by the Turkophone *Rum*,³⁰ with Byzantine chant notation above its lyrics.

Taken together, what do these poems and songs indicate? They stitch together a patchwork of hybrid worlds, obviously, but it is also important to note: worlds that were decidedly regional. True, most of Agathangelos’ original *destans* narrated the acutely local stories and myths of Andaval, a village that he deeply loved, yet some of them were devoted to other cities and villages in the surrounding area (Niğde, Kayabaşı, Semendre), and one to a Cretan from Matala. Later sections of the *mecmua*, those that contain the popular songs, expand this geography further, drawing from cultural traditions across the Aegean in mainland Greece or from the north, along the coast of the Black Sea. In other words, the *mecmua* pieces together a localized yet regional, complicated and composite world that fit into neither Greek nor Turkish nationalism, both of which had been busily

³⁰ In the line: Ἐλληρίμιζ[ι] καλδηρήρηζ [ι] Ροῦμ Μίλλετ σπιτανλαρή (*We, the children of the Rum Millet, lift our hands up*).

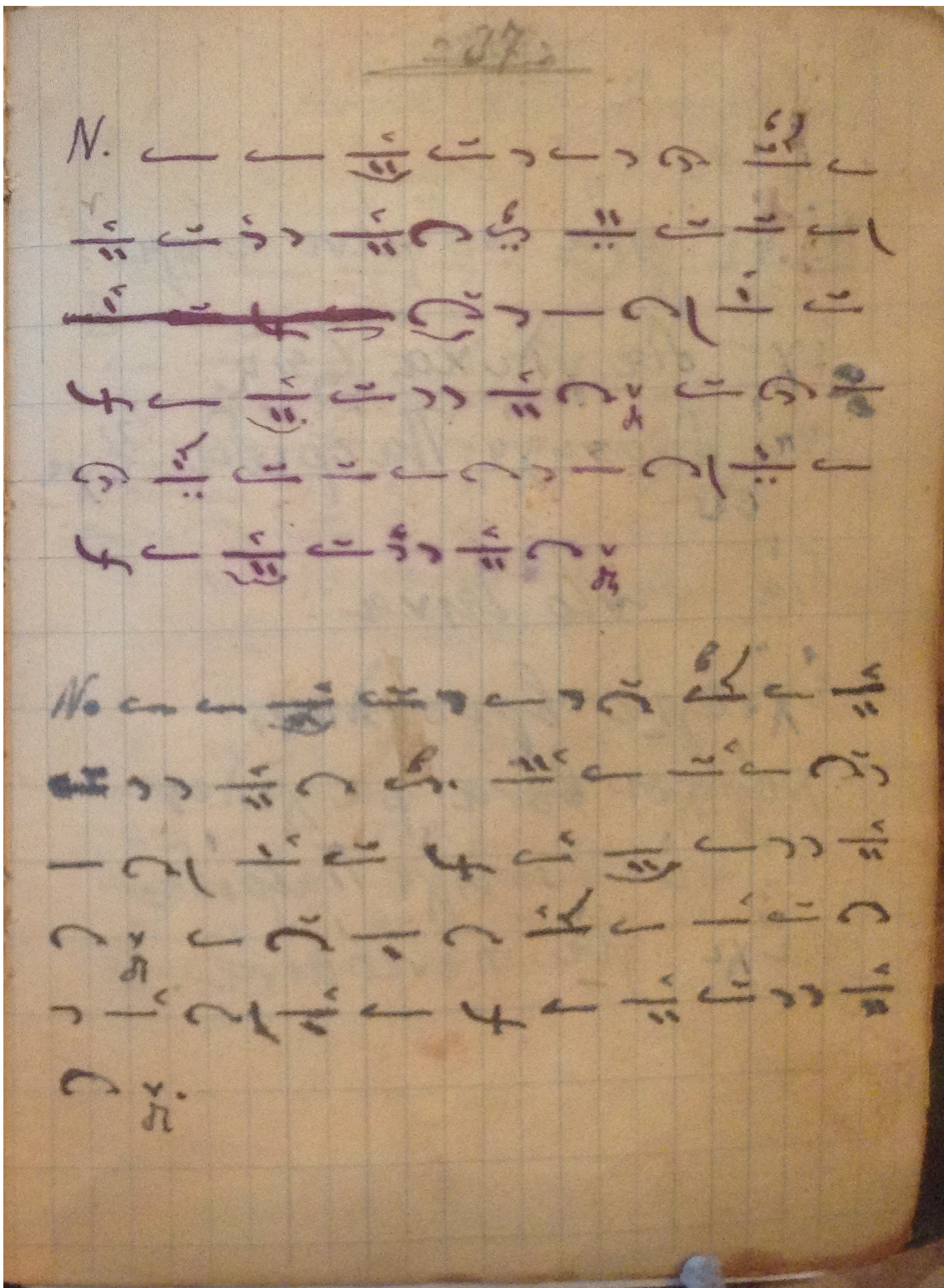


Figure 12. Byzantine *παρασημαντική* for “A Soldier’s Song from the Russian War,” f 28r. Courtesy of Joanne Sitterlet.

partitioning this same cultural geography for decades.

Even the single page of the *mecmua* that was explicitly inscribed in the post-war reality of the region, during Agathangelos' short sojourn as a refugee in Greek Macedonia, reveals not a stable, solidly "Greek" space but instead a Slavophone one. The page in question is a list of villages in Northern Greece that he has drawn up, together with the number of families in each. They are all Slavic names, with one exception (a Turkish name): Koloum; Kolyous; Rouskovon; Peksavon; Rosovon; Dembretzoli; Dratzenitsa; Pouliovon; Koltsovon; Lembon; Serdylovon; Tissovon; Ostitsa; Karadere. These villages had been home to predominantly Bulgarian-speaking (and often predominantly Muslim) populations before the upheavals of the Balkan Wars (1912-13), but much or all of the population fled to Turkey or Bulgaria during the wars or after Greek annexation—those who had survived, that is, the executions, reprisals, and sexual violence of the conflicts.³¹ Some of these villages, having been entirely emptied, were subsequently "resettled" by refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s and, by the end of the decade, most of the toponyms were renamed by the Greek state.³² Agathangelos' *mecmua*, however, records a moment in time before these villages had been "Hellenized," retaining, if only in name, the traces of their earlier inhabitants.³³

³¹ For a careful discussion of the war crimes committed by, among others, the Bulgarian and Greek armies and the parastate guerrillas and bandits allied with each, see Tasos Kostopoulos (2007), pp. 35-59.

³² Kolious, for example, was a village primarily of Bulgarian-speaking Muslims. It was eventually emptied entirely and only resettled by Asia Minor refugees in the 1920s. In 1927, the state renamed the village "Κλειστά." During World War II, it was razed to the ground by the Bulgarian army and remains a ghost town to this day. Similar stories could be told about many of the other villages in this list, such as Karadere.

³³ The question of why Agathangelos aggregated this particular list of villages is less important to my own argument, although it seems likely that he was attempting to map out the location of refugee families in Macedonia.

= 740 =

| | | | |
|----|------------|-----------|-----|
| 1 | Κοζοῦκ | οἰκογένια | 25 |
| 2 | Κοζουός | " | 25 |
| 3 | Ρόσοβον | " | 40 |
| 4 | Πέσοβον | " | 50 |
| 5 | Ρόσοβον | " | 100 |
| 6 | Συμορέζογ | " | 30 |
| 7 | Σραφενίτσα | " | 40 |
| 8 | Πούχοβον | " | 30 |
| 9 | Κόγροβον | " | 35 |
| 10 | Λέμσορ | " | 25 |
| 11 | Σερδύζοβον | " | 30 |
| 12 | Τίσοβον | " | 30 |
| 13 | Ώολίτσα | " | 45 |
| | Καρέλας | | |

Figure 13. From Agathangelos' *meçmua*: a list of Macedonian villages with the number of households in each. Courtesy of Joanne Sitterlet.

This *mecmua*, I argue, ushers us into the broader textual logic of Agathangelos' books: drawing together, assembling, reworking and adapting pieces of a world that were being or had been displaced. Yet rather than attempting to solidly fix these pieces in place—i.e., into a stable or standardized format—he continued to take them apart and put them back together in bindings and forms that were always singular and contingent. In other words, it is not just the Karamanli identity and the contents of the poems that are fluid and unstable but the codex itself. From the numbering of the leaves in the *mecmua* it becomes clear that they have reached us from other, previous bindings: the first page of the first *destan* (i.e., “Destan arranged for the village of Andaval”) is numbered “1,” but in the verso to its immediate left another poetic fragment is marked as page “66.” Later in the codex, after page 42, the next leaf is unnumbered, after which we find a new set of poems whose pagination begins at 103, running until 142. Clearly, the several pieces of this codex have travelled through multiple bindings. What is less clear, however, is what has happened to the dozens of leaves of poetry that, supposedly, did not find a place between page 42 and 103 within the *mecmua*. One can only hope that they have been bundled up into another codex, waiting for its next handler somewhere in the United States or, just as likely, back in the Aegean.

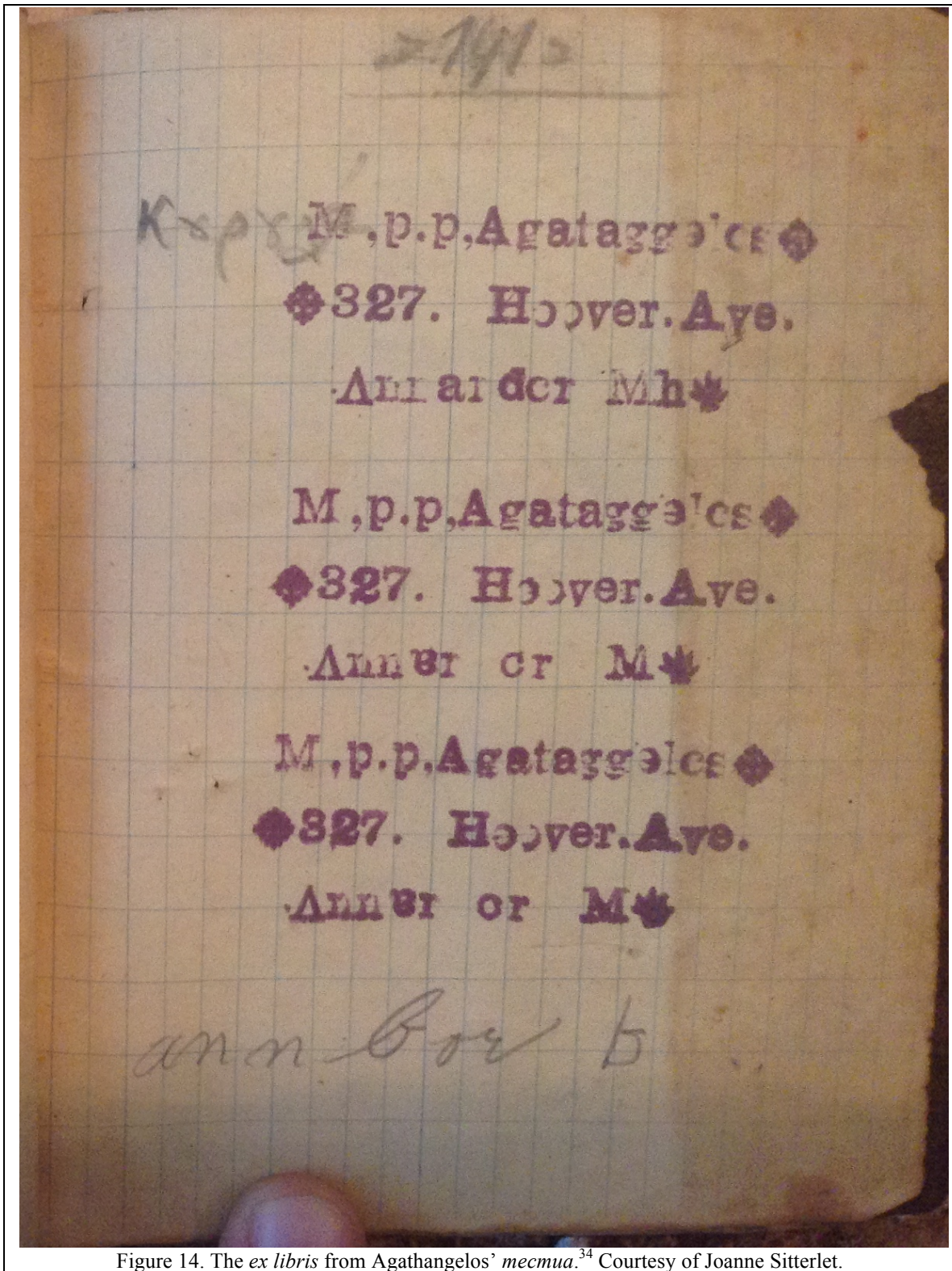


Figure 14. The *ex libris* from Agathangelos' *mecmua*.³⁴ Courtesy of Joanne Sitterlet.

³⁴ While the *ex libris* of the *Alexander Romance* was faded, here it is clear that Agathangelos Latinized his name as "Agataggelos," confirming that, despite his knowledge of Greek, he did not pronounce it as Greek but as Turkish (which lacks the phoneme "th"). The "double g" is a holdover from the Greek alphabet.

Assembling Agathangelos' Commons-Place

When Agathangelos arrived in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1927, he had come for a specific purpose: to fulfill the spiritual and sacramental needs of the city's Greek Orthodox community, which lacked not only a priest but even a building in which to house one. Agathangelos' two sons had volunteered their father. One of them, Konstantinos, volunteered his garage as well, converting it into a makeshift church, and it was here that Agathangelos, after his arrival, began performing the first Orthodox liturgies of Ann Arbor, as well as the sacraments of baptism and marriage; he was paid only through the collective donations of the community.³⁵ Problems quickly arose. While he was beloved by many, there were others who did not warm to him, creating a rift within the community that played out primarily along linguistic lines.³⁶ The Turkophone Orthodox immigrants—not just in Ann Arbor but across the region, reaching north to at least Pontiac and south to Ohio—felt a great attachment to the man.³⁷ Yet many of the Greek-speaking Orthodox of Ann Arbor may have felt differently. For while he could read Greek (and write his own, albeit grammatically erratic poems and epistles in Greek), he was reportedly unable to speak it, save for recitations of the liturgy. When the Archbishop brought the community together six years later, in 1933, to plan for the construction of their first “official” church, one of the agreements reached in their

³⁵ From the parish history of Saint Nicholas Orthodox Church, Ann Arbor (“Our Saint Nicholas Parish”): <http://www.stnickaa.org/about-us/history/our-saint-nicholas-parish>.

³⁶ From an oral interview with Joanne Sitterlet, Agathangelos' great-granddaughter, 30 July 2017.

³⁷ From an oral interview with Father John Afendoulis, 5 May 2017. Father Afendoulis is from Pontiac Michigan, whose Orthodox community was Turkophone Orthodox. He notes that his great uncle Nikos Aşım[oğlu] specifically requested that, upon the birth of his (Father Afendoulis') mother, she be baptized not by their own parish priest but Father Agathangelos, due to the affection that his great uncle felt for the latter.

meeting was:

The divine liturgy, until the acquisition of a private Temple, will occur in a space to be located by the Administrative Council of the Community, which will also confer with the Archbishopric to bring a proper priest.³⁸

Implicitly, then, Agathangelos was not a “proper priest” in their eyes. The archbishop’s visit had admittedly mended important political schisms within the Greek community (between Venizelists and Royalists) yet it perhaps came at the cost of marginalizing other, non-Greek voices. By 1935, with the construction of the new church (if not sooner), Agathangelos found himself again displaced. Michael Konteleon, a Greek-speaking priest, was hired to lead the parish and officiated at the building’s first liturgy in December of that year.

Having failed to integrate himself into a predominantly Greek-speaking community of Orthodox Christians in Ann Arbor, he would have to find a way to connect with other Turkophones elsewhere. He did so by turning to, among other outlets, hundreds of pages of literary adaptation, which he wrote, bound, and circulated along with his other printed books (rebound by Agathangelos, these too often contained small portions of manuscript) to a network whose size and scale it is difficult to determine. His two manuscript novels, *Monte Cristo in Marseille* and *Theodora*, are dated 1939, although, since he lived almost another ten years, he may have written other such novels that remain beyond my field of vision.³⁹ As indicated by the phrases “translated from the Greek” (ἔλληνος λισάνηδαν [...] τερδζουμε ολουνμουστουρ) and “interpreted from the Greek” (ἐρμηνεύθη ἀπὸ τὴν

³⁸ From “Minutes of Special Meeting” (7 Nov. 1933), in *Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Album, 1935-1985*. printed by Saint Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church.

³⁹ Their full titles are *Φρανσασην Μασσαλιασηντα Μονδελχριστο Νακλιετι* (The Story of Monte Cristo in Marseille, France) and *Μυθοστόρημα της Θεοδώρας, Βυζαντινικῆς αὐτοκράτειρας* (The Novel of Theodora, Byzantine Empress). Note that the second novel bears an (orthographically erratic) Greek title, despite being in Turkish. Giving Greek titles to books was a common practice among Karamanlis.



Figure 15. The title pages of *Monte Cristo* and *Theodora*. Courtesy of Giorgos Kallinikidis.

ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν) that center both title pages, he adapted them from Greek sources, one of which was undoubtedly itself a translation/adaptation from Dumas' famous French serial *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo*, although I have been unable to determine the precise title and edition.⁴⁰ The other novel is a fictional account of the Byzantine heroine Theodora, who began her life as an impoverished orphan, later becoming an actress and sex worker, and eventually assuming the title of empress and carving out an important political role for women within the regime. This novel, as I've established, was adapted into Turkish from the Greek-language novel *Theodora* by Aristeidis Kyriakos (1906). Through a comparison of the language and style of the Greek and Turkish *Theodora*, I'll suggest that the major differences between the two arise primarily from the corresponding differences in their target audiences. Aimed not at a mass commercial readership but a relatively small and scattered network of handlers, Agathangelos' Turkish-language novels were yet another tool, like the ballads in his *mecmua*,⁴¹ by which to assemble Turkophone Karamanlis together in the wake of their displacement. His books and their users were, in other words, creating a shared commons in spite of their exclusion from mainstream print.

Before I proceed to the language of *Theodora*, however, I want to look first at its material medium, which was subtly assembling its own network of displaced persons. As you'll doubtlessly note from the title page, reproduced here, Agathangelos wrote his novel atop leaves that already bore impressions—in a language and an alphabet distinct

⁴⁰ An earlier, multivolume translation of *Monte Cristo* into Karamanli Turkish had been published in 1882 (see Balta 1987, lemma 66, pg. 81). It seems unlikely, however, that Agathangelos is adapting his own version from this work, since his title explicitly refers to Greek as its source language.

⁴¹ The first line of his “Destan for Andaval,” after all, was “Κέλιν ἐβλατλαριμ πενὶ τυλεγι” (*Come, my children, listen to me*), a clear indication of the poem's desire to assemble an audience through oral recitation.

from his own. Yet they were also distinct from the dominant language and alphabet of his new country. They were Chinese characters, from a student planner (自由日記 / “Freedom Diary”) that was likely printed and sold by the Commercial Press (商務印書館), the largest publisher in Shanghai at the time. Printed in the second half of the 1930s, it must have made its way to Ann Arbor just a couple years before Agathangelos unbound its pages and turned them into a Karamanli novel.⁴²

What to make of these leaves? Some might argue that they’ve simply found their way into Agathangelos’ novel by chance. After all, he grew up in a time and a geography where paper was scarce and valuable, and it might be suggested that he indiscriminately used whatever came his way as writing material—i.e., that, in this case, he used these leaves without any particular interest in or attention to the Chinese characters that sometimes hovered sparsely around the margins and sometimes flooded them. While I accept this possibility, I find it unlikely, for the simple reason that Agathangelos was deeply invested in visual aesthetics. You might have guessed this already from the touching farewell that he offered to his church’s murals in the *destan* of the previous section, yet the fact is that he himself was a painter and a visual artist, as witnessed through the at least half a dozen icons (many of them quite large) that he painted and distributed to friends and that today you might find, for example, in the Church of Saint Nicholas in Ann Arbor or in private homes across and beyond Michigan. Alongside these large-scale creations, he also spent hours poking small, needle-sized holes into paper to create hidden images that the reader could only discover upon holding them up to light.

Consider, finally, the floral-patterned wallpaper with which he lined the binding of his

⁴² I’m very grateful to my colleague Myra Sun for her help in tracking down the series from which these leaves were drawn, as well as her translations of the Chinese. She notes references to editions ranging from 1936 to 1939.

Monte Cristo novel; he didn't simply slip this paper into the book because it had crossed his path; it bore a particular aesthetic purpose. Given the preponderance of examples, each of which bears witness to the meticulous care that he invested in the visual message conveyed by his materials, it therefore seems probable to me that his use of the folios bearing Chinese characters was intentional. The impressions on these folios were an aesthetically meaningful component of Agathangelos' book.

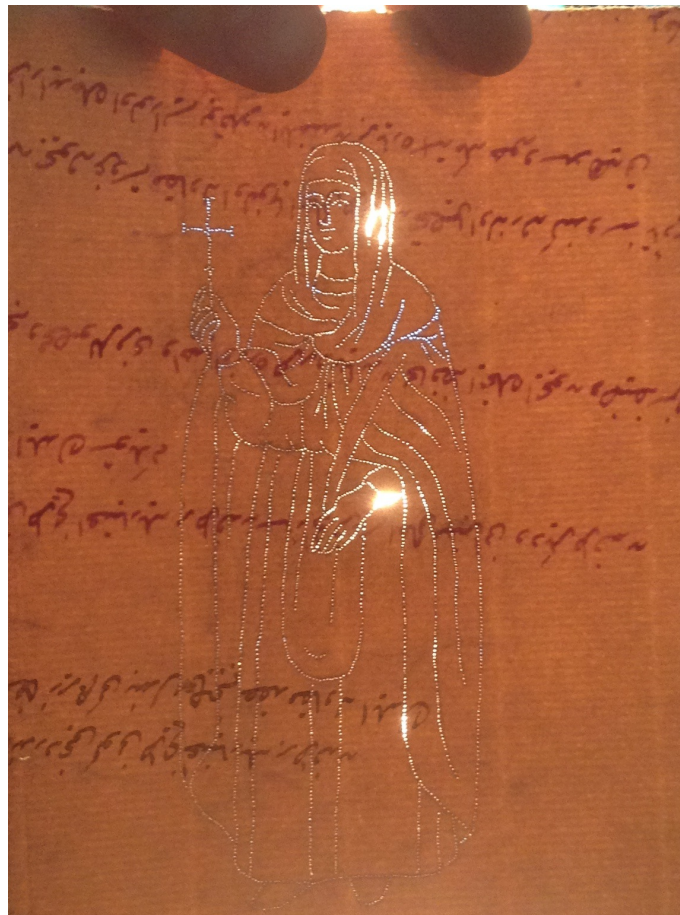


Figure 16. An example of Agathangelos' "pinhole" art. Courtesy of Joanne Sitterlet.



Figure 17. Icon of John the Baptist, painted by Agathangelos (date unknown). Courtesy of Joanne Sitterlet.

How did Agathangelos get his hands on the Chinese codex? What was its own story? Unfortunately, I have found no textual evidence by which to answer this question in the particular, yet it's important to remember that while Agathangelos had been forced out of his role in the Orthodox parish, he was nonetheless living in a thriving university city that offered him access to several other networks. In particular, the university had been funding female students from East Asia to study on its campus since 1917, through the Barbour Scholarship. Funded by Levi Barbour, it was a program that aimed to give women from the "Orient" (including at least one Turkish citizen) access to the University of Michigan's campus, faculty and research capabilities. By the time of Barbour's death in 1925, more than sixty women had already studied at the university through his fellowship, a number that would triple by the time that Agathangelos was creating *Theodora* in 1939 (Bordin 1963:39). Despite Barbour's own, perhaps overly ambitious vision that the program might lead to cultural understanding and avoid war—"We certainly would never have any war with Japan," he wrote in 1917! (ibid)—the woman who had brought this student planner with her from Shanghai, likely in 1936 or 1937, would become a sort of displaced person herself as the Japanese military invaded mainland China.⁴³ I don't know whether she remained, stranded, in the United States or returned to China, yet if the latter is true she might likely have found herself displaced again, in even more acute circumstances. As the program's secretary, W. Carl Rufus, noted in 1942, "A few of our Barbour Scholars, accustomed to luxurious surroundings,

⁴³ Some possible owners of the book, which I've drawn from research at the Bentley Historical Library, include: Rose Chu (English, began in 1936); Hsi-yin Sheng (physics, began in 1936); Katherine Yu Tseng (library science, began in 1937); Su-hsuan Wu (botany, began in 1937); Victoria Qian (nursing, began in 1937); Louise Feng-mei Chang (sociology, began in 1938); Ming-chen Wang (physics, began in 1938); Chun-cha Li (music, began in 1938); Yao Shen (English, began in 1938), who later returned to the university in 1947 to become professor of Chinese Language and Literature! Two other Chinese students came on "emergency" funds in 1938 and remained until at least 1941: Jean C H Chu (chemistry) and Celia Chao (philosophy), who later became a concert pianist.

have been bombed into refugee treks and camps” (26). One such example was Katherine Yu Tseng, among the possible owners of the book (and listed in footnote 43): after finishing her master’s degree in library science, she returned to China and began working at a library in Wuhan. This library was, however, bombed and leveled to the ground at the start of 1939. As of February of that year, her parents were still unable to locate or communicate with her.⁴⁴ In the pages of *Theodora*, therefore—or rather, *through* its pages, we can just begin to make out two stories, from two separate wars at the two ends of Asia, whose strands (and book) somehow connected in the middle of North America. Such was the twentieth century. As Agathangelos had written in his commonplace book, *πιλμεδιλέρ κελσίν πιογλὲ πῖρ ἀσῆρ* (they had no idea a century like this would come).

While it seems unlikely that Agathangelos had any knowledge of Chinese, perhaps the book’s first owner explained to him the meaning of the characters on what became his own title page. It was, in fact, aptly suited for his own purposes: right above his title ΜΥΘΟΣΤΟΡΗΜΑ the Chinese characters declare: “Book Catalogue.” Running down the side of the page, the other Chinese impressions break the book down into categories: Title; Author; Publisher; Volumes; Price; Loans / Returns; Records and Notes. In what was doubtless an unintended irony, the title of Agathangelos’ book spills across the three categories of title, author and publisher, encompassing them all, in much the same way that *Theodora* itself had swallowed up all traces of the author function and publisher, as I’ll argue in more detail shortly. At the other end of the page, the language in which the novel is written (“the Turkish language”) is listed under “Loans / Returns.” In other words, Turkish in the Greek script was either being loaned or returned—loaned to Theodora and her fellow Byzantines, or perhaps more importantly, returned to the genre

⁴⁴ See Proceedings of the Board of Regents (1936-1939), pg. 846.

of prose fiction and its readers, to whom it had been denied for over a decade in mainstream print.

Following the title page, Agathangelos continued to use these Chinese leaves for the majority of his novel. As the story wore on, the impressions made in Shanghai came to shape his own inscriptions in an unambiguous and literally compelling manner. While he began inscribing his text horizontally, against the lines (and logic) of the vertically ruled Chinese codex, he eventually shifted to vertical inscription, adapting his novel and his orientation to that of his materials. This shift occurs on page 171 and continues until the end of the novel, on page 343. Recall here the journeymen of Deleuze and Guattari's Gothic cathedrals: rather than shaping their material according to preconceived schemata, they generate a singular object through their encounter with each stone, squaring it in accordance with its own particularities—its own character and history, so to speak. So too did Agathangelos adapt his novel to the “characters” and “history” of his leaves, upending his story and turning it sideways to accommodate both modes of inscription. Treating his book not as a fixed and settled structure but an open process, reaching out for unexpected connections and striving for their mutual integration, he became in essence the journeyman of Deleuze and Guattari.

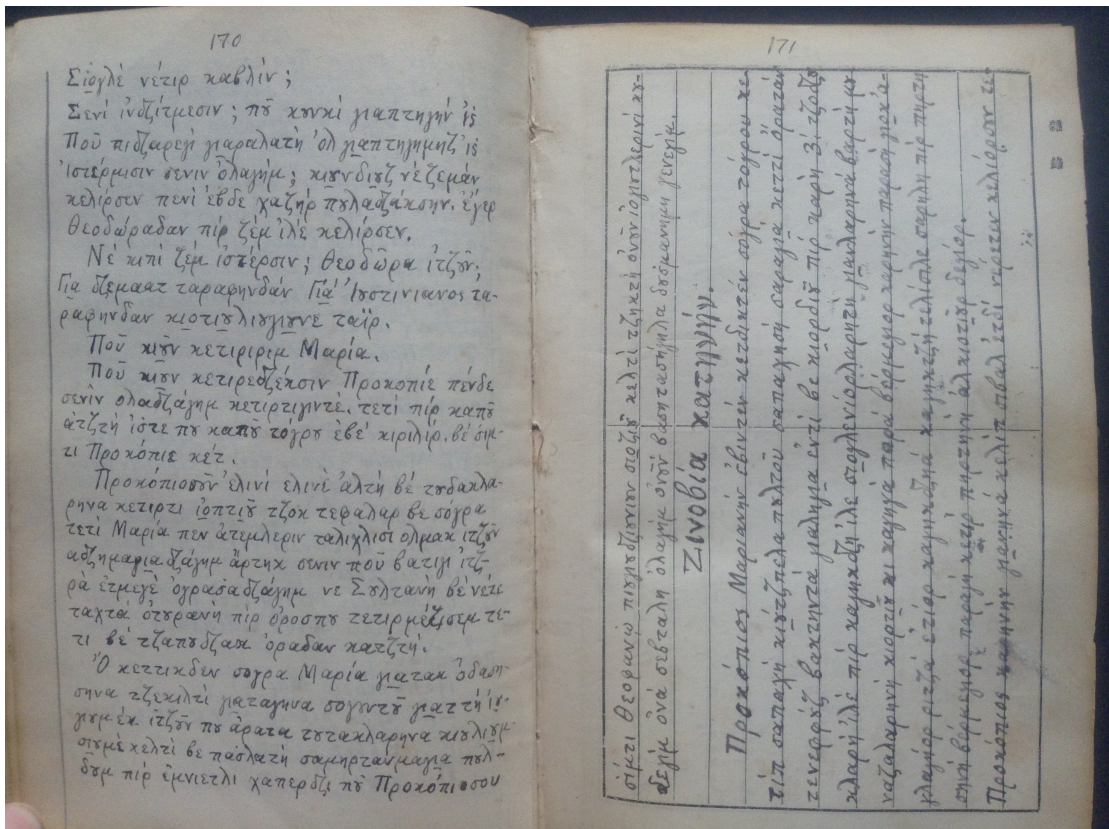
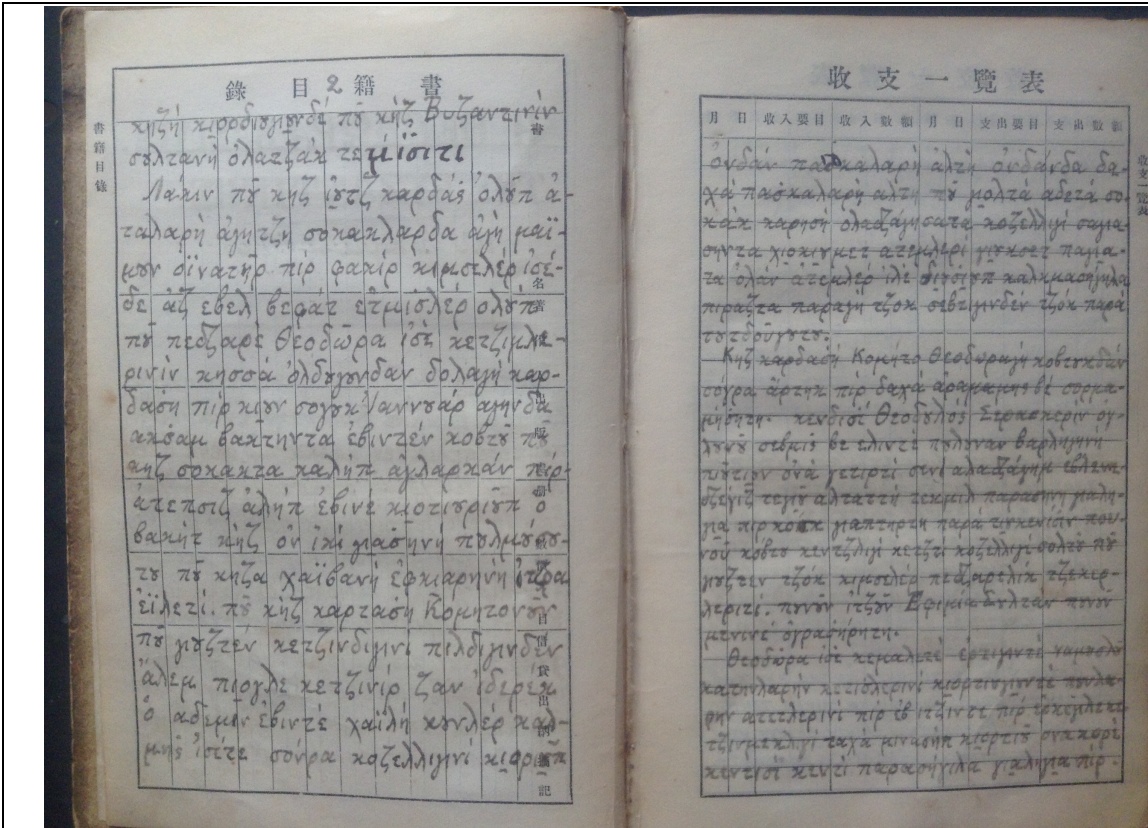


Figure 18. Theodora, f 2v and 3r (above); f 92v and 93r (below). Courtesy of Giorgos Kallinikidis.

To become such a journeyman, of course, is to explicitly *not* become the text's author, what Deleuze and Guattari call a (human) subject: "A book [...] is made of variously formed matters, and very different dates and speeds. To attribute the book to a subject is to overlook this working of matters, and the exteriority of their relations" (1987:3). If you were to ask Deleuze and Guattari, then, *Theodora* had no author. And Agathangelos seemed to agree. Recall that in the title pages of both *Theodora* and *Monte Cristo* he'd neglected to name a source or an author, including only his own name as "translator" beneath the title. This was, in fact, a not uncommon practice for Karamanli fiction and, indeed, for much prose fiction of the Eastern Mediterranean in the nineteenth century, as I briefly noted in chapter three. Here too Agathangelos was not working in a vacuum but was continuing and expanding earlier practices.

Neglecting to name the author did not, however, turn such translators into authors themselves. Agathangelos, at least, did not identify himself as an "author" of his *Monte Cristo* or his *Theodora* but explicitly as the one who translated or interpreted (*mütercim*; *hermêneus*) them. As such, we witness not a transference of authorial power from writer to translator but a general abolition of it. Authorship, or what Bruno Latour would call a "metadispatcher" of the textual script, is disaggregated into the several agents (or "mini-dispatchers") of that script.⁴⁵ If the first writer of a text is the one who first "dispatches" it and sets it in motion, within the Karamanli literary network at least each of the subsequent dispatchers, setting it in motion in t+1 time and c+1 context, is on equal footing with that writer. Removing the author from the title page, therefore, is important not because it "does away" with the first writer or her/his text: they are both still there, of

⁴⁵ The metadispatcher, Latour writes, is the fiction of a transcendent figure "so powerful, so omniscient, so far beyond all organization, all intervention, all interference, all humble local revisions of scripts, that one could follow it blindly and trust it automatically" (2013:469).

course, whether Agathangelos acknowledges it or not, and a philologist could track them down with more or less ease. Instead, what it signals is that the writer is a writer, not an author. Put another way, it signals a different approach to translation, neither as a process of linear filiation (author-centric) nor as a revolutionary sundering or break (translator-centric)—but rather as a transmission network, one that draws from multiple nodes and connections rather than a single source. In suggesting this, I’m working in close proximity to Sandra Bermann’s notion of “translation as relation,” which she develops from Edouard Glissant’s writings. The relationality among text and translation is, for Bermann and Glissant, governed by both a mutual respect for their opacity and, more important for me here, a rhizomatic grid of inputs and outputs that cannot be reduced to two poles: translation in this sense is a move “from what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari describe as an arboreal or tree-like vision to a more rhizomatic one [...]. Rather than emphasizing a return to the same, to the past, to the trunk of the translation tree, translation would entail a move outward, like the reaching tubers and roots of a rhizome.” (2012, np). Seen through such a lens, she later writes, translation is built on “wanderings.”

Karamanli translations worked in just such a manner, drawing not only from a source text but from linguistic structures, oral practices, and ideological formations of multiple nodes within the Aegean cultural landscape, across which it wandered. The richest example of this is Evangelinos Misailidis’ *Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr ve Cefakeşler* (Theater of the world and the tormentor and the tormented), what was once hailed as the first Turkish novel but was revealed, by Pinelopi Stathi in 1995, to be a translation / adaptation of Grigorios Palaiologos’ *Ο πολυπαθής* (The man of many

sufferings; 1839).⁴⁶ Even more recently, Anthi Karra (2010) has argued in a detailed close reading of both texts that Misailidis' novel is itself a "unique" work with a political message that is, in fact, in strong disagreement with that of Palaiologos' novel. Palaiologos, who was himself from the Ottoman empire but had emigrated to Greece and was deeply invested in its Westernizing national project, "wrote for a literate public eager to repress the memories of an Ottoman past, considered as a long period of decline, and to embrace Europe's gaze on it," whereas Misailidis, a Karamanli who had studied in Athens but nonetheless returned to the eastern, Ottoman coasts of the Aegean, "wrote for a public that did not hold in contempt the Ottoman world in which Favini's [i.e., the hero of both novels] adventures evolve, nor did it contest its place within Ottoman culture" (205). As such, Karra continues, "The modern Greek State and its nationalist agenda do not appeal to the wise and cautious Tanzimat man Misailidis. His Favini judges completely groundless the ambition of Modern Greeks to conquer Constantinople and hopes for them 'to experience Tanzimat in order to get to know the value of freedom'" (216). As Karra documents through a wealth of examples, Misailidis' Turkish novel transforms Palaiologos' Orientalist and Greek nationalist rhetoric into a celebration of Ottoman hybridity and co-existence. In "translating" Palaiologos' novel, therefore, Misailidis was clearly conveying to his readers more than just that single text; he transformed its message through the explicit or implicit integration of other sources, ranging from the Ottoman legal code of the Tanzimat reforms to Anatolian oral narrative.

This last category, Karra argues, makes itself felt most intensely on the linguistic level, where Misailidis erases the higher register of Palaiologos' Greek (a fairly artificial Katharevousa) within his own colloquial Turkish. Karra writes: "Contrary to *Polypathis*,

⁴⁶ See Stathi (1995).

Temaşa-i Dünya has a very strong oral character. It was written in order to be read out loud to a wider, probably illiterate public and most of the [...] adaptations can also be seen as strategies to conform the source-text to the oral tradition” (207). *Temaşa-i Dünya* was not just articulating a different political message, it was doing so in a different register to a different audience through what was likely a different combination of media (print and aural). These two halves of Karra’s argument—Misailidis’ unique political message and the unique language in which he articulated it—are, to my mind, inseparable. Language *is* politics, perforce of the audience that it assembles.

While an overt political message is less present (though perhaps not entirely absent⁴⁷) in Agathangelos’ 1939 novels, the linguistic transformations of his Turkish bear an equal if not greater political importance. Since I do not yet know the Greek text from which he drew to produce his *Monte Cristo*, I will demonstrate this point by continuing with *Theodora*, which Agathangelos adapted from Kyriakos’ Greek novel of the same name. Crucially, unlike other writers of popular serial fiction at the time Kyriakos employed Katharevousa, an elevated and artificial form of Greek (although his use of it was less brittle than Palaiologos’ language from the previous century). In Agathangelos’ novel, however, any notion of a higher register is dissolved in what has become a droll and colloquial Turkish. It would not be too much of a stretch, in fact, to argue that his Turkish codex resembles the base text of an Ottoman *meddah*, or storyteller, who performed to large audiences in coffee houses and elsewhere.⁴⁸ Part of this oral tradition,

⁴⁷ Given his audience (of Turkophone Ottoman Orthodox Christians), it’s worth noting that in *Theodora* Agathangelos’ cuts out a sly jab at Ottomans in Kyriakos’ Greek *Theodora*: “It’s true that during Turkish rule, the Ottomans, blinded by their fatalistic religious doctrine, did not take any measures against the spread of contagions” (484).

⁴⁸ Karra makes this point as well regarding Misailidis’ *Temaşa-i Dünya* (207). On the *meddah*, see Fuad Köprülü’s *Edebiyat Araştırmaları* [Literary Researches], (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1966) pp. 361-412. He notes

of course, was a focus not on overextended description but dramatic action. As such, Agathangelos cut out the lengthy descriptions of scenery and surroundings that Kyriakos (likely influenced by contemporary European trends) had front-loaded into many chapters. Compare, for example, the opening of the two works, beginning with Kyriakos' Greek:

Ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Βυζαντίου, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσιατικῆς ἀκτῆς, ἐν μέσῳ κήπου θαλεροῦ, κισσοστεφῆς, κομψῆ καὶ χαρίεσσα ἠγείρετο λαμπρὰ ἔπαυλις. Ὑπερύψηλα δένδρα ἐξέτεινον τοὺς καταπρασίνους κλάδους τῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπαύλεως τὴν ὀροφήν, καὶ τῶν ἀνθέων τὸ ἄρωμα, ἄφθονον ἀναδιδόμενον ἀπὸ κάθε τοῦ κήπου γωνίαν, περιέβαλε τὴν ὡραίαν ἔπαυλιν μὲ τὰ λευκὰ τῆς μάρμαρα, τὰ μεγάλα τῆς παράθυρα, τὰ κομψὰ προπύλαιά τῆς, πρὸ τῶν ὁποίων μεγαλοπρεπεῖς φοίνικες ἐσκίαζον μὲ τοὺς κλάδους αὐτῶν μαρμάρινα ἀγαλμάτια, ἕκαστον τῶν ὁποίων ἀντεπροσώπευε καὶ ἓνα τύπον τῆς γυναικειᾶς καλλονῆς, ὅπως ὄνειρεύονται αὐτὴν οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ οἱ καλλιτέχναι. Τὸν ἀπέραντον δὲ τῆς ὡραίας ἐπαύλεως κήπον διέσχισον κατὰ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος σκιεροὶ ἀμμόστρωτοι δρομίσκοι, εἷς τῶν ὁποίων ὠδήγει πρὸς τὴν ἀπωτάτην τοῦ ἐξοχικοῦ ἐκείνου παραδείσου γωνίαν, τὴν ὁποίαν τοῖχος ὑψηλὸς ἐχώριζεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῆς, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἀπαλά, ἥρεμα, φιλοπαίγμονα ἤρχοντο τοῦ Βοσπόρου τὰ κύματα, διὰ τὰ ἐκπνεύσουν διαλυόμενα εἰς γλυκεῖς ψιθύρους καὶ λευκοὺς ἀφρούς. Ἡ ἔπαυλις ἐκείνη, τᾶς περισσοτέρας ἡμέρας τῆς ἐβδομάδος, ἔμενεν ἀκατοίκητος. Ἀλλὰ κατὰ πᾶσαν Τετάρτην, Παρασκευὴν καὶ Κυριακὴν, ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν δύσιν τοῦ ἡλίου, περίκομπον ἀκάτιον, ἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ ρωμαλέων ἀνδρῶν κωπηλατούμενον, ἐξώρμα ἀπὸ τινος τοῦ Βυζαντίου γωνίας, διέσχισεν ἐν ἀσυλλήπτῳ ταχύτητι τοῦ Βοσπόρου τὰ γαλανὰ νερά, καὶ φθάνον πρὸ τῆς ὡραίας ἐπαύλεως, ἀπεβίβαζεν εἰς ξυλίνην πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀποβάθραν ὡραίαν μικρόσωμον γυναῖκα, πολυτελῶς ἐνδεδυμένην καὶ ἀκολουθουμένην ὑπὸ θερααινῶν καὶ θεραπόντων ἀποτελούντων τὴν συνοδείαν αὐτῆς⁴⁹ [...]

Opposite Byzantium, on the Asian shore, in the midst of a flowery garden, crowned with ivy, graceful and charming ariseth a bright manor. Towering trees extend their deep green boughs above the roof of the manor, and the aroma of the blossoms, transfused abundantly from every corner of the garden, surroundeth the lovely manor, with its white marbles, its large windows, its graceful archways, before which grandiose palm trees shade, with their boughs, marble statuettes, each of which representeth one of the

that only a few *mecmua* containing the prose stories of *meddah* remain from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (383;399-400). For a discussion of the influence of this tradition on late nineteenth-century Ottoman prose fiction, see Berna Moran (1983), pp. 23-25.

⁴⁹ I am drawing from an American reprint (1920).

types of female beauty, as poets and artists dream it. The endless garden of the beautiful manor is crossed in length and breadth by shadowy, sand-strewn pathways, one of which leadeth to the furthest corner of that paradisiacal country house, which a tall wall divideth from the shore, upon which come the waves of the Bosphorus softly, peacefully, playfully, in order to exhale as they dissolve into sweet whispers and white spume. That manor, for the most days of the week, remaineth uninhabited. But every Wednesday, Friday and Sunday, a little after the setting of the sun, a most graceful barque, briskly rowed by powerful men, emergeth from some corner of Byzantium, crosseth the peaceful waters of the Bosphorus with inconceivable speed, and arriveth before the lovely manor[.] [I]t disembarketh upon a wooden platform a lovely woman of small figure, dressed luxuriously and followed by female and male attendants constituting her train [...]⁵⁰

And here is the introduction to Agathangelos' novel:

Ἰουστίνος Βυζαντίν ἰμπερατορουνοῦν ζεβδζεσί Εφίμια Βυζαντὴν ἐχαλισινὶν πούπερεστλικτὲν καλμὰ πὶρ φενὰ ἀτετλερινὶν μαχβηνὰ ὄγραστηγὴ βακητλαρδὰ. Γεγενὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς πὶρ κιοῦν Ἐκὴβολος νὰμ πὶρ ζαπίτλε περαπὲρ κεζέρκεν πὶρ χανεγὲ κελιρλὲρ. Ὅλ Χανὲ ἰσὲ Κομήτω ναμηντὰ πὶρ οροσπου[για] ἐγίτ, πουνοῦν κιοιτζδζιουγιούκ πὶρ Θεοδῶρα ἰσμιντὲ κὴζ καρτασὴ δαχὶ γάγετ μενσοῦρ κοζελ ὀλοῦπ ταχα ἄνδζακ σεκίζ γιὰ τοκοῦζ γιασὴνδα ἡτὴ. Ἰουστινιανὸς ποῦ κηζὴ κιορδιουγιουνδὲ ποῦ κὴζ Βυζαντινὶν σουλτανὴ ὀλατζᾶκ τεμίσιτι. Λάκιν ποῦ κηζ[ην] ἰουτζ καρδᾶσ[ι] ὀλοῦπ ἀταλαρὴ ἀγητζὴ σοκακλαρδα ἀγὴ μαῖμουν οἶνατῆρ πὶρ φακὶρ κιμσελὲρ ἰσὲ δε ἄζ εβελ βεφᾶτ ἐτμισλὲρ [...]

We're in the time of Justin the Emperor of Byzantium, whose wife Euphemia was struggling to wipe out some unpleasant customs—remnants from paganism—of the Byzantine people. One day, their nephew Justinian was taking a walk with an officer named Ekioulos when they came to a house. That house belonged to a prostitute named Komito. She had a younger sister named Theodora, who was quite famous for her beauty already, although she was only eight or nine years old. When Justinian saw this girl, he said, this girl will be the Sultana of Byzantium. But her father, who had been a street performer who made bears and monkeys dance, had been killed a little while ago by some vagrants [...]

Some of my readers might protest that there is in fact no relation between these two texts. There must be some mistake! But I assure you; there's no mistake. Only after

⁵⁰ While the original Greek is in the past tense, I have shifted to the present here expressly to deploy archaic verb forms in English. This admittedly does some violence to the narrative's time frame, yet it should give a faint sense of the Greek register.

lengthy and meticulous comparison, in fact, do traces of the two novel's connections arise, primarily through their shared dialogues. The difficulties are due, first of all, to the fact that Agathangelos' narrative leaves no trace of Kyriakos' higher register in his Turkish, a sense of which I've tried to convey, however inadequately, in my English translations of both texts. Just as important as the linguistic registers, however, are the stylistic priorities of each novel, which were often vastly divergent: while the Greek text unfolds slowly across a chain of baroque descriptions, Agathangelos' Turkish "cuts to the chase"—it often does so quite literally, cutting hundreds of pages and coming in at under half the size of its source text.⁵¹ Kyriakos' Greek *Theodora* was a serial novel, which meant that it was *long*. It was also aimed at a popular audience, meaning that it also had its share of fast-paced action and dialogues, which were also drawn out at length. Just as important as the story, for Kyriakos, was its elongation by any means necessary. He had no major authorial pretensions but was instead a prolific writer of serial fiction, who, by his death in 1919, had published approximately 120 novels in less than twenty years!⁵² Given such output, it was perhaps logical that, as Apostolos Douvaris observes, he occasionally "transferred entire scenes from one work to another, changing only the names of the heroes" (39). In other words, before Agathangelos had gotten his hands on him, Kyriakos had already been cutting, remixing, and copying himself. While he was probably the first writer of *Theodora*, it would be difficult to say that he was its "author."

Nevertheless, as becomes clear in the excerpt above, he often luxuriated in long and

⁵¹ Agathangelos' Turkish-language *Theodora* is 343 pages, while Kyriakos' Greek text was at least 800 pages long (his novel fluctuated between editions; the first edition was 1,214 pages, while the American edition that I have consulted is 822 pages).

⁵² For details of Kyriakos' publications, I'm drawing from Apostolos Douvaris (1992). Here, pages 28-29. By far, Kyriakos' most famous novel was *Kassiani* (1905), which had in fact been translated into Karamanli (without attribution to Kyriakos) and published by the newspaper *Asia*.

over-ripe descriptions and details, perhaps in an attempt to fill space but just as likely to provide the distinct feel of a European (which is to say Romantic or Realist) work of fiction—a *written* work, that is. Even as he invested little in his own original authorship, Kyriakos was cultivating a style that called out for silent reading. Agathangelos' novel, on the other hand, gives the sense that it was intended to be read aloud, to a room full of listeners. It was a novel whose style at least had traditionally borne the aim of building a community through performance, rather than an intimate dialogue (between author and reader) through silent perusal. It was an object that was supposed to bring bodies together.

And even if, in practice, the Turkish *Theodora* or *Monte Cristo* could not pack a coffeehouse, through their own journeys they certainly connected a larger network of bodies. On the one hand, it seems unlikely that Agathangelos' novels would have drawn large audiences—at least not on the scale of an Ottoman *meddah*, given both the dispersion of the Karamanli diaspora at midcentury and the mass (and invariably non-Turkish) media forms that were replacing public storytelling for many of the younger generation. On the other hand, I insist that these books nonetheless moved from handler to handler, and that as they did so they were read, possibly aloud and possibly to (or by) second- and third-generation Karamanlis, during and even after Agathangelos' death. Just as Agathangelos created his icons expressly to share them and to see them in the hands of others,⁵³ I am certain that many of his books were made to move—and move they did, as readers' notes and the current locations of the books indicate. Karamanli literature, after all, had *always* lived or died by its readers. They were, in multiple senses, the most vital

⁵³ This is confirmed both by the wide geographic distribution of his icons today and through the oral testimonies of his great granddaughter and Father Afendoulis.

agents in the lives of Karamanli books. Had not Agathangelos himself been a reader? Had not the large bulk of Karamanli literature been created through the readings and recombination of other texts? Did not some readers write to the editors of *Anatoli*, telling them their frank opinions of its stories and serial novels? Speaking of the period before the Population Exchange, Balta asserts, “I do not see the relationship between publishers and readers of Karamanli books simply as a relationship of production-consumption, for the simple reason that there is no radical distinction between them” (2010:58). How much the more so does this hold true for the period *after* the Population Exchange, when publishing collapsed and left the remaining textual agents to their own devices.

Unfortunately, for obvious reasons, I cannot map out where, how, and when Agathangelos’ books reached their multiple readers and joined them together. If Balta writes that “[k]nowledge of the radius of circulation is also one of the desiderata of research on the Karamanlidika press” (2010:120), then it is doubly true for the non-standardized “codex assemblages” that I’m tracing out here. The subscriber lists, printed in the backs of books and noting the names of readers and the numbers of books ordered for each city within the empire, or, in ephemeral print, the dozens of letters to the editor written by readers in Adana, Adapazarı, Bafra, Samsun, Ürgüp, Unye, and Konya, for example, can help historians of the book trace out, however rudimentarily, a map of Karamanli book networks before the Population Exchange.⁵⁴ Yet such data are missing and in all likelihood non-existent for the networks whose strands I am attempting to follow here. As such, I cannot hope to plot the journeys of Agathangelos’ books in any great detail. What I can do, however, is map out their current locations, which to my knowledge range from the U.S. rust belt (Michigan) to the east coast (Delaware) and,

⁵⁴ For these examples, see Şimşek (2010:113) and M. Sabri Koz, (2014:124-125).

across the ocean, to Greece (Zografou). It was here that his fellow villagers, after their deportation from Andaval, settled in 1925 and to which, at some point in the second half of the twentieth century, at least half a dozen of Agathangelos’ books made their own pilgrimage, where they continued to be read by others. Indeed, the current caretaker of the books in Zografou, Giorgos Kallinikidis, tells me that just a few years ago he lent Agathangelos’ novel *Monte Cristo in Marseille, France* to a fellow villager who, upon returning it to him, remarked, “It was really good.” He was not the only one to think so. In the margins of some of Agathangelos’ books one finds the approbations and thanks of other readers, invariably left with a name and even, in one particularly moving case, a date and a wish:

ποῦ κυταπη ὀκουτου Μαρικα Τσίνογλου 1972
γιαζανην τσανη κοκ γ[ι]ουζουντε σεβηνησην

Marika Çinoğlu read this book in 1972
may the soul of him who wrote it take joy in heaven⁵⁵

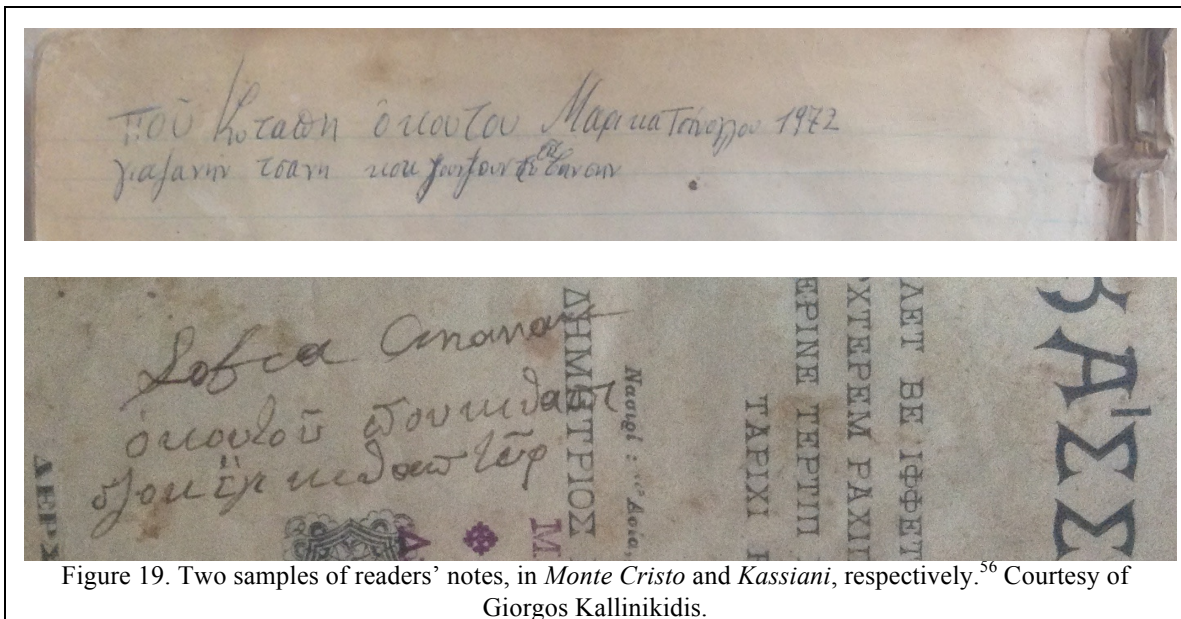


Figure 19. Two samples of readers’ notes, in *Monte Cristo* and *Kassiani*, respectively.⁵⁶ Courtesy of Giorgos Kallinikidis.

⁵⁵ In the final folio of *Monte Cristo in Marseille*.

⁵⁶ Note that “Sofia” has written her name in Latin characters, a likely indication that she was born and raised in the United States—despite the fact that the codex that she read (*Kassiani*) is now in Greece.

Where was Marika Çinoğlu when she read *Monte Cristo*? Where was she when she wrote this note? On what side of the ocean? These questions remain open, yet it seems likely that, given her spelling of certain words, Marika was a second- or third-generation refugee: rather than spelling the word “book” as *κιταπ* (kitap), she wrote *κυταπ* (kytap), suggesting an influence from Greek. For however much Karamanli lacked a standard orthography, it was uncommon for the Turkish “i” to be represented by a Greek hypsilon. Marika, then, was likely reading *Monte Cristo* not only for pleasure (although aesthetic pleasure was doubtlessly an important motive as well) but also to hold on to a heritage language that she deeply loved but that she had learned outside of Anatolia, after the Karamanlis’ deportation. In any case, this much is clear: passed from hand to hand across a wide geography, uncharted and uncontrolled by the mainstream market, these books were creating, in their own small way, a commons of the displaced—one that would exist only so long as their handlers continued to move these books, to read them (ideally aloud and to one another) and to write in them. Only in this way could Karamanlidika survive.

And as the marginalia of readers and the testimony of my friend Mr. Kallinikidis document, it continued to survive well after the last block of type had been pressed into the last copy on the last printed book of Karamanli literature.

Even to the Ends of the Earth

In August 1956, Eugene Dalleggio set out from Athens for a fact- (and book-) finding mission to the island of Evoia, where many Asia Minor refugees had been settled.

Dalleggio, an Istanbul *Rum*, was collaborating with the Center for Asia Minor Studies in Athens to document the books and manuscript archives of these communities and,

ultimately, to purchase and/or collect as many of them as possible for their relocation and safekeeping in the Center's archives in Athens.⁵⁷ The day-to-day notes and report that he amassed over his weeklong journey offer an important window into the state of Karamanli literature at midcentury.⁵⁸

While he returned to Athens with many Karamanli titles that would enrich both the holdings of the Center and the soon-to-be-published bibliography (vol. 1, 1958; vol. 2, 1966; vol. 3, 1974), one also cannot help but linger over the repeated and multiple instances of destruction and loss that he records. "I ask my guests whether they have any manuscripts," he writes on Thursday, the first day of his arrival in Evoia. "Mr. Eleftheriadis tells me that after a disagreement with one of his relatives on their day of spring cleaning, he set the archives of his father, which had been carefully classified in a crate, on fire" (95). The story is repeated, with only minor variations, in another village four days later, on Monday. On Wednesday, again, Dalleggio remarks of another village, Makrimalli: "Two fires during the last war destroyed almost everything that the refugees had brought here from their homelands" (100). Such stories are a sobering reminder of the very real precarity in which Karamanli literature now found itself. Excluded from print, some might suggest that it was dying a slow death, hastened on by the intermittent fires and, above all, the German occupation and Greek Civil War that had scarred the country at midcentury.⁵⁹ If I have celebrated the continued vitality of certain non-

⁵⁷ For a critical discussion of the Center's vision and activities, see Penelope Papailias (2005), 93-138.

⁵⁸ Dellaggio's notes were themselves deposited in the Gennadius Library and only discovered and published by Balta decades later (2010b:93-103).

⁵⁹ Given the particular historical trajectory of Greece, it is all the more important to conduct a similar survey of Karamanli literature in North America, where different conditions may have led to a very different survival (and production) rate for texts. North America still awaits its own Dalleggios, who might coordinate a thorough bibliographical survey of diasporic Karamanli literature here.

standardized codex assemblages in this chapter, I do so in full knowledge of the dangerous conditions in which they operated—conditions that were only exacerbated by the singularity of their material forms.

Yet precisely because of these conditions, the survival of so many Karamanli books—and, I hope this chapter has convinced its readers: the ongoing production, recombination and circulation of new Karamanli books—bears witness to the value that they held for their community. Bookmaking and storytelling, I have argued, were important tools by which the geographically uprooted and displaced Karamanlis could continue to search out and suture connections to one another amidst their geographic and social displacement, and they continued well after the Population Exchange. Blurring the lines between print and manuscript, between Greek and Turkish (and English and Chinese), the Karamanli codices that I have featured in this chapter deterritorialized the book in order to reterritorialize its readers—not within any specific geographic territory or nation state but within a fluid, shifting commons, one that was to be assembled over and over by the handlers of those codices. Rather than setting down its “roots” within a national geography, the codex assemblages that I’ve detailed here became a “becoming-minor.”

This medium has not gained the prominence it deserves, either in Greek or Turkish or indeed in global book histories of the twentieth century, where trans-cultural networks are traditionally imagined and predicated on an Andersonian model of isomorphic nation states, whose print fits into an equally isomorphic model of the global diffusion of the Gutenberg revolution. In reducing modern book communities to nations and their mediums to industrialized print, we engage in what Trish Loughran has recently

called a violent act of “absorption and erasure.” Loughran argues that “[w]hile book historians have chipped away at the facts and figures behind [the Gutenberg] master narrative, they continue to ignore the ways in which print capitalism is accepted not just as a regional history but as universal history” (2015:48). The challenge before us, she suggests, is in how we might instead attend to “the edges of systems, the limits of premises, the boundaries of our historical imagination” (50). Agathangelos’ books, I hope, have pushed us up to and beyond just such a boundary—*even to the ends of the earth*, if I might borrow from this chapter’s inscription. Working on an open plane, Karamanli book-handlers quietly continued cobbling together, moving, and being moved by their codices.

Coda

How can the book find an adequate outside with which to assemble in heterogeneity?

- Deleuze and Guattari

If the book has never been modern, as my first chapter provocatively claimed, the question necessarily arises: what *has* it been? Asked to define themselves, how might the various and variously divergent texts that I've treated here respond? Certain common themes, I think, would recur across their answers.

For example, notwithstanding the massive gulf in tone, language and register that divides Cavafy's *Poems* from Agathangelos' unnamed commonplace book or his novels, one can quickly pick out several points of overlap. As chapters two and five have documented, both Cavafy's collections and Agathangelos' composite codices were non-commercial assemblages that, despite (or, more likely, thanks to) their material fluidity and openness, eventually came to bind together a geographically vast—even if numerically small—community of handlers. They did so not by following a teleological trajectory towards fixity but through a logic of accretion and reformulation, one that, while begun by Cavafy and Agathangelos, was reproduced in subtle but crucial ways by the other handlers of those texts. Sometimes, these handlers effected radical transformations in the text, rebinding or reassembling the codex entirely; at other times, they left smaller but no less important traces, such as a pointed question mark, a passing comment, or a note of thanks to the writer in the margins of the page. These marks were important, for they too transformed the text as they transmitted it forward in time and

space, enriching it and framing it anew for its other handlers. The collections of Cavafy and Agathangelos, therefore, shared more than just an alphabet; in both cases, their own existence and survival were inextricably bound up with the existence and survival of a small community of handlers, scattered across a shifting geography but loosely connected through the material texts themselves. As becomes particularly clear in the case of Karamanli codices (but, I would insist, is also true for the handlers of Cavafy's collections¹), these were not exactly the imagined communities that Anderson (1991) envisioned. They were not contained within a contiguous, national geographical space, nor were they bound together solely through their imagination. Read, transported and reread across an uneven landscape, these books tied readers together—aesthetically of course but also, and just as importantly, *materially*.

The power and importance of these handlers becomes even clearer in chapters three and four, where the intricate, multinodal book and print networks of Anatolia had significantly decentered most processes of textual promulgation. It's by careful attention to these decentered networks that, in chapter four, for example, we can follow the reprinting and retransmission of *Rizospastis*, a Greek-language socialist newspaper, not by Greeks but by Sunni Muslims behind the Turkish front during the Greco-Turkish War; or, on the other side of the battlefield, the thousands of antiwar pamphlets clandestinely produced and reproduced by the Greek Army's own mimeographs (!), appropriated by Greek communists who were embedded in the signal corps and who, in turn, drew on the support of both Greek-Orthodox and Sunni-Turkish socialists in Izmir if not beyond. It is,

¹ For example, Cavafy often asked certain readers (such as Saregianis and Vaianos) to take multiple codices and distribute them to specific acquaintances and friends across the sea, effectively turning these readers into connecting nodes in the collections' geographically vast network. Saregianis wrote, "[Cavafy] didn't hesitate, he decided immediately to send [his collections]. But how? They'd have to reach their destination without falling into foreign, perhaps impure, hands. The ideal was when a friend was preparing to travel, who would undertake to transport them and to hand them to their precise receiver" (34).

indeed, through similarly decentralized networks that we can follow, if only partially, and after the collation of editions and the combing of archives, the transformative journeys of the Greek and Turkish testimonials that emerged alongside and in the wake of those antiwar pamphlets and papers. And how else but by recourse to the fluid and unregulated network of literature's handlers can we explain the commonplace books that both fascinated and repelled Tanpınar in the decades following the war? As chapters three and five both document, the Turkish commonplace book by no means died out in the twentieth century; it continued to be produced and circulated (in multiple alphabets) until at least midcentury. The commonplace book's *modus operandi*, one of decentered assemblage and reassemblage, was hardwired into the larger book networks of the region. If not the commonplace book itself, then certainly its formative logic lay near the heart of Tanpınar's own textual adaptations and reformulations.

Admittedly, these decentered networks are today largely invisible in the commercially bound copies of *A Mind at Peace*, *Shirt of Flame*, and *A Captive's Story*, each of which has been anchored in an authorial name. Yet whether they start from something as small as a single sentence (such as Peyami's passing reference to *Rizospastis*) or as large as multiple, multipage passages (such as Tanpınar's extended excursions on the *mecmua*), or indeed from entirely separate documents (such as the archived letters of Nikolas Kazakoglou), my chapters have brought to light the fascinating connections between these novels' texts and the networks through which they moved—connections that often slipped freely across supposedly fast divides of language, alphabet, genre, and discreet material media.

Taken together, these texts call out for a definition of the book that remains sensitive to the latter's shifting, often porous borders. One can understand these borders as both material and immaterial, dividing, for example, the inside of a book from its outside, its content from its form, the territory in which it is read from the territory in which it is not, or its various handlers from one another. As I hope to have demonstrated in the previous chapters, these and similar partitions gain their solidity only as the larger textual networks of any given book lose their "intensity"—i.e., their heterogeneous connections and contingencies. Yet it would be more proper, I think, to state all this in the obverse, for, rather than *dividing*, the textual networks that I've traced out in these chapters much more often *bind together*: they've confused the boundaries, for example, between the figures of author and compiler, writer and reader, reader and adaptor, etc., just as they've confused the boundaries between Turkey and Greece and, on another level, Turkish and Greek. They've confused, finally, the boundaries between the text's inside and its outside: just as Mümtaz strolled through the covered market, for example, so too was he strolling through the pages of *Cumhuriyet*—and, possibly, through the scrapbooks of readers who had clipped it out and reassembled it. The book, I have argued here, is an assemblage, one whose fluidity may vary over time but that never ossifies entirely.

What does such an understanding of the book offer us? I began my first chapter with the metaphor of a mechanic's workbench, suggesting that in breaking the book open and spreading its several pieces out upon that workbench we might better understand not only its schematics but, more importantly, "the common stakes we share in [its]

assemblage.” As I begin now to pack up my tools, I wonder whether those stakes have become clear.

For me, at least, they hinge on the political meaning of assembly. To expand the borders of the book and to integrate its multiple components means, at some fundamental level, to extend to each of its handlers an equal voice in its curation; as such, it also means to assemble a decidedly large and diverse group of bodies together to speak and to share and, importantly, to debate with one another. If curated properly, the book becomes an open platform, a kind of raucous commons or a public square whose protagonists are not simply the characters in its pages but all of those who have had a stake in its transmission and transformation. None of us must necessarily give credence to each of these voices—I ultimately disagreed, for example, with the editorial practices of George Savidis, which I saw as deeply misinterpreting the logic of Cavafy’s *Poems*. But while I owe no credence to any of a book’s handlers (just as the handlers of this text owe none to me), I do owe them equal access to the commons that’s to be curated. This is the difference between Rita Felski’s notions of criticism and critique: the former calls out for real dialogue while the latter shadowboxes by itself.

In such an assembly, therefore, it’s important that we learn, as best we can, to “speak well,”² hoping that our words will move as many of a book’s handlers as possible. If we fail at this, the dangers are clear: that the public square empties and that the book in turn loses its collective and combinatory power. This is not to say that, without me, all these books will “empty out” and remain unread (though some, like the Karamanli literature of chapter five, might indeed be in danger of disappearing within a generation if their stories are not curated); instead, it is to point out the very real likelihood that, as a

² See chapter one, page 31.

b. Roman

Hazırlık



1. 1911-1923 yılları arasında yaşayan bir romancı olsaydınız eserlerinizde daha çok hangi konuları işlerdiniz? Neden?
2. Millî Edebiyat Döneminin özellikleri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda sizce bu dönem romanlarının ana konusu ne olabilir? Neden? Sözlü olarak ifade ediniz.

İnceleme



ATEŞTEN GÖMLEK

Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra yenik sayılan Osmanlı Devleti, müttefik güçler tarafından işgal edilmektedir. Türklerin vatan yaptığı son toprak parçası da elinden alınmaya çalışılmaktadır. 15 Mayıs 1919 yılında İzmir, Yunanlılar tarafından işgal edilir. Bu işgal sırasında, Ayşe adlı genç bir kadının kocası ve çocuğu öldürülür. Ayşe de bir İtalyan ailenin yanına sığınarak İstanbul'daki akrabası Peyami'nin yanına gider. O günlerde İstanbul, ülkenin kurtuluşu uğruna millî bir coşkuya yapılan protesto mitingleriyle çalkalanmaktadır.

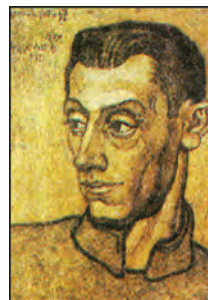
15 Kasım 1921

Şimdi Ankara'nın bu soğuk günlerinde İstanbul'daki son yazın ağır ve korkunç günlerinin sıcaklığını, yorgunluğunu duyuyordum. Her gün daireden çıkınca Babıali'ye tırmanıyor, Gedikpaşa'ya, Ayşe'yi görmeye gidiyordum. Ayşe; Şişli hayatından, bizim o hayatımızdan silinmiş gibi. Onun Mister Kok'a verdiği biraz ateşli karşılık İngiliz çevrelerinde kuşkuyu çekmiş. İzmirli bir kadının İngilizler aleyhinde propaganda yaptığı söyleniyormuş. Annem, çevreye Ayşe'nin İzmir'e döndüğünü yayıyor ve hiç de nerede olduğunu aramıyor. Ben ondan söz etmiyorum. Cemal'e, Ayşe'ye bir kardeş gibi bakacağıma söz verdim. O sözü tutuyorum.

Ayşe her gün bana yeni ve hayret edilecek bir kadın görünüyor. On yıl önce, adı Ayşe, kendi vilayetli diye evlenmekten korkarak Avrupa'ya kaçtığı bu kadının, bizim Avrupa taklidi kadınlardan daha çok kişiliği var. Fikir terbiyesi hayat görgülerinden alınmış, biraz okumuş ve dil bilir bir kadın. Beni en çok şaşırtan şey onun yaşayışı. İki odalı evinde yapayalnız oturuyor. Mahallede tek tanıdığı Zerzevatçı Zeynep Kadın: Siyah esvabının yaması ikiyi aştı. Elinde daima bir dantel veya dikiş var. Elindeki parayı İzmir'le ilgili saydığı için hayatının büyük bir kısmını ders vermekle, dantel yapıp satmakla çıkarıyor. Haftada üç dört gün ders veriyor ve dinlenmek veya eğlenmek için İzmir göçmenlerinin çocuklarına çorap örüyor. Ders verdiği evlerde kimse onun gerçek kişiliğini bilmiyor. Kocası Genel Savaş'ta şehit olmuş dul kadın sanıyorlar. Çok sessiz olduğu için kimsenin dikkatini çekmiyordu. Bu çalışmanın dışında İzmir'de başlayan millî hareketle Cemal'in arkadaşlarının mücadelesiyle meşgul. Onlar her fırsat buldukça mektup yazıyorlar. Bütün bu kudret, kabiliyet ve vatan kadınının düzenli hayatı ve fedakârlığı ortasında insana bir çocuk gibi sevmeyi ve korumayı aşıl原因 bir çekicilik, bir cazibesi var. Hayatın fena yanlarını, İstanbul'un didiştığı çirkin ve kirlî şeyleri görmüyor. Fena şeylere güzel gözlerinin öyle güleç, acıyan ve



Figure 20. From *Turkish Literature, 11th Grade Lesson Book*. Edited by Muhammet Yelten (Devlet Kitapları, 2012).



Ένα από τα πλέον αξιόλογα έργα της πεζογραφίας μας είναι η *Ιστορία ενός αιχμαλώτου του Στρατή Δούκα*. Το βιβλίο αμέσως με τη δημοσίευσή του (1929 - Κέδρος, 29η έκδοση, 1998) απέσπασε εγκωμιαστικές κριτικές για τις αρετές που το διακρίνουν –τόσο σε επίπεδο περιεχομένου, όσο και μορφής– και αποτέλεσε πηγή έμπνευσης για πολλούς μεταγενέστερους συγγραφείς. Η υπόθεση του έργου αναφέρεται στην αιχμαλωσία, τις περιπέτειες και την τελική διάσωση ενός Έλληνα στρατιώτη, ο οποίος κατά την καταστροφή της Σμύρνης (1922) συνελήφθη και οδηγήθηκε στο εσωτερικό της Τουρκίας. Με τρόπο παραστατικό και ύφος γλαφυρό εξιστορούνται οι κακουχίες, τα δεινά, η φυσική και ηθική ταλαιπωρία του βασιικού προσώπου, και αναδεικνύεται το ψυχικό του σθένος, καθώς, στην προσπάθεια για επιβίωση, αναγκάζεται να υποδυθεί τον Τούρκο και, εργαζόμενος για μεγάλο διάστημα σε κάποιο υποστατικό της Μ. Ασίας, καταφέρνει τελικά να δραπετεύσει και να σωθεί. Όπως ομολογεί ο συγγραφέας στο «*Ιστορικό της*» –ένα είδος παραρτήματος του κύριου έργου–, το περιστατικό το πληροφορήθηκε ο ίδιος από κάποιον πρόσφυγα σ' ένα χωριό της Πιερίας, γι' αυτό και η αφήγηση τελειώνει με το όνομα του αληθινού πρωταγωνιστή και αφηγητή, του Νικόλα Κοζάκογλου.

Έργο φιλειρηνικό και βαθιά αντιπολεμικό, η *Ιστορία ενός αιχμαλώτου* αντιμετωπίζει –σχεδόν ταυτόχρονα με τη *Ζωή εν τάφω* του Στρατή Μυριβήλη και *Το νούμερο 31328* του Ηλία Βενέζη– τον πόλεμο όχι στην επική, ηρωική του διάσταση, αλλά ως βασικό υπεύθυνο της απώλειας χιλιάδων ατόμων και του εξευτελισμού της ανθρώπινης αξιοπρέπειας. Παράλληλα, αναδεικνύει κάτι βαθύτερο και πιο ουσιαστικό, την παγκόσμια συναδέλφωση, πρόθεση την οποία άλλωστε ο συγγραφέας δηλώνει στην προμετωπίδα: «*Αφιερώνεται στα κοινά μαρτύρια των λαών*».

Το χαρακτηριστικότερο ωστόσο γνώρισμα του βιβλίου, που το έχει κατα-

books' handlers abandon the commons that I've tried to facilitate, they will return to their several partitions and apartheid, reading and interpreting their texts in isolation.

Eleventh-grade high school students in Turkey, for example, will go on reading *Shirt of Flame* in their closed communities, while twelfth-grade high school students in Greece will do the same with *A Captive's Story*, each work framed by a state textbook, published and distributed nationally, which, however sensitive it might be to the multiple hermeneutic possibilities of the text itself (both of them are!), fails to offer a comparative window into the more complicated and polyphonic landscape that I've tried to curate here.

These, then, are the stakes. To curate the book is to assemble not only its multiple editions and variations—ultimately, if left to itself, a meaningless act of pedantry—but, through them, to assemble one another. To be heard and to hear. To “join together,” as William Connolly writes, so as “to reorient the common life” (137).

Original Quotations Appendix

Chapter 1

Nazım Hikmet : “[N]e Rumca’dır, ne Türkçe [/] toprakçadır toprağın konuştuğu dil.”

Anonymous Byzantine Ink Recipe : Εἰ θέλεις ποιῆσαι μελάνιον ἄχρι τζυκαλίου μικροῦ ἑνός, ὀφείλεις ἐπαρεῖν κικίδια ἑκατὸν ἢ ὅσα θέλεις πρὸς τὸ ποσὸν ὃ θέλεις ποιῆσαι. Χώρισον δὲ μαῦρα βαρέα βυζωτὰ καὶ βάλε ἀναλόγως καὶ τὰ ἕτερα δύο εἶδη οἶον τὸ καλάκανθον—τὸ *κύπριον ἐστὶ καλὸν* [*addit eadem manus supra lineam*]—οὐγγίας β´ καὶ κομμίδιον οὐγγίαν α´. Καὶ τὸ μὲν κικίδιον γίνεται εἰς χώρας τῆς Ρωμανίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ φέρουσι τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἢ ἀπὸ τινος ξένης χώρας. [...] Τὸ καλακάνθιν τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου φέρουσιν· ὑελλίζει γὰρ καὶ οἶον κιτρινίζει. Ἔρχεται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ Ἄτραμύττου. Καὶ αὐτὸ καλὸν μικρὸν τι. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄλλους κοινούς τόπους ἡμετέρους, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ· ἀποσυνάγεται γὰρ τὸ ὅλον χῶμα. Τὸ δὲ γε κομμίδιον τὸ καλὸν φέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. Ξηραίνουσι γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκεῖ καὶ φέρουσι ξηρὸν τοῦτο.

Murat Belge : “Ama bütün bu romanların [...] [amacı] ‘biz’im tarih sahnesine nerede, nasıl çıktığımızın anlatılması mıydı? [/] Değildi. Genellikle ‘şimdiki zaman ve durum’la başı ve arası hoş olmayan toplumlar zaman içinde böyle yolculuklar yapıp kaybolan, uzaklaşılan, bir zamanların o ‘bozulmamış öz’ünü, bozulmamışlığı içinde bulma çabasına girişler.”

Isidore of Seville (footnote): Mare Magnum est quod ab occasu ex Oceano fluit [...]. Iste est et Mediterraneus, quia per mediam terram usque ad orientem perfunditur.

Isidore of Seville : “cuius primae partis sinus, qui in Hispaniis perfunditur, Ibericus et Balearicus appellatur. Deinde Gallicus, qui Narbonensem provinciam adluit. Mox Ligusticus, qui iuxta Genuam urbem est proximus. Post haec Tyrrenus, qui Italiam adtingit; quem Graeci Ionium, Itali Inferum vocant. Inde Siculus, qui a Sicilia usque ad Cretam vadit. Deinde Creticus, qui in Pamphyliam et Aegyptum pertendit. [...] Sicut autem terra dum una sit, pro diversis locis variis appellatur vocabulis, ita et pro regionibus hoc mare magnum diversis nominibus nuncupatur.”

Melro Axioti : «Ὁ τόπος μας, ξέρετε, δὲν εἶναι εὐκολος γιὰ νὰ τὸν καταλάβει κανεὶς [...]. Γιὰ νὰ γνωρίσει κάποιος τὸν τόπο μας, θὰ πρέπει νὰ προλάβει νὰ δεῖ νὰ γεννηθοῦν καὶ νὰ πεθάνουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Δηλαδή νὰ παρακολουθήσει δύο γενεῶν ζωὴ. Φυσικά γιὰ ἕναν ξένο αὐτό εἶναι ἐντελῶς ἀδύνατο».

Melro Axioti : «Τόπος ξερακιανός, πέτρα στήν πέτρα, βράχια καὶ γκρεμνά, νὰ σ’ ἔχουνε ζωσμένο ἀπὸ στεργιάς πελάγου... Ποῦθε βγαίνει τὸ γάλα καὶ πουλεῖς τὸ τυρί, ἐφόσο κοπάδι δὲν ἀπαντιέται πάνω στοῦ νησιοῦ τῆ ράχη. Ποῦθε κείνα τὰ λιγιστά τροφίματα, πού ἐσύ δὲν κάνει νὰ τὰ φᾶς, πρέπει νὰ τὰ πουλεῖς, γιὰ νὰ ταξιθεύονται μέχρι τίς πολιτεῖες [...] – βράχια καὶ γκρεμνά! ἀνθρώπινα κόκαλα τρῶνε».

Alkis Thylyos : « Νεοελληνικὰ ἔργα ἔχουν μεταφραστῆ εὐλάχιστα ἀπὸ ἰδιαιτέρους φίλους τῶν νεοελληνικῶν γραμμάτων πού ἀπέχουν πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ εἶναι κορυφαῖοι στὰ γράμματα, κι ἀπ’ αὐτὰ [πὺρ ἔχουν μεταφραστῆ] κανένα δὲν ἔχει γίνει γνωστὸ σ’ ἕναν κύκλο κάπως εὐρύτερο. [...] Πόσο ψυχρὰ ὑποδέχτηκε ἡ διανοούμενη Εὐρώπη τὴ μετάφραση τοῦ Παλαμᾶ π.χ. Πέρασε

σχεδόν, γὰ νὰ μὴ πῶ ἐντελῶς ἀπαρατήρητη. Κι ὅμως ὅταν ἓνα ἔργο ἀξίζει τὴν διεθνῆ ἀναγνώριση, οἱ ἐφημερίδες, τὰ περιοδικά, καὶ ἰδιαίτερες μελέτες, χαιρετίζουν μ' ἐνθουσιασμό τὴν ἀμφάνισή του καὶ τὸ διαδίδουν ἀμέσως σ' ὅλο τὸ ἀναγνωστικὸ κοινὸ ποὺ συγκλονίζεται».

Alkis Thylos : «Μὲ τὸ νὰ ὁμολογοῦμε ὅτι δὲν ἔχομε σήμερα διεθνεῖς στιγγραφεῖς [sic] δὲν διακηρύχουμε ὅτι δὲν μποροῦμε ν' ἀποχτήσουμε αὐριο».

Fahir Onger : “[H]er hangi bir şahıs ‘Shakespeare dâhidir’ derken bu hükme mutlaka, Shakespeare’in tekml eserlerini inceliyerek varmış değildir; daha büyük bir ihtimalle onu tetkik eden bir müellifin fikrini alıp tekrar etmiştir. İşte muayen bazı kimseler hakkında verilmiş hükümlerin bu şekilde tekrarını temin etmek bir nevi propagandadır.”

Fahir Onger : “Medeniyetimizin çok büyük bir geçmişi olmasına rağmen Türkiye dendiği vakit sadece bir iki değerli Devlet adamınının hatırlanması, yabancıların cehaletini değil, bizim bu meseleye ne kadar lâkayı kaldığımızı anlatır. [/] Şimdiye kadar daima ortaya çıkan eserlerimizi memleket seviyesine göre kıyaslıyarak ölçtük. Bugün olayların gelişmesi karşısında bir memleket ölçüsünün varit [yeterli] olamayacağı aşikârdır. Daha harbin içindeyken bile akli başında bazı kimseler Atlantik kültüründen bahsediyorlardı. Her türlü fikir, sanat ve edebiyat eseri için bugün ölçü dünya çapına yükselmiştir.”

Fahir Onger : “Dünya ölçüsünde eser veren fikir ve sanat adamları da himaye edilerek eserleri İngilizce ve dünya efkârına tanıtılmalıdır.”

Fahir Onger : “Fakat hayale kapılmadan biraz iç durumumuz üzerinde düşünelim.”

Fahir Onger : “teşkilâtlı mükemmel, bol tahsistalı bir bakanlık kadrosuyla dünya ölçüsünde propagandaya girişmek bugün için bir utopie'dir.”

Fahir Onger : “Bugün yapılacak iş, esaslı bir tetkikten sonra fikir adamı, yazar ve şairlerin tekml eserlerini ele alarak bunları ‘Külliyat’ halinde fakat not ve açıklamalarla beraber büyük bir seri olarak basmaktır. Edebiyat, fikir ve sanatımızın varlığını, eserlerin tekrar basıldığını görmek ve istediğimiz anda onlara malik olmakla anlarız.”

Michalis Rodas : «εἶνε καὶ ἓνα πολύτιμο ντοκουμέντο γιὰ τοὺς λαοὺς γιὰ ὅ,τι ἔγινε ἐκεῖ στὴν Ἀνατολή [...]. Ἡ ἀλήθεια βγαίνει ἀπὸ τὰ πράγματα καὶ ὄχι ἀπὸ ρητορισμούς».

Chapter 2

I.A. Saregiannis : «Τὸ βιβλιοδετίο, ἄς τὸ ποῦμε ἔτσι, τοῦ Καβάφη βρισκόταν στὸ σπίτι του. Ἦταν ἓνα δωμάτιο γυμνὸ [...] γεμάτο μὲ [...] διάφορες στίβες τὰ ποιήματά του [...]. [Π]ήγαινε καὶ ξαναπήγαινε κάθε φορά στὸ γραφεῖο του κι' ἔσβηνε κ' ἔγραφε τὴν παραλλαγή ποὺ τώρα προτιμοῦσε [...]. Δὲ φανταζόμουν ποτέ, πὼς ἦταν τόσο μεγάλη διαδικασία τὸ νὰ σταλ[οῦν] [...] τὰ ‘Ποιήματά’ του. Ποιὰ ὅμως Ποιήματα;»

Giorgios Vrisimitzakis : «Γιὰ τὴ ποίηση τοῦ Καβάφη μπορεῖ νὰ πει κανεὶς τολμηρὰ χωρὶς κανένα φόβο ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ διαψευσθεῖ : εἶναι ὅλη σκέψη».

Giorgios Vrisimitzakis : «Τὸ τόλμημα τοῦ Καβάφη ὑπῆρξεν ἀκριβῶς νὰ ἀναλάβει νὰ δημιουργήσει μιὰ [...] ποίηση διανοητικὴ ποὺ νὰ κρατᾶ ὅλη της τὴν καλλονὴ ἀπὸ τὴν τάξη τῶν ιδεῶν».

Giorgios Vrisimitzakis (footnote) : «Ἡ μεγαλειότερη ἔλλειψη τῆς ποίησης τοῦ κ. Καβάφη προέρχεται ἀπ' τὴν ἀδυναμία του νὰ αἰσθανθῆ τὴν φύσιν».

Takis Barlas : «Ζεῖ ἀποξενωμένος ἀπὸ τὴ ζωσα πραγματικότητα, περιχαρακωμένος μέσα στὴν ἀφηρημένη διανόησι, σ' ἓνα ἄσυλο ἄχαντο καὶ βαθύ».

Anastasios Drivas (footnote) : «τὰ ποιήματά του [εἶναι] χῶρος κλειστός, ποὺ οἱ ἐφιάλτες τῆς σάρκας μάταια ζητοῦν νὰ τρυπήσουν τοὺς τοίχους [...], φέρνει συγκεχυμένες συλλαβὲς ἀπ' τὸ βιβλίο τῆς ζωῆς. Ἡ ἱστορία, τότε, εἶναι τὸ μόνο καταφύγιο».

George Savidis : «[Ἡ] σημασία ποὺ μπορεῖ νὰ ἔχει ἡ βιβλιογραφικὴ μελέτη [ἔγκειται] ὄχι μόνο [...] [σ]τὸν καταρτισμὸ ἔκδοσης φιλολογικῆς [...] ἀλλὰ καὶ [...] [σ]τὴν ἐρμηνεία τοῦ κειμένου καὶ [...] τὴν ψυχογραφία τοῦ συγγραφέα».

George Savidis : «Τὸ γιατί ὁ Καβάφης [ἔκανε τὸ ἓνα ἢ τὸ ἄλλο] [...] παραμένει ἀντικείμενο εἰκασίας: μπορεῖ ἐπειδὴ [ἐκεῖνο ἢ ἐτοῦτο][...]· ἀλλὰ τὸ πιθανότερο, μοῦ φαίνεται, εἶναι πῶς [...]».

C.P. Cavafis : «Εἶμαι κ' ἐγὼ ἑλληνικός. Προσοχή, ὄχι ἕλλην, οὔτε ἑλληνίζων, ἀλλὰ ἑλληνικός».

Marios Vaianos : «ἓνας ἄνθρωπος ποὺ ποτὲ δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ σταθῆ σ' ἓνα μέρος [...]. Εἶνε τόσο πολύμορφος καὶ πολυσχιδής».

M.G. Petridis : «μέσα στὸ ὅσο σύντομο τόσο καὶ πολύμορφο ἔργο του ἀναπάλλεται ὅλη ἡ αἰώνια Ἑλλάδα ὅλων τῶν ἐποχῶν, τῆς ἀκμῆς καὶ τῆς παρακμῆς. Κ' ἔμεινε τέλειος Ρωμῶς στὸ ἔργο του ὁ Καβάφης».

K.Th. Dimaras (footnote) : «Συνέλαβε κι αὐτὸς [...] τὴν Ἑλλάδα σὲ μιὰ ἱστορικὴ ἐνότητα [...] Οἱ ἐθνικὲς συγκινήσεις του ἐνέπνευσαν μερικοὺς ἀπὸ τοὺς καλύτερους στίχους του [...] [στοὺς ὁποίους] τὴν πίστη στὸ Γένος τὴν ἐξέφρα[ζ]ε».

Katerina Karatasou : «Μιὰ ποίηση ποὺ δὲν στοχεύει σὲ ἓναν ἥπιο, πλουραλιστικὸ σχετικισμό, ἀλλὰ ἐνεργοποιεῖ συγκρούσεις ἀνάμεσα σὲ ὑποκείμενα».

George Seferis (footnote) : «Οἱ κουβέντες του Κ. εὔκολα παραπλανοῦν· παραπλάνησαν κιόλας πολλούς».

George Seferis (footnote) : «Ὁ Καβάφης ἔγραψε τὴ δική του γλῶσσα» ... «Πρόσεξε πῶς στὰ χέρια του, καθῶς προχωρεῖ, αὐτὴ ἡ λογιότατη γλῶσσα του χάνει σιγὰ σιγὰ λίπη, μαζεύει, καὶ ἴσως νὰ γίνεται κάποτε ρικνὴ, γιὰ ν' ἀποζητήσῃ καὶ νὰ σμίξει τὴν παράλληλη παράδοση τὴν προφορικὴ, τὴ δημοτικὴ. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη, καὶ ἡ δημοτικὴ χρειαζότανε κάποιο διωλιστήριον· βρῆκε τὸ διωλιστήριον τοῦ Κ.».

I.A. Saregiannis (footnote) : «Μποροῦσε ἄραγε ὁ ἐρασιτέχνης αὐτὸς νὰ παρακολουθῆ τὴν καβαφικὴ σκέψη, ποὺ ἦταν σωστὸς λαβύρινθος, μὲ τὶς ἀποχρώσεις της, μὲ τοὺς ἐνδοιασμούς της καὶ τὶς παρενθέσεις της, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲ τοὺς στρατηγικοὺς ἐλιγμούς της;»

Athanasios Politis : «Ο τυπογράφος παρά τῶ ὀποίῳ ἐξεδίδοντο ἡ *Νέα Ζωή* καὶ τὰ *Γράμματα*, εἶχεν ἐκτυπώσει χωριστὰ περὶ τὰ τριάκοντα ἀντίτυπα τῶν ποιημάτων τῶν δημοσιευθέντων ἐν τοῖς περιοδικοῖς τούτοις, καὶ παρέσχεν οὕτως τὴν εὐκαιρίαν ὅπως ἀπαρτισθεῖ ἡ ἐν λόγῳ συλλογὴ.— εἰς ἣν περιελήφθησαν καὶ τρία ἢ τέσσαρα ποιήματα συντεθέντα μεταξὺ τοῦ 1897 καὶ τοῦ 1907».

C.P. Cavafy : «Πῶς μπορῶ νὰ πῶ γιὰ τὸ μέλλον; [/] Μπορεῖ νὰ θέλω νὰ κάμω μιὰ διαίρεσιν συγκειμένην ἀπὸ μόνον ἱστορικά, αἴφνης.— [/] Στέκοντας ὅπου τὸ ὅλον σῶμα τῶν ποιημάτων δὲν χωρίζεται εἰς Συλλογὰς Ἰδιαιτέρες, μὲ κάθε νέον ποίημα, ἢ κατὰτάξις ἢ σωστή, ἢ κατὰ θέματα, θὰ ἄλλαζε».

Glafkos Alitherses : «[Ο] Καβάφης ἔτρεμε ν' ἀντικριστεῖ τὸ ἔργο του ὡς σύνολο, ἀπὸ ἀντικειμενικούς παρατηρητές».

Timos Malanos : «Ἔτσι καὶ ὁ λόγος [ποῦ δημιουργεῖ] γι' αὐτὰ [τὰ ποιήματα] εἶναι διαρκέστερος, καὶ ἡ δυσκολία νὰ τὰ ἀποκτήσει κανεὶς αὐξάνει τὴν περιέργεια καὶ τὸν κύκλο τῶν θαυμαστῶν, ἐνῶ γύρω ἀπὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ποιητῆ, δημιουργεῖται συγχρόνως ὁ θρῦλος, κι οὐ διαδόσεις».

Timos Malanos : «Ο κύριος σκοπός μου ἦταν νὰ δώσω τὰ κ λ ε ι δ ιὰ τοῦ Καβαφικοῦ ἔργου, νὰ δείξω τὰ μυστικά του, νὰ βοηθήσω μὲ κάθε τρόπο στὴν ἀποκρυπτογράφησή του. Γι' αὐτὸ καὶ γράφοντάς τὴν ἔδωκα σημασία ἰδιαίτερη στὴ ζωὴ του».

Stratis Tsirkas : «[Ο] κ. Μαλάνος δὲν μπορεῖ καὶ δὲ θέλει νὰ παραδεχτεῖ πῶς ὑπάρχει κι ἄλλος τρόπος θεώρησης τοῦ Καβάφη καὶ τοῦ ἔργου του».

Stratis Tsirkas : «[Ο] Καβάφης, μ' ἓνα πολὺ δηλωτικὸ ἂν καὶ χαριτωμένο τρόπο, μᾶς εἶπε πῶς νὰ τὸν βρῖσκουμε μέσα ἀπὸ τὸ μαϊάνδρο τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ γεγονότων, πῶς ν' ἀκοῦμε αὐτὸ ποῦ πραγματικὰ θέλει νὰ πεῖ».

Stratis Tsirkas : «Ἐνας ἀπὸ τοὺς σκοποὺς αὐτῆς τῆς ἐργασίας εἶναι νὰ βρεῖ ἢ νὰ ξαναθυμίσει τὶς *περιστάσεις* ὀρισμένων ποιημάτων [...]. Καὶ μὲ τὸν ὄρο 'περιστάσεις' ἐννοῦμε τὶς βιοτικὲς καταστάσεις τοῦ ποιητῆ κοιταγμένες μέσα ἀπὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκείνης τῆς ἐποχῆς, μὲ τὶς συγκεκριμένες πολιτικὲς, κιοινωνικὲς καὶ οικονομικὲς συνθήκες τῆς».

C.P. Cavafy : «Στις 3 μ.μ. μ' ἐπεσκέφθηκε ὁ Τσοκόπουλος. Ἐμεινε μαζί μου μέχρι τις 3.40. Κουβεντιάσαμε, τὴν περισσότερὴ ὥρα, γιὰ φιλολογία καὶ γιὰ τὶς υπέρογκες δυσκολίες ποὺ συναντοῦν οἱ συγγραφεῖς γιὰ νὰ πουλήσουν μιαν ἐκδοση. Ὁ Τσοκόπουλος λέει ὅτι θεωρεῖται μεγάλη ἐπιτυχία το νὰ κατορθωθεῖ ἡ ἐκδοση, χωρὶς νὰ πραγματοποιήσῃ κέρδος, μονάχα νὰ μὴν ἔχει ζημιὰ».

Gregorios Xenopoulos : «τὰ 8 ἑκατομμύρια τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶνε διασκορπισμένα εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, τὰ μέσα τῆς ἐπικοινωνίας καὶ τῆς διαφήσεως εἶνε ἀτελέστατα,—ἀκόμη καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ἀποστολῆς χρημάτων, χάρις εἰς τὴν πρωτόγονο κατάστασιν τοῦ ταχυδρομείου μας».

K. Th. Dimaras (footnote): «Ἔστερα δὲν πρέπει νὰ ξεχνοῦμε ὅτι σὲ μακρὸ χρονικὸ διάστημα, καὶ ἐξαιρετικὰ κρίσιμο γιὰ τὴν πνευματικὴ διαμόρφωση τοῦ τόπου μας, μόνην περιοδικότητα στίς ἐκδόσεις ἐγνώρισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν δεκαπενθήμερη, τὴν ἐβδομαδιαία, ἀλλὰ ὄχι τὴν καθημερινή: ἡ καθ'αυτὸ ἐφημερίδα ἐμπῆκε ἀργὰ στὸν τόπο μας, καὶ ἀργὰ κατέλαβε τὴν θέση τὴν ὀποία κατέχει σήμερα [καὶ] [π]ρὶν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀγῶνα καὶ μετὰ».

Aristotelis Kourtidis : «Τὰ παλαιότερα βιβλία ἐξεδίδοντο μὲ συνδρομὰς, δηλαδὴ μὲ φιλανθρωπικὰς εἰσφορὰς. Αἱ ἀνὰ τὰς ἑλληνικὰς κοινότητας τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ περιοδεῖαι τῶν ἐκδοτῶν περιοδικῶν δὲν εἶνε σύγχρονος ἐπιτόνησις [...]. Μὲ τὴν χεῖρα τεταμένων εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Βόρειον Ἀφρικὴν συνετηρήθη ἡ Πανδώρα. Ὁ Παρθενών, ἡ Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα περιοδικὰ ἔζησαν βίον βραχὺν καὶ ἀγωνιώδη. Ὁ ἰδρυτὴς τῆς Ἐστίας Παῦλος Διομήδης ἐζημιώθη ὑπὲρ τὰς τριάντα χιλιάδας δραχμῶν [...]. Ὁ Δροσίνης ἠναγκάσθη νὰ μεταβάλλῃ τὴν Ἐστίαν εἰς καθημερινὴν ἐφημερίδα».

Hristos Hristovasilis : «Ὁ κόσμος ρίχνεται στὴς ἐφημερίδες, ὅπου βρίσκει λίγ' ἀπ' ὅλα, εὐχαριστιέται, περνάει τὴν ὥρα του ... Ἡ ἐφημερίδα σκότωσε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὸ περιοδικόν! Βιβλίον, ποῦ δὲ μπορεῖ κανεὶς νὰ τὸ τελειώσῃ μετὰξὺ ἐνὸς τσιγάρου καὶ ἐνὸς καφέ ... Περιοδικόν ποῦ βγαίνει στὴς δέκα πέντε καὶ στὸ μῆνα μιὰ φορά ... εἶναι πλήξη μποροστὰ στὴν ἐφημερίδα, ποῦ βγαίνει κάθε μέρα, ποῦ σοῦ δίνει καὶ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὸ περιοδικόν κατὰ δόσεις».

Alexandrinē technē vol. 1 no. 1 : «Ἡ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΝΗ ΤΕΧΝΗ στέλνει θερμὸν χαιρετισμὸν στοὺς Ἕλληνας λογοτέχνες, καλλιτέχνες καὶ διανοούμενους. [/] Δὲν τρέφει παρὰ μιὰ καὶ μόνον φιλοδοξία: νὰ συμβάλλῃ καὶ αὐτὴ μ' ὅλες τὶς δυνάμεις τῆς ἐστὶν διαμόρφωσιν τοῦ καθαρὰ νεοελληνικοῦ πολιτισμοῦ μας».

Vomos, no 19 : «ἀργεῖ ἀκόμη ὁ καιρὸς ποῦ θὰ μπορέσουμε ν' ἀνακουφιστοῦμε ἀπ' τὰ φοβερὰ ἐξοδα, (τὸ χαρτί στάθηκε σὲ μιὰ τιμὴν καὶ δὲν ἐνοεῖ νὰ κατέβῃ, τὰ δὲ τυπωτικὰ ἐγγεῖναν τὰ διπλά ἀπ' ὅτι ὅταν ἀρχίσαμε τὴν ἐκδόσιν)».

Ta grammata, new period vol. 1 : «τὰ οικονομικά μας δὲν εἶναι καθόλου εὐρωστα [...]. Ἡ ἔκκλησις μας γιὰ εἰσφορὰς παραμένει πάντα. Τυπώνομε ὡς 1000 φυλλάδια κάθε φορά, ἀπὸ τὰ ὅποια διαθέτομε γιὰ τοὺς συνδρομητὰς μας, τὰ βιβλιοπωλεῖα καὶ τὴν ἀνταλλαγὴν 700 περίπου. Πόσα πουλιούνται ἀπ' αὐτά; Δὲν ἔχομεν ἀκόμη ὀρισμένους ἀριθμούς. Μποροῦμε νὰ ὑπολογίσωμε ὅτι οἱ συνδρομηταὶ μας καὶ οἱ ἀγορασταὶ μας κρατοῦν ἕως 300 φυλλάδια».

Makedonika grammata vol. 3 no. 1 : «πρέπει τὰ ἐλατήρια τῆς ἀποτυχίας [μας] αὐτῆς νὰ τὰ ζητήσωμε [...] [σ]τὸ ἀναγωνιστικόν κοινόν [...], ποῦ μ' ἀδιαφορία δεχότανε τὰ κύματα τῶν προσπαθειῶν [μας]. Ἡ παθητικὴ ἀντίδρασις 'τῶν πολλῶν' στάθηκεν ἡ σπουδαιότερη αἰτία τῆς κακοδαιμονίας τῶν ἑλληνικῶν φιλολογικῶν περιοδικῶν [sic]».

Kostis Bastias : «Σᾶς ἐκθέτει μὲ σοβαρότητα χιλίων τόννων τὰ γλυκύτατα ὄνειρά του περὶ ἀναγεννήσεως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας δι' ἐνὸς μπάνιου τὸ ὅποιον ὑποχρεωτικῶς καὶ ἀπροφασίστως θὰ λάβουν ὅλοι οἱ γράφοντες Ἕλληνες εἰς τὸ δέλτα τοῦ Νεῖλου».

Dimitris Tagkopoulos : «Τὴν γῆν τῶν Φαραῶν τὴν κατασυγκινεῖ σπουδαιότατον ζήτημα σήμερον. Ὁ κ α β α φ ι σ μ ὁ ς . [...] Ὁ Καβαφισμὸς ἔχει κ' ἐδῶ, στὴν πόλιν μας, μερικὸν ὄπαδόν του. Δὲ μοῦ κάμνει ἐντύπωσις αὐτό, ἀφοῦ τόσες ἐπιδημίες μᾶς ἔρχονται, κατευθεῖαν ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτον».

Spyros Melas : «Ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ γραφεῖόν μου εὐρήκα τεῦχος μὲ τὸν μυστηριώδη τίτλον: «Ξεβάφης». Ὑπέθετα κατ' ἀρχὰς ὅτι πρόκειται περὶ πραγματείας χρωματολογικῆς καθαπομένης τοῦ κ. Μποτσαράκου. Πλάνη. Ὁ ὑπότιτλος ἐκφράζεται σαφέστατα: «Τεῦχος πανηγυρικόν πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ ὑπέροχου ποιητῆ!» Λαμπρὰ ἰδέα, νὰ σᾶς πῶ. Αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα δὲν μοῦ εἶνε καὶ τελείως ἄγνωστον. Ξεβάφης ! ... Βεβαίως ! Ἐθορῦβησε ἀρκετὰ τώρα τελευταίως. [...] Ἀλλά, νὰ, μόνον ποῦ εἶνε ἡ ποιήσις του ἐντελῶς ἄγνωστος! Τὶ σημαίνει ὅμως !... Εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ «ἀγνώστου στρατιώτου» ἠμποροῦμεν, νομίζω, νὰ πανηγυρίσωμεν θαυμάσια καὶ μιὰν ἄγνωστον ποιήσιν! [...]

Βούιξε ἡ ἀραπιὰ μὲ τὸν ταλέντο του. Ἀφοῦ πέντε κροκόδειλοι κατεβήκανε στὴν Ἀλεξάντρια ἐπίτηδες γιὰ νὰ τὸν δοῦνε. Καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἄκουσα νὰ τραγουδοῦνε παθητικώτατα : Θέλω νὰ πάω στὴν Ἀραπιὰ—μωρό μου!—Νὰ πιάσω ἕναν Ἀράπη! Νὰ τὸν ρωτήσω νὰ μοῦ πῆ πού κάθεται ὁ Ξεβάφης»!...

Orthros period 2 no. 1 : «Εἶνε ἀπὸ τὰ ποιήματα ἐκεῖνα πὸ ὑποβάλουν [sic] τὴν ἀναισχυντία. Ποιήματα Γραικύλων».

K.Th.P. (“Οἱ αρουανοί,” in *Vomos* no. 7) : «μια ζηλιάρικη τέτοια ἐπιθυμιὰ γεννήθηκε τελευταῖα σὲ ἀρκετοὺς λογοτεχνικοὺς τύπους καὶ κύκλους γιὰ τὴ μεγάλη διαφορά, εἰς βάρος τους, μεταξὺ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρινῶν νέων μορφωμένων ἐπιστημονικά, μὲ τάσεις ὠρισμένες καὶ χαλιναγωγημένες, καὶ τῶν δικῶν μας Ἀθηναίων νέων πὸ ἀκόμα ξεσιαλιάζονται καὶ σαλιαρίζουν. [...] Οἱ Ἀλεξανδρινοὶ νέοι μᾶς ἔδειξαν καθαρά [...] πὼς θέλησαν νὰ συγχρονίσουν τὴ σημερινή μας νεώτερη φιλολογία μὲ τὰ μεγάλα καινούργια ρεύματα τῆς Πνευματικῆς κίνησης τῆς Δύσης».

Mousa, vol. 2 no. 2 : «τὸ γεγονός τὸ μόνο, τὸ ἀδιαφιλονείκητο εἶναι [...] ἡ πνευματικὴ στείρωση τῆς Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴ στιγμή πὸ βλέπει κανεὶς νὰ γίνεται μιὰ κάποια σοβαρότερη ζύμωση στὴν Πόλη καὶ στὴν Ἀλεξάντρια» ... ἡ «ἔλλειψη αὐτῆ [εἶναι] τόσο λίγο τιμητικὴ γιὰ τὸ ἑλληνικὸ ὄνομα».

Kostas Ouranis : «Ἡ ‘Νέα Ζωή’ καὶ τὰ ‘Γράμματα’ ὑπῆρξαν ἀληθινὰ εὐρωπαϊκὰ περιοδικά. Ἔγιναν ὁ καθρέπτης τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλολογίας εἰς μιὰν ἐποχὴν πὸ τὰ ‘Παναθηναῖα’ εἶχαν ἀποστεωθῆ καὶ πὸ ὁ ‘Νουμᾶς’ εἶχεν ὑπερζῆσει τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ του. [...] [E]ἰσήγαγον εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Γράμματα τὴν ἀμερόληπτον καὶ ἀντικειμενικὴν κριτικὴν πὸ αἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲν ἤξευραν νὰ κάμουν. Ἐννοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀθηναϊκὴν ρουτίαν, πρὸς προσωπικὰς φιλίας ἢ πάθη ἀφῆκαν τὰ πρόσωπα, διὰ νὰ ἀναλύσουν ἔργα ἢ νὰ ἀνακινήσουν ἰδέας».

Kostis Palamas : «[...] δὲ γνωρίζω στίχους πὸ κανονικὰ ἀλάθευτους ἀπὸ τοὺς δεκαπεντοσύλλαβους λ.χ. τῶν Ὑμνων [τοῦ Ρήγα Γκόλφη], ἐκείνους πὸ συνεχίζουν καὶ πὸ συμπληρώνουν τὴ χάρη τοῦ στίχου τῶν δημοτικῶν τραγουδιῶν, τῶν Κορνάρων, τῶν Μαρκοράδων [...]. Πόση διαφορά στὸ μεταχείρισμα τοῦ κατεξοχὴν ἐθνικοῦ μας στίχου ἀπὸ τὸ ὑπουλο ζεκάρφωμά του στὰ ποιήματα τοῦ Καβάφη».

Makedonika grammata vol. 3 no. 2 : «Τὸ ἔργο [του] μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι σημαντικό, μὰ ἀγνοεῖται. Ἔνας πολὺ σπουδαῖος λόγος γιὰ νὰ μείν[ει] ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν περιφέρεια τοῦ κύκλου τῶν ἀριστειούχων. Τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀριστειούχου πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ζυμωμένο μὲ τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὴν παράδοση τοῦ τόπου».

Makedonika grammata, vol. 3 no. 3 : «Καὶ πὼς θὰ δικαιολογοῦνταν ἡ ἀπονομὴ ἀριστείου σὲ [...] καλλιτέχν[η], πὸ δὲν ἔχ[ει] ἐκδώσει ἔργο;».

Telos Agras : «Ἐπιτρέψτε μοῦ νὰ μεταχειρισθῶ μιὰ γραφικὴ ἀλληγορία. Πάνω στὸ γραφεῖο μου ἔχω μιὰ γυάλινη σφαῖρα, γιὰ νὰ πατᾶ τὰ φύλλα τῶν χαρτιῶν, μιὰ ἀπὸ τίς γνωστὲς γυάλινες σφαῖρες, πὸ ἔχουν σ’ ἕνα τους τμημα τὴν ἐπιφάνεια ἐπίπεδη. Ὅσο δὲ βρῖσκει κανεὶς τὴν ἐπίπεδη ἐπιφάνεια, ἢ σφαῖρα κυλᾶ,--ἔρμαια, ἔκθετη, ἀνισορρόπητη, πάνω στὸ τραπέζι. Μὰ ὅταν βρῆ κανεὶς τὴν ἐπίπεδη ἐπιφάνεια, ἢ σφαῖρα στέκεται ὀρθή, βασίζεται, δὲ σαλεύει. [...] Λοιπὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι: ἡ παρόμοια πλευρὰ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Καβάφη δὲν ἔχει βρεθῆ. [...] [Οἱ ἀντίπαλοι τοῦ Καβάφη]

τὸ περιπαίξ[ουν]. Καὶ τὸ ἔργο ἐλάχιστον ἀντίστασι παρυσιάζει... Γιατὶ ἡ βάσις του λείπει. Ὑπάρχει ὁμως. Κάποιος θὰ τὴν εὐρη. Θὰ τὴν εὐρη ὁ κριτικός».

Callimachus (Strabo 9.1.19) : «ὁ Καλλίμαχος γελῶν φησιν, εἴ τις θαρρεῖ γράφειν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρθένους ἀφύσσεσθαι καθαρὸν γάνος Ἡριδανοῖο, οὗ καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀπόσχοιτ' ἄν».

George Savidis (footnote): «Ναὶ μὲν [ἡ ἔκδοσι τῆς Σεγκοπούλου] ἀποδίδει σωστὰ τὰ ποιήματα στὴν κάθε χρονιά ὅπου δημοσιεύτηκαν, ἀλλὰ διαφορεῖ γιὰ τὴν σειρά μετὰ τὴν ὅποια δημοσιεύτηκαν μέσα στὴν κάθε χρονιά».

Eugenios Michailidis : «Ἡ ποικιλία ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ ἡ ἀφθονία ἀφ' ἑτέρου τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, μαρτυροῦν μετὰ τὸν πλέον θετικὸν τρόπον τὴν μεγάλην προσπάθειαν τοῦ Αἰγυπτιώτου Ἑλληνοῦ Διανοουμένου πρὸς δημιουργίαν μιᾶς αὐτοτελοῦς βιβλιοθήκης, ἡ ὅποια κατεπλούτισε τὴν γενικὴν Ἑλληνικὴν βιβλιοθήκην μετὰ νέα στοιχεῖα».

Eugenios Michailidis : «Εἰς τὸ κλασσικὸν τρίτομον βιβλιογραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Ν. Πολίτου: 'Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιογραφία' (1909-1932), ἐλάχιστα στοιχεῖα ἀναγράφονται ἐκ τῆς πλουσίας Ἑλληνικῆς Βιβλιογραφίας τοῦ Αἰγυπτιώτου Ἑλληνοῦ. Τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδιαφορίαν διεπιστώσαμεν καὶ εἰς μεταγενεστέραις τοῦ Πολίτου βιβλιογραφικαῖς ἐκδόσεις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. Εἶναι δὲ ἀκατανόητον, πῶς ἀκόμη δὲν ἔχουν πεισθῆ οἱ Ἑλληνοὶ τῆς πατρίδος μας, ὅτι ὑπάρχει καὶ παραὑπάρχει φιλολογικὴ κίνησις εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον».

Dinos Koutsoumis : «Ἀπὸ το 1930 μέχρι το 1950 ἐξεδόθησαν στὴν Αἴγυπτον 487 λογοτεχνικά βιβλία ανεξαρτήτου ἀξιολογήσεως καὶ ἀπὸ το 1966 ἕως το 1980 ἐξεδόθησαν μόνον 15 βιβλία, τὰ περισσότερα ἀπὸ τὰ ὅποια δὲν θὰ μπορεῖ κανεὶς νὰ πει ὅτι εἶναι λογοτεχνικά. Οἱ περισσότεροι λογοτέχνες ἐφυγαν. Τὰ ἑλληνικά τυπογραφεῖα πωλήθησαν [...]. Τὰ ἑλληνικά βιβλιοπωλεῖα ἐκλείσαν καὶ ἐπὶ μῆνες οὔτε Ἀθηναϊκὲς ἐφημερίδες πῆγαιναν ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀθήναν στὴν Αἴγυπτον».

Angelos Sikelianos : «συμβολίζει πῶς τὸ σῶμα τῆς Ποίησης, ὅσο κι ἂν μεράζεται, δὲν κομματιάζεται οὐσιαστικά, ἀλλὰ ὑπάρχει πάντα ὀλόκληρο μέσα σὲ κάθε τῆς κομματί, ὅπως ὁ διαμελισμένος Ὀρφέας ξαναβρίσκει, κατόπι ἀπ' τὸ διαμελισμὸ του, ὁ λ ὁ κ λ η ρ ο ς, γιὰ τὰ μάτια τῶν μνημένων, πάνω στὸ Σταυρό».

George Seferis : «Σὰν ἰδιοσυγκρασία ἦταν πολὺ διαφορετικὸς ἀπὸ ἐμένα [ὁ Καβάφης]. [...] [Δ]ὲν ἔνωσα τὴν ἔλξη τοῦ Καβάφη. Ὑπῆρχε, νομίζω, κι ἄλλος ἓνας λόγος. Ὡς τὶς μέρες ποὺ βγήκε ἡ πρώτη ἔκδοσι σὲ βιβλίον τῶν ποιημάτων του, δὲν εἶχα παρὰ μιὰ πολὺ κομματιαστὴ θέα τοῦ ἔργου του, ἀπὸ σποραδικὰ μονόφυλλα, ἀναδημοσιεύσεις σὲ περιοδικὰ, ἢ προφορικὲς μνεῖες, ποὺ κυκλοφοροῦσαν τὶς περισσότερες φορὲς στὰ χεῖλια ζηλωτῶν ἢ χαμηλῶν μιμητῶν [...]. Ὡστόσο μοῦ ἔστειλε μιὰ βιβλιοδετημένη σειρά μονόφυλλα, τοῦ 1907-1915 ἃ δὲ γελιέμαι, καὶ τοῦ ἔστειλα τὴ *Στροφή*, ὅταν ἐβγήκε. Τὰ πράγματα δὲν ἄλλαξαν πάρα πολὺ [...]. Ξανασυλλογίστηκα τὸν Καβάφη τὸ Μάη τοῦ '41, ὅταν, ἐπιβάτης ἀπὸ τὴν Κρήτη, πρωταντίκρισα τὴν Αἴγυπτον στὸ Πόρτ Σαῖντ [...]. Ἀπὸ τὶς τρεῖς ἢ τέσσερις ἐβδομάδες ποὺ ἔμεινα τὴν πρώτη φορὰ στὴν ἀλεξάνδρεια ξεκίνησαν οἱ σελίδες ποὺ δημοσιεύω παρακάτω [...]. Ἀντιγράφοντας, καθὼς ἔτυχε, τὰ ποιήματα τοῦ Καβάφη, τὰ σχολιάζω ἓνα πρὸς ἓνα με λεπτολογία μοναστηρίσια κάποτε· ἤθελα νὰ κάνω ἓνα βιβλίον μ' αὐτὰ τὰ σχόλια. Ἦταν μιὰ βοήθεια γιὰ νὰ ζῶ ἀκόμη στὸν τόπον ποὺ μοῦ ἔλειπε».

George Seferis : «ἀπὸ μιᾶ ὀρισμένη στιγμῆ καὶ πέρα—τὴ στιγμὴ αὐτὴ τὴν τοποθετῶ στὰ 1910 περίπου—τὸ καβαφικὸ ἔργο πρέπει νὰ διαβάζεται καὶ νὰ κρίνεται ὄχι σὰν μιὰ σειρὰ ἀπὸ χωριστὰ ποιήματα, ἀλλὰ σὰν ἓνα καὶ μόνον ποίημα ἐν προόδῳ».

George Seferis : «Τώρα ποὺ ἔχω στὸ νοῦ μου τὴ μορφή τοῦ Σαρεγιάννη, συλλογίζομαι ξανά πὼς στὴν καιρὸ μου οἱ περισσότεροὶ ἄνθρωποι τῶν γραμμάτων εἶχανε βγεῖ ἀπὸ τὴν περιφέρεια τοῦ Ἑθνους· εἶχανε γεννηθεῖ στὰ χρόνια ποὺ ὑπῆρχε ἡ μεγαλύτερη εὐρυχωρία γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρὶν ἀρχίσει αὐτὴ ἡ πόλωση τῶν ἐλληνικῶν πληθυσμῶν μέσα στὰ σύνορα τοῦ ἐλλαδικοῦ κράτους, αὐτὸς ὁ συνωστισμὸς ποὺ κάνει τοὺς σημερινούς νέους νὰ νιώθουν κάποτε στενόχωρα [...]. Ὁ ἐλληνισμὸς τῆς Μικρασίας ξεριζώθηκε· σὲ λίγο δὲ θὰ ἔχει μείνει τίποτε καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἐλληνισμὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Σὲ λίγο θὰ καταταχθοῦν κι αὐτοὶ μαζί με ἄλλες ἐλληνικὲς ἀρχαιολογίες, μαζί με τὶς πολιτείες τῶν Πτολεμαίων καὶ τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἢ με τὰ πετροκομμένα μοναστήρια τῆς Καππαδοκίας. Καὶ οἱ ἐλληνικοὶ πληθυσμοὶ τοὺς θὰ ἔχουν γίνε θρέμματα τῆς ὑδροκέφαλης Ἀθήνας».

Ioannis Sykoutris : «Κανὼν ἀπαρέγκλιτος κάθε κριτικῆς ἐκδόσεως εἶναι ἡ π λ η ρ ό τ η ς» [...] πρέπει νὰ προσφέρῃ ὁ ἐκδότης πᾶν ὅ,τι σχετίζεται με τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο καὶ προέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ ποιητοῦ».

Ioannis Sykoutris : «Ἡ ἀποκατάστασις τοῦ κειμένου καὶ ἡ ἀποκάθαρσις αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κάθε μεταβολὴν ἀλλοτριάν τῶν προθέσεων τοῦ συγγραφέως ἀποτελεῖ τὸ κυριώτερον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δυσκολώτερον μέρος τῆς κριτικῆς ἐκδόσεως».

Ioannis Sykoutris : «ὁμοιάζουν ὁμῶς με τὰ πρόχειρα τ' ἀντίσκηνα καὶ τὶς παράγκες, ποὺ στήνονται [...] χωρὶς θεμέλια καὶ εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ πρώτου δυνατοῦ ἀνέμου. Εἶναι καιρὸς νὰ λείψῃ ὁ νομαδισμὸς αὐτός· εἶναι καιρὸς νὰ κτισθοῦν οἰκοδομήματα μόνιμα καὶ σταθερά».

Linos Politis : «ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸ Σολωμό, τὸ Βηλαρά, ἴσως τὸν Κάλβο (τὸ Ρήγα;--τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον του περισσότερο ἱστορικόν), δὲ βλέπω γιὰ κανέναν ἄλλο λογοτέχνη νὰ ὑπάρχει ἀνάγκη γιὰ μιὰ κριτικὴ ἔκδοσις».

Ioannis Sykoutris : «ἀναφέρω μερικὰ ὀνόματα λογοτέχνων ποὺ ὁ κ. Π. παρέλειψε : τοὺς πρὸ τῆς Ἐπανατάσεως Φαναριῶτες ποιητὰς, τῶν ὁποίων τὰ ποιήματα, θαμμένα πολλάκις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνωνυμίαν, εἶναι τόσον ἐνδιαφέροντ' ἀπὸ γραμματολογικῆς ἀπόψεως καὶ εὐρίσκονται σήμερα κατεσπαρμένα εἰς δυσπρόσιτα βιβλία. Τὸν Ἀθανάσιον Χριστόπουλον [...] τὸν Γεώργιον Τερτσέτην [...]. Τὸν Ἰούλιον Τυπάλδον [...]. Τὸν Ἰάκωβον Πολυλᾶν [...]. Τὸν Λασκαράτον [...]. Ἔρχοντ' ἔπειτα οἱ ποιηταὶ τῆς καθαρευούσης [...]. Ἔρχονται ὁ Βιζυηνός, ὁ Κρυστάλλης, ὁ Παπαδιαμάντης, ποὺ δὲν ἔχει ἀκόμα γίνε ἐκδοσις τῶν Ἀπάντων του, καὶ, ὅταν γίνῃ, δὲν ἐπιτρέπεται βέβαια νὰ γίνῃ πρόχειρα καὶ ἀμέθοδα. Δὲν πιστεύω νὰ χρειάζεται καὶ ἄλλα ὀνόματα ὁ κ. Π.».

Ioannis Sykoutris : «εἰς προσεχὲς μέλλον [θ]ὰ ἐξακολουθοῦμεν ἀκόμη νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦμεν, ἀνατυπούμενας τῇ πρωτοβουλίᾳ τῶν βιβλιοπωλῶν, τὰς παλαιὰς [σολωμικὰς] ἐκδόσεις, ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων κάθε μιὰ παρέχει καὶ διαφορετικόν κείμενον με χαώδη συσσώρευσιν παραλλαγῶν. Βιβλιοπῶλαι ἐπίσης, ὄχι φιλόλογοι, κατήρτισαν καὶ ὄλας σχεδὸν τὰς ἐκδόσεις τῶν ἄλλων ἀποθανόντων λογοτεχνῶν, καὶ κανεὶς ἀκόμη δὲν αἰσθάνεται τὴν ἀνάγκην νὰ μᾶς δώσῃ [...] αὐτῶν τὴν κριτικὴν ἔκδοσιν».

Manolis Hatzigiakoumis (footnote) : «Μὲ τὰ σημερινὰ δεδομένα ἢ ‘ὀριστικὴ’ ἔκδοση εἶναι ἀπόλυτα ἐφικτὴ καὶ, κατ’ ἐπέκταση, ἐπιβαλλόμενη (ὡς τονισθῆ ἄλλη μιὰ φορά). [...] [Μ]ὲ τὴν προτεινόμενη ἔκδοση θὰ κωδικοποιηθῆ, κατὰ τρόπον ὑπεύθυνο καὶ ὀριστικό, τὸ ἔργο του Σολωμοῦ».

Timos Malanos (footnote) : «ἂν τὰ ἀγγλικὰ βιβλία τοῦ ποιητῆ ἔχουν διασωθεῖ ὡς τώρα, τοῦτο ἀπλῶς ὀφείλεται στὴν ἀδιαφορία ποὺ ἔδειξε γι’ αὐτὰ γνωστὸς Ἀλεξανδρινὸς ἄγγλος ἑκατομμυριοῦχος, ὁ ὁποῖος ὅταν ἐδῶ καὶ 24 χρόνια (δηλαδὴ 6 μόλις χρόνια μετὰ τὸ θάνατο τοῦ ποιητῆ) τοῦ ἐπρότειναν τὴν ἀγορά τους, ἀπάντησε μέσω τῆς γραμματείας του, ὅτι τὰ βιβλία αὐτὰ δὲν τὸν ἐνδιαφέρουν (τὸ ἴδιο γράμμα ἡμ. 8.5.39 καθὼς καὶ ἀντίγραφο τῆς ἀπαντήσεως ἡμ. 12.5.39 βρῖσκονται στὸ ἀρχεῖο μου)».

George Savidis (footnote) : «νὰ δημοσιευτεῖ τὸ ταχύτερο, στὸ σύνολό του, τὸ Ἀρχεῖο Καβάφη. Χωρὶς αὐτὴν τὴν δημοσίευση, δὲν θὰ μπορούμε νὰ ἔχουμε οὔτε πραγματικὰ Ἄπαντα, οὔτε σωστὴ βιογραφία τοῦ Ποιητῆ».

Glaftkos Alithersis (footnote) : «Ὁ κ. Κ.Π. Καβάφης σὲ ιδιαίτερες συνομιλίες ἀρνεῖται τὰ πάντα, καὶ παραδέχεται προϋπάρξαντα ποιητῆ Κ. Φ. Καβάφη».

George Savidis : «[Μ]ὲ ἔκδοση ποὺ ἔχει σκοπὸ νὰ καταστήσει προσιτό, σὲ ὅσο τὸ δυνατὸ περισσότερους ἀναγνώστες, τὸ σύνολο τοῦ τελειωμένου ποιητικοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Καβάφη».

George Savidis : «Μὲ ἐλάχιστες τυπογραφικὲς καὶ ὀρθογραφικὲς προσαρμογές».

George Savidis : «[Ὁ] κύριος Κωστὴς Πέτρου Φωτιάδης Καβάφης [...] [ἐξόριστο[ς] ἄρχοντα[ς] τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, ἔκλεισε στὴν γενέτειρά του τὸν ἑβδομηντάρχρονο κύκλο τῆς ἐπίγειας ζωῆς του, καὶ πέρασε στὸν κύκλο τῆς αἰωνιότητος: ἔγινε, ὀριστικά, ὁ Καβάφης».

George Savidis : «[Ὁ Καβάφης] [μ]ποροῦσε [...] νὰ ἔχει τὴν καθαρὴ συνείδηση τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δούλου, ὁ ὁποῖος δὲν καταχώνιασε μῆτε ἐπόρνευσε τὸ τάλαντό του στὴν κοσμοπολίτικη ἔρημο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδριας ἢ στὴν βαλκανικὴ σκόνῃ τῆς Ἀθήνας, μὰ τὸ ἔσπειρε στὰ πῖο παραμελημένα χρώματα τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, καὶ τὸ πότισε καὶ τὸ ἀνάστησε μὲ ὅλα του τὰ δάκρυα καὶ μὲ ὅλο του τὸ αἷμα».

George Savidis : «Ἔτσι ἡ νίκη τοῦ Καβάφη (στὸν ἀγῶνα του γιὰ νὰ περάσει ἀπὸ τὸ δράμα τοῦ Ἐγὼ στὴν κάθαρση τοῦ Ἐμεῖς) γίνεται καὶ νίκη τῆς ἑλληνικῆς συνείδησης, στὰ χρόνια ὅπου ὁ καταποντισμὸς τῆς Μεγάλης Ἰδέας ἔχει στερήσει τὸ ἔθνος ἀπὸ τὸ κοσμικὸ του ἀντιστύλι».

George Savidis : «Καὶ τίποτα, ἀσφαλῶς, δὲν θὰ τὸν ἱκανοποιῶσε βαθύτερα, ἀπὸ τὴν γνώση ὅτι τὰ ἑκατόχρονα τῆς γέννησής του καὶ τὰ τριαντάρχρονα τοῦ θανάτου του θὰ γιορτάζονταν, πρὶν ἀπὸ ὅλα, μὲ τὴν πρώτη λαϊκὴ ἔκδοση τῶν Ποιημάτων του, καὶ μὲ τὴν πρώτη ἔκδοση τῶν Ἀπάντων του».

Dimitris Kargiotis : «Υπάρχει κάτι ποὺ μένει νὰ εἰπωθεῖ γιὰ τον Καβάφη μετὰ ἀπὸ ἕνα αἰὼνα καβαφολογία; Υπάρχει κάποια πτυχὴ τοῦ ἔργου του ποὺ νὰ ἐπιζητεῖ περαιτέρω διερεύνηση[;] [...] Τα πάντα ἔχουν εἰπωθεῖ γιὰ τον Καβάφη ἢ, τουλάχιστον, τα πιο σημαντικὰ· καὶ ὅσα ἔχουν εἰπωθεῖ σίγουρα ἀρκοῦν».

Dimitris Kargiotis (footnote) : «[O] Σαββίδης αρχιτεκτόνησε την ελληνική εκδοχή της επιστήμης, βασιζόμενος βέβαια [...] σε μια σειρά προϋποθέσεων (ξεπερασμένων εδώ και καιρό αλλού αλλά ακόμη και σήμερα, εν πολλοίς, ενεργών εδώ): ανάμεσά τους, η ρομαντική πεποίθηση περί καλλιτεχνική ιδιοφίας και, κατά συνέπεια, ο δημιουργός ως κέντρο του ερευνητικού ενδιαφέροντος [...] [και], τέλος, η μετά θάνατον, συνήθως, αγιοποίησή του. [...] Η νεοελληνική φιλολογία ανήχθη σε θεολογία κι ο επιστήμονας—«φιλόλογος» σε πιστό υπηρέτη [...]. Ούτε ο Σαββίδης θα ήταν ο 'Γ.Π. Σαββίδης' αν δεν υπήρχε ο Καβάφης, ούτε ο Καβάφης θα ήταν 'Καβάφης' αν δεν υπήρχε ο Σαββίδης [...] [Κ]ατόρθωσε να γίνει κύριος αυτού που έμελλε να κάνει τον Καβάφη 'Καβάφη': αυτού που δεκάδες νεοελληνιστές ποθούσαν να δουν και να αγγίξουν· αυτού που δημιούργησε νεοελληνιστές που στελέχωσαν πανεπιστήμια— αυτού που μόνο εγγυόταν νομιμοποιητικό λόγο περί Καβάφη, κοντολογίς, αυτού που αποτελούσε παράδειγμα του φετιχισμού που χαρακτήριζε και ακόμα χαρακτηρίζει τη νεοελληνική φιλολογία· το Αρχείο Καβάφη».

Chapter 3

İsmail Habib : “Ben, eser üzerinde konuşur bir adamım! Kitaba geçecek eseriniz olsaydı, sizden de bahsedileceği tabii idi!”

Ömer Faruk Akün : “Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar’ın yazıları çeşitli mecmua ve gazetelerde dağınık bir şekilde bulunmaktadır. Basılmış yazılarının kupaürlerini saklamaya ehemmiyet vermediği gibi, bunlardan bazılarının nerede çıktığını çok defa kendisi de hatırlayamazdı. Bazen en umulmadık bir yerde bir yazısına rastlamak mümkündür.

A.H. Tanpınar : “[Şiiri] sonunda insandan ayıran bir adam [...]. Şiir, söylemekten ziyade bir susma işidir.”

A.H. Tanpınar : “4,000 lira! Bu demektir ki, herhangi bir insan ya borç ya kitaplarımı satın almakla beni kurtarabilir. ... Birçok malî teşebbüsler. Hiçbirinden bir şey ummuyorum. Şiirlerimi bile fedaya razıyım. Fakat kim para verir?”

A.H. Tanpınar : “Mukavelemize göre kitabın çıkma zamanı yaklaşıyor. Ve bu beni çok düşündürüyor. Dinlenmenin, bir takım abes para işlerinin arasından çıkmanın verdiği bir sükûnetle kitaba bakıyorum, onu gözümün önünde tutuyorum, doğrusunu ister misin pek beğenmiyorum, hattâ korkuyorum. Bana, bir kitap haysiyetiyle tamamlanmamış ... gibi geliyor.”

Turan Alptekin : “Şiirler’in bir para sıkıntısı baskısıyla doğduğu açıktır. Ve bu sebeple, Fransa’dan dönüşündeki ısrarla, tasarladığı manzumelerin bir bölümü de giremeden, yayınlanmıştır.”

Turan Alptekin (footnote) : “[F]akat içinden çıkılmaz dizgi yanlışları dolayısıyla, ödülü kimse alamamıştır.”

A.H. Tanpınar (footnote) : “şiir esastır, roman şöhret tesis eder.”

A.H. Tanpınar : “Hayatımda her şey yarım ve parça parça”; “Birkaç kitap ve birkaç şiir... Bütün düşünceleri gitmeden evvel söyleybilsem! Türkiye beni yedin!”

A.H. Tanpınar : “Bir gün elbette bana döneceklerdir. Fakat ne zaman?”

A.H. Tanpınar : “Türkiye’de her şey politika mücadelesi. [...] Sağ taraf beni kâfi derece kendisinden, kâfi derecede inhisarcı, kâfi derecede cahil görmüyor. Sol bana düşman. ... Sağcılar yalnız Türkiye, gözü kapalı, ezberde kalmış öğünmenin ötesine geçmeyen bir Türk tarihi, yalnız iç politika ve propaganda diyor. Sol, Türkiye yoktur ve olmasına da lüzum yoktur diyor; yahut beznerini söylüyor.”

A.H. Tanpınar : “[Sol] her gün kıvırdığı, biraz daha kırılan ... [bir] Türkiye istiyor, razı oluyor.”

İlyas Dirin : “Bunların başında ise Tanpınar’ın 27 Mayıs 1960 İhtilâlinden sonra kaleme aldığı ve CHP’nin perspektifinden Demokrat Parti’yi ve Adnan Menderes’i gerçekten de ağır bir dille tenkit ettiği yazıları gelmektedir (“Suç Üstü”, “Yakın Tarihimiz Üzerinde Dikkatler”, “İçtimâî Cürüm ve İnsan Adaleti”, “Hatıra ve Düşünceler”). Sanki bu yazılar, yıllardan beri Tanpınar’ı solculara kaptırmamak amacıyla görmezlikten geliniyor izlenimini bırakmaktadır. Neticede Tanpınar’ın bilinen kimi yazılarının, mahiyeti ne olursa olsun, bu şekilde göz ardı edilmesi [...] edebiyatımızda Tanpınar’ı bir bütün olarak görebilmemize engel teşkil etmektedir.”

Zeynep Bayramoğlu : “[D]urmadan bir oluş içerisinde olan ve her zaman karmaşık eserlerinin derinliklerinde gezinti yaparak bir yüzü daha keşfedilebilecek olan Tanpınar.”

Cahit Tanyol : “Tanpınar’ın ‘Huzur’ romanı, kendisine lâyık olduğu kâr ve huzuru sağlayıp, sağlamayacağını bilemem. Fakat bu işte Türk edebiyatının kârı büyük olmuştur.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Şu şartla ki ... Bizi izah etsin, bizi ve etrafımızı.”

Selâhattin Hilav (footnote) : “Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, batı-doğu sorununu derinlemesine yaşayan ve düşünen bir yazar.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Emin Bey gibi zamanımızda klasik zevki en halis tarafından toprağını sevmiş bir egzotik nebat veya gecikmiş bir bahar gibi devam ettiren ustalar [...]. Mümtaz'a göre bunlar eski musıkimizin modern duygu ve anlayışla birleştiği taraflardı.”

Mehmet Kaplan : “Nuran’dan ayrıldığı zaman, Mümtaz’ın bütün şahsiyeti ve dünyası darmadağın olur.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “[B]ir bina kurmamız lazım. Bu bina ne olacak? Yeni Türk insanının ölçülerini kim biliyor? Yalnız bir şeyi biliyoruz. O da birtakım köklere dayanmak zarureti. Tarihimize bütünlüğünü iade etmek zarureti.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Sonra hangi köklere gideceğiz? Halk ve halkın hayatı bazen bir hazine, bazen de bir seraptır.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Biz bir taraftan bir medeniyet ve kültür buhranı içindeyiz; diğer taraftan bir iktisadî reforma ihtiyacımız var.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “[A]sıl mesele toprağı ve insanı hayatımıza sokamamakta. Kırk üç bin köyümüz var; birkaç yüz kasabamız var. İzmit'ten öteye Anadolu'ya açılın; Hadımköy'den öteye Trakya'ya gidin. Birkaç kombinenin dışında hep eski şartların devamını görürsünüz. Coğrafya yer yer esniyor. Sıkı bir nüfus siyasetine, sıkı bir istihlal siyasetine başlamamız lazım.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “İki şey yapılabilirdi: Ya eski tamamıyla yıkılarak yerine yenisi kurulurdu, yahut da olduğu gibi, kendi kendine tükenme- si için bırakılan eskinin yanı başında yeninin devri başlardı. Biraz imkânsızlık ve biraz da herhangi bir tepki korkusu, Tanzimat'ı yapanlara ikincisini tercih ettirdi ve birdenbire [...] hayatımız ikiye bölündü.”

Laurent Mignon (footnote) : “Tanpınar'ın [...] Tanzimat sonrası edebiyatın bir ‘Doğu-Batı’ sorununa indirgenmesine neden olan [...] savı çok sorunlu”

Laurent Mignon (footnote) : “İstanbul o dönemde aynı dilin farklı alfabelerle, farklı dillerin aynı alfabeyle yazıldığı bir edebiyat ortamına sahipti ve bu gerçeğin edebiyat çalışmalarında da yansıtılması gerekiyor.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Baudelaire'in öldüğü günlerde, bizim Tanzimatçılar, Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa Paris'te idiler. Fakat hiçbiri ondan bahsetmez. Zaten Tanzimat neden bahseder ki? Onlar Avrupa'yı başları sıkıldıkça uğranılan attar dükkânı gibi bir şey sanıyorlar, alacaklarını aldıktan sonra çabucak kapıyı kapatıyorlardı.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Bugün Türkiye’de nesillerin beraberce okuduğu beş kitap bulamayız.”

A. H. Tanpınar : ebediyete kadar türlü tasnif fikrine yabancı bir istif içinde, raflarda, rahle, sandalye üstlerinde, dükkanın döşemesi üzerinde üst üste, sanki gömülmeye hazırlanıyorlarmış, yahut gömülü buldukları yerden seyrediliyorlarmış gibi bekliyorlardı. Fakat şark, hiçbir yerde hatta mezarında bile katksız olamazdı. Bu kitapların yanbaşıda açık işportalarda, içimizdeki değişmenin, intibak arzusunun, yeni bir iklimde kendimizi aramanın kucak dolusu şahitleri, kapakları resimli romanlar, mektep kitapları, ciltlerinin yeşili atmış frenkçe salnameler, eczacı formülleri vardı. Kahve falı ile Momsen'in Roma hayali, Payot edisyonunun artıklarıyla Karakin Efendi'nin balıkçılık kitabı, baytarlık, modern kimya, ilmi remil, sanki insan kafasının bütün düzensizliği bu çarşıda birdenbire teşhir edilmesi icap ediyormuş gibi birbirine karışıyordu.

Böyle hep bir arada bakılınca insan sadece zihni bir hazımsızlığın eserleri gibi görülen garip bir halita. Mümtaz bu halitanın yüz senelik bir didinme, durmadan bir gömlek değiştirme içinde olduğunu biliyordu.

Bu polis romanları hulasalarının, bu Jules Verne'lerin, Binbir Gece'lerin, Tutiname'lerin, Hayatülhayvan'ların ve Künzülhavas'ların yerini alabilmesi için bütün bir cemaat yüz sene bunalmış, didinmiş, doğum sancıları çekmişti.

A. H. Tanpınar : “asırlarca faydasına inanılmış, kaybolan hayat ve sıhhat ahenklerinin biricik çaresi gibi bakılmış.”

Zekeriya Sertel : “Evvelden her biri 15-20 bin nüsha satan ona yakın mecmua vardı, bugün nublardan hiçbiri çıkmıyory. Çıkmakta devam eden mecmualar da ya kapanmamış olmak için zararına çalışıyorlar, veyahut bir yerden muavenet temin etmiş bulunuyorlar. Eskiden her hafta birkaç kitap neşredilirdi [...]. Bugün ayda bir veya iki kitap neşrediliyor, onlar da satılmıyor. Bunun içindir ki Babîâli kitapçıları mektep kitabından başka kitap basmıyorlar.”

Refik Saydam : “Memlekette bir millî kütüpane [sic] vücade getirdik. Bunu en uzak köye kadar götürmek, yalnız götürmek değil okutmak zevkını daimî surette idame etmek bu Kongrenin yapacağı programa tâbi olacaktır.”

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk : “Toprak kanununun bir neticeye varmasını [...] beklerim. Her Türk çiftçi ailesinin geçineceği, çalışacağı toprağa malik olması behemahal lazımdır.”

İbrahim Kaypakkaya : “toprak ağalarının bir kesimi, ta başından itibaren Kemalist iktidarın içindedir ve ona ortaktır, devlette söz ve nüfuz sahibidir.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “azız. Beş, altı bin okuyucu ile bir edebiyat kurulmaz. [...] Söylemeğe hâcet yok ki, edebiyat davamız artık sadece okur-yazar halkımızın elindedir. hayatın sâhibi kütledir.”

Orhan Veli : “Öyle sanıyorum ki sebeplerin başında fakir bir millet oluşumuzla okur yazar bir millet olmayışımız geliyor. Yazar yetişmesi, yazının para eder, yazarını geçindirir bir meta‘ olmasına bağlı. Yazının para etmesi, müşteri bulmasına bağlı. Müşteri bulması, halkın okuyup yazma bilmesine, ayrıca da kitaba verecek parası olmasına bağlı. Halkın okuyup yazma bilmesi, ailelerin hallerinin – çocuklarını çifte, oduna, çarşıya, fabrikaya göndermek zorunda kalmamaları için – sıkıntı çekmeden geçinebilecek kadar düzgün olmasına bağlı.”

Sadri Ertem : “Tevzi işi halledilmedikçe [...] [eserlerimiz] sadece tâbiin vitrininde güneşe karşı gözlerini yumup uyuklamıya mahkûm kal[ırlar].”

Orhan Veli : “Bir kaç aylık ayrılıktan sonra tekrar karşı karşıyayız. Eskiden olduğu gibi, bundan sonra da, hem sizlere, hem yurda faydalı olmaya çalışacağız. [...] Karşılaştığımız güçlüklerin en büyüğü dağıtma teşkilâtımızın bozukluğundan geliyor.”

Aysun Köktener : “Cumhuriyet gazetesi de [...] bayilikler tarafından Türkiye çapında dağıtılıyordu. Ancak gazetelerin İstanbul dışına ulaştırılabilmeleri hava koşullarına ve karayollarının durumuna bağlı oluyor, çeşitli zorluklarla karşılaşıyordu.”

Peyami Safa : “İstanbuldan kitap alırlar, heybelerine doldururlar, kuş uçmaz, kervan geçmez yerlere kadar yayan giderler, bunları satarlar.”

Yaşar Nabi : “Kitapçılarımızın birleşmelerinden en büyük fayda kitap dağıtma işinde görülebilir. Dağıtma işinin, bizde, kitap satışlarında ne kadar ehemmiyetli bir rol oynadığı malûmdur. Her kitap, kıymetinden müstakil olarak, dağıtıldığı nisbette çok satılır. Fakat, dağıtma işinin muntazam bir teşkilâtın elinde bulunmaması, vilâyet ve kazalarımızda bayilik edenlerden çoğunun da dürüst hareket etmemeyi prensip ittihaz etmiş olmaları, kitapçılarımızı çok müşkül bir mevkide bırakmaktadır. Bir kitapçıyla bir müddet iş yapıp onu kâfi miktarda aldattıktan sonra, bu sefer diğer bir kitapçı ile münasebet tesis etmek ve bir müddet te onun sırtından geçinmek bazı bayilerin usulüdür.”

Muvaffak İhsan Garan : “Peki, bu vaziyetten yalnızca kitapçılar, yani tâbiler mi mesuldür? Hayır ... [...] dertlerin en başında, memleketimizdeki teşkilât noksanlığı ve kitapları tevzi işinin bozukluğu gelir. Hakikaten, bir memleket dâvası olarak bu meseleyi ele aldığımız zaman, Türk edebiyat ve kültürünün ne kadar feci, ne kadar perişan bir durumda olduğunu görürüz. [/] Bizde, basılan kitapların tevzi işi ve bilhassa Anadolu bayilerinin vaziyeti, en büyük içtimâî yaralarımızdan biridir. Bu dava halledilmedikçe hiç bir dehanın, hiçbir kabiliyetin, hiçbir gayret ve fedakârlığın kıymeti yoktur. Neticede de, edebiyatımız iflâsa mahkûmdur. Türkçe olarak istendiği kadar büyük şaheserler yazılsın, istendiği kadar nefis bir tabı’la basılsın ve ucuz fiyatla satılsın, yine de bir faydası olmayacaktır. Çünkü o şaheser kitabı memleket içinde tevzi edemez. İtimat edip taşra bayilerine gönderirseniz parasını alamazsınız. [...] [/] maalesef bu taşra

bayilerinin büyük ekseriyeti, ancak birkaç tane sağlam ve zengin tâbiin neşriyatı arasında bulunan kitapları doğru dürüst satar, yalnız onların paralarını muntazam öderler. Geri kalan küçük tabilerin, hele eserlerinin kendi hesabına bastıran muharrirlerin kitaplarını da emanet usuliyile kabul eder ve mükemmelen satarlar, fakat asla parasını göndermezler. Çünkü bu suretle, onların kısa zamanda iflas edeceğini ve kitap paralarının da kendilerine kalacağını bilirler. [...] Bugün küçük yahut ortanca tabilerle, kitaplarını kendi hesabına basmış muharrirlere ait yüzbinlerce lira, Anadolu'nun sözde kitapçılık yapan aktar ve bakkal dükkanlarında yatmaktadır.”

Muvaffak İhsan Garan : “Bugün kasabaların, berberlerin, hattâ arabacı ve hamalların birer cemiyeti varken, memleketin elek üstü kabiliyet ve zekâları demek olan edebiyatçıların hâlâ bir cemiyeti bulunmaması cidden acıklıdır.”

Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz : “Kâğıt pahalı deniyor. Doğrudur. Kâğıt çok pahalıdır, kâğıdın pahalılığının sebebi İzmit'te kurulan fabrikadır. İzmit'teki fabrika kurulunca gümrüklere yüksek tarife tatbik olunmuştur. Bu fabrikamız ancak sarfiyatımızın onda birini karşılar. Maliyeti de fazladır. Onun için kâğıt pahalıdır. [...] Çünkü pek çok amorti edilecek sermayesi vardır. Masrafı da biraz yüksektir. Fabrikanın kurulacağı yer için de bir ihtilâf olmuştur. Çünkü bazı noksanlar vardır. Meselâ kâğıt imal için reçinesiz çam ağacı ve berrak su lazımdır.”

Burhan Felek (footnote) : “Hâlâ biz ağacı ve sellülozu dışarıdan getirmeye çalışıyoruz. Suyu elle taşınan değirmen bu kadar döner.”

Burhan Felek : “İşin garibi şudur ki, bizde bir de milyonlar sarfedilerek yapılmış, son senelerde de gene milyonlar ödenerek tevsi edilmiş modern bir kâğıd fabrikası vardır. Bu kâğıd fabrikası şu cılız baskılı gazetelerin ihtiyaçlarını bir türlü karşılayamadığı ve pahalı ve aşağı kalitede kâğıd yaptığı için gazetecilerin şikâyetine daimi hedeftir. Buna mukabil hükümet de kâğıd fiatlarını yükseltmek, gazetelerin çok baskı yapmalarını ve sahifelerini çoğaltmalarını önlemekle meşguldür. O halde bu fabrikayı neden kurduk ve bunun için onlarca milyon lirayı neden döktük?”

A. H. Tanpınar : “kitapçılığımız çok zayıf. Kütüphanelerimiz daha kârlı buldukları için mektep kitabı basmakla meşgul. Onun dışındakiyle devlet bile alâkadar değil. Nitekim başka şartlar altında daha ucuz olarak temin edilen kâğıdı edebiyattan esirgiyor. “Faydalı kitap” kaydını koymuş. Hiç olmazsa bana böyle söylediler. Faydalı kitap... İyi ama, bunu kim tayin edecek? Bir kitabın macerası o kadar değişebilir ki...”

Haber: “Eser yazmak lâf değil birader. Bunu yapabilmek için insanın maddeten ve manen huzur içinde olması lazımdır. Haydi bir eser yazdığımızı kabul edelim; [...] yazdığımız bu eser hiç olmazsa çektiğimiz zahmete medar olabilecek kadar para kazandırsa ne âlâ. Bugün formasına on lira telif ücreti almış muharrir parmakla gösterilebilir.”

Vedat Nedim Tör (footnote) : “Edebiyat [...] sahibini yaşatmıyor. Piyasası çok dar olduğu için müstakil bir meslek olamıyor. Bu yüzden profesyonel ediplerimiz bile işi fıkarcılığa dökmek zorunda kalıyorlar. Geçinmek için her gün bir fıkra yazmak mecburiyeti, sanatı öldürür. Sanat yapmak için vakit bırakmaz.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Geçim hesaplarımı edebiyatçılığımın üzerine kurmadım. Zaten edebiyattan pek fazla bir şey de kazanmış değilim. Tefrikalardan iyi para aldığım oldu. Fakat, kitaplarımdan

hemen hemen hiçbir şey almadım denebilir. *Abdullah Efendinin Rüyalari*'ndan 100 lira aldım. [...] Mevcudu bir türlü tükenmeyen *Beş Şehir*'den 500 lira geçti elime.”

Yaşar Nabi : “bu sahayla da yakından alâkadar [olmak].”

Sabahattin Ali : “[G]ündelik gazette, bizim gibi kitap okumak itiyadı henüz doğmamış olan memleketlerde, pek büyük bir ehemmiyet iktisap eder. Mevcut olmayan itiyat ve zevkleri doğurup terbiye edebilir. Fakat bizim gazetelerimiz bu vazifenin bir zerresini bile yapmamakta ve yapmak da istememektedir. Onların “Elkâsibü habibullah” düsturuna müslümanca ittiba ederek dünyada ve ahrette muhabbet kazanmaktan gayri endişeleri yoktur.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “[M]emurluğu bırakıp da, Elkasibü Habibullah hadisine uyduğu için, -evet, sırf bunun için, Peygamber'in bu sözüne, bildiği halde riayetsizlik etmemek için ticarete başlamıştı.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Doğrusunu söylemek lâzım gelirse fikir hayatımız gündelik gazetelerin elindedir. Bu biraz da yok demektir. [...] Romancılık meslek olmamıştır. Bir memlekette tam bir roman vücûda gelmesi için bu san'atın onunla uğraşanı geçindirmesi lâzımdır. Bizde roman gazeteciliğin bir şubesidir. Bir romancı velev en meşhuru olsun, bir para kazanabilmek için romanını tefrika ettirmek mecburiyetindedir.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Daima para işi beni kovaladığı için eseri sadece ifraz ederek veriyorum.”

Oktay Akbal : “Benim de tefrika edilirken derginin kapanmasıyla yarım kalan romanım Babiâlinin meşhur bir kitapçısının dolabında bir buçuk yıldır tozlanmaktadır.”

Yaşar Nabi : “Bugün şu hakikat iyice anlaşılmıştır ki Türkiyede kültür mecmuası yaşayamaz” ; “Hemen her küçük şehir ve kasabamızda bir edebiyat mecmuasını alacak bir iki okur bulunabilir. Asıl zorluk bu bir iki okur için o kasabada mecmuayı bulundurmaktadır. Çünkü bayiler, böyle az satışı mecmualara ehemmiyet vermezler, bunların hesaplarını görmeyi ihmal ederler ve netice itibariyle mecmua sahibi veya umumî bayi, bu gibi yerlere mecmua göndermemek mecburiyetinde kalır ve edebiyat mecmuasının satışı ancak bir iki büyük şehire inhisar eder. Hattâ buralarda bile, gene aynı alâkasızlık dolayısıyla pek fena dağıtılır.”

Behçet Kemal Çağlar : “*Servetifünun*'dan, *Dergâh*'tan, *Yeni Mecmua*'dan, *Hayat*'tanberi bütün memlekete yayılıp tutunabilmiş bir sanat mecmuasının hasretini çekiyoruz. Bir mecmua ki: Koyduğu kıymet hükümlerle, tanıttığı değerlerle, söyleyip yazdırdığı ustalarla Türk aydınının sanat telâkkilerini bir arada meydana koymuş olsun, Türk sanatini geçmişi ve geleceği ile tanıtсын [...]. Ara sıra, çok güzel niyetlerle, mükemmel programlarla neşrine başlanan böyle dergiler olmadı değil.. Fakat dağıtma ve basma işlerinin düzensizliği yüzünden gerektiği kadar yayılıp tutunanı olmadı. Kendini tanıtip sanatsevenleri etrafına toplamak için gereken zamana dayanacak kadar sermayeleri yoktu.”

Behçet Kemal Çağlar : “34 sayıdır çıkarmakta olduğum bu sanat dergisi, bir türlü gönlümün istediği mükemmeliğe eremeden, basılıp dağılmasına emek ve para ayıran müessesenin daha fazla ziyana katlanamaması yüzünden bugün kapanıyor.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Orada hakikaten yeni bir edebiyatın ve dilin temeli kuruldu.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Gençler kendi aralarındaki mecmualarda birbirlerini tanıtmaya çalışıyorlar. Fakat bunlar ya tesadüfi, yahut da dar muhitlerin gayretleri oluyor. Bu da edebiyatımızı bir bütün hâlinde göstermekten [...] çok uzaktır.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “San‘at hayatımız evvelâ dağınık, sonra fakirdir.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Zaten Köprü değişmiş, kitapçı değişmiş, kitap alma, okuma denen şey değişmişti. Sanki bir masal dünyasında, canlı çizgilerin ve parlak renklerin her şeyi dirilttiği, her şeye en geniş rahmaniyete kadar giden bir mana verdikleri, her kımıldanışın geniş ve durgun bir suda uzanan ışıklar gibi bir sonsuzluğa doğru ürperdiği, çalkandığı bir dünyada yaşıyordu.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Kitapçı paranın üstünü verdi. [/] Sonra kendi hediyesi, onun aldığı şeyler, hepsi elinde ve o yanında, Boğaz iskelesine doğru yürüdüler.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Kitapçı paranın üstünü verdiği zaman, o yan tarafta üstüste duran kitablara doğru bir adım attı. [/] Demindenberi gözüne ilişen bir kitabı aldı. ‘Bugün artık o kadar okunmuyor ama, benim sevdiğim kitablardandır, size hediye etmek istiyorum...’ Nuran teşekkür etti. [/] Sonra kendi hediyesi, onun aldığı şeyler, hepsi elinde ve o yanında, Boğaz iskelesine doğru yürüdüler.”

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A. H. Tanpınar : “[D]ükkanların hemen her tarafına bir yığın insan elbisesi, hazır hayat şekilleri, müstakil, dört taraflı kilitli talihler gibi asılıydı. Bir tanemizi al ve giyin ve öbür kapıdan başka bir insan olarak çık! [der gibiydiler].”

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A. H. Tanpınar : “Yaşar Bey bir kelime ile vücudu kendi gözünün önünde olan adamdı. [...] Denebilir ki, Yaşar Bey için vücut dediğimiz tamamlık kaybolmuş, onun yerine müstakilen işleyen uzuvların yaptığı [...] bir muvazaa geçmişti.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Yaşar Bey ilaçla uyur [...] ilaçla iştahasını açar, ilaçla hazmeder, ilaçla dışarıyı çıkar, ilaçla aşk yapar, ilaçla arzuları.[...] Yaşar Bey bu ilaçlardan bahsederken en istiareli dilleri kullanır. C vitamini aldım, diyeceği yerde -seksen beş kuruşa bir milyon portakal aldım!- der.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Bu ilaçlar sadece bugünkü tıbbın ve kimyanın zaferi değildir. Ayrıca kendilerine has bir estetikleri, hatta edebiyatları vardır.”

Cumhuriyet, no. 1 : “Gazete sahiplerinin değil, okuyucunun malıdır.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Gün geçtikçe bir mecmua çıkartmak ihtiyacı beliriyor. Aylık bir mecmua. Her gün bir mevzu üzerinde bir yazı. [...] Kendi fikirlerim, kendi görüşüm, kendi şiirlerim. Adı: Dünya. Bayram ertesi çıkartma şartlarını arayacağım. 32 sayfa. Başkalarından ancak şiir, müstakil etüt ve hikâye, yahut da benim seçeceğim tercüme alınabilir. Baş tarafta benim bir yazım.”

Selim Kuru : “şiir parçaları, fetvalar, ilaç ya da yemek tarifleri, burçlar, kehanetler, fallar, önemli önemsiz olaylar, [...] kısa şaka ve fıkra derlemeleri, kısa mesnevîler, kanunnâme parçaları, büyük eserlerden seçmeler, beyaza çekilip bir kapak içinde biriktirilmiştir.”

Ali Canib :

آوروپالی بر متبعك: «روايتلر تاريخه منبع اولقندن چيقييور. طوپراقلرك آلتندن چيقيساريلان آبدهلر آغزلىرى آچوب بزه تاريخ ايجون أك صحیح وقوتلى حقيقتلری افشا ایدیورلر» دیدیکنی بو معروضده اونوتامالی یز. تورک ماضیسنی قاپلایان آسیا، آوروپا، آفریقا طوپراقلری ایسه - اساس اعتباریله - حالا ئورتولو دورویور. بومعظم ایشی استقباله براققندن باشقا چاره من یوق . بوکون ايجون یایابيله جکمز شیلر کتبخانه لرده کی تبلاردن عبارت قالمده در. ادبی و تاریخی تدقیقلر ايجون مثلا استانبولده آل سوروله مش

یجه یجه اثرلر واردر. بونلرک اک مهملرندن برقسعی ایسه «مجموعه» لردر . بوجموعه لر شونک بونک ، حتی بعضاً طاینمش آداملرک، ادیبلرک، شاعرلرک، عالملرک قلمه آلدقلى - اکثریا مختلف، حتی بربری طوماز یازیلری محتوی - اثرلردر. استانبول کتبخانه لری علمی و اعتدالی بر تصنیفه تابع طوتولمادن بو مجموعه لرجهول بررخزبنه اولارق قالمق ضرورتنده در.

“Avrupalı bir mütetebbi’n ‘rivayetler târihe menba’ olmakdan çıkıyor. Toprakların altından çıkarılan abideler ağızlarını açub bize târih için en sahih ve kuvvetli hakikatleri ifşâ idiyorlar’ dediğini bu ma’razda unutmamalıyız. Türk mâzisini kaplayan Asya, Avrupa, Afrika toprakları ise – esâs i’tibâr ile – hala örtülü duruyor. Bu mu’azzam işi istikballe bırakmaktan başka çaremiz yok. Bugün için yapabileceğimiz şeyler kütüphânelerdeki tetebbu’lardan ibâret kalmaktadır. Edebî ve tarihî tedkîkler için mesela İstanbul’da en sorulmamış nice nice eserler vardır. Bunların en mühimlerinden bir kısmı ise “mecmû‘a”lardır. Bu mecmû‘alar şunun bunun, hatta ba‘zen tanınmış adamların, ediblerin, şâ‘irlerin, âlimlerin kaleme aldıkları—ekseriyyâ muhtelif, hatta birbirini tutmaz yazıları muhtevî—eserlerdir. İstanbul kütüphaneleri ilmî ve itinâlî bir tasnîfe tâbi‘ tutulmadan bu mecmû‘alar meçhûl birer hazine olarak kalmak zarûretindedir.”

معالم اولدینی : Ali Canib

اوزره پک مهم برادبی شخصیت اولان « یونس» ک مطبوع دیوانی باشدن باشه یا کلیشددر. یازما نسخه لری ایچنده ایسه پک اسکیلری بولونما مقده در . [۹۴۰] ده یازیلش اولماسی حیثیتیه بوجموعه ازبابی نزدنده غایت مهم بروشیقه ومنبع صایلمالیدر .

“Ma’lûm olduğu üzere pek mühim bir edib şahsiyet olan “Yunus”un matbû‘ divânı başdan başa yanlıştır. Yazma nüshaları içinde ise pek eskileri bulunmamaktadır. [940]da yazılmış olması haysiyetiyle bu mecmu’a erbabı nezdinde gâyet mühim bir vesika ve menba‘ sayılmalıdır.”

تبعاتی باقی خلتك (ايكنه ايله قوبو : Ali Canib :

قازمق (تعبيرينه ماصدق بك مشكل بر ايشدر . هر
كتبخانه ده بوزلرجه جموعه بولنور . بونلر كنه اولديني ،
ايچنده نلر بولوناييله جكي تاماً مجهولدر . مثلاً بوز صحيفه لى
مالايينيات ايچنده فوق العاده مهم بر ايكي سطر بولمق
واونكله فلان دورك قارا كلى بر صفحه سنى تنوير ايتك ،
ويا بر تاريخى سپانك وضعيتنى ، سجيحه سنى تعيين ايله مك
هر زمان ممكندر .

“Tetebu‘âtı yapmak halkın (iğne ile kuyu kazmak) ta‘birine mâsadak pek müşkil bir işdir. Her kütübhânedede yüzlerce mecmû‘a bulunur. Bunların ne olduğunu, içinde neler bulunabileceği tamâmen meçhûldur. Mesela yüz sahifalık mâlâya‘niyyât içinde fevkâla‘âde mühim bir iki satır bulmak ve onunla filan devrin karanlık bir safhasını tenvîr itmek, veya bir târîhî simânın vaziyetini, seciyyesini ta‘yîn eylemek her zamân mümkündür.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “—Birkaç eski mecmua var... Görmek isterseniz ... [/] Sicimi çözdü; kitapları silerek ona uzattı. Meşin ciltlerin çoğu kıvrılmış, bir kısmı da arkalarından çatlamıştı.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Mecmualardan biri baştan aşağı çok kötü bir yazıyla kopya edilmiş bir Yunus Divanı'ydı; fakat haşiyelerde Baki'den, Nef'i'den, Nabi ve Galib'den alınmış gazeller vardı. Sonuna doğru birkaç yaprakta muhtelif ellerle, Daülfilli, Kakuleli, Raventli birçok ilaç yazılıydı. Birinin üstünde kırmızı yazıyla Macuni-i Lokman Hekim başlığı vardı. Bir başkası bir soğanın içine karanfil doldurarak ateşte pişiriyor, İksir-i Hayat yapıyordu.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Kitabın planını tamamiyle tanzim etti. [...] – Kitabı artık vazih olarak görüyorum! dedi. – Ben de ceketindeki düğmenin boş yerini.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Bir çocuğa ait hissini verebilirdi. Çoğu sahifeler boştu. Ortasına doğru bir yerde ağaçta devekuşunun resmidir diye acayip ve acemi bir elle yazılmış başlığın altında ne deveye, ne kuşa benzeyen bir resim, alt tarafında yalanmış mürekkebin kararttığı karışık bir desen vardı. Bunda da birçok tarih vardı. Fakat yazıların hiçbiri birbirini tutmuyordu. Belki de bir meşk defteriydi; ve daha ziyade sonradan okuma yazma öğrenen yaşlı bir adama ait olacaktı. Hemen her satın daha acemi bir el birkaç defa tekrarlıyordu: -Mekke-i Mükerrreme'de delilimiz Saka Esseyd Muhammed Elkasimi Efendi'ye. [...] Birkaç sahife ötede büyükçe bir masraf cetveli altında da ‘Velinimet Naşit Beyefendi hazretlerinin mabeyni-i hümayun beşinci kâtipliğine tayinleri tarihidir’ diyordu. [/] ‘Mabeyn-i hümayun beşinci katipliğine ba-irade-i seniye tayin buyurulan velinimetimiz Naşit Beyefendi hazretleri bera-yı mübaşeret-i vazife bu sabah elbise-i resmîyelerini labis olarak saray-ı hümayuna azimet buyurmuşlardır. Hemen Cenab-ı Rabb-i izzet tevfiklerini refik eyliye.’ Mümtaz'ın kafasında Abdülmecid devri bütün sazlarını çaldı. Daha altta çok kalın kalem ve bir türlü kendini idare edemeyen bir elle yazılmış olan bir beyit geliyordu: [/] Gül nerde, bülbül nerde Gülün yaprağı yerde” ; “Öbür sahifede kırmızı kalemle tanıdığı dillerden hiçbirine uymayan altı isim yazılıydı: Temagisin, Begedanin, Yesevadin, Vegdasin, Nevfena, Gadsin...”

Snjezana Buzov : “Karışık mecmûalar [...] düzenli bir hayat hikâyesini aktarmaktan ziyade, sahiplerinin çeşitli amaçlarına hizmet eden faydalı bir yazı biçimini temsil ederler.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Bu acayip şeyleri Nuran'a anlatamıyacağı için mahzun oluyordu. Mümtaz, Nuran'ın garip şeyler müteahhidiydi.”

A. H. Tanpınar : ““Bu adamlarla ne diye alay ediyorum? Sanki benim azaplarım onların bir yığın kaçış imkanlarıyla dolu hayatlarından daha mı iyi?’ Fakat hakikaten düşündüğü gibi bu kaçış var mıydı? Bu kitapların ve benzerlerinin anlattığı imkan bolluğu içinde mi yaşıyorlardı?”

Cavit Yamaç : “- Bir çoklarımız, bir İngiliz muharririnin bir zamanlar tavsiye ettiği gibi “gelişi güzel” ve “yan gelerek” okuyoruz. O “gelişi güzel” okumayı tavsiye eden İngiliz muharririnin pek de haksız olduğunu zannetmiyoruz, fakat bu, kültürü sağlam temeller üzerinde duran insanlar için münasıptir kanaatindeyiz. [...] “Sistemsiz şuursuz okumak, boşluklu bir kültür yaratır!” formülünü İngiliz muharririnin “gelişi güzel oku!” tavsiyesine tercih ediyoruz. Bilhassa, bizim gibi dünya şaheserleriyle kendi lisanında ilk defa temasa gelenler için doğru dürüst şuurlu okumak bir hareket noktası olmalıdır.”

Muvaffak İhsan Garan : “Aradan geçen çeyrek asır zarfında, bu serbestçe tercüme müsamahası sayesinde, elbette bir çok faydalar sağladık. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının [...] yaptırdığı ciddi tercüme, buna misal gösterilebilir. Fakat [...] memlekette bir tercüme romanlar *dampingi* başladı. Eserlerin aslına sadık kalmak mecburiyeti olmadığından, onları çok defa ezip büzerek, kısaltıp uzatarak tercüme ettik. Dünya edebiyatı hakkında tam ve temiz bir fikrimiz olmadı. Derme çatma bir lisan bilen herkes, hattâ lise çocukları, biraz diksiyoner yardımı, biraz da uydurma ile tercüme yaparak çok ucuza sattılar ve piyasayı düşürdüler.”

Ernst Hirsch : “Eser hâlen tabedilmiş ve fakat usulüne uygun bir şekilde tescil edilmemişse, müellif telif hakkı kanunu ahkâmına tevfikân hukukî himaye talep edemez.”

Muvaffak İhsan Garan : “Muharrir, artık eseri üzerindeki bütün haklarından feragat etmiş vaziyettedir. Eserin kaç nüsha basıldığını tahkik edemez, bazan yeni tabıları yapıldığı halde, bundan da haberi olamaz.”

Editorial of Akşam : “Türkiyede fikir mahsulleri, en değersiz matahlar arasında maalesef henüz çıkarılamamıştır. Vatandaşların her hakkını dikkatle koruyan kanunların kabul edildiği şu günlerde, müelliflerin tabiler karşısında bile haklarını koruyacak hükümler mevcut değildir.”

Halide Edib Adivar : “25 senedenberi bu ‘Serbest Tercüme’ [politikasının], Türkiye için kazanc yerine büyük zararlar doğurduğu açık bir hakikattir. Bir kaç tüccarın yani tabiin daha rahat ve daha fazla para kazanmasına mukabil bu vaziyet, kitab piyasamızın değersiz, ahlâk bozucu romanlar ve eksik, yanlış tercümelemlerle dolmasına ve telif eserlerin rağbet görmemesine sebep olmuş, bilhassa genç ve istidadlı muharrirlerimizi orijinal bir eser vermektense [...] telif ismi altında adapte ve kopyalara başvurmağa teşvik etmiştir. Dünya önünde Türkiyeyi küçük düşüren bu hareketlere mani olmak hepimizin başlıca vazifesidir.”

Muvaffak İhsan Garan: “Artık kabul etmek lâzımdır ki, edebiyatımızın yükselmesi, değerlenmesi ve dünya milletleri arasında sesini duyurup kendine bir mevki yapabilmesi, ancak Türkiyenin de, diğer mütün [sic, ‘bütün’] medeni memleketler gibi, ‘milletlerarası telif hakkı’ anlaşmasına girmesile mümkün olacaktır.”

Fahir Onger : “Devlet millî sanayii himaye etmek için nasıl yüksek bir gümrük politikası takibederse yerli fikir, sanat ve edebiyat adamlarını himaye etmek için de öylece bir kültür politikası takibetmek zorundadır.”

Oktay Akbal (footnote) : “Türk yazarını dünyanın en meşhur eserlerinin rekabetinden korumalıyız. Nasıl ki yabancı mallara sınırlarımızı kapatıyor, onları yurda sokmuyorsak, Türk yazarını himaye etmek için; yabancı eserlerin bedavadan tercüme ettirilmesine mâni olunmalıdır.”

Cavit Yamaç (footnote) : “U.N.E.S.C.[O.] ikinci kitap sergisini hazırlıyormuş. İlk sergiye neler göndermiştik? Malûm değil! [...] Biz sadece tütümüzün, incirimizin, üzümümüzün ve pamuğumuzun hesabımıza konuşmasile iktifa ederiz [...]. Dışarıya bir tek kitap gönderdiğimiz vâki [olmuş] değildir.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Telif hakları kanununu kabul etmek meselesi hususî bir etüt ister. Yalnız şunu söyleyeyim ki asıl muhtaç olduğumuz ana kitaplar için telif hakkı zarurî olmadığını kabul edersek büyük bir şey kaybetmiş olmayız, diye düşünebilir. Fakat edebiyatımızın gelişmesine tek engel bu değildir. Asıl büyük engel kendimizi ciddiye almamaktır.”

A. H. Tanpınar (footnote) : “Hemen hemen kendimizi hiç okumuyoruz. Hatta en yakınları bile. [...] Edebiyatımızın gelişmesi bir zaman ve anlayış mes’elesidir. Büyük okur-yazar kütle yerli muharriri okumuyor. Bu demektir ki, kendimizi beğenmiyoruz ve sevmiyoruz.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Seçmeden beğeniyor, düşünmeden seçiyor, yahut hayran oluyoruz. Daha doğrusu hakikî hayranlığı duymadan kelimeleri çılgınlarla harcıyoruz. San'at eserini elimize alıp evirip çevirmesini bilmiyoruz. Ona kendimizi veremiyoruz. Durmadan en olmayacak şeyleri birbirine karıştırıyoruz. Geçen gün bir şiir defteri gördüm. Genç bir adam, sevdiğini sandığı eserleri dikkatle, özene bezene toplamış, yazmış. İçinde kimler yoktu? Yahya Kemal, Hâşim, şiirimizin belki en iyi şâirleri vardı. Ne yazık ki defterin yedide altısını bu şâirlerle hiç münasebeti olmayan biçare, sakat manzumeler, küçük aptal hicivler, hani o caz musikisi güftelerine benzeyen gülüncün ötesi parçalar dolduruyordu. Belli ki Yahya Kemal, Hâşim ve öbür şâirlerimizin eserleri bu bostana tesadüfen düşmüşlerdi. [...] Bu ittatsızlık, bu kendisini bütünüyle vermeden bir takım şeyleri sever görünme, bu seçip ayırma yokluğu en acınacak şeydir. Zenci, her bulduğunu hoşuna gitmek şartıyla boynuna, koluna takar. Saksığan yuvasında parlak, renkli, gözüne ne rastlamışsa buluruz. Fakat kendi seçtiğimiz şiirlerle yaptığımız bir şiir mecmuasında?”

A. H. Tanpınar (footnote) : “İnsan çehresinde mümkün her aksaklığın, her ahenk bozukluğunun yaptığı bir çeşit yüz başlı bir mahlûk.”

A. H. Tanpınar : “Bugün korkunç bir hesap yaptım: 17 cilt Fransızca, 8 cilt İngilizce polis romanı. Paris’e bunun için gelmişim gibi.”

I.A. Saregiannis (footnote) : « Τὴ σύγχρονη λογοτεχνία, τὴν παρακολουθοῦσε μὲ περιέργεια, ἀλλὰ κί ἄοριστα μοῦ φαίνεται· δὲν τὸν ἐνδιέφερε οἱ λεπτομέρειες ἀλλ’ ἤθελε νὰ ζέρει τί γινόταν γύρω του ... Ὅταν ἐγχειρισμένος κί ἄφωνος πιά βρισκόταν στὸ νοσοκομεῖο τοῦ Ἐρυθροῦ Σταυροῦ, τὸν ρώτησα ἂν ἤθελε τίποτε βιβλία νὰ διαβάσει. Σ’ ἓνα χαρτί μοῦ ἔγραψε : ‘μόνο ἄστυνομικᾶ’ καὶ ὑπογράμμισε μὲ δυὸ γραμμὲς τὸ ‘μόνο’».

A. H. Tanpınar : “çogumuz seyahat eder gibi, benliğimizden kaçır gibi okuyoruz. Mesele burada.”

Ali Rauf Akan : “Cemiyetimize çığır açmak bir şey ifade etmez. [...] Tanzimattanberi memleketimizde çığır açtığı söylenen eserler taklittir. Ahmet Haşimi Fransızcaya tercüme ediniz,

karşınıza Fransız symbolistleri çıkar. [...] Garbte bir edebi cereyan doğuyor, ömrünü tamamlıyor, neden sonra bizde taklitleri çıkıyor. [...] Garbde bir Valery çıkıyor, on beş yirmi sene sonra bakıyorsunuz, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar onun bir şiirini adapte, yani mısralarını kelime kelime tercüme ederek altına kendi imzasını koymuş! Bunu, beş altı yıl önce bir meslekdaşa söylediğim zaman hayretler içinde kaldı ve kendisine okuduğum Fransızca ve Türkçe mısraları ertesi gün bir sabah gazetesindeki sütununda neşretti, epey dedikodu oldu.”

Erdoğan Alkan : “Fransız şairlerinden dize aktarma konusunda rahattır Tanpınar.”

Chapter 4

I.M. Panagiotopoulos : «[O]i ἐποχὲς ποὺ περάσαμε ἔχουν τὸ ἰδιαίτερο ὕφος τους καὶ πρέπει ὁ μυθιστοριογράφος, σὰν ἱστορικὸς τῆς ὀλόγουρά του ζωῆς, νὰ τὶς μεταφέρει στὶς σελίδες του».

I.M. Panagiotopoulos : «ν’ ἀγκαλιάσει τὰ σύνολα ... νὰ ἐκφράσει τὰ ὁμαδικὰ ιδεώδη, νὰ σπουδάσει τὴν ἐποχὴ, νὰ κοιτάξει τὴν ἱστορικὴ στιγμή, μὲ τὴν ψυχραιμία ποὺ ταιριάζει τόσο συχνὰ στὴν τέχνη τοῦ μυθιστοριογράφου σὰν τέχνη ἀντικειμενική».

I.M. Panagiotopoulos : «Οἱ αὐτοβιογραφίες αὐτές ... ἀποχτούν ἀληθινὸ ἐνδιαφέρον ... [ὅταν] δίν[ουν] κ’ ἓνα μεγάλο μέρος ἀπὸ τὸ νόημα καὶ τὸ ὕφος τῆς ἐποχῆς».

İsmail Habib : “‘Ateşten Gömlek,’ ‘Ur Kahpeye’ gibi ya türkçülük cereyanına, ya Millî Mücadele zaferlerine; yahut ta işgal facialarına dair eserleri de onun yalnız ferdi değil maşerî bir vicdana dahi sahip oluşundan ileri geliyor.”

İsmail Habib : “cemiyetin nabzını kendi nabzında duyan bir kabiliyet te vardı.”

İsmail Habib : “Afakî kıymet ise romandaki teferruata, hayata, hâdiselere ait olan kısımdan ileri geliyor. Bunlar doğrudan doğruya realist parçalardır. Romancı onları bütün kendi yaşadığı hayattan almıştır.”

Simon de Tournai : “de deo vero cum dicitur, non predicat motus actionem ab agendo dictam, sed auctoritatem ab authentico.”

Uguccio of Pisa : “homo autenticus vel autorizabilis, id est auctoritatis cui debet credi.”

Basil of Caesaria (footnote) : «τὸν αὐτὸν δ’ ἀφορίζει τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐθεντία φύσεως χρώμενον».

Clement of Alexandria : «τὰς γραφὰς αἷς πεπιστεύκαμεν κυρίας οὔσας ἐξ αὐθεντείας παντοκρατορικῆς ἐπιδείξαντ[ε]ς».

Gregory of Nyssa : «Ὁ γὰρ τῷ βουλήματι τὸ πᾶν συστησάμενος καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν ὑποστήσας ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ὁρμῇ τοῦ θελήματος, τί οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον δι’ αὐθεντικῆς τινὸς καὶ θεϊκῆς ἐξουσίας, τῆς ἐναντίας δυνάμεως ἀποσπάσας πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄγει κατάστασιν».

Clement of Alexandria (footnote) : «ἐπακούσαντας τῆς τοῦ κυρίου φωνῆς, εἴτε τῆς αὐθεντικῆς εἴτε καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐνεργούσης».

Christos Karagiannis : «Ο διοικητής μας ... περιφέρεται διαρκώς σ’ ὅλη την πόλη και μας

ενθαρρύνει πως θα φάμε τους άπιστους. Επίσης, μας δίνει το δικαίωμα να πράξουμε ό,τι βαστάει η ψυχή μας. Πράγματι, μερικοί φαντάροι άρχισαν να κάνουν ποολλά έκτροπα σ' αντίποινα.... Μερικοί στρατιώτες κάνουν αυτό που κάνουν οι Τούρκοι στους δικούς μας τους Έλληνες. Οφθαλμόν αντί οφθαλμού.»

Tassos Kostopoulos : «Σε όλη τη διάρκεια του πολέμου, ο αφοπλισμός των μουσουλμάνων χωρικών και η καταδίωξη των ανταρτών πραγματοποιείται άλλωστε με ... απειλές, ξυλοδαρμο[ύς], απαγορεύσεις κυκλοφορίας, συλλήψεις ομήρων, εικονικές εκτελέσεις [και] [σ]ε οριακές δε περιπτώσεις, ακόμη και [την] καταστροφή ολόκληρων χωριών ή κωμοπόλεων».

Falih Rifki Atay (footnote) : “Yangından sorumlu olanlar, o zaman bize söylendiği gibi sadece Ermeni kundakçılar mıydı? Bu işte ordu kumandanı Nureddin Paşa'nın hayli marifetli olduğunu söyleyenler de çoktu.”

Mehmet Yalçın : “Yetmiş yılı geçiyor geleli... [Bugüne kadar] bir Allah'ın kulu gelip de ‘Nasılsınız, derdiniz dermanınız var mı?’ diye sormadı.”

Stratis Doukas : «Όταν τέλειωσε, τούπα : Βάλε την ύπογραφή σου. Κ' εκείνος έγγραψε. *Νικόλαος Κοζάκογλου*».

Stratis Doukas : «Η ιστορία τούτη είναι απόκτημα μιās βραδιās που πέρασα σ' ένα χωιρό Αιχμαλώτων. Ήταν μιάν [sic] άπλη και γλυκειά μονωδιά που κυριαρχούσε, γιατί όλα σιωπούσαν και γι' αυτό δε θα ταίριαζε ούτε σήμερα να τη συνοδέψω με προλόγους. Άν όμως τέλος αποφάσισα να προτάξω δυο λόγια είναι να διασαφηνίσω τὸ σκοπὸ ὅπου προσφέρω δημόσια και και [sic] με τόνωμά μου τὸ ώραϊο αὐτὸ λαϊκὸ λουλούδι τοῦ Λόγου».

Dimitris Tzionas : «Ο συγγραφέας προσποιείται τον φωνογράφο όπως ο ήρωάς του προσποιείται τον μωαμεθανό».

Dimitris Tzionas : «ο οποίος εξελληνίζει και καθαρίζει τον προφορικό λόγο του τουρκόφωνου πρωταγωνιστή».

Giorgos Vaforoulos : «προσφέρει τὸ ταλέντο του στην ύπηρεσία ἑνὸς νέου εἴδους, που μιās ἦταν άγνωστο. Είναι αὐτὸ απλῶς μιὰ αφήγηση; κάτι παραπάνου. Είναι ἕνα θαυμαστὸ ὑπόδειγμα γλώσσας και ὕφους. Γιατί μ' ὅλη τὴ συνεργασία του ἥρωος, ἡ μορφή ανήκει αποκλειστικά στο συγγραφέα. Από τὴν ἀρχὴ μέχρι τέλους διακρίνει κανεις τὸ χέρι τοῦ λογοτέχνη, που χαράζει άόρατα τὴν κοίτη μέσα στην ὁποία τρέχει τὸ απλό αὐτὸ και γάργαρο νερὸ τῆς λαϊκῆς ἀφηγήσεως».

Fotos Politis : «Τὴν ιστορία αὐτὴ τὴν ἀληθινὴ διηγῆται ὁ κ. Δούκας. Και τὴ γράφει σὰ να τὴν ἔζησε ὁ ἴδιος.... Δὲν πιστεύω να κάθησε ὁ Νικόλαος Καζάκογλου και να ὑπαγόρευσε, λέξη πρὸς λέξη τὴν ὁδύσειά του στον κ. Δούκα. Τοῦ τὸ εἶπε κάποτε. Κι ὁ κ. Δούκας ἐπειδὴ εἶχε τὸν πόθο να μπει στην ψυχή τοῦ ἀφηγουμένου, που είναι τὸ κυριώτερο σημάδι βαθύτερου πολιτισμοῦ, ... έγγραψε ἐπειτα τὴν ιστορία αὐτὴ με τὴν ἴδια ψυχή τοῦ Καζάκογλου ... Και τοῦτος πῶς να μὴν τὴν ὑπογράψεν [sic] στο τέλος, ἀφοῦ ἔβλεπε τὸν ἑαυτό του ἀτόφιον μέσα ἐκεῖ».

Fotos Giofyllis (footnote) : «Πάλλεται ἡ ζωὴ μέσα σ' αὐτὸ τὸ βιβλίο».

Dimitris Raftopoulos : «Ο ἥρωας είναι τόσο απλός, που μοιάζει ἀπόλυτα με τὸ μεγάλο ἥρωα: τὸν ἄ ν ὦ ν υ μ ο. (Υπογραμμίζω αὐτὴ τὴ λέξη, γὰ να σημειώσω, μ[ἐ] τὴν εὐκαιρία, ὅτι ἕνας τέτοιος

τύπος ἥρωα εἶναι καὶ πρόσωπο ποῦ ἀναγνωρίζεται εὐκόλα στὴν καθημερινὴ ζωὴ καὶ σύμβολο καὶ, ἄρα, μὲ τέτοιους ἥρωες—ἔστω καὶ ἐλάχιστους ἢ μὲ μόνο ἓνα—γίνεται **λ ο γ ο τ ε χ ν ί α μ α ζ ῶ ν** ...). Ὁ συγγραφέας δὲ μᾶς δασκαλεῦει τίποτα, βάζει τὴ ζωὴ νὰ μᾶς διδάξει».

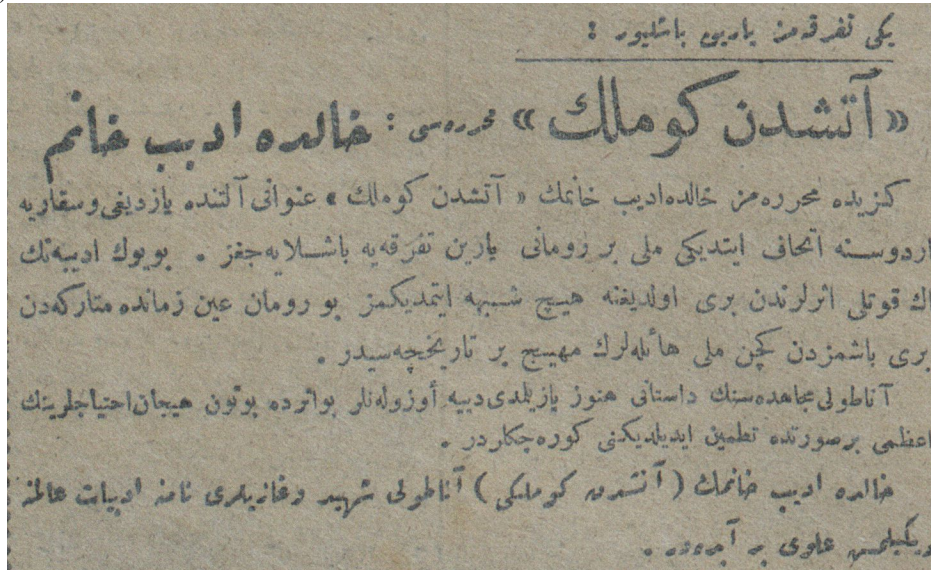
Dimitris Raftopoulos : «ἔστησε μπροστά του τὴν ἀφήγηση τοῦ ἀγράμματος μὰ τόσο ζωντανοῦ Νικόλα Κοζάκογλου, ὅπως τοποθετεῖ τὸ μοντέλλο ὁ γλύπτης ... Στὸ τέλος τὸ γλυπτὸ, ἱστορημένο πάνω σὲ σκληρὴ πέτρα, βγήκε τελειότερο ἀπὸ τὸ φθαρτὸ πρωτότυπο. ... Ὁ [συγγραφέας] βρῆκε τὴ δύναμη νὰ ἐξαφανίσει κάθε ἐγωϊστικὸ ἴχνος τοῦ φιλολογικοῦ ἑαυτοῦ του [ἀλλά καὶ] φθάνοντας στὸν ἀνώτερο βαθμὸ αὐτοεξαφάνισης κάθε ἄλλο παρὰ ἐξαφανίστηκε».

Ayşe Durakbaşa (footnote) : “Benim açımdan Afet İnan, Cumhuriyet’in ... sadık kızıdır. Halide Edib ise Cumhuriyet’in isyankâr kızı olarak görülebilir” ... “Kemalist kadın, bir erkek imajı içinde faaliyet göstermek zorunda kalmıştı.”

Hülya Adak (footnote) : “Halide Edib’in erken dönem romanlarında bu soruya [Peki bireysel istekleri, arzuları, duyguları olan kadınlar olabilecekler midir?] olumlu cevap verme ihtimali yaratacak istisnâî örnekler mevcuttur.”

Halide Edib : “— O hâlde? — Kurşunun dimâğındaki têsîri. İki doktor çok uzun ve fennî bir münâkaşadan sonra beyninden kurşun çıkarken ölen Peyami’nin ateşden gömleğine çetin ve Latince bir isim koydular.”

(Page 24) *İkdam* :



Güzide muharriremiz Halide Edib Hanım'ın “Ateşden Gömlek” unvanı altında yazdığı ve Sakarya Ordusuna ithaf ettiği millî romanı yarın tefrikaya başlayacağız. Büyük edibenin en kuvvetli eserlerinden biri olduğuna hiç şüphe etmediğimiz bu roman aynı zamanda mütarekeden beri başımızdan geçen millî hâilelerin müheyyic bir tarihçesidir. [/] Anadolu mücadelesinin destanı tam henüz yazılmadı diye üzülenler bu eserde bütün heyecan ihtiyaçlarının tatmin edildiğini göreceklerdir. [/] Halide Edib Hanım'ın (Ateşden Gömleği) Anadolu şehit ve gazileri nâmına edebiyat âlemine dikilmiş ulvî bir âbidedir.

Fethi Naci : “Kurtuluş Savaşı üzerine yazılan romanların çoğu, bu savaşı yaşamayanların araştırmalara dayanarak yazdıkları romanlardır. Oysa Halide Edib Adivar, Kurtuluş Savaşı’na katılmış bir yazar; savaşı bütün acısıyla,üzüntüsüyle yaşamış ve *Ateşten Gömlek*’i, 1922 yılında, sıcağı sıcağına yazmış. *Ateşten Gömlek*, Halide Edib’in tanıklığı; başarısı ve gücü bu tanıklıktan geliyor.”

Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın and Halide Edib :

— هیچ آرامام . قونوشدیغمدن دها قولای یازارم .
— طیبی صوکرار تکرار کوزدن کچیریر و دوزه لتهیرسکز؛
کله لر گزه و جمله لر گزه صوک ، قطعی بر شکل ویریرسکز !
— یک آز او قور ، یک ده آز دوزه لتهیرم ، عشق
فـانـهـلـری کـی یـازـیـلـم آـرـه سـنـده اک دوزکون اولانلرینی بیله
بردها او قومام .

- [Yazarken kelimelerimi] hiç aramam. Konuştuğumdan daha kolay yazarım.

- Tabii sonra tekrar gözden geçirir ve düzeltirsiniz; kelimelerinize ve cümlelerinize son, kati' bir şekil verirsiniz!

- Pek az okur, pek de az düzeltirim, aşk efsaneleri gibi yazılarım arasında en düzgün olanlarını bile bir defa okumam.

Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın (footnote) :

خالده خانم ده بز قارئلره ، اویله تووالتلرینی بیتیرمش ،
قیافتلرینی دوزه لتهیرم سوسلی ، شیق جمله لر ویرمک مراقنده
ده کل ! اوده حامدکی یازدیغنی اولمش بیتمش فرض ایدنلردن؛
کله لر اوزرنده قویومجیلاق ایتمه یور.

Halide Hanım da biz kari'lere, öyle tuvaletlerini bitirmiş, kıyafetlerini düzeltmiş süslü, şık cümleler vermek merakında değil! O da Hamid gibi yazdığını olmuş bitmiş farz edenlerden; kelimeler özüründe koyumculuk etmiyor.

Halide Edib (footnote) :

یازدیغ شینی او قدر سه وه رم که بائدن صوکنه قدر بنده ، روحده اوانر احتراصلی
بر حا اولور .

Yazdığım şeyi o kadar severim ki başdan sonuna kadar bende, ruhumda o eser ihtiraslı bir hummâ olur.

Halide Edib:

اثر لریمی ده یازوب بیتردیکم آندن اعتباراً آرتق اونلر بنجه قیمتی
حائز ده کلدر. چونکه ایچمده کی روحانی احتیاص مادیه شنبه
آرتق اهمیتی قالمایور. قابوغنی دیکشدرن بریلان کبی اسکینسه
باقمایورم بیله . او قدر اونلره یابانجی قالمق ایستهرم . یازیلر مک
أبی بر قسمی بویله غیب اولوب کیتمشدر .

Eserlerimi de yazub bitirdiğim andan 'itibaren artık onlar bence kıymeti hâ 'iz değildir. Çünkü içimdeki ruhânî ihtirâs mâddileşince artık ehemmiyeti kalmıyor. Kabuğunu değiştiren bir yılân gibi eskisine bakmayorum bile. O kadar onlara yabancı kalmak isterim. Yazılarımın epey bir kısmı böyle gayb olub gitmiştir.

Feridun Kandemir (footnote) : “Ankara’daki tek matbaa evi olan Vilâyet Matbaası, ihtiyaca yeter güçte olmadığından, Öğüd bu suretle zaman zaman, Milli harekâtın hiç değilse Orta Anadolu’da yegâne yayın vasıtası haline gelmişti.”

Mehmet Önder : “Ne var ki, pedalla basıldığı için boyu küçülmüştü. Kağıt iyi değildi. Konya çarşısındaki helvacı dükkânlarından kimi beyaz, kimi sarı veya yeşil ambalaj kağıtları toplanmış, bunlar kesilmiş, gazete kağıdı olarak kullanılmıştı.”

Feridun Kandemir : “baskı makinasını bazı zamanlar hiç durmaksızın 24 saat aralıksız ve bizzat kendimiz, kanter içinde, soluk soluğa kol çevirmek suretiyle çalıştırırdık.”

Ahmed Saraçoğlu : “Onun pek bariz Giritli aksanını vesile ederek kendisine takılanlar acaba Türkçeyi biraz çetrefil konuşan, lâkin çok temiz bir Türkçe yazan bu pek kıymetli Türk gazetecisinin bu lisan bilgisi sayesinde Millî Mücadelede millî davaya yaptığı (hayatı pahasına) kıymet bilçilmez hizmetlerin farkında mıdır?”

Yannis Petsopoulos : «Ἡ ἐμπόλεμος κατάστασις ἔληξε καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸ πολλοῦ ... [Τὸ] τουρκικὸν ζήτημα δὲν εἶνε ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἡ Ἑλλὰς θὰ λύσῃ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων».

Rizospastis : «Τὸ χθεσινὸν πολεμικὸν ἀνακοινωθὲν ἀναγγέλλει ὅτι μία πτέριξ τῶν ἐλληνικῶν στρατευμάτων ἔφτασε μέχρι τῆς σιδηροδρομικῆς γραμμῆς τῆς Βαγδάτης. Δὲν πρέπει μὲ κανένα τρόπον νᾶ σταματήσῃ, κ. Ράλλη! Νᾶ προχωρήσῃ εμπρός. Πρὸς ... τὴν Βαγδάτην ! Αὐτὸ ἐπιβάλλει ἡ ἔνδοξος ἱστορία τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ ἔθνους. [δυσανάγνωστο, ἴσως : Καὶ ἐκεῖ θὰ εἶναι] κάποιος [πικραμένος ;] Ἕλληνα, τὸν ὁποῖον ἔχομεν ἐθνικὴν ὑποχρέωσιν νὰ ἀπελευθερώσωμεν !»

Rizospastis : «ζητεῖ ὅπως ληφθῆ μέτρον καὶ ἡ Βαγδάτη περιληφθῆ εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Βασίλειον, διότι κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ παλαιωτάτων χρόνων μιὰ ὑπόδουλος ἐλληνικὴ οἰκογένεια».

K. Th. Papalexandrou : «[Ο]ωσδήποτε ἔβγαϊναν μὲ τὴν ἄδεια καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐπίβλεψη τῶν διοικητῶν τῶν σωμάτων Σὲ μια-δυο εὐρήκα καὶ ἴχνη λογοκρισίας: ἀράδες σβυσμένες μὲ μαύρη σινικὴ μελάνη. Ὅπως μοῦ εἶπεν ὁ συνάδελφος κ. Μαλαβέτας συνέβη νὰ περάσουν κι ἀπὸ τὸ στρατοδικεῖο συντάκτες ἔφημερίδων τοῦ Μετώπου».

Lexicon (footnote) : «[Ἔ]νοπλα μέλη τῆς Κομμουνιστικῆς Ἐνώσεως μεταφέρουν εἰς τὸ Μέτωπον ἓνα πολύγραφον, μετὸν ὁποῖο τυπώνεται καὶ διανέμεται εἰς τοὺς φαντάρους ἓνα ἀντιμυλιταριστικὸν περιοδικὸν, ἢ Φούντα τοῦ μακαρίτη Γ. Νίκολη».

Kostis Kastritis : «οπερασπιστές της γραμμῆς του Λένιν για τον επαναστατικὸ ντεφαιτισμὸ κατὰ της ‘δικῆς μας’ πατρίδας ... [καὶ τῆ] μετατροπῆ του πολέμου σ’ εμφύλιο».

Mete Tuncay : “Bugün hiç kimsenin inkâr edemeyeceği bir hakikattir ki, Yunan işçisi ordularının bozgunluğunun hakiki sebeplerinden birisi, Yunan Komünist arkadaşlarımızın Yunan ordusu içinde harp aleyhinde yaptıkları propagandadır. Bu propagandanın [çok] büyük bir tesiri olmuştur ... Emin olunuz ki, Türk işçi yoldaşlar, Türk ve Müslüman olmayan bu Yunan Komünistlerinin Türk işçilerine, fakir halkına, Harb-i Umumî içinde, zavallı halka ekmek yerine çâmur yedirerek karınlarını ve kasalarını şişiren Türk ve Müslüman tüccar mebuslardan ve bütün harp zenginlerinden ve ordu müteahhitlerinden elbet daha çok faydası dokunmuştur.”

Foti Benlisoy (footnote) : “Savaş karşıtı faaliyet, farklı askeri birimlerde mevcut birbirinden çoğu zaman bağımsız grupların işiydi ve bu gruplar arasında iletişim, askeri komuta kademesinin baskılarının da bir sonucu olarak sınırlıydı. Dolayısıyla işleyen bir yönetim mekanizmasından, kelimenin gerçek anlamında bir merkez komiteden bahsetmek pek mümkün görünmemektedir.”

Georgios Spyridonos : «Βιβλιάριον τι κυκλοφοροῦν μεταξὺ τῶν ἐφένδρων [τὸν ὁποῖο] ἦτο πλήρες ... εὐλογοφανῶν καὶ ἀντεθνικῶν παρακινήσεων» ... «Τὶ περιμένεις εἰς τὴν ἄξενον αὐτὴν χώραν τοῦ Ἀφίον ὅπου δὲν ὑπάρχει ἴχνος Ἑλληνισμοῦ; Σκέψου τὴν ὀρφανεμένην φαμίλλα σου. Στρέψε τὰ ὄπλα σου ὄχι κατὰ τοῦ Τούρκου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀμύνεται ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐστίας του, ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἐκείνου, ὅστις σὲ ἐκβιάζει νὰ πολεμᾷς ἐπὶ 10 χρόνια».

Foti Benlisoy (footnote) : “[K]omünist savaş karşıtı faaliyet, savaşa karşı açık ve kitlesel bir eylemlilik biçimini çoğu zaman almadı. Komünistler, askerler arasında küçük bir azınlıktı ve faaliyetleri de daha çok eğitim ve propagandayla sınırlıydı.”

Halide Edib: “Doktor ne dedi? Başımdaki kurşun bende hayalât yapıyormuş. ‘Çıkarınız!’ diyorum. Beyaz gömleğinin kollarına ciddî ciddî bakıyor. Bacaklarımı keseli daha kaç ay oldu? Yatağımın alt tarafı gülünç bir surette boş. Kurşun çıkarsa kafam da boşalır diye mi çıkarmıyorlar; ne bileyim? Belke başımdakileri çıkarub beni yalnız bırakmamak için kafamdaki kurşuna dokunmuyorlar. [...] başımdan geçenlerin hepsi doğru. Belke de bazıları değil; fakat ne zararı var?”

Halide Edib: “Son notlarımı okumaya çalıştım. Evvelâ bir şey anlamadım, fakat yavaş yavaş içimde ılık bir hatıra uyandı.”

Halide Edib: “Hikâyemde bir [...] yanık sayfa var. [...] Böyle bir şeye inanmak istemem, sonra ötekilerden, hatta kendimden şüphe ederim.”

Halide Edib: “ben denilen şey başımdaki birkaç sîma ve onların hâtıralarından ibaret. Bunları anlatdıkça boşalub yavaş yavaş bitiyorum. [...] Bugün notlarıma bakıyorum. İhtilâl günleri ile Sakarya arasında hayli hâdise var, fakat bende ancak son perdeyi anlatacak kadar nefes var. Ondan evvelki günler hep perde arası. [...] Hayat masalıma bakıyorum da hikâyeden ziyâde bir operaya benziyor.”

Halide Edib : “Kâğıd, kâğıd, kâğıd. [...] Benimle hakîkî hayât arasında kalın bir perde var ve o perdenin arkasında onlar [cephedekiler].”

Halide Edib (footnote) : “Kadınlara intihab hakkı vermeyen partilerin hiçbirine tarafdar [değilim].”

Mehmet Kalpaklı : “Zamanın gazetecilik ve matbaacılık teknikleri nedeniyle bu ilk basımlarda pek çok basım hataları oluşmuştur [...] [S]on yıllara kadar yapılmış yeni harfli, sadeleştirilmiş baskılar, eski harfli baskıların hatalarını sürdürmüşler, dahası bu hata ve eksikliklere yenilerini de eklemişlerdir. [...] Biz, Halide Edib Adivar’ın okuyucuya yeniden sunulan metinlerini ilk basımından başlayarak bu hatalardan kurtarmaya, aynı zamanda yazarın özgün dilini ve üslubunu korumaya çalıştık. Bu nedenle sadeleştirmedik.”

Halide Edib : “Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı’nı bundan yirmi kusur yıl önce İngiltere’de yazarken fecaatlerin muhtelif parçaları üzerinde daha fazla durmuştum. Türkçesinde gerek bizim, gerek onların tarafından yapılan bu gibi hadiseleri kısa kesmeyi doğru buluyorum. Çünkü Yakın Doğu’da barış ve selâmetin Türk ve Yunan dostluğuna bağlı olduğuna inanıyorum. Nitekim, Mustafa Kemal Paşa da buna kanaat getirmişti.”

Halide Edib (footnote) : “Demokrasinin bugün artık sokak kalabalığının hâki olduğu bir idare olamayacağını, öyle bir olayın önüne geçebilmek için lâzım gelen tedbirleri almayı bilemediler, yahut kâfi derecede tecrübeleri yoktu” ; “1-6 Eylül faciasında göze çarpan birinci âmil, servet düşmanlığıdır [...] [G]erçi servet çok faydalı ve elzem bir şeydir. Fakat servet sahipleri de gösterişten sakınmaları, daha sade, daha halka yakın bir hayat tarzı ihtiyar etmelerini lüzümlü buluyorum.”

Halide Edib : “[Hatıralarımın İngilizcesi ile Türkçesi], bazı yerleri kısa, bazı yerleri biraz uzun olmakla beraber, öz itibariyle aynıdır.”

Yusuf Hakan Erdem : “*Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı*’nda öyle yerler var ki, metne başka bir el girdiği, Halide’nin tek başına olmadığı konusunda çok ciddi şüpheler uyandırıyor.”

Vedat Günyol : “Evet, Türkiye’ye döndüklerinde onlarla görüşüm asistanlık yaptım. Halide Edip ile Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı’nın İngilizce’den çevirisini beraber yaptık. O dikte ediyor ben yazıyordum. Hastalanınca, Vedat sen git tercüme edip getir bana diyor, bu sefer ben tercüme ediyorum, o düzeltiyor. Kitabın orijinali *Turkish Ordeal*’di. Ama kitabın İngilizce baskısında Atatürk aleyhine yazdığı yerleri Türkçe’ye almadı. Yani o bölümleri kendisi sansürledi. Sonra Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı’nı *Yeni Ufuklar*’da ben basmıştım. Kitabı basarken çevirenler Halide Edip-Vedat Günyol diyemedim tabii. [/] Öldürdü beni yoksa. Çok otoriterdi. ... Adnan Bey babamdan sonra en çok sevdiğim insan. Adnan Bey ölünce Halide Hanım'a yardım etmeye devam ediyorum. Beraber çeviriler yapıyoruz. Bir gün rahatsız olduğu için uzanmış, Vedat dedi, bak orada dolabın içinde bir çıkın var onu ver bana. Ben de dolabı açtım, getirdim yatağın üzerine ve Halide Hanım rahatsız diye düğümü çözmeye çalışıyorum. Pat diye elime vurdu. O kadar gücüne gitti ki bu hareketi, çıkının içinden bana Adnan Bey’in bıraktığı bir dolmakalem çıktı. Bu dedi, senin. Ama öyle kırılmışım ki kalemi falan almadan çıkıp gittim. İki ay görüşmedik ve o işte sırada Halide Hanım öldü.”

Vedat Günyol (footnote) : “13 yıl boyunca beni kullandı, sömürdü. Vedat hemen gel, kömür alıyoruz başında bulun! Vedat gel... Ne oluyor, evdeki hizmetçiyi kovuyor, ille ben de orada

olacağım. Ertesi gün de Adnan Bey, bak bu insanlar ne kadar nankör bir Allahaismarladık bile demediler, diye sitemde bulunuyor. Aman beyefendi dedim, nasıl desinler, Halide Hanım onları bağıra çağıra kovdu.”

Fotis Kontoglou : «τὸ αὐστηρὸ, ἀπαλλαγμένο ἀπὸ στολίδια ὕφος».

Elias Venezis : «Ἡ ἀφήγησις σὲ ἀρκετὰ σημεῖα εἶναι τόσο λιτὴ καὶ ξερὴ ποῦ ἐνῶ ἔχουμε τὰ γεγονότα δὲ γίνεται κατορθωτὸ νὰ παρακολουθήσουμε τὸν ἄνθρωπο τὸ ζωντανὸ παλλόμενο ἄνθρωπο κάτω ἀπὸ τὴ πίεσι τῶν γεγονότων».

Stratis Doukas : «Στο τέλος της πρώτης περιόδου μου (Σεπτέμβρης - Δεκέμβρης 1928), εἶχα πέσει σε κάτι προσφυγοχώρια της περιφέρειας Αικατερίνης. Στις σημειώσεις μου γράφω: «... βρέχει, βρέχει, βρέχει· λίγο ακόμα και θα 'μαι στην πολιτεία· πρέπει να τελειώσω καλά. Εἶμαι προς το τέλος αλλά και σ' ένα σπουδαίο μέρος της αποστολής μου· πρόκειται να μιλήσω για πολύ πονεμένους και δυστυχισμένους ανθρώπους. Ο Θεός ας εἶναι μαζί μου κι ας με βοηθάει».

Σταματῶ ἐδῶ τις σημειώσεις μου και κατεβαίνω στο καφενεῖο του προσφυγοχωριοῦ Στουπί (Σπι), για να δω τους ανθρώπους του και ν' ακούσω τους πόνους τους. Το καφενεῖο γεμάτο. ... Χτυπά το μάνταλο της πόρτας και μπαίνει κάποιος. ... Κι ὅλοι τότε με μια φωνή: «Να ένας που ἔκαμε τον Τούρκο για να γλιτώσει». Τον Τούρκο για να γλιτώσει; Στυλώνω τ' αυτιά μου σαν ἄλογο στρατιωτικό π' ακούει σάλπιγγα. Ετοιμάζομαι ν' ακούσω τ' ανάκουστο· μ' αυτός, ντροπαλός ανατολίτης, κοκκινίζει, κάθεται σε μια γωνιά και δε μιλεί. Σε λίγο με το ούζο, με την κουβέντα, ζεστάθηκε. Κι ἄρχισε την ιστορία του· τουρκόφωνος, ὅπως ὅλοι τους, μα ανατολίτης αφηγητής. Εγὼ θαρρούσα πως μου ἔπαιζε ἕνα βιολί σόλο. Ὅλοι αφοσιωμένοι, σωμαίναμε. Ἀπὸ τα μισά, εἶδα πως ἔπρεπε αὐτὴν την ιστορία να την κρατήσω· κι ἄρχισα πάλι τις σημειώσεις. Εἶχα πάρει πια το ρυθμό του. Σαν τουρκόφωνος, ἔβαζε τα ρήματα στο τέλος. «Καλός, εἶπα, εἶναι». Αὐτὴ ἡ ξενικὴ και παρατακτὴ σύνταξι με τα πολλὰ συνδετικά «και» μου ἔφερνε στο νου το ὕφος της Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης· μέσα σε μια υπερένταση, που μου την ὄξυνε ἡ βιασύνη, κρατούσα, παρέλειπα και μετάλλαζα τα λόγια και τον κάπως παραφθαρμένο ρυθμό τους, φέρνοντάς τον στον κλασικὸν ἐπικὸν λόγο και ρυθμό. Ὅταν τέλειωσε την αφήγησή του, πραγματικά του 'πα: «βάλε την υπογραφή σου» και ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε «Νικόλαος Καζάκογλου» (το Κοζάκογλου εἶναι δικό μου, σαν πιο εντυπωσιακό). Το ἄλλο πρωὶ πήγα στο σπίτι του, γνώρισα τη νέα γυναίκα του και το μικρὸ παιδί τους, και τον παρακάλεσα να μου υπαγορεύσει την αρχὴ της ιστορίας, που δεν την εἶχα κρατήσει. Μα ἡ αφήγησή του δεν εἶχε πια την ἴδια ζεστασιά. Γι' αὐτὸ και στις δυο πρώτες ἐκδόσεις ἡ αρχὴ μου εἶναι βιαστικὴ. Τον ἔβαλα τότε κι ἔγραψε στα τούρκικα ἕνα γράμμα στον Χατζη-Μεμέτη, υπέροχο για τη λαϊκὴ του ευγένεια, ὅπου αφοῦ του ἐξιστοροῦσε ὅτι ο Μπεχτσέτ που εἶχε κάποτε στη δούλεψή του ἦταν Ρωμιός και βρίσκεται τώρα ἐδῶ στην καινούρια πατρίδα του, και τον ευχαριστεῖ για την καλοσύνη που του 'δειξε, τελειώνει πως «ὄσοι γνωρίζουν ἀπὸ κόσμο, ξέρουν πως αὐτὰ ὅλα εἶναι ἀπὸ το Θεό». (Ἀντίγραφο ἀπὸ το γράμμα εἶχα και στα τούρκικα και μεταφρασμένο).

Ὅταν ἐβγαίνα ἀπὸ το χωριὸν τραβώντας για την Αικατερίνη, θαρρούσα κιόλας πως κρατούσα στη φούχτα μου ἕνα κομμάτι χρυσάφι. Σε μια στιγμή ἐνίωσα μια πελώρια παλάμη να με χτυπά φιλικὰ στην πλάτη σαν ο ἴδιος ο Θεός να μου χάριζε μια παρηγοριά και ἕνα στήριγμα για τις υπόλοιπες μέρες της ζωῆς μου. Χριστούγεννα ἔκανα στο Κίτρος και παραμονὴ της Πρωτοχρονιάς γύρισα στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Κάθισα ἀμέσως κι ἔγραψα υπαγορεύοντας την ιστορία μου μέσα σε μια βδομάδα. [Σημείωση των συντακτῶν : Ὅπως μας πληροφόρησε ο κ. Δούκας, προκειμένου να κρατήσει την ποιότητα του προφορικοῦ λόγου στο κείμενο, δεν ἔγραψε ο ἴδιος την ιστορία, ἀλλὰ την υπαγόρευσε στον ξάδελφό του Αντρέα Χατζηδημητρίου, χρησιμοποιώντας ὡς πρώτη ὕλη τις σημειώσεις του] ... Τον ἄλλο χρόνο (1929), βγαίνοντας για τη δευτέρη περίοδου μου ... πέρασα πάλι ἀπο το Σπι και πήγα του Νικόλα και του συντρόφου του ἕνα ἀντίτυπο της

ιστορίας του που είχε πια τυπωθεί. Ο Νικόλας όσο τη διάβαζε χαμογελούσε ευχαριστημένος κι απορημένος μαζί, που ήταν γραμμένη απaráλλαχτα όπως μου την είπε. ... Φεύγοντας άφησα αρκετό χαρτί του Νικόλα για να γράψει την ιστορία του ο ίδιος· κάθισε και την έγραψε και μου την έφερε ύστερ' από χρόνια στην Αθήνα Μα δεν τα κατάφερε στο γράψιμο όσο στην προφορική αφήγησή του· τα καλύτερα κομμάτια είναι όσα αντέγραψε λέξη με λέξη από το βιβλίο· όμως πρόσθεσε μερικά επεισόδια, που τα χρησιμοποίησα σε τρίτη μου έκδοση. Τη χειρόγραφη ιστορία του Νικόλα την κατέθεσα στη βιβλιοθήκη της Κερκύρας. Ελπίζω να βρίσκεται.

Δεν επιχειρώ περαιτέρω ανάλυση των προθέσεων και επιτεύξεων της *Ιστορίας* μου. Ελπίζω και για μαζί με τους φίλους της ότι θα επιζήσει.»

Chapter 5

Kosmas Politis : «Τριάντα χρόνια στη γκιοούρ πολιτεία, και τα ρωμαίικά του είχαν ακόμα τούρκικα».

Minutes of the Special Meeting, Ann Arbor Orthodox Community : « Ἡ θεία λειτουργία μέχρις ἀποκτήσεως ἰδιοκτητοῦ Ναοῦ θὰ γίνηται εἰς αἴθουσαν τὴν ὁποῖαν θὰ ἐξεύρη τὸ Διοικητικὸν Συμβούλιον τῆς Κοινότητος τὸ ὁποῖον ἐν συνεννοήσει μετὰ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς θὰ φέρῃ εἰς τὴν Κοινότητα τὸν κατάλληλον Ἱερέα».

Aristeidis Kyriakos (footnote) : «Εἶναι ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας οἱ Ὄθωμανοί, τυφλοῦμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πεπρωμένου θρησκευτικῆς αὐτῶν δοξασίας, οὐδεμίαν κατὰ τῆς μεταδόσεως τοῦ νοσήματος προφύλαξιν ἐλάμβανον».

Apostolos Douvaris : «μετέφερε σκηνές αὐτούσιες ἀπὸ το ἓνα ἔργο στο ἄλλο ἀλλάζοντας ἀπλῶς τὰ ονόματα τῶν ἡρώων».

Eugene Dalleggio : « Je demande à mes hôtes s'ils n'ont pas des manuscrits. M. Elefteriadis me raconte qu'à la suite d'un différend avec une de ses parentes, il mit au feu, un jour de grande lessive, les archives de son père soigneusement classées dans une caisse ».

Eugene Dalleggio : « Deux incendies durant la dernière guerre ont détruit à peu près tout ce que les réfugiés apportèrent ici de leur pays ».

I.A. Saregianis : «δὲ δίσταζε, ἀμέσως ἀποφάσιζε νὰ τὰ στείλει. Ἀλλὰ πῶς νὰ τὰ στείλει; Θὰ ἔπρεπε ἀσφαλῶς νὰ φθάσουν, νὰ μὴν παραπλανηθοῦν, νὰ μὴν πέσουν σὲ ξένα, ἴσως βέβηλα, χέρια. Τὸ ἰδεῶδες θὰ ἦταν νὰ βρισκόταν κανένας φίλος ταξιδιώτης, ποῦ θ' ἀναλάμβανε νὰ τὰ μεταφέρει καὶ νὰ τὰ δώσει ἀκριβῶς ὅπου ἔπρεπε».

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