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**ΕΡΩΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ  
(=CONSEQUENCES OF LOVE) (1792):  
TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHY  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN A ‘NARRATIVIZED’  
ΜΙΣΜΑΓΙΑ<sup>1</sup>**

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The paper traces the urban anthropogeography of Constantinople / Istanbul as depicted in *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα* (1792) and the way the narrative or lyrical genres, modes and techniques, are serving as a vehicle for the aforementioned depiction. It is argued that urban environment plays a key-role in the story and, accompanied by the music and songs, the narrative frame of the text is transformed into a ‘dialogical’ (in Bakhtin’s terms) hybrid work embedding lyrical texts, and thus ‘narrativizing’ them. The experiment of the cultural transformation of the City (the so-called by critics Early Modern Istanbul) is depicted in an equally experimental text as a manifestation of the Early Modernity Ideology, while playing with literary modes and genres.

***Keywords:*** *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα, μισμαγιά (mescmua), inter-communal relations, music and literature, Greek Enlightenment*

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## 1. Introduction

*Ἐρωτος Ἀποτελέσματα* is an original three short-story collection, or, as explained in the ‘Proem’ of the first edition, one story with three versions-consequences (*αποτελέσματα*). Its first edition was anonymous on the title page, but signed with the initials I.K. at the end of the Dedicatory Note [Anonymous 1792]<sup>2</sup>, just before the ‘Proem’. The initials I.K. correspond, according to the researchers, to I. Karadzas, whereas the authorship of the main (literary) text still remains uncertain<sup>3</sup>, despite the fact that over many decades researchers have been arguing on the subject.

In the present paper we will focus on the urban topography and anthropogeography (people in the urban environment, artificial / humanly made nature of gardens, streets etc.) as presented in literature, serving as a vehicle of the ideology of Modernity. As far as lyrical songs and reference to music (embedded in our text) are concerned we will particularly see their interplay as popular oral means of expression in the context of urban forms of sociality. It can be argued that these three stories, or rather ‘the love story’ as a whole, do not depict urban landscapes per se, despite the short general descriptions (or rather overviews) of Constantinople and Poltava<sup>4</sup>. Additionally, in the first story there are specific descriptions of gardens, which play a vital role in the plot. Although we could say that describing Poltava to the Greek speaking readers was necessary for many of them who hadn’t visited it, one might wonder why describing Constantinople which was rather familiar to almost everyone. But, after a closer examination of the text, we can easily find out that the description is made from a rather different perspective, which stresses the similarities of the oriental to any western Metropolis, against the western stereotype of the ugly chaotic city, or far from a ‘civilized’ mod-

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<sup>2</sup> Thereafter only the numbers of the page/-es in the main text of this edition will be mentioned (in parenthesis). The Dedicatory Note and the Proem (‘Προοίμιον’) are without page numbers. For an analytic approach of both these introductory texts see [Mavrelis 2020].

<sup>3</sup> Apart from the author/-s of the work, another missing point is that, although there are studies on the verses as a part of our tradition, there is no close comparison with the oriental tradition. For a volume on the songs see [Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister et. al. 2013]. An interesting contribution for the aforementioned comparison is M. Kappler’s ‘Two cities of beloveds, one garden of love: The case of *Erotos Apotelesmata*’ (in: [Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister et. al. 2013: 89–105]).

<sup>4</sup> The descriptions of the two cities are made at the beginning of the first (pp. 1–2) and the third story (118–119). The second story lacks of any general description, apart from just mentioning Stavrodromi.

ern way of life [Xourias 2015: 123]. In the present paper we will not discuss the depiction of Poltava, but we will focus on Constantinople.

## 2. Modernization of Constantinople / Istanbul

From the very beginning of our ‘love story’, the narrator is not only stating the (real) place where the first two stories / versions — or ‘αποτελέσματα’ as mentioned in the ‘Proem’ — take place, but he directly and emphatically insists on comparing East (Asia) and West (Europe). Within the frame of Early Modernity, after the triumph of the Moderns in the famous Quarrel, he puts them side by side, both in the literal-geographical sense (as neighboring continents) and in the metaphorical-cultural sense of modernization that Enlightenment brought. If we would like to see the transformation of the city within the 18<sup>th</sup> century as depicted in Greek texts we should have in mind other texts as well. It seems that *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα* bears many similarities (both as general imagery and in details, but mainly with regard to its realism)<sup>5</sup> with an older work written 75 years earlier by N. Mavrocordatos in his novel *Φιλοθέου Πάρρηγα* [Mavrocordatos 1989]. These two works fully contrast their contemporary western ones, which use an orientalist perspective, sometimes distorting the image of Constantinople.

The trend towards the modernization of Constantinople as the metropolis of the East is traceable in texts throughout the eighteenth century. In the aforementioned Mavrocordatos’ novel we have (for the first time in a Greek literary realistic and western type narrative work) the description of At Meydani<sup>6</sup> and the populace but also a private garden, where a banquet is being held with the participation of erudite heroes. What makes this novel special is the anthropogeography (re)presented, for it contains members of the different ethnoreligious millets (=communities) (Romioi, Armenians, Western Christians, Jews and Muslims, both Turks and Arabs), an element lacking from *Έρωτος αποτελέσματα*, as we will see. Despite the fact that their stories take place in Stavrodromi and Psomatheia, places inhabited by Christians, we cannot say that

<sup>5</sup> For Mavrocordatos’ novel see [Mavrelou 2007, 2019]. For *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα* see [Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister 2005] and [Xourias 2016].

<sup>6</sup> At the very beginning of the story, Mavrocordatos offers us a bird’s eye view plan of the city, focusing later at the central square, a technique similar to the one in *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα* for Constantinople and Poltava. After this general overview, they focus on a place and even closer to a garden (private or public).

it was forbidden or not accessible by Muslims<sup>7</sup>. A more significant difference between the novel and the stories is that, as the century passes, love becomes the central subject in 1792, whereas in 1717 it is only marginal. Additionally, the novel represents private banquets, as the 1792 stories, but the first has erudite heroes acting within a sophisticated detective story plot [Mavrelos 2019: 154–159], whereas *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα* represent private parties with popular urban songs. We can, therefore, discern the evolution of the urban inhabitants' cultural status (mainly Romioi) from early to late 18<sup>th</sup> century or Early to Late Enlightenment. In order to trace this evolution it would be necessary to examine in depth many other texts, definitely not only literary, from many Ottoman Empire millets. Only such a trans-communal and trans-artistic approach could show the evolution of both the material and cultural identity in the already multicultural and cosmopolitan City throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, from the 'Tulip Era' of Ahmed III reign (r. 1703–1730) till the reforms made by Selim III (r. 1789–1807) at the end of the century. Although Turkish researchers, reflecting the general turn towards the study of Early Modernity in the Middle East and particularly the Ottoman Empire [Rifa'at 1991], have started tracing the so called Early Modern Istanbul Era, the parallel study of literary and non-literary texts in Greek could be very helpful for the whole subject. On the other hand, the Greek Enlightenment researchers studying Phanariot Constantinople could be helped when taking under consideration the Ottoman Turkish production.

At this point it is important to stress that the aforementioned cultural transformation also points out the gradual shift of the writers regarding the presentation of private sphere activities to the public, that is some works depicting very intimate scenes (not represented before) to the readers as manifestation of urban human activities, along with the usual private or public social events depicted in older texts. At least the Greek printed texts, apart from the written and circulating in manuscript form for restricted groups of (mostly scholars and upper class) readers, towards the end of the century seem to depict more and more private scenes.

### 3. The “inward turn” of narrative

The trend to focus on the private sphere is connected to the French production. The main hero of the third story might seem to be (though not emphatical-

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<sup>7</sup> These intercommunal relations are only hinted as far as songs are concerned in page 59 when the narrator says our heroes were singing Turkish, Greek and Armenian songs.

ly) against the French novel of the ‘νεωτερίζοντες’ (p. 172)<sup>8</sup>, i.e. the libertines, but the heroes, their actions and words or the songs they sing, reflect an altogether revolutionary image for the East and the habits of its anthropogeography as seen in other texts as well [Mavrelou 2017b: 405]. Taking a closer look at the text, we can see that it is more revolutionary as far as narrative techniques and generic identity are concerned. In the third person narration one can detect efforts to depict not only actions and words but also thoughts, giving them in direct speech as if they were monologues and introducing them with phrases as “ἀρχισε να συλλογίζεται λέγωντας” (p. 77)<sup>9</sup>. We even have a dialogue in verse between heart and soul (pp. 52–56). Orality can also be traced when the indirect discourse that begins in third person, goes on in first person without any indicator or punctuation: “λέγοντες επάνω εις το τέλος των λόγων...ότι... να λάβουν την τιμήν... και θέλομεν ευθυμήσει” (p. 35), which could be considered as an experimentation that will later lead to the form of Free Indirect Speech. Another similar case is when we have the verb and indicator that indirect speech begins (although without the indicator *ότι*), but after some lines we have direct speech: “είπε...του Ανδρέα δεν εκατάλαβεν... όθεν δια να καταλάβης, τον λέγει...” (p. 52). Additionally, we trace a game of generic and / or modal shifting from narrative to lyrical or to dialogical or from description to lyrical songs, purloined letters in verse form, hidden verses in the prose narration<sup>10</sup>, songs that are in fact verses from printed poetic works etc.

Examining the techniques and the structure of the work<sup>11</sup>, we could say that, within the setting of the first story<sup>12</sup>, the garden plays a vital role as a place, despite the fact that many details (as in Ekphrases embedded in nov-

<sup>8</sup> As aforementioned, for this paper we will take under consideration only the first edition, because the others (1809 and 1836) distorted the text.

<sup>9</sup> It is really worth mentioning the existence of depicted thoughts also in verse form, as if it was a song in page 92.

<sup>10</sup> See the Homeric verses or words from the Iliad: Ω 788 in p. 86, Β 22 in p. 20 etc. or the suggestion of Meleagrus’ epigram in p. 3 «οϊστροβολούντα» (instead of «οιστροβόλουντα»). As I have proved, this technique of compiling verses also exists in the Proemium [Mavrelou 2020].

<sup>11</sup> On these techniques, but from a different perspective, see [Xourias 2016]. The role of the garden would indeed be aligned with the romance or non realistic aspect, as presented, if we had the mere description of it, without any role in the plot. But the gardens in our stories do have a functional role and are not relevant with the marvelous aspect of the gardens in ancient or late medieval romances.

<sup>12</sup> See [Mavrelou 2017b: 404]. In the next page of the paper by accident I mention the second story although it is still the first.

els) are almost absent (apart from generally mentioning kiosks and benches). There are also references to parts of the City (‘Ταραρχανά’ [=Darphane], ‘Τζαρσί’ [=Çarşı], “Ψομαθιά” and “Σταυροδρόμι”). In general, but mainly in the second story, the role of the letters as a plot device (already stressed by Chatzipanagioti [2005: 256–257] and Xourias [2007: 70–83] among others), turns out to be of vital importance, reminding us of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*. The epistolary generic identity bears a sort of confessional character, deeply personal and private, here put in a verse form, thus mingling the lyrical content (and genre) with the form of a lyrical poetic text. Therefore, we could say that the writers of *Ερωτός Αποτελέσματα* do follow the European trend to use letters, but there is a big difference in the way it is used. First of all the letters, as aforementioned, are mainly in verse and thus closely connected to the urban popular (oral) songs sung by our heroes. Second, the letters — combined with the songs and at the same time bearing a song-like poetic form — are the vehicle for the narrator to unroll in a rather realistic way (despite their lyrical nature) the personal lives of our heroes, whereas in the second story the anxiety of the reader is enhanced when some letters are purloined. This technique and the use of this generic form align with the use of the letter in European literature in general, as many have stressed (e.g. [Bray 2003; Howland 1991]).

In brief, one might talk about an “inward turn” of narrative, representing consciousness and personal feelings, as the examples (pp. 52–56, 77 and 92) mentioned above, or the psychology of the heroes, through certain generic forms that can more easily and convincingly expose them in a rather realistic way, not idealized as later in Romanticism<sup>13</sup>. We could say that in the Greek literary production of the period there is a realistic description of personal life. In this way the private sector of society is more preferable to the public within the frame of the dialogical palimpsest of the narrative texts. In other words, the lyrical genres, unveiling personal and intimate feelings, become narrativized or ‘novelized’, according to Bakhtin’s theory<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> For this shift see [Bray 2003].

<sup>14</sup> [Morson, Emerson 1990: 304]. ‘Novelization’ is considered as the ‘dialogical line’ that characterizes Europe’s fiction (p. 300). It would be interesting to approach our text under the perspective of Bakhtin’s theory, contrasting novelistic to lyrical discourse, as dialogical and monological respectively [Morson, Emerson 1990: 346–348 et passim]. The use of poetic / lyrical discourse (as embedment) in our text is so extent that it is a significant example.

If we attempt to examine the role of literary modes and genres in *Ερωτος Αποτελέσματα*, we will see many embed letters, but the second story in *Ερωτος Αποτελέσματα* contains a very complicated nexus of letters, some purloined or forged by malicious heroes, other than their original writers. The consequences of the first love example (story) are good due to the lack of jealousy and malicious characters, whereas in the second we have the same subject (love) but a different ending and different heroes, necessarily chosen to lead to a bad end<sup>15</sup>. Additionally, in our work the letters are in verse, as aforementioned, the traditional Greek term for which is ‘στιχηρά επιστολογραφία’<sup>16</sup>. Rendering our example more interesting, the letters are intentionally put among the ‘songs’, as it is obvious from the Table of Songs at the end of the book. If these ‘songs’ are the most lyrical (as literary mode) or personal discourse to be uttered (or ‘monological’ according to Bakhtin), then, as we already mentioned, the letters in verse are correctly put together in the same table with the songs, as a purely personal way of writing<sup>17</sup>. If we add the verse form and lyrical mode of both songs and verse-letters in the book, we can see that in our three examples we have a gradually increasing amount of the pages in the lyrical mode instead of the narrative<sup>18</sup>. The narrative pages in the first story are about half its extent, in the second story they are 1/3 and in the third story 1/4. Our heroes not only express themselves, but within this fictional world they are presented as creators of the songs or letters in verse, despite the fact that our writers took them either from other writer or from the urban songs. Our heroes are both poets and musicians, as the narrator stresses

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<sup>15</sup> An interesting approach is lately made by Xourias [2016], based on the outcome of every story (that is the content). Yet, if we take under consideration the response of the reader to the second and even in the (somehow neutral) third story, we could see that the reader might be identified with the miserable hero or even shows him compassion, despite the ‘instructions’ by the Proem. So the writer’s intention is not what counts in our case.

<sup>16</sup> For this genre in Greek tradition during the 19th century see [Ieronymaki 2014].

<sup>17</sup> This element permits a different interpretation than the one made by Xourias [2016], which is based on the outcome of the stories, whereas the present approach is based on the elements and the identity (modal and generic) of the discourse uttered.

<sup>18</sup> Chatzipanagioti [2005: 266] correctly relates the narrative mode of the prose with the Enlightenment modernity and the poetic (lyrical mode) with the conservative traditional ideology. We could add that we have a contrast also between the oral way of the production and reception of the songs (or the poetic form) embedded in our work, and the reception of the written texts through reading.



that some of the songs are written (verses) and composed (music) by the heroes. What is widely known is that some of the songs were in reality known from the circulating ‘μισμαγιές’ (‘mecmûa’ in Turkish), whereas others were written by the writer(s) especially for the book<sup>19</sup>. The third-person traditional discourse of the narrator is gradually put aside and the third story almost becomes a ‘mismaya’, as 3/4 of it is in verse<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, the general frame is narrative and the songs are part of a prose fiction text. Thus, lyrical ‘song’ is not an autonomous genre but embedded, or transformed, with a different use than the same song has in the ‘real’ world. In a word, the songs are ‘narrativized’, or according to Bakhtin ‘novelized’, shifting from the ‘monological’ identity of the lyrical mode (or genres) to the ‘dialogical’ or a modern way of prose writing<sup>21</sup>. If we want to trace the range of the song reception and the cultural background it is also important to stress that some of these songs were a common heritage for the diverse social groups and ethno-religious communities (Romioi, Armenians, and Turks) and others are from books<sup>22</sup> or of unknown origin. Their performances within the city were taking place in public space (first story) or in private gatherings / parties (second and third stories), since they were popular urban songs. This urban identity of our heroes who sing corresponds to upper or middle classes stressing internal social stratification: main characters are merchants, Phanariot aristocrats, officials of the state, whereas the secondary characters who do not sing are lower-class people (mainly servants, nannies and old ladies), having a key-role within the plot as those who carry the letters or messages, apart from Liubitch in the third story. This variety represents the variety of discourses in the work, its dialogical identity, but also the culturally diverse anthropogeography of Constantinople<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> For details on the real authors and / or composers of the verses see the recent edition of the verses without the text in [Deliyannaki 2018].

<sup>20</sup> Deliyannaki [2018] mentions in her introduction the number of the songs but not the percentage.

<sup>21</sup> For this subject see above footnote 14. For the lyrical hero as ‘monological’ see [Bakhtin 1990: 167–172]. For cited poetry in a ‘dialogized’ way see [Kulcsar-Szabó 2016].

<sup>22</sup> Deliyannaki [2018: 38–39], apart from one of them, has not identified which of these are by the writers. In the notes at the end of the book we have the names of the composers and / or verse writers.

<sup>23</sup> In the present paper we do not examine the vital role played in the third story by the Major (Μαγίόρος) in Poltava.

The embedded songs, justly characterized by our critics as very important, are sometimes accompanied by the name of the musical melody type or mode, the byzantine ‘echos’ or ‘makam’, i.e. the way a song is accompanied with musical instruments<sup>24</sup>. The type or melody is mentioned thirteen times with the Turkish / Arab term ‘μακάμι’ (=makam) and one with the byzantine term ‘echos’<sup>25</sup>. In the 1836 edition two more terms (‘δεκάμετρον’ and ‘οκτώμετρον’) related to the byzantine terminology are added by the editor<sup>26</sup>, perhaps with the intention to balance the foreign terminology over the Greek. What is more interesting within the inter-communal frame is that they are described as a vital part of the City’s urban leisure, both in public gardens and in private parties. The urban citizen is expressing himself through songs accompanied by music, in the frame of a social status that perhaps was not easy to find in non urban environments of small cities or villages. These popular songs are stressing the domination of orality in neohellenic art<sup>27</sup>, common with other millets. This oral tradition shifts from the rural popular to the urban popular songs and, in our text, it is related to the orality in narrative techniques, such as the aforementioned use of a mixed Direct and Indirect Speech form (p. 35) or the direct representation of thoughts of our heroes. It is also obvious that from the anonymous creations used by all people some songs were either from printed works or created by our writer(s) especially for a work which then almost all people knew who had written it<sup>28</sup>. The orality of the songs can be de-

<sup>24</sup> See the introductory observations on the issue by A. Frantzi [1993]. For a more detailed view see [Deliyannaki 2018: 37–56].

<sup>25</sup> Apart from the existing approaches to these Greek songs and their relation with the *mismaya* tradition by researchers, it would be interesting to approach them through a musicological perspective within the wider frame of the multicultural Ottoman Empire musical tradition, as it will be done within the frame of our research program. Christians share many of these songs’ melodies with Muslims since the end of 17th and the beginning of 18th century. See [Feldman 1996]. For the Greeks see [Poulos 2014: 83–105]. For another interesting case of inter-communal musical relations from the days of D. Cantemir see [Poulos 2021].

<sup>26</sup> [Eros Apotelesmata 1836: 146, 147]. The editor of this edition also makes changes in the text, as we will see.

<sup>27</sup> See Kappler’s view for a short but useful comparison between the Turkish popular tradition and our song [Chatzipanagiotti et. al. 2013: 100–102] and for the popularity (though orality is not strictly mentioned) [Chatzipanagiotti et. al. 2013: 105].

<sup>28</sup> It is worth mentioning that the so called “verses” or “songs” are in all 132, and more than half of them, at least in their recent edition [Deliyannaki 2018: 233–284], are not attributed to any writer and / or composer of verses and / or music.

tected in the use of repetitive character of phrases, verses or elements in order to render them easy to memorize, as Frantzi observed [1993: 15]<sup>29</sup>. The urban population in our book is not as libertine as the ones described in western prose fiction, although some of those belonging to lower-classes (servants, old ladies and shopkeeper) are represented as easier to be bribed by bourgeois people, so as to carry letters, find out secrets of an enemy etc.

As argued above, our text is an interesting example not only for the certain period but also for the Modern Greek short prose fiction in general, due to its generic identity and narrative techniques. First of all we have a sort of a ‘mise en abyme’<sup>30</sup> technique, because some of the heroes who sing songs are also mentioned as the authors not only of the embedded text (verses) but of the music as well<sup>31</sup>. From all these 1792-edition songs some are in fact letters in verse, as aforementioned, but two others are embedded representations of monologues in verse (p. 99), one is an inner ‘dialogue’ (ερωτήσεις και αποκρίσεις) between heart and soul (pp. 52–56) and one more is a representation of thoughts in verse (pp. 92–93). The game with genres (lyrical poem, letter, monologue, dialogue embedded in a third person narrative frame story) is combined with that of modes (lyrical, narrative and mimetic) and forms (verse in various metrical forms, and prose in its various forms as letter, monologue, narration of acts and description of urban environment). The same shifting game is also to be spotted in the levels: a) of the means of circulation of the ‘text’ (oral for true songs known in Constantinople and printed to be read for the book), and b) of the subject uttering the discourse (eponymous vs. anonymous, educated vs. illiterate, lower or middle / upper class person). Our elaborate text written by scholars contains many popular urban songs, others written by the writer(s) and others copied from books, whereas within the prose part we have verses from Homer and *Anthologia Palatina*, as aforementioned. These songs could once more become popular if readers like and sing them. We could interpret all this game of contrast between the utterance of narrators or heroes (as subjects of prose discourse ut-

<sup>29</sup> Apart from the oral ones, we should wonder what happens when the written (printed) poems are performed orally within our fictional world by the heroes.

<sup>30</sup> This technique is not at all unfamiliar in Greek Enlightenment prose texts (from early 18th to early 19th century). Some of the writers are N. Mavrocordatos [Mavrelos 2007], the so called ‘Anonymous of 1789’ [Mavrelos 2016] and Korais [Mavrelos 2010]. For an overall presentation of the issue see [Mavrelos 2017a].

<sup>31</sup> Although we know some songs are from real life composers, within this fictional world the heroes are considered as their creators.

terance) with that of heroes or eponymous and anonymous popular composers of the embedded songs<sup>32</sup>, as a symbol of the contrast between the oriental past of Constantinople with the dominating oral tradition and the trend towards the western culture for the future.

The game becomes more interesting in the third story, where the main character (who is the secretary of a real person involved in major historical facts, namely Alexander Mavrocordatos ‘Firaris’) writes verses and asks Liubitich to translate them in Russian in order to make a private edition and offer it to Barbara. Towards the end of the same story, the game with genres and citations is much more complex, due to the embedding of a French novel’s summary<sup>33</sup>. In this point, due to the summary he embeds, the narrator connects the ‘pro Moderns’ (‘νεωτερίζοντες’) with libertinism (p. 172)<sup>34</sup>, being very mildly against them, when most of the scholars were fighting libertinism in East and West<sup>35</sup>. Chatzipanagioti connects the embedded novel summary and the libertinism to the satire *Αλεξάνδροβοδάς ο ασυνείδητος*, whereas she also tries to outline the narrative techniques that stress the particular role of the embedded story [Chatzipanagioti 2005: 268–269]. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the characters are represented as libertines, but some of these elements are also connected to our satirical tradition<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> This contrast is very well described by Chatzipanagioti [2005: 259].

<sup>33</sup> Xourias [2015: 121–122] correctly connects this part of the text with the reading habits of the Phanariots, who preferred European literature, but we could also consider this technique as a part of the aforementioned narrativization of the speech genres embedded in our narration. The ‘modern’ genre serves as a vehicle of early modernity ideology and at the same time renovates the narrative and citation techniques of the long narrative fiction of the past [Mavrelou 2017a].

<sup>34</sup> This is found in the 1792 edition, whereas in 1836 the editor adds in parenthesis a very aggressive reference towards the libertines. He also distorts the original in other points, because, when contrasting the libertine with the superstitious, the narrator is in favor of the libertine in the first edition and vice versa in the third [Erosos Apotelesmata 1792: 172 and 1836: 167].

<sup>35</sup> Chatzipanagioti [2005: 271] considers the writers as libertines and against the religious ethics, whereas the heroes as more traditional ones. I think that it is not as directly aggressive to religious ethics, as considered by Chatzipanagioti, although I agree it is suggested. The researcher goes further in her interpretation by arguing that the writers are against the Orthodox dogma in general [Chatzipanagioti 2005: 265–266]. The second story, where we find these references, is only against the Armenian dogma.

<sup>36</sup> Chatzipanagioti [2005: 269–271] uses the song ‘Εις περιβόλι εύμορφον...’ (p. 155) as proof of the writers’ libertinage because it has sexual hints. However, this element was very common in the popular song from older times in Greek

As far as the morals and the customs of the urban people, Greek-Orthodox Romioi are represented as more liberal than the other millets of the Empire, but in the second story they are mainly contrasted to the Armenians, as aforementioned. Armenian millet is considered by the narrator as ultra-conservative in such a point so as to harm their own children (pp. 72–73). This image of the ‘other’ millet is extremely interesting in our work, especially if we consider that for the Ottoman Turks as millet, there is a total absence of reference<sup>37</sup>, as for the Jews. This aspect needs further research.

Reconsidering the stories under the perspective of their heroes’ citizenship or ethno-religious identity we should stress that in the first story the main heroes are from the same ethno-religious group, Romioi of the same social class. In the second story they are all Christians but from a different ethno-religious community, Romioi and Armenians. In the third story people from different states are involved, as Liubitch and Barbara are Russians and the main hero and others are Romioi from Constantinople, but they all belong to the same dogma (Orthodox). Apart from this fact, the stories have the three outcomes / ends stated from the Proem: a happy, a bad and a ‘neutral’. In this last one we have another (embedded) story with a bad end as well. Despite the fact that the outcome of the second story is declared as bad in the Proem, the hero is depicted in such a way that could not be considered as bad or immoral but only not logical (as also suggested in the Proem). The most important of all is that he is the victim of a social rather than religious prejudice which forbids inter-communal marriages. This prejudice is fiercely attacked, for the narrator is trying to present the Enlightenment ideas on tolerance (religious and social), the overturning of which some young people are trying to achieve, albeit without success. The reader could be turned against the Armenians in a way that reminds us of the French story about Pauline.

## 5. Conclusions

Concluding, we could say that *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα* is an example of the trend towards realistic representation, showing Greek Enlightenment

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tradition. The aforementioned song reminds us an older one with similarities in the first verse (‘σ’ έναν ώρτο περιβόλι’), not only with hints but even more directly expressed in words, written down in Constantinople at the end of the 17th century, which is traditional (carnavalesque) in its substance. See [Poulos 2021], where there is an appendix with the text.

<sup>37</sup> This absence is very correctly stressed by M. Kappler [Chatzipanagioti et. el. 2013: 89–105].

prose-writers' effort to move towards extroversion, as manifested in public and private, sometimes inter-communal, feasts engaged in a form of sociality which has main subjects music and love. *Ἔρωτος Αποτελέσματα* is a 'narrativized *mismaya*' with experimentation related to speech genre and narrative techniques. It also manifests the general turn towards the depiction of private (or intimate) moments as in other (printed or manuscript) texts of the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is therefore necessary to reexamine the literary production of the period given by older Greek literary histories. New editions of texts in manuscript have come to light — along with new methodology using linguistic, inter-disciplinary, genre-theory — approaches have started showing a different image from the one that insisted that there is not enough 'literature' during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Of course it is also necessary to examine the 'Other', the different ethno-religious communities of the Empire and their textual production (literary or not), but also other arts that show this trend towards modernity: music, architecture and gardening. Arts can be found to play a role of their creators' ideology-vehicle but also that of the people receiving it, in a phrase the cultural status. The ideology of modernity and the experimentation in arts can make us understand how we moved towards the new ethnic identities and the new states or, in our case, the 1821 Revolution and the Modern Greek State, which will radically change the Greek literary production.

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## **Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα (1792): Τοπογραφία και Ανθρωπογεωγραφία της Κωνσταντινούπολης σε μια ‘αφηγηματοποιημένη’ μισμαγιά<sup>38</sup>**

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Η παρούσα εργασία ανιχνεύει την αστική ανθρωπογεωγραφία της Κωνσταντινούπολης / Istanbul όπως απεικονίζεται στο *Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα* (1792) μαζί με τον τρόπο κατά τον οποίο τα αφηγηματικά ή λυρικά είδη, τρόποι και τεχνικές λειτουργούν ως όχημα για την προαναφερθείσα αναπαράσταση. Υποστηρίζεται πως το αστικό περιβάλλον κατέχει ρόλο-κλειδί στην ιστορία και, συνοδευμένο από τη μουσική και τα τραγούδια, το αφηγηματικό πλαίσιο του κειμένου μεταμορφώνει το έργο σε ένα «διαλογικό» (κατά Μπαχτίν) υβριδικό κείμενο που εγκιβωτίζει άλλα λυρικά κείμενα, «αφηγηματοποιώντας» τα. Το πείραμα αυτό της πολιτισμικής μεταμόρφωσης της Πόλης, το οποίο οι κριτικοί αποκαλούν «Early Modern Istanbul»), απεικονίζεται εντός ενός εξίσου πειραματικού κειμένου, κι αυτού ως εκδήλωση της Πρώιμης Νεοτερικής Ιδεολογίας, παίζοντας ταυτόχρονα και με τα λογοτεχνικά είδη και τρόπους.

*Λέξεις-κλειδιά: Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα, μισμαγιά (tesmia), δια-κοινοτικές σχέσεις, μουσική και λογοτεχνία, Ελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*

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