

ANALECTA ISISIANA
CX

Evangelia BALTA

BEYOND THE LANGUAGE
FRONTIER

Studies on the Karamanlis and the
Karamanlidika Printing

THE ISIS PRESS
ISTANBUL

KARAMANLIDIKA PRESS
(Smyrna 1845 – Athens 1926)

The term “Karamanlidika” press covers the Turkish-language newspapers which were printed in Greek characters and circulated from the mid-nineteenth century. A product of the multi-ethnic and polyglot Ottoman Empire,¹ the Karamanlidika press was addressed primarily to the Turcophone Rums from Karamania, the wider region of Cappadocia, who resided in the urban centres of the empire. The name stuck – even in the early twentieth century the readers of the newspaper *Anatoli* were still identified as “Karamanlides”:

C'est le journal des Caramanlis (Césariotes) qui, autrefois ne savaient que la langue turque; un certain nombre d'entre eux se trouvent encore dans ce cas.²

* This study began as a paper delivered at the conference *La Presse grecque de 1784 à nos jours. Approches historiques et théoriques*, Actes du Colloque International, Athènes, 23-25 mai 2002, (ed.) Loukia Droulia, Athens 2005, 118-125. It appeared in English as: “Karamanli Press. Smyrna 1845 – Athens 1926”, in: *Izzet Gündoğ Kayaoğlu Hatıra Kitabı Makaleler*, (eds.) O. Belli, Y. Dağlı, M. S. Genim, İstanbul, Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 2005, 27-33. The present publication is an expanded version of the above.

1 On the press in the Ottoman Empire, see J. H. A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie ou Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administrative, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 21853, 257-262; also C. Huart, “La presse musulmane. Liste des journaux ottomans”, *Revue du Monde Musulman*, fasc. 8 (1909), 97-139; R. Davison, “How the Ottoman Government Adjusted to a New Institution: the Newspaper Press”, in idem, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms*, Analecta Isisiana XXXIV, Istanbul 1999, 361-370. In addition to the information Ottoman newspapers provided for their reading public, they also fulfilled an educative role. This is explicitly stated in many articles, for example, in the article in *Takvim-i Vekayi* (14 May 1832) “a further aim is to ensure useful knowledge regarding trade, science and the arts”; see B. Lewis, *What went wrong? Western influence and Middle Eastern Reaction*, Oxford University Press, New York 2002. On the Greek newspapers which circulated in the Ottoman Empire, we await the publication of the dissertation by Marina Lady Marks, *The Ottoman Greek Press 1830-1862*, University of London; at present we can only refer to the same author's mediocre article, “Οι ελληνικές εφημερίδες της οθωμανικής αυτοκρατορίας, 1830-1862”, in: *La Presse grecque de 1784 à nos jours op.cit.*, 442-447. Information about Ottoman sources for the Greek press is gathered in A. Arslan, *Osmanlı Devletinde Rum Basını Osmanlı Belgeleri ışığında*, tr. Ch.L. Pampalos, Athens 2004. Some Karamanlidika newspapers from Constantinople are mentioned in S. Tarinas, *Ο ελληνικός τύπος της Πόλης, Α' Μέρος, Εφημερίδες* [The Greek Press of Istanbul. Part I, Newspapers], [Istanbul] 2007, 137-144, which has as its starting point and foundation the contents of his private collection. Greek newspapers and periodicals from the Ottoman period are also catalogued in the work of L. Droulia and G. Koutsopanou (eds), *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του ελληνικού τύπου 1784-1974. Εφημερίδες, περιοδικά, δημοσιογράφοι, εκδότες* [Encyclopedia of Greek Press, 1784-1974. Journals, periodicals, Journalists, editors], vols. I-IV, Athens, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008.

2 P. Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, Paris [1907], 66.

Analogous examples to that of the Karamanlidika press are encountered among other ethnic groups in the empire, namely, the Armenians¹ and the Jews.² In Yannina and Chania newspapers in Greek, printed in Ottoman script, circulated and were read by the Turkish-Yannioti and the Turkish-Cretans, the majority of whom spoke exclusively Greek.³ "Greek-speaking Muslims in Crete wrote Greek in Arabic letters, while Turkish-speaking Christians in Anatolia wrote Turkish in Greek or Armenian letters, according to their Church. Not language, but script was the visible and outward sign distinguishing Muslim from unbeliever", observes B. Lewis⁴. It is for just this reason that the Karamanlidika press is always included with the Greek language press in nineteenth-century catalogues of publications.

The reading public of the Karamanlidika press was the Turkish-speaking Rums of Constantinople, a class of merchants and professional craftsmen who had migrated to the capital of the empire, virtually all of them from the heartland of Asia Minor. Now wealthy and of established economic and social status, they wished to be informed of what was going on inside the Ottoman Empire as well as in the world at large, just as they also needed a platform to express themselves. Because they had no knowledge of Greek, they were unable to read, for example, the *Neologos* of S. Voutyras, just as they were unable to read Ottoman script, the Arabic characters of the Turkish language, and to understand the difficult Arabo-Persian language of the newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi*.⁵ A simpler format had to be found, which in fact existed in practice, since

1 The Armenian-Turkish *Medjimuéh-Havadis* is recorded, see J. H. A. Ubicini – Pavert de Corteille, *Etat present de l'empire ottoman. Statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armée, communautés non musulmanes... d'après de Sahnâme (Annuaire impériale) pour l'année 1293 de l'Hegire (1875-76) et les documents officiels les plus récents*, Paris 1876, 174. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, eleven Armenian newspapers circulated in the Ottoman capital, five of which were in Turkish written in Armenian characters, see A. Palaiologlou, *Ημερολόγιον της Ανατολής. Πολιτειογραφικόν, φιλολογικόν και επιστημονικόν του έτους 1884... Έτος Τρίτον* [Diary of the East. Politics, literature and science for the year 1884 ... Third year] Constantinople, Press of I. Pallamaris 1883, 127. *Djéridé-i Charikié* [Oriental Gazette], the sequel to *Terdjuman Efkiar*, and the periodical *Medjouma-i Ahbar* [News Review] circulated in Turkish written in Armenian characters, see P. Fesch, op. cit., 67-68. For the newspapers *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Hayal*, which were published in Turkish written in Armenian characters, see K. Pamukciyan, "Mizahî Hayal Gazetesinin Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Baskısı", *Tarih ve Toplum* 42 (1987), 356-360. The article was reprinted, see ibidem, *Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Metinler*, ed. O. Köker, vol. II, Istanbul 2002, 139-145.

2 The first Jewish newspaper in Ladino was published in Smyrna in 1842. "Intellectuals who tried to spread the knowledge of the Turkish language brought out journals such as *El Üstad* in Turkish written in Hebrew letters, or added a page in Turkish to a journal in Ladino such as *El Messerel*": see A. Levy, "The Jewish Press in Turkish", *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, ed. G. Nassi, The Isis Press, Istanbul 2001, 23.

3 I. T. Pamboukis, "Η ξενογράμματη φιλολογία" [Literature in foreign alphabets], *Αναβάζω*, fasc. 31 (May 1980), 30. There is information that the newspaper *Medayih-Hamidiye*, in Turkish written in Greek characters, circulated in Chania. See O. Koloğlu, "La presse turque en Crète", *Presse turque et presse de Turquie*, Actes des colloques d'Istanbul, Nathalie Clayer, A. Popovic, Th. Zacone (eds), Istanbul 1992, 263.

4 B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, London 1968, 426.

5 On this first Osmanli newspaper, see I. Girilti, "Les Turcs et la presse", *Presse turque et press de Turquie*, Actes des colloques d'Istanbul, eds. N. Clayer, A. Popovic, Th. Zacone, Istanbul 1992, 79 and M.N. Inuğur, "Naissance et développement de la presse dans l'empire ottoman", op. cit., 84-85.

Karamanlidika books¹ had been circulating since the early eighteenth century. Consequently, the Karamanlidika press was no more than the continuation of the tradition of the Karamanlidika book in the sector of the Turcophone Rum population, and not only this. By the same token, the Armeno-Turkish press constituted the continuation of the tradition of the Armeno-Turkish book, within the context of the Ottoman Empire.²

The defining role of Evangelinos Misailidis

Pioneer and protagonist in the sector of the Karamanlidika press was Evangelinos Misailidis, publisher of the long-lived Turcophone newspaper *Anatoli* [East] and of a host of Karamanlidika books. He wrote in 1872:

We are proud to say that we are the first and only representatives of the press of the Christian peoples to publish issues in the Turkish language written in Greek characters. Because whereas in this way they were accustomed somewhat imperceptibly to learning Greek, at the same time our fellow Greeks in European Turkey were facilitated greatly in the knowledge of Turkish, very essential as language of the State, so that those presiding over various councils, both chief priests and village elders, do not sit as silent fish.³

Evangelinos Misailidis published on January 12, 1845 the first Karamanlidika newspaper *Pelsaret-il Maşrik* [Eastern Herald] in Smyrna, and publication stopped at the end of 1846, according to A.D. Hadjidimos.⁴ The aim

- 1 For the bibliography of Karamanlidika books, see S. Salaville – E. Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs*, Athens I (1958), II (1955), III (1974); E. Balta, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs. Additions (1584-1900)*, Athens, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1987, and *Karamanlidika. XXe siècle. Bibliographie analytique*, Athens, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1987, and *Karamanlidika. Nouvelles Additions et Compléments, I*, Athens, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1997. Also eadem, "Périodisation et typologie de la production des livres karamanlis", in: eadem, *Peuple et Production. Pour une interprétation des sources ottomanes*, *Analecta Isisiana* XLI, Les éditions Isis, Istanbul 1999, 259-281, which also includes the relevant bibliography.
- 2 A bibliography has been compiled of the rich Armeno-Turkish literature, see A.A. Stepanyan, *Bibliografija knig na turetskom iazbiki, napisannih armjanskimi bukhami, 1727-1968*, Erevan, Izdatel'stvo AN Armjanskoj SSR, 1985, and Hasmik Stepanyan, *Ermeni Harfi Türkçe Kitaplar ve Süreli Yayınlar Bibliografyası (1727-1968). Bibliographie des livres et de la presse Armeno-Turque*. Istanbul: Turkuaz Yayınları, 2005. See also H. Berberian, "La littérature arméno-turque", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, (eds.) L. Bazin, J. Deny, M.T. Gökbilgin, F. İz, H. Scheel, Mainz 1964, vol. II, 809-810. R.H. Kevorkian, "Le livre imprimé en milieu arménien ottoman aux XVIIe – XVIIIe siècles", in *Livres et lecture dans le monde ottoman (Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée, Série Histoire 87-88)*, (ed.) Fr. Hitzel, 173-185. See also the studies by K. Pamukciyan, *Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Metinler*, op. cit.
- 3 Ch. S. Solomonidis, *Η δημοσιογραφία της Σμύρνης (1821-1922)* [The Journalism of Smyrna (1821-1922)], Athens 1959, 143.
- 4 A.D. Hatzidimos, "Σμυρναϊκή Βιβλιογραφία" [Smyrniot Bibliography], *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 4 (1948) 395, no 182. The information is derived from S. Solomonidis, "Αι πρώται ελληνικά εν Σμύρνη εφημερίδες" [The first Greek newspapers in Smyrna], *Ημερολόγιον Αμαθείας* 1893, 165. See also Ch. S. Solomonidis, *Η δημοσιογραφία*, op. cit., 142-143.

of this newspaper was to spread political news to the Turcophone Greek populations of the Anatolian provinces. The *Amaltheia* of Smyrna wrote of it:

It will be useful in the spread of news and knowledge among the numerous inhabitants of the East and other parts, who although not knowing Greek usually write the Turkish dialect with Greek letters, therefore it will truly fill a void.¹

Evangelinos Misailidis also circulated in 1849-1850 the illustrated monthly periodical *Mekteb-ül Fünûn-i Meşriki* [School of Eastern Sciences], which imitated the Greek review *Αποθήκη των Ωφελίμων Γνώσεων* [Store of profitable knowledge]. In Smyrna he also published the weekly political newspaper *Şark*. This information is given in the curriculum vitae of Evangelinos Misailidis, which was published in *Karamanlidika* by Iordanis Limnidis², and confirmed by M. Gedeon, who writes that,

Almost at the same time he also started to publish *Şark* [East] until the disastrous fire in Smyrna in which the printing house became a victim of the flames, after which he left Smyrna where he had been involved with the pres for ten whole years, and settled permanently in Constantinople.³

According to information provided by his grandson, Petros Misailidis, Evangelinos Misailidis arrived in Constantinople in 1850 and published the *Fünûn-i Şarkıyye – Risâle-i Havadis* [Scientific East, News Bulletin]⁴, which he very soon renamed *Anatoli*. This information cannot be verified by another source. It must refer to the fact that in the first pages of *Anatoli* from 1851 appear side by side in Arabic characters the words *Havadisname* [News Bulletin] on the left, and *Şarkıye* [Anatoli] on the right.

The newspaper Anatoli

In 1851 Misailidis began to circulate the newspaper named *Anatoli* in collaboration with Ioannis Lazaridis, who was referred to as the typographer on page four. Despite its checkered career, this newspaper, whose collaborators included Philippos Aristovoulos, Konstantinos Photiadis, Alexandros Phardys, Anastasios Levidis, Nikolaos S. Soullidis and others, circulated until 1923⁵.

1 *Amaltheia*, 27 January 1845.

2 See I. I. Limnidis, "Evangelinos Misailidis", *Μικρασιατικών Ημερολόγιον Ο "Αστήρ" 1914. Ανατολή Ρουμλιάρηνά μιχρόςός ιλίμ, ... İkinci sené. Κωνσταντινούπολις, ... 1913* [Asia Minor Calendar "The Star" 1914. Anatoli Rumlarına mahsus ilmi, ... İkinci sene], Constantinople 1913, 170 (*Evangelia Balta, Karamanlidika, XXe siècle*, op. cit., no 96).

3 See also M. Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα χρονογράφου, 1800-1913* [Notes of a chronicler, 1800-1913], Athens 1932, 14.

4 See P. P. Misailidis, *Ιστορικές εφημερίδες του περασμένου αιώνα: "Ανατολή"* [Historic newspapers of the last century], Athens n.d. The study was published in instalments in the newspaper *Prosphygikos Kosmos* [Refugee World] in 1982.

5 The manuscript of the refugee M. Christopoulos, *Αι εις τας μητροπόλεις Καισαρείας και Ικονίου ελληνορθόδοξοι κοινότητες* [The Greek Orthodox communities in the Metropolises of Kaisareia and Ikonion], Chania, 1939, 40 (now in the archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, CAMS) mentions the journalists Limnidis and Ioannidis, students of Misailidis.

Manuel Gedeon was in charge of the Grecophone newspaper *Anatoli*, which circulated from February until May 1877.¹ At first the Turcophone *Anatoli* was published twice a week, then three times and finally daily from 1893. From 1890 the newspaper's chief editor and owner was Theagenis E. Misailidis, for a certain period it was under the direction of N. Th. Soullidis, who was followed from 1893 by the Misailidis brothers.² I. Valavanis writes of the material in *Anatoli*:

Because Mr. Misailidis did not confine himself to publishing *Anatoli* as just a newspaper, in which were gathered all the essential political news etc., but made this a true thesaurus of diverse knowledge, from history, geography, physics and in general all the sciences and arts. Likewise, he translated and published all manner of essays, and legal texts too, apart from the countless ecclesiastical ones, the usefulness and benefit of which was confessed by all, and indeed when one takes into account that religion was the only link that held those unfortunate brothers of ours together from the Conquest of Constantinople onwards, dismissing completely the idea of their own ethnicity. In addition to these also, countless social studies and short stories, and novels that were offered to Asia Minor Hellenism for reading and study.³

The educative role of *Anatoli* was noted and praised by its contemporaries. The 'Pharos tis Anatolis' [The Lighthouse of the East] acclaimed the newspaper's importance and its role in the enlightenment of the turcophone Orthodox of Anatolia.⁴ In 1913 Iordanis Limnidis underlined the newspaper's contribution to the spread of Greek and Greek-language education:

If from the period of the publication of the newspaper "Anatoli" are investigated to this day the books of our compatriot subscribers, we shall see that the son of the subscriber father does not continue his subscription to *Anatoli*. This is due to the fact that the parents, by reading the pages of the newspaper, were interested in their children becoming educated, so that they would no longer have need of this Karamanlidika newspaper published in Turkish and Greek language. This work is an honour and matter of pride for the newspaper *Anatoli* because it succeeded in its professed goal.⁵

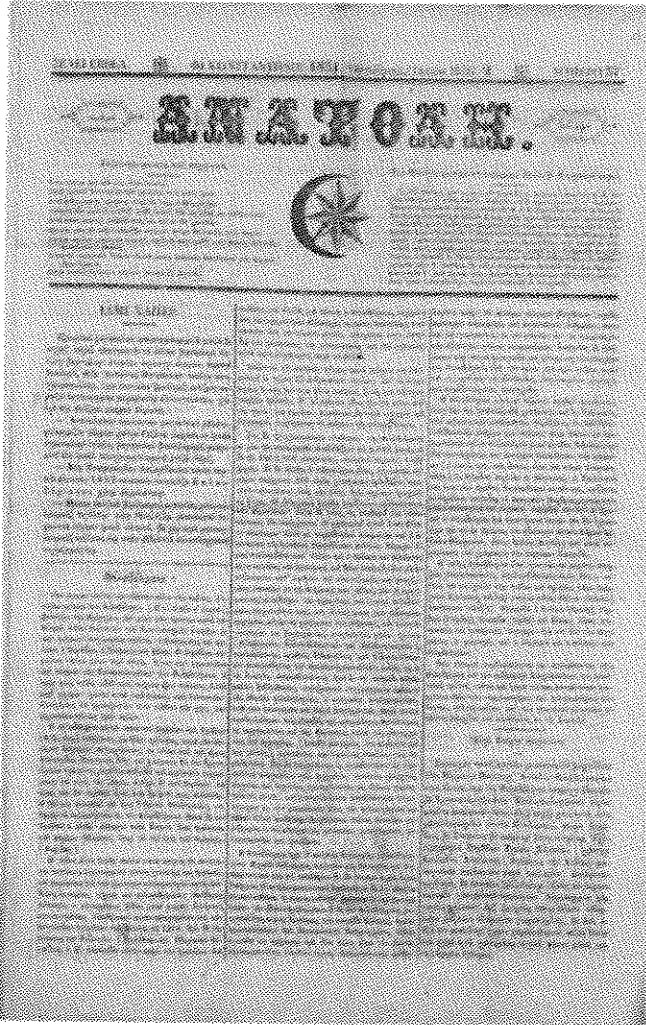
1 See M. Gedeon, *Αποσπαιήματα*, op. cit., 12-13.

2 *Ο Φάρος της Ανατολής εγκυκλοπαιδικόν ημερολόγιον του έτους 1901* [The Lighthouse of the East encyclopaedic diary of the year 1901], Constantinople 1900, 390.

3 See I. Valavanis, "Η αλληλογραφία παρά τοις Μικρασιανούς" [Correspondence with the Asia Minor Greeks], *Παρνασσός* 12 (1888-89), 59.

4 *Ο "Φάρος της Ανατολής", εγκυκλοπαιδικόν ημερολόγιον του έτους 1901*, op.cit., 390.

5 I.I. Limnidis, "Εvangelinos Misailidis", *Μικρασιατικόν Ημερολόγιον Ο "Αστήρ" 1914*, op. cit., 170ff.



Anatoli of 1854 (1st year)

Thus, in the first decade of the twentieth century subscribers to the newspaper numbered six hundred at most.¹ Undoubtedly, the decreased subscriptions owed in part to the fact that Greek education had spread in Anatolia from the last decades of the nineteenth century with the result that many in the younger generation of turcophone Rums were Greek-speaking.

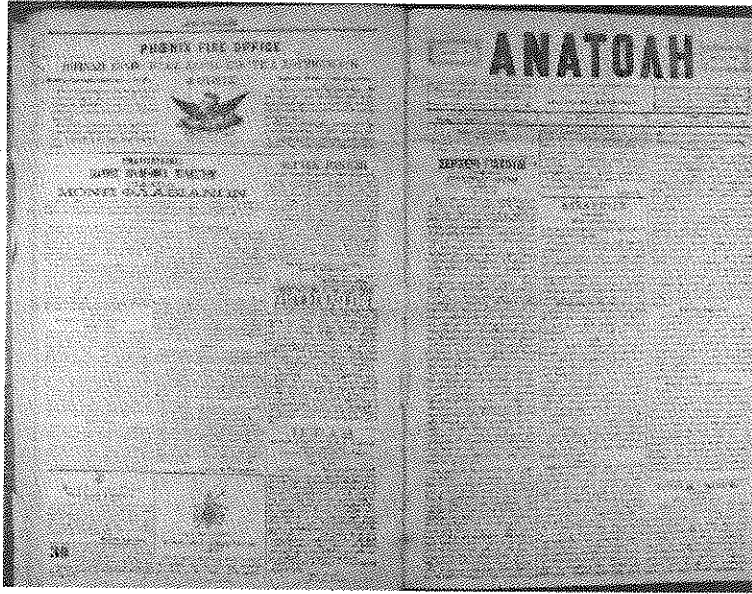
1 P. Fesch, *op. cit.*, 66.

A well-preserved cache of the newspaper's run from no. 29, August 7, 1851 to no. 676, October 22, 1863 came into the hands of Fanis Michalopoulos, who in 1951 wrote an article in the newspaper *Εμπρός* [Embros] on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the longest-lived newspaper to serve the interests of Greeks resident in both the Ottoman Empire and in the liberated Greek State. Michalopoulos also took the opportunity to write an encomium of Evangelinos Misailidis and the service he offered through his newspaper:

Leafing through the many articles published in Anatoli of geographical, historical and philological interest and written in Greek, one is surprised to see how this newspaper of 1851 was much better than many newspapers published in Athens and other centers of free Greece. It had a highly informed foreign news bulletin as well as news covering the entire Ottoman Empire. The latter was of great interest as it provides us with economic, social and cultural developments primarily in Asia Minor, but in great detail. Other publications of Anatoli are also worthwhile, such as the history of many cities, of Philadelphia, Attaleia, Ikonion and many others. Particularly noteworthy are the biographies of distinguished Greeks in these parts, as well as obituaries. There was also a highly detailed record of the schools and their educational activities, which is represented as extremely flourishing as regards Greek studies. The paper was also interested in the assembling of folkloric, philological and archaeological material and recorded in its pages a very great number traditions, songs and legends, as well as a plethora of ancient and Christian unpublished inscriptions. In the issue for October 9, 1851 there is an invitation to the educated people of Asia Minor in which they are asked to collect and preserve whatever is of interest in their area.¹

Since copies of Karamanlidika newspapers and periodicals are very difficult to find, I confine myself to referring to the contents of the long-lived newspaper *Anatoli*, some series of which I have examined on the microfilms of the late

¹ Ph. Michalopoulos, "Τα 100 χρόνια μιας εφημερίδος: 1851-1951. 'Η τουρκόφωνη Ανατολή' που εγγράφητο ελληνικά" [100 Years of a Newspaper: 1851-1951. The Turcophone *Anatoli* which is written in Greek] in the newspaper *Embros* (6.12.1951).

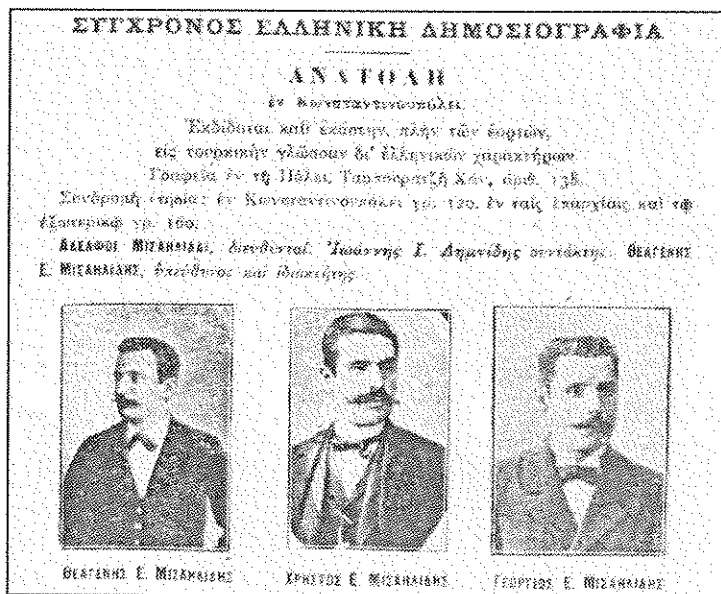


Anatoli of 1898 (58th year).

Jordanis Pamboukis¹, when I was searching its pages for announcements of the publication of Karamanlidika books. *Anatoli* covered domestic news from the Ottoman Empire and news of events abroad. Special columns were devoted to the prices of imports and exports, and the exchange rates of currencies used in the

1 Between 1984 and 1987, from the collection of microfilms belonging to I. Pamboukis, I reproduced and deposited in the archive of the CAMS the issues for the following years: 1851 (nos. 29-49); 1852 (nos. 59-84, 87, 90, 92-95, 97-98); 1853 (nos. 99-104, 106-149); 1854 (nos. 151-176, 179-193, 195-201); 1855 (nos. 203-253); 1856 (nos. 254-259, 261-265, 267, 269, 271-275, 277, 279-306); 1857 (nos. 307-316, 318-321, 323-324, 335-338, 340-342, 344-351, 353-354, 356-357); 1862 (nos. 571, 572-603); 1863 (nos. 604-610, 611-613, 614-617, 619-676); 1866 (nos. 1001-1039); 1867 (nos. 1040-1072). In 1995, five volumes of *Anatoli* were discovered in the Oriens Institut (Istanbul): 1888, 1890, 1892-1894. In 2008, my doctoral student Elif Bayraktar located issues from 1891 to 1899 in the Milli Kütüphanesi in Ankara. Digitalized photographs of these issues have been deposited in the library of the CAMS. The collector S. Tarinas has noted that he is in possession of photocopies of some issues from 1912, see S. Tarinas, *Ο ελληνικός τύπος της Πόλης*, op. cit., 142. Efforts to locate other issues of the newspaper continue, in particular the critical decades 1870-1890. On account of the paper's longevity and its somewhat tortured publishing history – including, for instance, changes in its name in order to get around a ban on its circulation, changes in its appearance, its circulation frequency, editors' and printers' addresses – bibliographic reconstruction is difficult, at least with present resources. For entries relevant to the newspaper which reveal the existing difficulties and gaps in our knowledge, see "Anatoli", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, İstanbul, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1993, 266; and D. Stamatopoulos, "Ανατολή / Μικρά Ασία, γιάνι/ δηλαδή/ Ανατολή", in (eds.) L. Droulia – G. Koutsopanagou, *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του ελληνικού τύπου*, op. cit., vol. I, Athens 2008, 204-205. On the different publication stages of the newspaper, see A. Antonopoulos, *Οι Έλληνες της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας και το Ανατολικό Ζήτημα 1866-1881. Η μαρτυρία των Νεολόγων της Κωνσταντινούπολης* [The Greeks of the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern Question, 1866-1881. Evidence from Neologos of Constantinople], Athens: Neos kyklos Konstantinoupoliton-Ekdoseis Tsoukatou, 2007, 29-31

markets of the Ottoman Empire. Its contents also included biographies of Greek and foreign personalities, obituaries, as well as news of the educational and intellectual movements of the Rums in Asia Minor, collections of folklore, philological and archaeological material. There was a permanent column for instalments of serialized novels that were later published as books by Evangelinos Misailidis.¹



The editors of *Anatoli* in 1905
(*O Pharos tis Anatolis 1902*, Constantinople 1901, p. 435)

What cries out for exploration is the ideological content of *Anatoli* over the many years of its publication – for example, for a period it was not on good terms with the Patriarchate² – as well as of all the other Karamanlidika newspapers and periodicals that circulated. In the main, these publishing efforts were personal initiatives of certain individuals, which were supported by subscribers to the issues. As a whole, the efforts were short-lived for this reason – with the exception of *Anatoli*.

From information available it is known that *Anatoli* was read by the Rums of Cappadocia, whom it reached through the mediation of their compatriots living in Constantinople. The empire's city-dwelling Rums promoted the newspapers

1 Two papers from the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11-13 Sept. 2008) are dedicated to *Anatoli*: Foti Benlisoy & Stefo Benlisoy, "Reading the identity of 'Karamanli' through the pages of *Anatoli*" and Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, "The *Anatoli* newspaper and the heyday of the Karamanli Press" (forthcoming).

2 See M. Gedeon, *Αποσημείωματα*, op. cit., 11.

back in their places of birth in the hope of engaging in the latest trends their older male relatives and compatriots who had either lived there without ever leaving, or who had returned after years spent working away from home in order to live their last years with their families.

The sociologist Dimosthenis Daniilidis, in the beginning of the twentieth century, sent newspapers from Constantinople to his Turcophone grandfather in Ürgüp/Prokopi. Once he had read them, the grandfather passed them on to the village school-teacher¹. In interviews with Cappadocian refugees deposited in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, *Anatoli* is presented as popular reading material:

Newspapers reached Ürgüp by post, two or three times a week. From Greece *Skip* and *Telegraphos*, from Smyrna *Amaltheia*, from Constantinople *Proodos*, *Neologos*, *Tachydromos*, written in Greek, and Karayorgis's *Asia* and Misailidis's *Anatoli*, which were *Karamanli*. Misailidis also published *Koukourikos*, a satirical review. *Koukouroukos* managed to say in humorous tone and by innuendo what the other newspapers couldn't say directly. But the Turks stopped it around 1905. The Grecophone newspapers didn't reach Ürgüp during the European war. At that time the Prokopians read *Anatoli* and *Asia*.²

Other Karamanlidika newspapers

From bibliographical indications we know of the existence of some other Karamanlidika newspapers *Zem[b]ur-u Afitâb* [The Bee and the Sun] which must have circulated shortly after the mid-nineteenth century. Belin records together with the Karamanlidika newspaper *Anatoli* the "JOURNAL GRECO-TURC. – *Zemourou afitâb* 'l'Abeille et le Soleil'; *journal politique, littéraire et traitement des matières d'utilité publique; rédigé en langue turque et écrit en lettres grecques pour les Grecs de l'Asie Mineure; première année; paraît deux fois le semaine, les mardis et jeudis; imprimerie de la Société littéraire ottoman*".³ M. Gedeon refers to the above newspaper as two separate newspapers, *Ilios* [*Afitâb*] and *Zembûr* [Bee]. "After the Sun (*Afitâb*), *Zembûr* appeared, which lived for one or one and half years, at first in Turkish with Greek characters (1866), shortly after in Greek, as 'Melissa'"⁴. This was

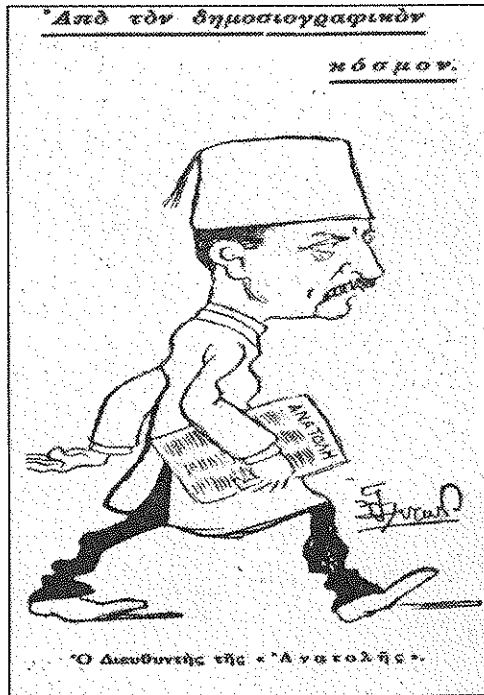
1 See D. Daniilidis, "Παπαμὴν πῦρ Μεκδουπού" [Babamn bir Mektubu], *Μικρασιατικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον, Ὁ "Ἀστὴρ"*, 1914. *Ανατολή Ρουμλιαρνή μαχασιὸς ἰμῖ, εἰσαί, φεννὶ μουσαββέρ Σαλιναμέ Νέβσεχρλιερίν "Παπὰ Γεώργιος"*... 1913, 53-54. (E. Balta, *Karamanlidika, XXe siècle*, op. cit., no 96). This text appears in a Greek translation in: M. Kouroukou – E. Balta, *Ἑλληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες τῆς Καππαδοκίας I. Περιφέρεια Προκοπίου. Πηγὲς στὰ Γενικά Ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Κράτους καὶ στὸ Κέντρο Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν* [Greek Orthodox Communities of Cappadocia. I. Ürgüp/Prokopi. Sources in the General State Archives of Greece and the CAMS], Athens 2001, 187. In the Nevehir codex no. 124, XXVI, 365, on p. 10 in document no. 13, it is noted that the members of the Vasileias Brotherhood read *Anatoli*.

2 Archive of the CAMS, file PROKOPI: no 313. Informant: Efsthathios Efthymiadis. collaborator: Thaleia Papadopoulou, 1950. See also I. Tsourouktsis, *Χρονικά Ψευδοκαραμανλίδων (σμίλλια στον σὺλλογο Ζαπίδων στὶ: 28 Νοεμβρίου τοῦ 1966)* [Pseudokaramanli Chronicles], 6.

3 See François Alphonse Belin, "De l'instruction publique et du mouvement intellectuel en Orient", offprint from *Contemporain, Revue d'économie Chrétienne*, no. d'août 1866, 31-36.

4 See M. Gedeon, *Ἀποσημειώματα*, op. cit., 10. Two issues of the Greek newspaper ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ [Bee]: no 26 (25 July 1866) and 89 (12 Oct. 1866) were found in Scrapbook 76.2 in the Gennadius Library.

published by an Asia Minor quack from Caesareaia, Anestis Eftychiadis, about whom Gedeon writes that "the *Melissa* (1867) earned a decent profit during the height of the great uprising in Crete. But Eftychiadis, the self-styled journalist, though in fact an illiterate person and a knave, abandoned both bees and wasps and attached himself to a secret faction of Young Turks who were working for the establishment in Turkey of some supposedly constitutional system..."¹ No issue of these newspapers has been found. Likewise, so far we have not located any issues of the newspapers *Mikra Asia* [*Asia Minor*]² and the *Anatheorisis* [*Review*]³ of Dimitrios Thomaidis which were circulated in the early twentieth century.



A satirical portrait of the chief editor of *Anatoli*
by G. Antoniadis (*Ap'ola*, no 226).

- 1 See M. Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα*, op. cit., 10.
- 2 In the catalogue of Ottoman newspapers it is described as follows: '*Mikra Asia. Dimitraki Thomayidi Efendi. Constantinople. Turc en caractères grecs. Quotidien*'. See. C. Huart, op. cit., 134.
- 3 In the catalogue of C. Huart it is described as follows: "*Anoréosis* (sic) *Dimitri Thomayidi Efendi, gérant du journal Mikra Asia. Constantinople. Grec et turc en caractères grecs. Quotidien*". See Huart, op. cit., 107. Both *Mikra Asia* and *Anatheorisis* refer to the work of A. Alexandris, "Η απόπειρα δημιουργίας Τουρκορθόδοξης εκκλησίας στην Καππαδοκία, 1921-1923" [The attempt to create a Turkish Orthodox Church in Cappadocia, 1921-1923], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 4 (1983), 166.

Asia, published by D. Karassavas from Nevşehir¹, also circulated at the end of the first and beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century.² At the printing house where *Asia* was published, various books in Karamanlidika were also printed, such as *Σηχάτ νερδέδερ* and the novel *Κασσιανή* [Kassiani].³ Testimonies made about *Asia* by refugees are preserved in manuscript form in the Archive of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies.⁴

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century Karamanlidika periodicals appeared, such as *Anatol Ahteri*, *Şafak*, *Terakki*, but these were short-lived. Short-lived too were the newspapers published in the opening decades of the twentieth century. For example, the *Aktis* of N.I. Kamalakidis, which was published in 1911, circulated for one year as a daily and two as a periodical.⁵

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions⁶, the basic publisher of Karamanlidika religious books, published for several years the weekly paper *Angeliaforos* [Herald], which was of religious-political content, and the homonymous monthly for children *Angeliaforos Çocuklar İçün*.

1 See *Εκατονταετηρίς της εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Εφορείας των Ελληνικών Σχολών Νεαπόλεως Καππαδοκίας (Νέβ-σεχίρ) 1820-1920* [Centenary of the Constantinople Inspectorate of Greek Schools of Neapolis in Cappadocia (Nevşehir) 1820-1920], Constantinople 1920, 88-89.

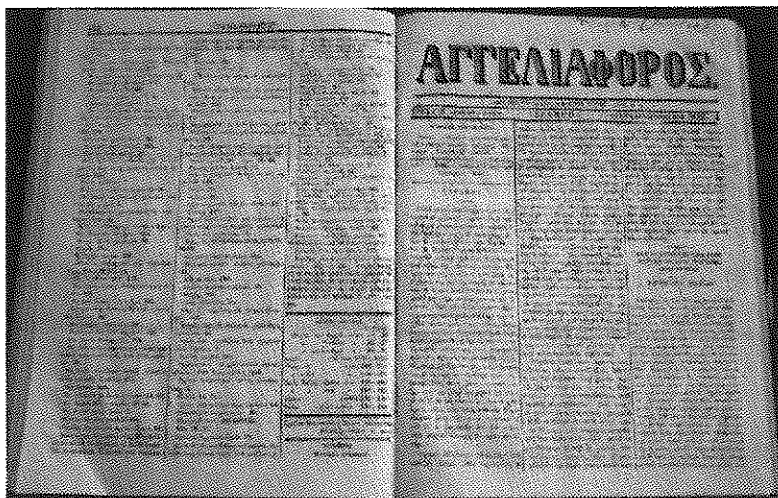
2 Entered in the catalogue of Ottoman newspapers compiled by C. Huart: *Asya (L'Asie). Dimitri Efendi, diplômé de l'École de Commerce Hamidié. Constantinople. Turc en caractères grecs, illustré. Quotidien*. See C. Huart, op. cit., 99. See also I. Limnidis, "Περὶ του μικρασιατικού ιδιώματος" [On the Asia Minor idiom], *Απ' όλα*, iss. 330 (Constantinople 1/1/1917), 188.

3 See E. Balta, *Karamanlidika, XXe siècle, Bibliographie analytique*, Athens 1987, no 61 and no 81.

4 I. Tsourouktsis, op. cit., 9: "*Anatoli* and *Asia* were among the newspapers in Turkish written in Greek characters, and of the important educational writings for young people, *Temaşa-i Dünya* stood out". See S. Triantaphyllidis (Gülbabas), *To Αδά-Παζάρ* [Adapazarı], Eleutheroupolis 1961, 2.

5 I. Limnidis, "Περὶ του μικρασιατικού ιδιώματος", op. cit., 188.

6 On the activity of the American Board, see C. Kiskira, "Προτεστάντες ιεραπόστολοι στην Καθ' ημάς Ανατολή, 1819-1914: Η δράση της American Board" [Protestant missionaries in Asia Minor 1819-1914: The work of the American Board], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 12 (1997-1998), 97-128. S. Anestidis, "Αμερικανοί ιεραπόστολοι στη Μικρά Ασία. Βιβλιογραφική επισκόπηση" [American missionaries in Asia Minor. Bibliographical review], *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 11 (1995-1996), 375-388. On the publishing activities of the American missionaries in the Middle East, see P. Thanailaki, *Αμερική και Προτεσταντισμός. Η "Ευαγγελική Αυτοκρατορία" και οι οραματισμοί των Αμερικανών Μισιοναρίων για την Ελλάδα τον 19ο αιώνα* [America and Protestantism. The "Evangelical Empire" and the organizations of American missionaries to Greece in the 19th century], Athens, 2005. See also H.-L. Kieser, "Missionary America and Ottoman Turkey. The Seminal Break of World War I", *A Quest for Belonging. Anatolia Beyond Empire and Nation (19th-21st Centuries)*, *Analecta Isisiana* XCVII, The Isis Press, Istanbul 2007, 11-65.



Angeliaforos of 1873.

With the Asia Minor Catastrophe and the exodus of the Rums of Cappadocia from the land of their forebears, the publication of *Anatoli* ceased. In 1924, after reaching Greece, the refugees published the bilingual newspaper *Prosphygiki Phoni. Muhacir Sedası* [Refugee Voice], which was subtitled: 'Weekly political and social newspaper, instrument of the refugee organizations all over Greece'. The first two pages were in Greek and the last two in Turkish, and its material was concerned exclusively with refugee affairs. Publisher-owner of *Prosphygiki Phoni* was Chariton Polatoglou.¹ This newspaper too was short-lived. The process of integrating the Asia Minor refugees into Greek society precluded the preservation of cultural singularities, even though at various times Karamanlidika printed matter was used by Greek newspapers for purely vote-winning purposes, until 1935.²

Very little is known about the publishers of the Karamanlidika press, with the exception of Evangelinos Misailidis.³ From bibliographical indications as well as personal research in libraries in Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria, a preliminary catalogue of Karamanlidika newspapers and periodicals has been compiled, which at present includes 21 titles. There is no need for me to say that it is extremely difficult to restore series of Karamanlidika newspapers. The gaps are enormous and in all probability will remain so for ever. The main place of

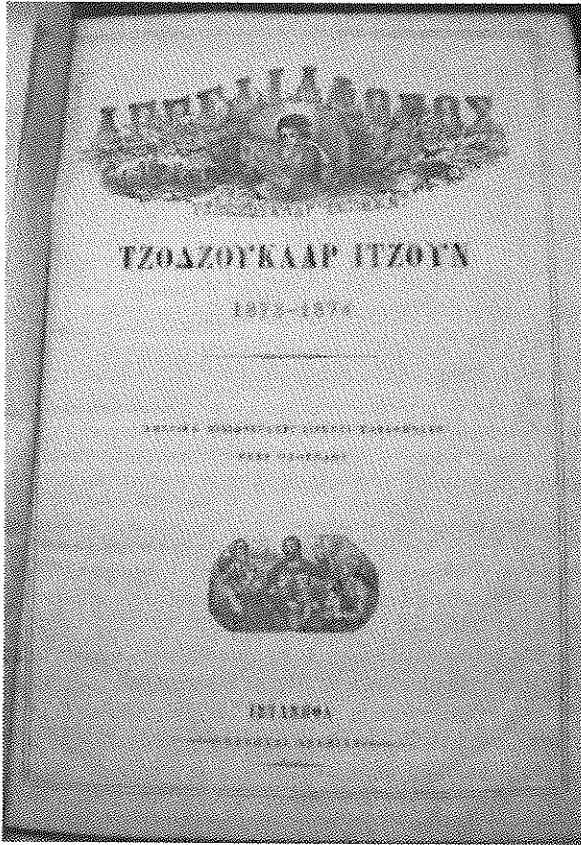
1 For information on the newspaper, see E. Balta, *Karamanlidika. Nouvelles additions et complements*, I, Athens 1997, 163.

2 Cf. e.g. the manifesto of the alliance of the parties of Tsaldaris, Kondylis, Metaxas and Hadjikyriakos which circulated Karamanlidika feuilles-volantes in the run-up to the elections of 9 June 1935. *Ibid.*, 159-162.

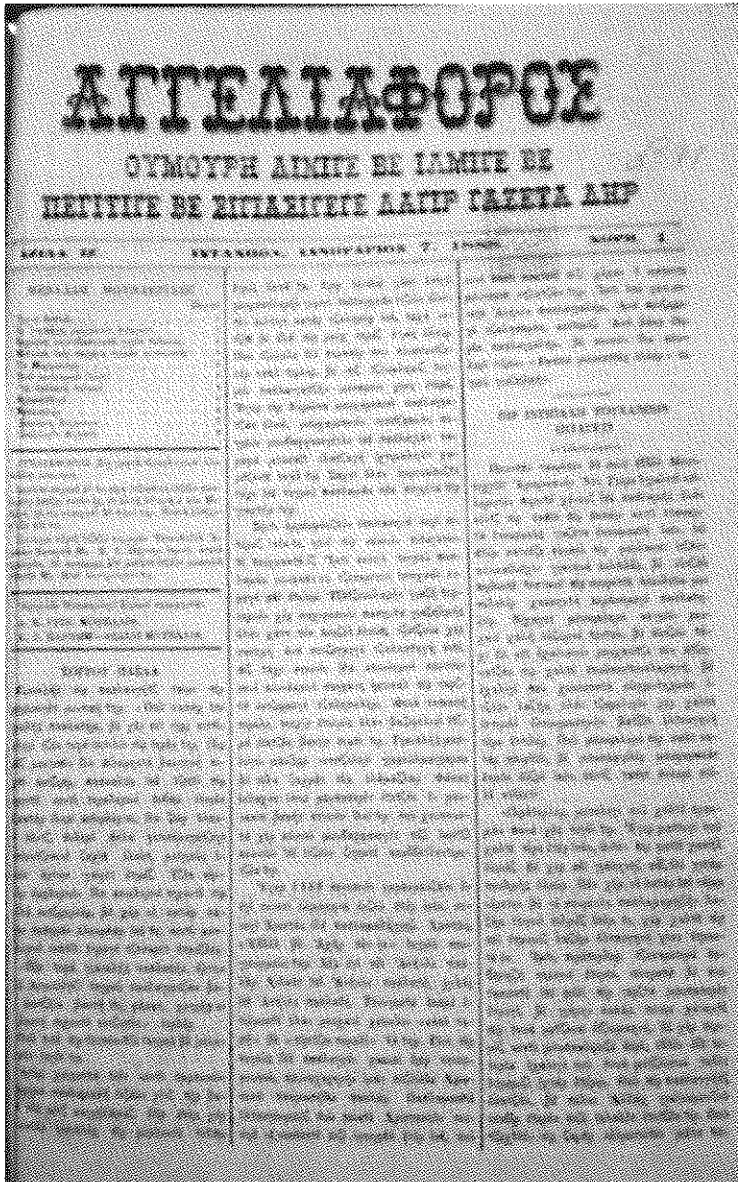
3 For the bibliography related to the life and work of Evangelinos Misailidis, see E. Balta, "Périodisation", *op. cit.*, 276, n. 4.

publication of the Karamanlidika press was Istanbul, even though it began in Smyrna and was to end in Athens. Knowledge of the radius of circulation is also one of the desiderata of research on the Karamanlidika press.

To recapitulate, the Karamanlidika press first appeared in Smyrna shortly before the mid-nineteenth century, as a consequence of the freedoms introduced by Tanzimat, and lived on until 1926 in the form of a newspaper of the Turcophone refugees who settled in Athens after the compulsory Exchange of Populations.



Angeliaforos Çocuklar İçin of 1873-1874.



Angeliasforos of 1888.