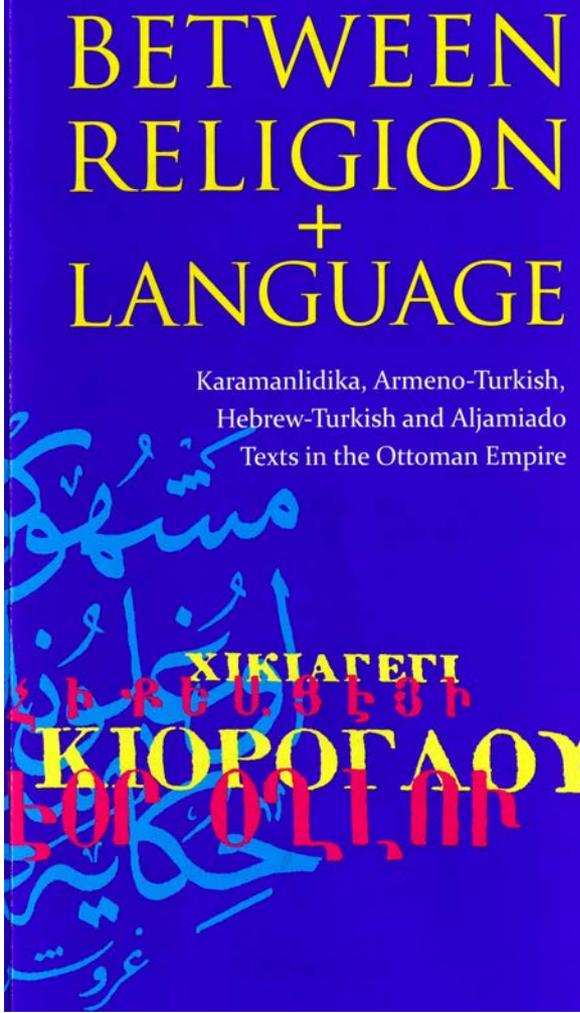


TÜRK DİLLERİ ARAŞTIRMALARI DİZİSİ: 48  
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION



**Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews  
and Greek-Speaking Muslims and  
Catholics in the Ottoman Empire**

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Between Religion and Language:  
Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews  
and Greek-Speaking Muslims and  
Catholics in the Ottoman Empire

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## Blame it on the Turko-Romnioi (*Turkish Rums*) A Muslim Cretan song on the abolition of the Janissaries

Yorgos Dedes

### **Türkî<-i> rûmî**

The subject of this article is a diplomatic edition of a very unusual Greek aljamiado manuscript from the private library of the Turkish scholar Sabri Koz.<sup>1</sup> It is written entirely in the Arabic or Ottoman script, in a neat *nesih* hand,<sup>2</sup> and contains a 'song' (identified as (ι)τραγούδι in the last verse) in rhyming couplets of fifteen syllables about the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826, composed exclusively in Cretan Greek and written in the same year.

It bears a title in the same hand as the rest of the text, *türkî rûmî*, and it is remarkable that, as the only actual piece in Turkish in the text, this is deficiently spelled. The Persian *izafet* which according to conventional requirement should join the two words together is not orthographically indicated here, something surprising for the excellent calligraphic hand of the manuscript. This is even more peculiar when one considers the fact that the scribe, perhaps the composer himself, proves himself well versed in the relevant orthographic conventions and versatile in their application to Greek. With the *izafet* applied the title would read *türkî-i rûmî* or

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<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is published here with his permission on the basis of the photographs which he made available. I am most grateful to him for his generosity. As a scholar strongly interested in Turkish popular literature and culture, in whatever script or language, it is only fitting that he should have discovered such an interesting manuscript standing at the antipodes of his own interests.

<sup>2</sup> The hand may be clear, but the reading of the Greek text is perhaps less so, partly because of the frequent wrong division of words: the composer-scribe follows the rules of Ottoman orthography and applies them on Greek phonetically and unencumbered by word separation. (The philological aspects of the text will form part of another study on Greek aljamiado literature.) I am grateful to a number of colleagues and friends who have tirelessly offered their help and advice in reading the text: Selim Kuru, Oscar Aguirre Mandujano, Ilias Anagnostakis, Angie Zouridaki and Akis Kovouldopoulakis. There are still a number of passages which remain unclear.

indeed *türkü-i rûmî*, in which case meaning would be restored, in seemingly paradoxical fashion: "a Turkish song in Greek", whereby the word *türkî* is used in its sense of *türkü*, 'a typical song in plain Turkish', what we might now call a folk song, and is modified by an adjective, *rûmî*, meaning 'in Roman', by which we need to understand 'in the Greek language'. So a *Greek song* afterall, not a Turkish one!

It should be noted that in the rest of the composition, which is all in Greek, the derivatives of the word 'turk' (τουρκορωμνιοί 4b, τουρκιά 3b) are used in the main sense the word had in nineteenth-century Greek, namely 'Muslim', primarily but not necessarily Turkish-speaking. As the subject matter is the abolition of the Janissaries, the author has good occasion to use these words when taking issue with their deficiently Islamic behaviour and understanding.

The composer who "put together this song" ("ιτραγούδι από ταίριασε", l. 61a) was clearly a Muslim and he gives his name at the same and last verse, a little too minimally for posterity, as Chaniotis o Selimis, (Χανιώτης ο Σελίμης), Selim from Chania. The song was not only written in the Arabic script, it was 'put together' by an eponymous Muslim and reflects a clear Muslim-Turkish perspective. It therefore is a legitimate product of what Modern Greeks, scholars and others, call and, to a lesser extent, Turks –mainly today's Cretans (*Giritli*) in Turkey– accept as, *Turco-Cretan* literature (*τουρκοκρητική λογοτεχνία*).

This Muslim literature in the Cretan dialect of Greek, however, would have to be considered part of the *oral* literature of Crete, the junior counterpart of the very rich oral Christian literature of the island. As is well known there is famously a written literature in the Cretan dialect, but it dates exclusively from the pre-Ottoman, Venetian and Byzantine periods. In the Ottoman period there is hardly any written Cretan literature, and the Ottoman rule is routinely 'blamed' by Modern Greek scholars as having arrested previous developments. Be that as it may, it is interesting, if somewhat ironic, to note that on the Muslim side we do have the very much learned, and therefore always *written*, Islamic genre of rhyming glossaries (*tuhfe*) in Ottoman Turkish and Cretan Greek, which is always in the vernacular.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed analysis of the historical and socio-linguistic situation of the Muslims in Crete and the famous late eighteenth-century *tuhfe* of Nûrî from Chania see Matthias Kappler, "Fra religione e lingua/grafia dei Balcani", *Oriente Moderno* 86 (1996), 79-112; on the rhyming glossaries genre in the Balkans, see Matthias

As for oral Cretan literature, whether of the Ottoman period or older, it is thought of consisting of folk songs (*δημοτικά τραγούδια*), which are further divided into a genre peculiar to Crete, the so-called *mantinádes* (*μαντινάδες*), improvised rhyming fifteen-syllable couplets, the *rizítika* (*ριζίτικα*) songs of western Crete, the *paralogés* (*παραλογές*), a pan-Greek sub-genre, and the *rímes* (*ρίμες*), slightly longer narrative compositions in *mantinada* type verse. The so-called *náklia* (*κρητικά νάκλια*), prose narratives in the vernacular are usually also included in the discussions of Cretan literature. In terms of collection and publication, the literature of the Venetian period has pride of place, and there are several rich and reliable collections of *mantinádes*. *Rímes* and *náklia* are the poor relatives, though there is a single collection of *rímes*<sup>4</sup>.

*Ríma*<sup>5</sup> is the preferred term of Modern Greek literature scholars of Crete to refer to long(ish) *anonymous* verse compositions in the historical tradition, narrating the 'deeds of great men' or great events, especially related to fighting, but also natural catastrophes and everyday life events. Though they are considered by most to have been a pre-printing newspaper type medium, they were at times accompanied by a musical instrument, *lyre* in the countryside and violin or lute in the cities. Though the genre is anonymous -it is, after all, considered a folk song- the names

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Kappler, "Ottoman versified dictionaries for Balkan languages: A comparative analysis", *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 37 (2001), 10-20. For a recent puzzling Cretan specimen, see Yorgos Dedes, "Luğat-i rûmiye: A Turkish-Greek versified glossary from the late Ottoman period: Serious learning or a bit of fun on the side?", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 32 (2007), 238-280. Traditionally the didactic purpose of these glossaries would be directed at the Turkish-speaking newcomers to the island to facilitate their learning Greek as an Islamic language, but it is striking that they might have been used for the learning of Turkish by the native Cretans.

<sup>4</sup> Aristides Kriaris, *Κρητικά άσματα*, Chania 1909.

<sup>5</sup> The historical origin of the genre in Crete may reflect western influence, but it is unclear whether the Italian term, simply meaning 'rhyme', is meant to reflect such an influence. At the end of one of the oldest *rímes* on the revolt of Daskaloyannis (1770s), the amanuensis, the son of a priest, describes how he used to record, holding pen and paper, little by little every day what the poet, Barba Pantzelios, used to narrate. It is remarkable that he uses the term *rimadóros* to refer to him:

He told me it in song, because he is a		Τραγουδιχτά μου τά 'λεγε, γιατ' είναι
<i>rimadóros</i>		ριμαδόρος

See, Roderick Beaton, *Folk poetry of Modern Greece*, Cambridge 1980, 155-156.

of a number of so-called *rimadóroi* are known as the genre was particularly popular in the nineteenth century and then again during the German occupation in World War II.<sup>6</sup>

In accordance to the classification presented above the Sabri Koz manuscript presented here contains one such *ríma* to add to the corpus. Given that the historical *rímes* collected by Kriaris were mostly orally recorded, except for the *Daskaloyannis* one as we have seen, it would also appear to be one of the earliest written specimen of the genre, albeit in *aljamiado* form. Our *ríma* of course belongs to the Muslim branch of Cretan literature, which has not had the fortune of being much noticed or assessed in the available scholarship or literary histories, even though its presence was known and some specimens of it have been included in mainstream works and anthologies given, however, as we shall see, that these works are not necessarily identified as the products of a Muslim bard, it is not surprising that this literature has not received much attention. Indeed, it has been the prerogative of local and other historians to utilize it as a historical source or to prove –if not score– a political point, about the so-called *Turko-Cretans*. In this regard the work of Nikolaos Stavrínidis, for many a year the director of the Ottoman Archive in Herakleion, deserves to be singled out for treating Muslim texts in their own right, albeit within a clear historical perspective of his own choosing. Neither the younger generations of Ottoman specialists in Greece, nor specialist interested in Greek-speaking Muslims have not been much involved with these works, quite possibly because there is no substantial corpus of them.

There are encouraging signs that this may be about to change, however, as Stavros Planakis, a local Cretan philologist published an anthology of 'Turko-Cretan' literature which is eminently useful in bringing together a complete corpus of the available works from different genres, including specimens of prose texts<sup>7</sup>. In terms of its subject matter, the Janissaries, our *ríma* is only one of four or five other *rímes* which deal with aspects of

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<sup>6</sup> Twentieth-century *rímes* were apparently composed by a number of women as well. For a list of names and dates see Eratosthenis Kapsomenos, *To σύγχρονο κρητικό ιστορικό τραγούδι. Η δομή και η ιδεολογία του*, Athens 1979 and N. P. Kondosopoulos, "Η κρητική γλώσσα και η ρίμα της", *Κρητική Εστία* 4/8 (2000-2001), 223-232.

<sup>7</sup> Stavros Planakis, *Τουρκοκρητική λογοτεχνία- Ανθολόγιο. Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση*. Chania, 2011.

Janissary life. Though it is far from clear that the Janissaries in Crete did come to an end in 1826, nonetheless the *rîma*'s historical significance is highlighted by the fact that it is contemporary with the dramatic event in Istanbul it refers to: It bears a clear date at the bottom of the page, 12 Safer 1242 (15 September 1826).

### **The Ottomans in Crete**

Their last great conquest, Crete was not as important for the Ottomans as it had been for the Venetians, but remained a key possession and a significant source of income, particularly thanks to its export trade of oil, grain and timber, as well as wine.<sup>8</sup> The Ottoman conquest created different circumstances in the three main towns of Crete. As Chania and Rethymno fell in 1645 but Candia (Qandiye) finally capitulated in 1669, the inhabitants of the former remained mostly in-situ, while the Ottomans had to deal with a limited number of Greek Orthodox Christians and a few Jews as the Venetians and prominent Greek families of the island - *archondopoula*- that had resisted the Ottoman advance, negotiated their safe departure. A typical policy of repopulation then followed, whereby key buildings were 'Ottomanized' as mosques, vakıfs or military-administrative headquarters, while the sale of *mirî* properties as *mülk* for Muslims, but apparently also Christians, seems to have been encouraged<sup>9</sup>.

### **Islamisation and conversions**

The Ottomans allowed the Orthodox to reinstate the bishoprics which the Venetians had outlawed, and after the conquest of Candia the Orthodox Archbishopric was restored. The protracted nature of the fighting for the conquest of Crete, and the weakening of the Orthodox church under Venetian rule must have had something to do with the extensive nature of conversion to Islam in Crete. Quite clearly we have to do with mass

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<sup>8</sup> Irene Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete", in: Irene Bierman & Rîfa'at A. Abou- El-Haj & Donald Preziosi (eds.), *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Orde*, New Rochelle - New York 1991, 54.

<sup>9</sup> This was an apparent exception due to the extreme depopulation of Candia. Normally Christians would not be allowed to reside within the walls, and starting with Cyprus we see the practice of non-Muslim settlement in an outlying area (*varoş*); this was true of both Chania and Rethymno, see Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton 2000, 83-87.

conversions,<sup>10</sup> for which it is notoriously difficult to establish necessary and sufficient motives, let alone generalize. The following interesting case is frequently mentioned in relation to crypto-Christianity and 'light' conversion: a congregation shortly after the conquest of Candia sought the opinion of the Patriarch in Istanbul whether it would be permissible to accept Islam on the surface, was turned down in no uncertain terms and then turned to the Jerusalem Patriarch Nektarios (Pelopidas 1664-1682), who happened to be a fellow Cretan, and was given approval on the theological principle of 'economy' and on condition of "inescapable need".<sup>11</sup> However many the 'light' conversions, with or without the blessing of a Cretan Patriarch, the undeniable fact is that the majority of conversions in Crete were for good and occurred on a large scale which did not fail to impress all the travellers to the island. The extensive nature of the local conversions couple with the limited presence of non-local Ottoman administrators and military<sup>12</sup> on the island had the extremely important consequence that almost everyone on the island spoke and understood vernacular Cretan.

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<sup>10</sup> Individual conversions for a variety of motives like assuming guardianship of minors, escaping punishment prescribed by ecclesiastical authorities and, of course, mixed marriages, are well documented in the Ottoman archives of Crete, and scholars have made good use of the translated documents published by Nikolaos Stavriniadis to comment on these cases. See Manolis Peponakis, *Εξισλαμισμοί και επανεχριστιανισμοί στην Κρήτη (1645-1899)*, Rethymno 1997. Greene makes extensive use of the translated documents even if not always acknowledging they come from Stavriniadis; on her useful discussion of conversion, individual and mass, see Greene, 39-44.

<sup>11</sup> See Stavro Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans", *Slavic Review* 26 (1967), 232. For a discussion of the episode and the principle of 'economy' see Kemal Özbayrı & Zachos Papazachariou, "Documents de tradition orale des turcs d'origine crétoise", *Turcica* 8 (1976), 71 and Theocharis Detorakis, "Η τουρκοκρατία στην Κρήτη", in: Nikolaos Panagiotakis (ed.), *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, Athens 1988, vol. 2, 346-347. Detorakis mentions the episode and conversions of villages en masse, priest and all, especially in Selino and Monofatsi, areas with a formidable reputation among Christians: there the "οι θρησκοληπτότεροι και απηνέστεροι των εν νήσω μουσουλμάνων" according to Vasileios Psilakis, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, Chania 1909, vol. 3, 41.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of the Algerian, Egyptian and Ethiopian military presence on Crete, see Constantinos Fournarakis, *Τουρκοκρήτες*, Chania 1929, 3-5.

### **Burmades**

On the other hand there developed an interesting social dynamic among the Muslims, which was also picked up by the local Christians and the foreigners who noticed and recorded it. The following is what Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708), visited Crete in 1700 (arrived on 3 May and departed on 31 July during his trip to the Levant (1700-02) on a mission as the botanist of Louis XIV had to say on the subject:

The Turks throughout the island are mostly [d: Bourma] Renegadoes, or Sons of Such: the true Turks, take them one with another, are much honester Men than the Renegadoes. A good Turk says nothing when he sees the Christians eat Swine's Flesh, or drink Wine: a Renegado shall scold and insult them for it, though in private he will eat and drink his fill of both. It must be confessed these wretches sell their souls a pennyworth: all they get in exchange for their religion is a vest, and the privilage of being exempt from the capitation-tax, which is not above five crowns a year.<sup>13</sup>

Tournefort laconically footnotes "Renegadoes" as "Burma" thereby providing crucial evidence of an important vernacular appellation of the converts. The word is given in its Turkish and singular form, *burma*, (despite talking of *renegadoes* in the plural), from where it presumably entered Cretan Greek, where it is mostly used in the plural, *burmádes* (sg. *burmás*). Tournefort, both in his choice of words ("wretches") and his overall tone is derogatory, and so it seems must have been the 'true Turks', if it was they who coined the term. While Tournefort gives no gloss for any connotations, *burma* denotes a 'twisting', presumably in reference to the previous beliefs which have been twisted and turned.<sup>14</sup> This denotation

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<sup>13</sup> Pitton de Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant, performed by command of the late French King*, London 1741, 92.

<sup>14</sup> The term reminds one of the English 'turn-coat' which, according to the OED was in use since 1570 in the meaning of 'renegade and apostate', but mostly used in terms of someone who changes his principles and party rather than religion. In Ottoman Turkish '*burma*' would have had additional negative connotations as it could also refer to castrating an animal or to the castrated animal itself. The more striking parallel of course is with the Greek word *κλωστός*, of exactly the same denotation of 'twisting a string, spinning' and also used to refer to converts to Islam, primarily in the Pontus region, where it has the added association of crypto-Christianity; for a bibliographical survey see Pavlos Chidioglou, "Εξισλαμισμοί στην Κρήτη", *Πεπραγμένα Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* 3 (1981), 342-343. For a brief

seems to have been lost on the Christians since none of the main historians (Kritovoulidis, Psilakis, Angelakis, Stavrinidis) mention it, even though they all relied heavily on oral tradition and knowledge.

There are however two radically different suggestions as to the origin of the use of the term *burma*. Fournarakis writes that the "Turkish occupation army" which conquered the island consisted of several nations, "Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, Tunisians, Algerians, Albanians" and others, each with their own peculiar dress and headgear, and that the division (*kol*) of Algerians who landed in Chania (on the east side, hence the toponym 'Cezayirkolu') wore a particularly long turban (*sarik*) of twisted white cloth, which the Turks call 'burma', hence "originally these Muslim forces and subsequently all the Turks" came to be called thus. Angelakis on the other hand provides an entirely different explanation, whereby the new converts were so-called because they 'twisted' their moustaches upwards instead of downwards as the Christians.<sup>15</sup> Of course, when *burmádes* was not used in a marked way to denote the converts rather than the non-Greek-speaking Muslims, the term referred to the Muslims in general as in the following distich pronounced in the days of popular expectations from Napoleon's expedition in Egypt.<sup>16</sup>

God has the power to change things, as	Έχει ο Θεός γυρίσματα κι ο χρόνος
much as the year has weeks	εβδομάδες
Let the <i>frangópoula</i> come and chase the	Νά'ρθουν τα φραγκόπουλα να διώξουν
<i>bourmádes</i> away	τους μουρμάδες

In another passage Tournefort, who like all travellers was mostly interested in things ancient and other than the locals, does provide a couple of telling brief description of local habits:

The wine is exquisite. ... The Turks can't forbear this tempting juice, at least in the night-time; and when they get to a tub of it, they make clear work. The Greeks drink it night and day, without water, and in small

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survey of the phenomenon of crypto-Christianity in the Ottoman empire, see Skendi, 227-246.

<sup>15</sup> At the same footnote Angelakis reports that Ant. Giannaris (a key figure of the revolts, used the term *ορθομούστακες* ('with upstanding moustache') to refer to them, and this, along with a couple of suitable illustrations seems convincing enough that such was their practice, see Emmanouel Angelakis, *Σητειακά, ήτοι συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της Σητείας απο των αρχαιοτάτων μέχρι του καθ' ημάς*, 1939, vol. 2, 7ft.

<sup>16</sup> Nikolaos Stavrinidis, *Ο Καπετάν Μιγάλης Κόρακας και οι συμπολεμιστές του*, Herakleion 1971, vol. 1, 27.

draughts: happy that they can thus bury the remembrance of their misery<sup>17</sup>.

On the whole Greek historiography (eg. Chidioglou, Detorakis) emphasizes material advantage and the hope of an improved tax situation as a (degrading) motivation for conversion, while we have seen that a contemporary witness not unsympathetic to the Greek Christians and their 'plight', Tournefort considers the advantage pitiful. As an aside it should be mentioned that Greek historiography does not much mention the conversions of the pro-Venetian and even earlier Catholics to Islam, a fact which is picked up in Turkish historiography seems to be an exception, claiming that the *archondes* and the aristocracy of the Veneto-Cretans converted and the others departed. The idea is that Catholics saw the writing on the wall and wanted to avoid recriminations in the hands of the Orthodox who would fare reasonably well under the Ottomans. A similar historical and historiographical divergence obtains in Cyprus<sup>18</sup>. Whatever the motivation for conversion, it would appear that after the capture of Candia there was a definite correlation between conversion and access to a military career. Greene's formulation sounds very apt: 'a city of soldiers' for Candia, and 'an island of Janissaries' for Crete.

### **A city of soldiers in an island of Janissaries**

In his description of Candia, Tournefort is quite precise in writing about the military units:

The rest of the inhabitants of this towns are all Turks, distinguished according to the following muster-roll which will give an idea of those troops that are in places of war among the Turks.

*Janizaries of the Porte*, called *Capicoulou*, 1000; in ten companies of a hundred men each.

*Yamach Capicoulou*, or soldiers detached from several companies, 1500 men, exempted from ordinary duty.

*Yerli-Couli*, or Janizaries of the Country, 2,500; in twenty eight companies.

Spahis or Horse of the Country, 1,400 men in two regiments of nine companies each.

*Azaps*: another sort of Country-Cavalry, in two regiments of 700 men each.

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<sup>17</sup> Tournefort, 96.

<sup>18</sup> See Fournarakis, 2 and Nükhet Adıyeke Adıyeke & Nuri Adıyeke, *Fethinden Kaybına Girit*, Istanbul 2006.

*Disdarli*, Militia of the Lieutenant of the Castle; a regiment of 400 men in sixteen companies.

*Topchis and Gehegis*, that is Canoneers and others belonging to the Ordnance; two Regiments of 500 men each, armed with sabre, half-pike and coat of mail.

*Soucoullelis*, that is troops appointed for the guard of the great and little Fort of the Sea, 400 men; 350 for the great Fort, and 50 for the little Fort. For the other forts of the town: 1,000 men<sup>19</sup>.

Following the conquest the island was divided into three sancaks, each with a paşa appointed by the Sultan. The Candia Paşa appointed the castellans (φρούραρχοι) of all the smaller castles and fortifications which the Ottomans inherited from the Venetians and turned into symbols of Ottoman power.<sup>20</sup> Each sancak had a council (*divan*) led by the Paşa along with the kadı, the müftü and, crucially, the Janissary Ağa. The secretary of the *divan*, the *kapu yazıcısı* was meant to be a native to facilitate communication between the local community and the Ottoman administration. Crucially, the local Christian population did not benefit from self-governing provincial bodies led by *kocabaşıs* which were so characteristic of Ottoman administration in other areas of the Balkans<sup>21</sup>.

As Stavriniadis demonstrated on the basis of the local Turkish archives, Crete became an island of tax farms, initially called *mukata'as* and subsequently, after 1720, *malikanes*, and the local Janissary agas controlled a very large part of them.<sup>22</sup> The key difference between Crete and other provinces of the Ottoman empire was that it seems that even the so-called imperial (*kapıkulu*, *dergâh-i 'âlî*) janissaries were Cretan Muslim converts, not just the local janissaries (*yerli*).<sup>23</sup> Scores of Janissary agas

<sup>19</sup> Tournefort, 43-44.

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that in the eyes of Evliya Çelebi, these fortifications, even when in the hands of the Venetians, for whom Crete was of huge strategic importance, were a sign of Ottoman power and the fear it induced upon the Venetians quoted in Bierman, 54-55.

<sup>21</sup> Greene, 33.

<sup>22</sup> Stavriniadis dates the *malikane* ferman for Crete as 20 April 1720. He also gives the following names of the *malikane agas* mentioned in a 1781 document: Hanyalızade Ahmed Aga (Lasithi), Karakaşzade Mehmed Aga (Merabello), Kalupsızade Ismail Aga (Gouves), Koromilos Hacı Ali Aga, and the particularly powerful Bedri Aga (Malevizi), see Stavriniadis, *Ο καπετάν Μιχάλης Κόρακας*, 26.

<sup>23</sup> Greene 38-9 quotes a number of cases from the Turkish Archives of Herakleion (TAH) translated by Stavriniadis, without any reference to his publications TAH 4:11 (dated 1672) mentions Ahmed beşe b. Abdullah as an imperial jannissary, and TAH

appear both in the Ottoman archives published by Stavrinidis, either as protagonists in legal cases or as recipients of imperial orders, or more frequently, the target of such orders, and in the oral and written sources of the Christians. Both types of sources leave little doubt that the Janissaries involved were local figures, familiar with the vernacular language and topography. Whatever the situation in the early years directly after the conquest, in the nineteenth century Robert Pashley, who was in Crete for most of 1834, wrote that the Janissaries "consisted solely of Cretan Mohammedans".<sup>24</sup>

### **Zorbádes, espehídes, ksekoukóúloti**

Besides the ubiquitous terms *γιανίσαρος* and *αγάς* there were a number of other terms that were used to refer to them. In the minds of the Christians it seems that Muslim (or Turk of course) meant military, and military meant Janissary, so strong was the association. Psilakis reports that *ξεκουκούλωτοι* (*ksekoukoulóti*) is how the Kourmoulides of the Messara plain called themselves as they did not wear any head cover (*κουκούλι*)<sup>25</sup>. While this was the byword for the local Turks in Chania and western Crete, in Rethymno and Candia they were known as *espéhides* (*εσπέχιδες*; <Tk sipahî) or *zorbades*. All manner of impropriety, lowly and base behaviour together with a sadistic abuse of power are attributed to these 'traitor figures' with varying degrees of indignation by Greek and local historians. Not all too willing to see its humorous side, Psilakis writes that the following saying describes how the Janissaries addressed the Christians:

This one you will give me	Τούτο θα μου δώσεις
That one I will take	Κι εκείνο θα σου πάρω
And this one here you'll gift me	Κι αυτό θα μου χαρίσεις

### **Opposition to the *yerlides*: the *Hainides***

On the other hand the Ottoman authorities, including the *yerli* Janissaries of course, had strong feelings of their own at the time vis-a-vis Christian rebels, whom they called traitors, *hainides* (*χαίνηδες*; < Tk. *hain*). Tournefort had come accross them as well:

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8:29 another *dergâh-i 'âli* janissary with an Abdullah patronymic (ie. very likely a convert), also referred to as a butcher.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, 1837, vol. 1, xxi quoted in Greene, 39 ft.

<sup>25</sup> Psilakis, 171.

In times of peace, 'tis pleasant living in this island; but when there's a war, the whole country is ravaged and laid waste by the Cains: so they call the Greeks, that run over to the Venetians at la Suda or Spinalonga. These Cains, or false brothers, burn, plunder, ravish, and commit all sorts of inhumanity: the principally endeavour to take the Turks prisoners, and make them pay dear for their ransom. If a Cain happens to be taken they give him no quarter; he is either impaled or gaunched<sup>26</sup>.

In many ways the equivalent of *klepthes* and *armatoloi* in Crete, these *hainides* tended to be lonely rebels, frequently on the run from having avenged some atrocity committed against their own families. The killing of a Muslim in revenge for a crime committed against a Christian was not something the *kadis* were likely to turn a blind eye to. In addition, the Ottoman authorities in Crete seem not to have trusted the guarding of the mountain passes to the local Christians as was the case in several other parts of the empire, especially in the Balkans (*armatoloi*), and preferred to have Muslim bands give chase when required, while holding the correlative of the *hainides* responsible for damages caused. The fall of the last fortifications (Grambousa, Souda and Spinalonga) in 1715 deprived them of a safe haven, and it was closer to the end of the century that they resumed their confrontation with the local Muslim authorities, especially the local Janissaries. Noteworthy is the case of Δημήτρης Λόγιος or Βαρούχας, who was himself mortally injured while trying to assassinate the local Janissary potentate of Seteia, Agriolidis, in 1811.<sup>27</sup> Several *hainides* made a big name for themselves in that period, and were duly commemorated in a number of songs (*tragoudia*) about them. Similar, but larger in scale and celebrated in song was the revolt of Daskaloyannis from the inaccessible and hard to subdue mountainous village of Sphakia (Isfeke) as part of the great Russian-supported insurrection plan in 1770. The pacification campaign was merciless and contested to the bitter end, and the flaying of the arch-rebel following his surrender left a traumatic scar on local poetry<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Tournefort, 98-99.

<sup>27</sup> On the eventual killing of Ibrahim Paşa Agriolidis in August 1828 by Malikoutis, Korakas et al. and the infamous massacre in Candia which ensued and is known in Crete as "ο αρμπεντές του Αγριολίδη" (Tk. *arbede*), see Stavrinidis, *Ο Καπετάν Μιχάλης Κόρακας*, 145-156.

<sup>28</sup> Detorakis, 360.

A striking departure from the main tune of Greek historiography of the subject of the *hainides* in Crete is the matter-of-fact statement by Stavriniadis that according to the Ottoman archives of Crete, in the closing years of the eighteenth century the bands of *hainides* in eastern Crete were mixed, Christian and Muslim, the latter being mostly crypto-Christians in his estimation. An additional reason for their lack of activity in eastern Crete, Stavriniadis argues, may well have been that the majority of the villages there, especially in Lasithi, were themselves of mixed population.

### **A vicious circle**

The Janissaries of the Porte, who might have acted as a check against the power-dealings of the local Janissaries or at the very least the executive branch or army of the Governor-Paşa, were frequently at loggerheads with each other and therefore disinclined to act according to expectations. While this state of affairs need not descend into anarchy, as the Greek historiography would have it, it was not a recipe for success either. And it left the playing field open to the local players, where the local Janissaries had the upper hand.

Özbayrı & Zachos-Papazachariou point out that on the whole the Greek historians are silent about the tensions between *montagnards* and inhabitants of the plateaus, plains and larger cities, the lowlanders (*κατωμερίτες*) of the Greek sources. Instead they prefer to view developments through the religious prism and interpret them as an implacable conflict between the suffering Orthodox and the abusive if not outright bloodthirsty Muslims. There can be no doubt that Modern Greek scholars without exception write along these lines when discussing the Ottoman period especially as far as the role of the Janissaries is concerned.

### **The Janissaries in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries**

Turkish historiography until recently had treated the Janissaries solely as a military institution which, like the empire itself, went through a classical period of success and then one of long decline, stubbornly resisting change and reform. According to this historiographical perspective by the eighteenth century the corps had degenerated to a source of unruly and increasingly criminal terror, extremely harmful to society. And since according to this classical view the interests of the State are the same as those of the State which seeks to protect them, the State tried to eradicate them as they resisted pacification. A variation of this view adds the

religious establishment of the ulema as resistant to change and an obstacle to reforms. No consideration was given to the possibility that the Janissaries might represent the interests of particular social formations.

A similar picture was what Ottoman historians in the West used to see, from Gibbons and Bowen to Bernard Lewis: Ottoman history as a struggle between the progressive will of the benevolent State and the reactionary obstructionism of the Janissaries and the conservative ulema. In short the dominance of the 'modernization paradigm' in both Turkish and western historiography did not allow for a particularly nuanced picture of the Janissaries. The key feature was the disinterest in whether the 'traditional order' had actually evolved into a polity which accepted a certain limitation of its powers vis-a-vis social forces which enjoyed more power<sup>29</sup>. No surprise then that the destruction of the Janissary Corps still represents a historiographical *Auspicious Event* (*vaka-i hayriyye*).

It was Kafadar who first treated the Janissaries as a political force with social roots, arguing that in their attempt to integrate into the economic life of the capital the Janissaries only managed to create a niche with small-time jobs<sup>30</sup>. Subsequent studies suggest that their penetration of guilds was much deeper and at all levels, and that their domination of the marketplace was more advanced than previously allowed for<sup>31</sup>. On the one hand the guilds seemed to have realigned themselves in favour of the government after the tumultuous Patrona Halil 1730 rebellion, while inevitably there were conflicts between Janissary and non-Janissary artisans<sup>32</sup>.

Just like elsewhere in the empire, in Crete the Janissary agas did not only control the tax-farms but played a significant role in the artisan and trade life of the cities. Recent studies show us that this development needs to be examined as part of the economic and social tensions of city life and as part of the limitation of the Sultan's or governor's absolute power, rather

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<sup>29</sup> Mehmet Mert Sunar, *Cauldron of dissent: A study of the Janissary Corps, 1807-1826* (Unpublished Ph.D), State University of New York at Binghamton, 2006.

<sup>30</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Yeniçeri-Esnaf Relations: Solidarity and Conflict*, (MA. Thesis), McGill University, 1981. Idem, "On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries" *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* (1991), 273-279. Idem, "Yeniçeriler", in: *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. VII, İstanbul 1994, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları no 473.

<sup>31</sup> Eunjeong Yi, *Guild dynamics in Seventeenth-century Istanbul. Fluidity and Leverage*, Leiden 2004.

<sup>32</sup> Sunar, 16-17.

than merely a sign of corruption of the old order. But as the *yerlides* joined the market world and became *bezirgianides* in Crete, a notorious aspect of their showing their military muscle in everyday life was that their advantage vis-a-vis the non-Muslims could easily be interpreted as religious or even ethnic conflict by witness travellers not to say anything of later national(ist) historians. The case of Fyndikakis in Candia is taken to be typical: one of the richest merchants, he was hanged by the mob at the request of *bezirgianides* neighbours who took him to the Paşa claiming excessive damage as a result of a barrel exploding in his premises. The execution was witnessed in 1817 and recorded by an Austrian traveller, Sieber<sup>33</sup> (1823), and it has served as evidence of the unbearably unfair advantage of the Janissary *esnaf* by the standard Greek Cretan historians. It is interesting that the Greek historians take it for granted that the Muslim merchants involved (the Turks) are all Janissaries, though Stavriniadis gives the names of the main ones on the basis of archival documents: Hanyalı, Bedri Aga, Memiş Aga, Hacı Emin Aga.<sup>34</sup>

### **The last days of the Janissaries in Crete**

According to Stavriniadis the firman about the enthronement of Mahmud II received in Crete on 3 September 1808 was much sterner than similar ones in the past, inviting everyone to their duties and warning trespassers, while prescribing none of the usual spectacular festivities. It is noteworthy that the *yerli* Janissaries who were suspicious of the *nizam-i cedid* supporters amongst their co-religionists, also applied the term derogatorily on the Christians. According to the earliest historical account of the 1821 revolt in Crete by Kritovoulidis<sup>35</sup>, the Turks of Kydonies despised the Christian teacher (αλληλοδιδάσκαλος) Kallinikos Berrhoiaios because of his "new manner of teaching and avoided (αποστρεφόμενοι) calling him *Nizamcedidli*". In the opening act of the revolt they therefore turned against him and the local bishop of Kisamos.

<sup>33</sup> Sieber was the guest of the English consul, a Christian doctor called Domenikos Sanandonios. He was in considerable shock, as he had been a guest at the house of Fyndikakis a few days prior to the event. He also reports being himself threatened when going to attend the hanging along with another Levantine from Izmir.

<sup>34</sup> For similar examples of Janissary abuse or use of brute force in early nineteenth-century Istanbul, see Sunar, 88-92.

<sup>35</sup> K. Kritovoulidis, *Απομνημονεύματα του περί της αυτονομίας της Ελλάδος πολέμου των Κρητών*. Athens. 1859, quoted in Stavriniadis, *Ο καπετάν Μιχάλης Κόρακας*, 45.

Gleaning references in the Ottoman documents about the concern of the authorities for the excesses of the Janissaries, Stavriniadis quotes the following from a document dated 1800 and sent to the *kadı* by none other than the Governor-Paşa of Candia, who had former experience from Chania as well: "Ever since coming to Candia my heart burns as I get to know the conditions of the *re'aya* living in the dilapidated areas."<sup>36</sup> Stavriniadis (1971: 48-52) also appropriately draws attention discusses the appearance of the buzz word *re'aya-perver* (re'aya-friendly) in the documents of the period to describe the "mission and vision" of the Ottoman administration in Crete. It is not hard to see how the proclamation of such an outlook would appear too little too late for the Christians but would be enough to make the representatives of the Porte suspect in the eyes of the local Muslims.

### **Kürd Hacı Osman Paşa**

Hacı Osman Paşa the Kurd was appointed Governor Paşa and arrived at Chania in September 1812 with a firm remit (as stated in a firman dated August 1812) to rid the place of the Janissaries who did not care to renew their berats on the enthronment of Mahmud II. With the help of Sphakia and others he succeeded in actually strangling a number of agas in Western Crete and earned the nickname 'the Strangler' (Πνυγάρης). A particular coup in that regard was his legendary destruction of the Janissaries of Kainas in Apokoronos in 1813<sup>37</sup>, described in remarkable detail in most historical accounts of the nineteenth century. Pleased, Mahmud II rewarded him by appointing him General Commander (serasker) of the island, asking him to take up residence at the Megalo Kastro, then the capital.

All of this seems to have earned Hacı Osman Paşa exactly the wrong kind of reputation among the *yerlides*: Angelakis and Sifakas both write about rumours, still widespread in their days, that Hacı Osman Paşa was actually a crypto-Christian<sup>38</sup>. Angelakis argues that this rumour, and the sobriquet 'Papa Yannis' was the result of local Turkish slandering against the Paşa. Sifakas writes that he had heard his own grandfather, Andonios,

<sup>36</sup> *Kandiye'ye geleli dermande nahiyede sakin re'ayaların haline vakıf oldukça ciğerim kebab olmada olup* TAH Cod 121, p. 49, dated 25 Ramazan 1214/ 19 February 1800, quoted in Stavriniadis, *Ο καπετάν Μιχάλης Κόρακας*, 46.

<sup>37</sup> A. Sifakas, *Σήφακας, ο ήρωας της Κρήτης*, Athens 1953, 33-37.

<sup>38</sup> Angelakis, *Σητειακά*, 20ft2, and Sifakas, 36.

say that he would often hear it said that Hacı Osman Paşa was a Turkish-speaking Christian from Anatolia by birth, called Markos, which is why he called all Christians by that name. Once in Istanbul he reported to the Patriarch and asked to become a monk, but the Patriarch had him appointed at the "Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs" under the name Osman Bey. And it was another Cretan, the Patriarch Ieremias IV who convinced Sultan Mahmud II to appoint him in Crete. Sifakas also reports that the local Turks, who were not best pleased with his rule, used to call him Πνιγάση and to say "This is no Paşa Osmanis, this is Papas Yannis!" ("αυτός δεν είναι πασά Οσμάνης, παρά 'ναι Παππά Γιάννης").<sup>39</sup>

### **The Greek Revolution, 1821-1824**

A spectacular episode of the opening of the Cretan revolt in Crete year was the reversion to Christianity of Michaél Kourmoulis, a local Janissary Aga known as Hüseyin Aga famous in the area for his riding skills and a member of a local dynasty of potentates from the fertile valley of Messara, and, who apparently re-declared himself Christian by participating in the Easter midnight mass in the main church of *Aghioi Anargyroi* in Chania.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Stavrinidis merely states that Hacı Osman Paşa was called 'Papa Yannis' on account of his long beard and resemblance to a Greek priest, see Stavrinidis, 58.

<sup>40</sup> For a lurid and triumphant account narrated to Psilakis by "the Nestor of Chania", Hacı Tzanakis Renieris see V. Psilakis, 172-174. According to Psillakis, out of over sixty members of the Kourmoulis family, only five survived the Greek revolution, while three of them became neomartyrs in 1824 when they were executed under Mustafa Naili Paşa. Regarding the issue of conversion or reverting happening at Easter, it should be noted that the possibility of a narrative *topos* is very likely. An alleged mass conversion to Islam in the early period is supposed to have happened during an Easter Service, while a müftü helpfully declared that no circumcision would be allowed; see Fournarakis, 32. It should be noted that such reversions of crypto-Christians were quite numerous during this period in Crete, and the persons concerned were unambiguously considered apostates (*mürtedd*, *μουρτάτης*). Indeed the Ottoman authorities took considerable care to make sure that the properties of such persons were confiscated; cf the famous *Βιβλίον των Θυσιών* edited by V. Demetriades & D. Daskalou, *Ο Κώδικας των Θυσιών. Ονόματα και δημευμένες περιουσίες των Χριστιανών αγωνιστών της Ανατολικής Κρήτης κατά την Επανάσταση του 1821*, Ηράκλειο Κρήτης 2003 see also V. Demetriades, "Conflicts of interests in Crete between local Muslims and the central government in Istanbul during the Greek War of Independence, 1821-28", in: A. Anastasopoulos & E. Kolovos (eds.), *Ottoman rule and the Balkans, 1760-1850: Conflict, Transformation and Adaptation*. Rethymno 2007, 205-212. As Demetriades notes in a different article (2007), however, it is telling that probably due to the pronounced sense of local spirit and camaraderie, the confiscation process rarely proceeded as planned. It was only

At the beginning of the Greek Revolution of 1821<sup>41</sup> Crete was under blockade by the Greek fleet and news from Wallachia or the Greek peninsula did not arrive before mid-April 1821 (Peponakis 2001-02: 161). Initially the Ottoman authorities tried to control situation through the metropolitan of Candia, Γεράσιμος Παρδάλης, who was asked to summon all the bishops. He obliged, all the while trying to dissuade them from coming.

While awaiting for news the Muslims of Chania disarmed the local Christians and arrested the Bishop of Kisamos, Melchizadech Despotakis, and a deacon named Kallinikos who was a member of the *Philiki Etaireia*, which most scholars agree had only a limited network in Crete<sup>42</sup>. According to French consular reports, soon thereafter and before the arrival of confirmed news, a group of Janissaries stormed the prison and hanged the prisoners in the main square of the town. According to the Greek sources a nunnery was attacked as well.<sup>43</sup>

In the event, Sphakia proclaimed the revolt by initiating open hostilities and in mid-June (exact date contested) there was a victory for the rebels in the vicinity of Chania (Loulos), which is taken as the starting point of the revolt in Crete. Once a ship with news of the hanging of the Patriarch arrived in late June, the metropolitan and five bishops in Candia were killed, along with others; there were 800 dead in Candia to significant protests by the English and French vice-consuls.

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after the Tanzimat that reverting to Christianity, frequently known as *tenessur*, became an issue of concern in itself; see the recent work of Selim Deringil.

<sup>41</sup> Though it reflects Greek and western historiography much more so than the Turkish one, this term will be preferred here in recognition of the long-lasting effects the events had on everyone involved. For a defence of the term vis-a-vis Turkish historiography, see Erdem Hakan Erdem, "Do not think of the Greeks as agricultural labourers: Ottoman responses to the Greek war of independence", in: Faruk Birtek & Thalia Dragonas (eds.), *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, London, 2005, 67-84 and idem, "Perfidious Albanians" and "zealous governors": Ottomans, Albanians, and Turks in the Greek War of Independence" in: A. Anastasopoulos & E. Kolovos (eds.), 213-242.

<sup>42</sup> Following Spyridon Trikoupis a number of Greek historians lamented the slow pace of revolutionary action in Crete, a claim bitterly resented and countered by Cretan historians in Greece, see Detorakis, 366.

<sup>43</sup> See Manolis Peponakis, "Οι Κρήτες αιχμάλωτοι της επανάστασης του 1821", *Κρητική Εστία* 8 (2001-2002), 162-163 for a discussion of the different accounts, Kritovoulidis being a key source.

The overall pattern seems to be of bitter fighting, led by the serasker and agas of the main cities, with the Muslims taking refuge in the main cities or semi-fortified villages and the Christians failing to unite what forces they could amass and fighting against all odds. On the Christian side there were legendary disagreements, at best, between the highlander fighters of Sphakia and assorted lowlanders (κατωμερίτες).

By the end of August 1821 Sphakia fell to, and was pillaged by Osman Paşa of Rethymno who seems to have found the place empty of non-combatants and combatants alike, to the consternation of other rebels and subsequent nationalist historians alike. Indeed Greek historiography to date extols the bravery **if not** bravado of the Greek fighters only to lament the lack of leadership due to a multitude of hard heads, flaring tensions and rival ambitions. At the request of the "Chancellery of Sphakia", Dimitri Ypsilanti, as chief revolutionary in mainland Greece, appointed a non-Cretan, Michaél Komnenós Afendoulis (or Afendouliev), as Γενικός Έπαρχος και Αρχιστράτηγος Κρήτης, but it was not just the title of the appointee which was ill-advised. It is noteworthy that the only agreed candidate of the Cretan rebels was Michaél Kourmoulis, the former Janissary Aga who had joined the Greek cause and reverted to Christianity.

Egyptian forces under Hasan Paşa landed on 28 May 1822 and tried a two-pronged approach, making a conciliatory appeal to the locals the prelude to an all-out campaign<sup>44</sup>. A particular target of his campaign eastwards were the areas of Malevizi, Mesara and Lasithi, from where a great number of prisoners was taken<sup>45</sup>. By the time he died, falling off his horse in 1823, he had caused mayhem to the Christian forces in eastern Crete, subduing the plateau of Lasithi.

Hüseyn Paşa, another *damat* of Muhammad Ali, took over in June 1823, while another non-Cretan, Manolis Tombazis, replaced (May 1823) the deposed Afendoulis (November 1822). Under a brief spell of unity with the Sphakiots, Tombazis succeeded in getting the agas of the fortress of Kisamos, where he landed, to submit and depart for Chania, before he turned against Selino, a stronghold of the ('wildest' according to the Greek sources) Janissaries. There ensued a siege of mainly non-combatant

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<sup>44</sup> Detorakis, 375.

<sup>45</sup> Peponakis, "Οι Κρήτες αιχμάλωτοι", 166.

Muslims which ended with their submission, withdrawal and slaughter in the hands of rebel forces from Sphakia<sup>46</sup>.

By March 1824 Hüseyin Paşa had entered Sphakia, again to very limited resistance, something which demoralised the Christians. The usual picture ensued, of a significant number of Christians managing to sail away according to an evacuation plan, while others were slaughtered or taken prisoner. The later Greek sources speak of as many as 60,000 Christians having left for other islands and mainland Greece.<sup>47</sup> Similar scenes obtained at the Ottoman recapture of Selino, and by June 1824 the revolt had been subdued. Hüseyin Paşa (d. 1825) was succeeded by another Albanian, Mustafa Naili Paşa, who had landed in Crete as a Bey back in 1821 and stayed until 1853, long enough to earn the sobriquet "Giritli", before making a career in Istanbul, where he rose to become Grand Vizier.<sup>48</sup>

### **Grambousa period 1825-28**

Mustafa Paşa was able to prevent the rebellion from spreading in the two-year period from June 1824 to the London Accords of 6 July 1827. A Cretan Council was formed by the Christian rebels but there were no major hostilities until the end of 1827. There was, however, considerable activity of harassment and piracy after the Christians, with the help of reinforcements, captured Grambousa and Kisamos in 1825, and Mustafa failed to retake either. The local Christians even dedicated a new church to the *Virgin of the Thieves* (Παναγία Κλεφτρίνα) in recognition of the brigandage which was taking place.

The pattern of operation for this period of fairly subdued hostilities was for the Christians of the west to ambush Muslims, particularly local Janissaries in the knowledge that they could withdraw to the fortress of Grambousa, and for the Muslims to try and set up counter ambushes of their own. Psilakis reports that in the Kisamos vicinity the Christian

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<sup>46</sup> Detorakis, 378.

<sup>47</sup> Kritovoulidis and Psilakis both give long lists of the names of captured and departed, see Kritovoulidis, 283-297 and Psilakis, 571-77.

<sup>48</sup> On his remarkable and nothing short of illustrious career see David Barchard, "The princely Pasha of Crete" *Cornucopia* 30/5 (2003-2004), 23-33. Stavrinidis (1973), who published the lament on the death of one of his sons, Kerim, sent to him from Izmir in 1953 by the *Giritli* Mehmet Ali Çınar, formerly Hacı Ali Begakis of Candia, see Nikolaos Stavrinidis, "Ο θάνατος του Κεράμ Μπέη στη λαϊκή μούσα", *Αμάθεια* 4/16-17 (1973), 284-85.

operatives were known as *Καλησπερίδες* as they appeared in the evening knocking on doors and greeting "καλησπέρα", while further afield they were called *Μπαταξίδες* (Tk. *batakçi*)<sup>49</sup>. Their local Muslim counterparts, organized to ambush the ambushers, were known as *ζουρίδες* (ferrets), especially in the vicinity of Rethymno, *Αλμπάνης* (Albanis) being a notorious example. Fournarakis also mentions *ζουρίδες* as bands of irregular local armed Muslims, with the Christian rivals being set up to resist them (!) called *Κολώνες*.<sup>50</sup>

Finally it is noteworthy that on occasion the local Muslims, were singled out for special treatment during these operations, as in the siege in November 1827 of around 60 armed Muslims in the mansion of *Μασλούμης Καρακάσης* (Mazlum Karakaş, aka as Mazlum Aga) in the eastern province of the island by a sizeable unit of Christians under Γιάννης Χάλης, who had landed there by boat from Grambousa. The negotiated deal, in theory at least, would allow only the non-local Turks to depart with their guns, provided of course they did not use them against the insurgent besiegers. Initially implemented, the plan eventually went pear-shaped and ended with the lightly (dis)armed non-local Turks being set on fire in the local mosque which was meant to be their safe-haven before departure. Separate treatment was applied to the armed Albanian Muslims (*Τουρκαλβανοί*) present, who were spared on condition of accepting to leave the island for the Anatolian coast. The local Turks, including the brothers, Mazlum and Şakir Karakaş were kept under separate house arrest and sent to Grambousa<sup>51</sup>.

Like with other provincial outposts of the empire, only a ripple seems to have reached Crete of the storm caused in the capital across the Aegean by the dramatic events in late May and June 1826 surrounding the destruction of the Janissaries there. By the time *Selimis o Hanyotis* had finished his composition in September, it would appear it was possible to celebrate the event with plenty of Schadenfreude and without fear of repercussions, never mind violent ones.

### ***Cretan Muslim rimes on the Janissaries***

For the period up to 1826, the date of the Sabri Koz text, a total of four different *tragoudia* which may safely be considered to belong to the

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<sup>49</sup> Psilakis, 623.

<sup>50</sup> Fournarakis, 36-37.

<sup>51</sup> Psilakis, 629.

Cretan Muslim literature, have been identified *and published* to date, though one would be hard pressed to find such a mention in the standard accounts of Greek or even Cretan literature. Stavriniadis writes that, in addition to a composition dealing with the Janissary known as Mazlum Agas, Mehmet Ali Çınar from Izmir sent him in 1953 a number of compositions (ρίμες), like 'Kerim Bey' (about the son of Giritli Mustafa Nailî Paşa), 'Ο Έρωτας Βασιλιάς', variants of 'Διαμάντω' and of 'Πανάρετος και Νεροφύλη' as well of 'Σουσάνας'. Of these he published 'Kerim Bey' himself in 1973, while variants of the 'Sousana' cycle had already been published by Doulgerakis in 1955.<sup>52</sup> Mehmet Ali was settled in Turkey with the exchange of populations and used to be a resident of M. Castro, known there as Hacı Ali Begakis. He had apparently graduated from the Greek lyceum "Koraes" in Heracleion.

**Mehmet Aga or Memétakas (Μεμέτακας) or (M)Ustatselepakis<sup>53</sup> (d. 1782 under Ismail Paşa at Candia)**

By far one of the better known *tragoudia*, with several variants recorded as it seems to have been popular among the Christians. It was first published and commented without being identified or treated as a Muslim composition. The Christian variants rejoiced at the execution of the Agas, as set out in the opening lines<sup>54</sup>:

<sup>52</sup> For the texts of both and an analysis of their content, see Planakis 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Parts of this *ríma* were published by Kriaris, 20-21 and Angelakis, "Ο γενιτσαρισμός εν Σητεία, 187-189 (and again in Angelakis, *Σητειακά*, 39-41. In none of these was it identified clearly as being 'Turko-Cretan'. It was first published as a Muslim composition by Emmanuel Koutsandonakis, "Το τραγούδι του Μεμέτακα η (Μ)ουστατσελεπάκη", *Αμάθεια* 6/24-25 (1975), 194-208, and 8/26 (1976), 49-60 and a historical commentary was provided by Theocharis Detorakis, "Παρατηρήσεις στα τραγούδια του Μεμέτακα", *Αμάθεια* 8 (1977), 253-260. See also Planakis, *Τουρκοκρητική λογοτεχνία*, 30-46 presents all the available variants including on in the P. Vlastos archive in Crete.

<sup>54</sup> Detorakis, 257.

Let everyone come and go, but have no Aga come back	Όλοι να παν και να'ρθουνε κι Αγας να μη γιαγύρει
Let me hear the news and celebrate with everyone	ν' ακούσω το χαμπέρι του να κάνω πανηγύρι
Dear God, make it so that a Paşa called Andonis comes	Θέ μου και να' ρθει ένας παχιάς να τόνε λέν Αντώνη
To unslave the <i>Rums</i> and to enslave the <i>Turks</i> .	να ξεσκλαβώνει τσοι Ρωμούς, τσοι Τούρκους να σκλαβώνει

The Muslim variants are mostly a lamentation of the life of the Aga, executed after a ploy, though the overall tone is not excessively emotional or heroic. Though obviously there is some exaggeration of the bravery of the Aga ("He is the Noble one (çelebi), the lion of Crete"/"Εκείνος είναι ο Τσελεπής, τση Κρήτης το λιοντάρι"), the matter-of-fact- tone of these *tragoudia* leads one to think that they also served a news-giving purpose for the community, their composers (*οιμαδόροι*) being called the 'newspapers of the period'.<sup>55</sup>

According to local oral tradition Memétakas was in command of Seteia and resided in the Venetian mansion at Etia, and this surely accounts for the majority of the variants coming from that area<sup>56</sup>. He was one of the 'partners' (*ορτάκηδες*) of the notorious Ibrahim Afendakakis, another renowned local Janissary, responsible for another part of the province of Seteia and based at the village of Handras. The Christian sources and oral tradition preserved a colourful story about the defiling of a maiden from Perivolakia who threw herself in a well and whose mother turned in vain to the local Janissary, Ibrahim Afendakaki, then the Governor Paşa at Candia before going to Istanbul and obtaining, through the help of the Patriarchate, a firman from the Sultan ordering Mehmet Aga's execution.

The song tells the story from a sympathetic point of view, mentioning no background to the story and starting with the receipt of an 'invitation' to Memetaka to visit the P. Brave and dismissive of the wailing women, including the Valide, who sense trouble, he takes his leave from his dear ones and sets out for the Fortress. His presence there is a sign of confidence and he is the victim of a betrayal which ends with his execution, different in most variants. It is striking that despite the sympathetic outlook, none of the variants contain particularly emotional language, in keeping with the matter-of-factly attitude that characterizes

<sup>55</sup> Stavrinidis, *Ο Καπετάν Μιχάλης*, 49.

<sup>56</sup> Psilakis, 240 and Emmanouel Angelakis, "Ο Γενιτσαρισμός εν Σητεία", *Κρητικάί Μελέται* 1 (1933), 157-159 and idem, *Σητειακά*, 35-41.

the *rimádes*. While the circumstances of Memetakas' death are reminiscent of the tactics made famous by Hacı Osman Paşa and his successor, the date seems to have been earlier. According to a note on a codex dated 1802 by a local bibliophile doctor of Candia, Georgios Nikolaketakis, "on 20 February 1782 the admirable Ismail Paşa strangled Memetakas of Seteia and had three canon balls, 'bourbades' that is, fired at him; during the same night he had another five strangled and fired five canon balls on them too"<sup>57</sup>.

### Arif Agas (d. 1812, Hacı Osman Paşa)<sup>58</sup>

Of uncertain title, and with some interpolated Christian verses, this song was clearly not as popular: it was recorded first in the Vlastos archive, where it is identified as 'Turko-Cretan', and by Sifakas, who was interested in its historical value and who does not give a title, nor seems to consider the song as Muslim. Planakis reports the existence of Christian variants where Arif Aga is cursed and his nemesis, Hacı Osman Paşa and the Sultan, Mahmud II, are praised, but does not give any examples<sup>59</sup>. As it stands -in the version of Sifakas- the song takes a grim view of the Osman Paşa who disembarked at Suda Bay: "better that he should have disappeared, as he had no faith" ("να' γε βουλήσει να χαθεί, γιατί δεν είχε μάνι"). This may be because,

A priest from Piskopiani had	Ένας παπάς Πισκοπιανός του ριχτ'
petitioned him	αριτζιχάλι
To arrest Arif Aga, the handsome	Να πιάσουν τον Αρήφ Αγά, τ'
young man	όμορφο παλληκάρι

and he set out to do what the Priest thought was right:

-Tell me, father, what is your right, and I	Πές μου παπά το δίκιο σου, μά
will do it	γώ θα σου το κάνω
But do not lie to me, else I will hang you	Μα ψώματα μη μού πείς γιατί
	θα σε κρεμάσω

<sup>57</sup> Theocharis Detorakis, "Παρατηρήσεις στα τραγούδια του Μεμέτακα", *Αμάθεια* 8 (1977), 253-260.

<sup>58</sup> See Sifakas, 30-33 and Nikolaos Stavrinidis, "Το Τραγούδι του Μαζλούμ Αγά η Μπαλουξή", *Αμάθεια* 2/5 (1971), 53-54 and Planakis (Vlastos Archive 15: 656, first 8 opening lines only).

<sup>59</sup> Planakis, 49-50.

It is not immediately apparent why the song calls Osman Paşa *faithless*, not such a light accusation. If it was because he listened to a Priest<sup>60</sup>, it is a little strange that the song does not proceed to undermine the priest's petition as he boldly states:

In the name of my holy letters and of my golden days	Μα τ' άγιά μου γράμματα, μα τσι χρουσές μου μέρες
I'm no longer in command, my lord, of my three daughters	Δεν τσι ορίζω, αφέντη μου, τσι τρεις μου θυγατέρες
Neither children nor myself do I command	Μήτε παιδιά ορίζω μπλιό, μήτε τον απατό μου
Just charge with your sword and my cross in tow	Μα το σπαθί σου βάν' ομπρός κι ύστερα το σταυρό μου

The petition of the Priest is not presented any further, let alone in anything like the gory detail found in the Christian tradition, but it is there nonetheless and it leads to the ultimate punishment and death of Arif Aga, the hero of the song: he is punished by the sword of Osman and the cross of the priest, and therein lies the faithlessness of Osman Paşa.

The following line reveals an interesting split among the Janissaries which may reflect the dynamic of the situation on the ground:

On Saturday they decided, twelve Janissaries	Σαββάτο λάβαν τη βουλή δώδεκα Γιανιτσάρου
To get Arif Aga, the handsome young man	Να πάσουν τον Αρήφ Αγά, τ' όμορφο παλληκάρι.
And as soon as they finished talking and decided, all of them	Μα όντε το λόγον είπανε κ' εβουληθήκαν όλοι
They went and circled the lonely orchard	Επήγαν και το ζώσανε το έρημο περιβόλι

Unclear why on a Saturday and why twelve of them, nonetheless it was fellow Janissaries that are depicted as turning against Arif Aga rather than come to his support. However Arif Aga's appeal to them, after they have

<sup>60</sup> In the opening lines of the other variant (Vlastos archive; Planakis 2011: 47) there is a clear curse on the priest which is missing from the more fully preserved variant of Sifakas:

Let the priest from Piskopiani be shot	Κι ένας Πισκοπιανός παπάς οπού να φάει
Let him have the curse of Muhammad and Ali	μπάλα του Μουχαμέτη και τ' Αλή να έχει την κατάρα

tied him up and are taking him to Osman Paşa in Chania, raises the possibility that he is addressing them as imperial Janissaries as he calls them 'Ottomans':

On the towpath as they were taking Στη στράτα που τον πηαίνανε  
him he cried "Mercy, εφώναξεν -Αμάνι  
Let me go, lads, are you not Αφήστε με μωρέ παιδιά, δεν είστε  
Ottomans?" σεις Οσμάνοι;

The more general context within which to make sense of this attitude attributed to the local Janissaries like Arif Aga vis-a-vis the imperial appointments to the island like Osman Paşa has to do with the determination of Sultan Mahmud II to limit the power of the Janissaries, imperial and local.

### **Mazlum Agas Balouksis (Mazlum Aga Balıkçı)<sup>61</sup>**

While verses were known to local Christians of Candia and eastern Crete, where the protagonist, Mazlum Aga Balouksis (Mazlum Ağa Balıkçı) operated, a complete version of this song was first recorded in 1953 by *Giritlis* in Turkey and subsequently published by Stavrinidis in 1971. Nonetheless it had been identified as a Muslim song as early as 1907 by the first person to mention it, an amateur historian from Candia, K. A. Charitakis.

The song identifies Mazlum Aga as the person accused of closing down the shops of Seteia by the Governor, Reşit Paşa.<sup>62</sup>

You are Mazlum Aga, always up to Μα συ'σαι ο Μαζλούμ Αγάς που  
some trick κάνεις κατσουκάνια  
You are the one who closed down the Εσύ 'σαι του τα σφάλιξες τση Στειάς  
shops in Seteia τα ντουκιάνια

Angelakis provides information about Mazlum Aga derived orally from elderly descendants of Christians involved in the episodes described by the *rîma*<sup>63</sup>. Stavrinidis considers the 'Mazlum Aga' an excellent example of why *rîmes* were the newspapers of the time and points out that their composers, for all that they were prone to exaggeration did pay considerable attention to detail regarding the various executions: Muslims

<sup>61</sup> Stavrinidis, "Το Τραγούδι του Μαζλούμ Αγά", 51-63.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, 54.

<sup>63</sup> Angelakis, *Σητειακά*, 29-31, 38-39.

were put to death in the *Megalo Kule*, while the Christians were executed in the main square of the Megalo Castro, hence the description of Mazlum Aga's execution rings entirely accurate.

**Three Powerful Turks: Tatar Aga and Tsohadar Aga murder through deception Ibraim Aga from Vianos. The Deception<sup>64</sup>**

A short song recorded in the mid-nineteenth century in one complete (14 couplets) and one incomplete (8 opening couplets) variants. It is unusual in having an 'honour killing' as its subject matter: it narrates the story of two brave ("αντρειωμένοι") close friends ("αγαπημένοι") Janissary agas, mentioned with their titles, Tatar Aga and Tsohadar Aga (Çuhadar) who were competing in the long jump (*πήδημα*) in Kamara, only to be outdone by an İbrahim Aga (Braum/Μπραϊμ Αγάς), the Aga of Vianos ("Επέρασαν τσοι και τσοι δυο γιατ' ήτον παλληκάρι"). Tatar and Çuhadar got jealous of him and decide to kill him ("Ετότες του ξηλέψανε κι ' είπαν να τον σκοτώσουν") by deceiving him into disarming ("Κι απής τον εγελάσανε κι ' έπαιξε τ' άρματα του") and shooting him straight in the heart, only for Tatar Aga to claim that together with Çuhadar he takes his life and is willing to pay with his own ("κι ας πέι κ' η ζωή μου"), since -and the complete variant ends on this line- "In the village you kissed her, you wretched dog, my sister" ("Μα στο χωριό τη φίλησες, σκύλε, την αδερφή μου). The justification for the honour killing is provided in dramatic fashion only at the very end.

Vlastos clearly gave a title to this song himself and included this song in his (unpublished) collection mainly as evidence of the athletic competitions of the local Turks in the area of Kamara, where Christians also competed. This, in turn, provides proof that the local agas were converts continuing the ancient noble customs of the Greeks. On the basis of oral informants he identified Tsohadar Aga as a "sipahi from Abadia and the village of Platanos". The other publisher, Kriaris, tellingly published it under the title 'Deception' without labeling it a Turko-Cretan composition. The Muslim outlook of this song is undeniable, but it does stand apart from the other songs dealing with Janissaries. Though it does refer to a conflict among the Janissaries it is devoid of a political context and does not take a political stand.

<sup>64</sup> Planakis, 67-71 (Vlastos Archive 15:619) and Kriaris, 295-296.

### **Hanyotis o Selimis and his *tragoudi*.**

In typical fashion for the genre, the *ríma* starts with a single introductory opening couplet, which makes an apposite gnomic statement, here about the early beginning of summer, and then the narrator addresses the audience immediately stating the actual topic, the end of the *ortádes*. It is worth anticipating here, that in non-typical fashion, the composer-narrator does introduce himself at the very last line, *Hãñôtis ô Selimis*. Minimal as this may be it is crucial in confirming the connection with Crete, which is otherwise solely linguistic and based on the fact that the language has the dialectal features of the Cretan vernacular. Chania, which is mentioned only in the last line, is the only place name mentioned in the *ríma*.

With the second couplet Selimis announces the gist of the issue and the cause of the end of the Janissary *ortas*: the Sultan, or rather the 'King', since the Byzantine word *basileus/vasiliás* is used, is unequivocal, he gave his order and issued a ferman, he does not want the Janissaries, he wants the *nizami*. This couplet introduces a short section (lines 2-6) dealing with the most important and controversial aspect, the apportioning of blame. Selimis is a clear 'royalist', he blames the Janissaries and absolves the King of any fault. In the couplets of this section he sets out his case, accusing the Janissaries of giving reason "by creating occasions" (*αφορμές*), actively committing the fault of neglecting Islam.

As briefly mentioned earlier, it is extremely important here to note that the word *turkiá* (*τουρκιά*) is used. It is put together with an Ottoman borrowing, *noksani* ('deficiency') creating the compound verb *εκάμανε απ' τη τουρκιά νοκσάνι*, which can only possibly refer to Islam rather than a more ethnically-nationally based sense of Turkishness, which is of course what the word literally means. This is quickly followed by another use in the same sense of Islam, accusing them of not being masters of *turkiá*, ie. Islam (*Τουρκιά δεν κατέχανε 5a*), nor indeed of the Koran. What is interesting in this section is that Selimis adopts a defensive attitude, defending the King in the negative: 'Come on, it is not the King's fault' (*Δε φταίει για ο βασιλιάς 4a*). This of course raises the distinct possibility that the defensive posturing reflects the sceptical attitude of the audience which Selimis is trying to put right. In this line we also get the first of only a few references to Bektashism, as the *evliyádes* being also absolved of blame in 4a are in all likelihood the holy men of the Bektashis. In this case Selimis makes a feeble attempt to disassociate the Bektashis from the blame the Janissaries are taking, and is accordingly

softening his royalist position, as the Sultan was fairly unambiguous in his condemnation of the Bektashi sheykhs as well.

Nonetheless the bombshell is found in the second hemistich: it is mainly the fault of the *Turko-Romní* and the *zorbádes*. The meaning of *Turko-Romní*, though startling and somewhat counter-intuitive, is clear: the Rums, the Orthodox Christians who have turned Turkish, i.e. have become Muslims. This is a direct reference to the local Muslim converts, which is not without some contradiction, coming as it does out of the mouth of one of them! Of course both *Turko-Romní* and *zorbádes* are here used to refer to the Janissaries. This section closes with the mention of one of the causes the Janissaries gave for their abolition, taking aim and shooting at the Noble Banner (5b). This in all likelihood is a reference to the events in Istanbul and it is presented here as the occasion for the *nizam* which the King issued "then" (Ἐτότεσα) and "wrought havoc" (καὶ ἴννη βερισάβι) on the corps. This is the first reference to the disarray of the Janissaries.

The next couplet (7) could be thought of as a transition section which repeats and amplifies the decision of the "long-lived one" (ο πολυχρονομένος) by bringing a curse on whoever even dares to mention their name (7b). There follows a long (8-33) *ubi sunt* type section, which addresses the Janissaries and combines a sense of admiration and nostalgia with an almost deriding tone, "Where have your glories gone now?" One can only imagine that Selimis is addressing the Janissaries in a rhetorical and boastful way, as it is hard to imagine how the delivery of this section above all, would have gone down with the locals. This is the main part of Selimis' *tragoudi* and addresses in turn a list of different Janissary offices and posts.

This substantial section starts with an undeciphered and obscure line which mentions the *baltacis* (ξυλάδες 8a) who remain the topic for line 9 and are then directly addressed in lines 10-11. In line 9 the scene we have mention of the 'trained troops' (ταλίμ ασκέρι 9b), a key feature of the New Order. The scene is set for all the halberdiers who would have to join the Sultan's barracks, which will be filled with the new troops. In this way this is a declamatory, news-giving statement which leads into an emotional couplet before the *ubi sunt* section proper.

In line 10 Selimis expresses clear emotional attachment to the Janissary troops, feeling sorry for the halberdiers and shedding tears for the guardians of the peace (*zabitádes*). His allegiance, and that of his audience

one imagines, is not blindly royalist and, most important, he is not driven by feelings of revenge. The *ubi sunt* section proper (lines 11-33) addresses the various offices of the Corps, sometimes with positive comments to make (11b policemen who used to establish order, 13a treasurers living in comfort, 14a benefactors full of good fortune, 19b your janissaries who were like lions etc), at times less so (17b As they lost their manners, 20a Bad tempered masters). While it is possible to detect a slight tone of derision in the repetitive refrain "Where are?", the main thrust is one of nostalgic sadness:

27 They used to be Crete's pride and beauty, the ortades  
Their wings and their regiments, together with the oustades

Η γιομορφιά τῆς ἦταν τῆς Κρήτης οἱ γιορτάδες  
Τὰ κόλια καὶ τ' ἀλάγια τοὺς μαζί με τοὺς οὐστάδες

On another occasion in this section (31a, b) Selimis refers to the Janissaries with a Bektashi connotation as the 'companions of the path', *yol erkani*, and although the passage is unclear, he makes what can only be a positive point about Crete again. At the end of the *ubi sunt* section Selim laments the fall from grace of the Janissary elders and learned-ones (γνωστικοί 33a) "who always spoke in fairness", whatever was going to happen.

The section that follows (lines 34-46) no longer addresses the Janissaries, but Selimis speaks in the first person, singular and plural, and continues lamenting the passing of the Janissaries, using stronger language to refer to their destruction, several times, like a refrain: "the Janissaries are dead" (Πόθανε ἡ γενιτσαριά 39b, 40a, 41a, 43b), and to the ensuing sense of helplessness for the Muslims: "and they left us, the flock, alone in grief and trouble". The section contains a surprising line (l.44) with an outbreak of swearing, where the readings of the words are quite secure but the intended meaning less so: "the Janissaries and the *ortádes* are no more, but some wretched types keep asking about them" may well be the gist of Selimis' complaint here. Or it may be that some are happy to see the back of them.

Either way, this outburst leads to the last significant section of the composition (lines 46-55), a narrative about the evil doings (καμπαέτια 48b, † εχλιριζλίκια †50a, εντεπσιζλίκια 50b) of the Janissaries, including their killing of two blameless 'Kings' (Δύο βασιλιάδες φάγανε με δίχως καμπαέτι 51a). Again Selimis stresses their arrogance, taking heed of neither King nor Prophet (52a), while allowing the *Turko-Romní*

to act as policemen (Τουρκορωμιούς εβάνανε και μπαίνα ζαμπιάδες 53a).

Here Selimis returns to the point made at the beginning about the pernicious role of the converts, whose behaviour is again considered as a cause for the demise of the Janissaries. It is one of the strangest predicaments of Crete that both religious communities would turn to the *Turko-Romnioί* for blame, and all the more striking in our text where it happens twice. The section closes with a wistful afterthought to the condemnation of the *Turko-Romnioί*, a slightly desperate sounding appeal (l. 54)

54 God help our Glorious King  
So that he can separate *Turks* from *Rums*

Το σεβκλετλί το βασιλιά ο θεγίος να το βοηθήξει  
Κι τούρκους από τζι ρωμιούς για νά τζι ξεχωρήσει

We enter now a final section dealing with the King and his powerful courage (55b) as he is assisted by Muhammad granting him victory (νουςρέτι 56a<sup>65</sup>), Ali giving him strength (κουβέτι 56b) and God providing inspiration (ιλάμ 57a) so he can exact revenge (ιντικάμ 57b).

The lines on the guidance and help received by the Sultan form a transition to the closing lines in which Selimis offers his own good wishes for the long-lived one and his crown-princes. Then, somewhat sternly, he admonishes his audience that "it is our duty to offer prayers to the King" (Πρέπει μας να του κάνουμε του βασιλιά ντουάδες 60a). The reason for this use of language may well lie with the important clue regarding his audience that he reveals in the next hemistich: Τούρκοι και αραγιάδες, Turks and *re'ayas*, Muslims and Christians, we all hold the Sultan in good esteem (Εις τους σκιούς τόν έχουμε 60b).

Here Selimis reveals another interesting aspect of the worldview of the Cretan Muslims. It is in the Orthodox Christian imagination that we find the scheme whereby there are 'suffering' Christian tax-payers, *re'aya*, on the one side, and Turks or Muslims on the other, thought of as different and non-suffering an tax-paying. Of course Turks and Muslims were also tax-paying, but the perception was different, especially in Crete, where as we saw, a great number of the locals who had become Muslims were

<sup>65</sup> Nusret here is certainly a reference to the name of the new imperial troops that Sultan Mahmud II established before the blood of the Janissaries had dried, called *Asakir-i mansure-i Muhammediye*, the Victorious Mohammedan Troops, a decision made public in Istanbul at once and sent to all provinces, see Sunar, 210. Celebrations were also held at the accordingly named *Nusretiye* mosque in Tophane.

involved with the military, which in theory was tax-exempt. Here though we have such a 'Turk' resorting to this expression and presumably espousing its worldview.

And this is no anonymous 'Muslim bard' who puts together songs (and the Greek word used, ταίριασε, should be noted for its ancient pedigree) but an individual, Selimis from Chania, who cares to identify himself at the last line. One may perhaps detect a strong sense of local patriotism as he proudly (?) puts his city before his name, Χανιώτης ο Σελίμης, though this is not required by rhyme, which rather curiously is lacking in this couplet. He also wants to be recognized as someone who is unafraid to mention everything about the Janissaries, their *ortádes* once a source of pride, and their causes (αφορμές) for disrepute. In appropriate and orderly fashion he dates his manuscript and thereby gives us one of the earliest written autograph of a Cretan τραγούδι.



Sabri Koz MS, Türkî-Rûmî facsimile

نورکی روی  
 آپا پر دیلو کا ہوما یو ابو کی کا طوفروس  
 آفرستہ مونا پو طور ما ذو تو قلس  
 امری قامہ او و سپروس کیذو کہ کفرمانی  
 ذنی بولویا کچاریا مانی طونیزامی  
 یا تا قامانہ آفر مسو تو ییا کچاری  
 کقامانہ کفقسو ابی طور کا نفساف  
 ذفق پیا او و سپروس موزہ کم اولیادس  
 مانتہ اب تور قورنی جی بولس پرور بادس  
 نور کا ذفق تمانہ موزہ قرآن شریفی  
 کبقاسانہ کبالو نیس اسطوس نیچا شریفی  
 اہ طونساکو و سپروس اوغالہ طونزامی  
 کبقامہ بییا نیچا ری کینی بریشانی

**Türki-i rûmî**

- 1 Âpâ prîlû kê pô mâyû âpôkîñâ tð therôs  
 Âfûkrâstîtê mû nâ pô ÷onôrtaðð tð telôs
- 2 Emirî kâmê ô vâsilâs kîððkê kefirmânî  
 De thâlî bôlô yâñicâryâ mâ thelî tð nîzâmî
- 3 Yâtî eķâmânê âfôrmes etûtî yâñicârî  
 Keķâmânê kefteķsimô abtî<sup>66</sup> tûrkâ noķsânî
- 4 Ðeftey' yâ ôvâsilâs mûðê kê evliyâðes  
 Mâ ftenê îtûrkôromnî ciyabôlus î zôrbâðes
- 5 Tûrkâ ðenķâtehânê mûðê Kû'rân-i şerîfî  
 Kebîķâsânê kebâlô thyes istô sancâķ<-i> şerîfî
- 6 Ê tðtesâ kð vâsilâs evĝâlê tð nîzâmî  
 Kîķâmê tîyânicâryâ keyîñî berîşânî

- 1 Απ' Απριλίου κι απο Μαγίου αποκινά το θέρος  
 Αφουκραστείτε μου να πώ των ορταδώ το τέλος
- 2 Εμίρι 'καμε ο βασιλιάς κι 'δώκε και φιρμάνι  
 Δε θέλει μπολό γιανιτσαριά μα θέλει το νιζάμι
- 3 Γιατί εκάμανε αφορμές ετούτ' οι γιανιτσάροι  
 Και κάμανε και φταίξιμο, απ' τη τουρκιά νοκσάνι
- 4 Δε φταίει για ο βασιλιάς μούδε και εβλιγιάδες  
 Μα φταίνε οι τουρκορωμνοί κι απ' όλους οι ζορμπάδες
- 5 Τουρκιά δεν κατέχανε μουδέ Κοράνι ξερίφι  
 Και παίξανε και μπαλωθιές εις το σαντζάκι σερίφι
- 6 Ετότεσα κι ο βασιλιάς έβγαλε το νιζάμι  
 Κί 'καμε τη γιανιτσαριά και 'γίνη βεριζάνι

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<sup>66</sup> abtî: ebtî MS

ده بی یونویا ایچاریا او بولیمخرونیزمنوس  
 کونوماچی او بشوس بی اینه کابوتا منوس  
 فاشه وولپسویارنبرس اتوق ای قشردس  
 پانایا مناسونه کنا اینوسا مائدرس  
 کوی قشردس ناینو کیم سلطان خانده دس اولی  
 کمنایمیسونه تعلیم عسکری اولی  
 کبوس نامیلیو مسطاجی او مورخوس قشردس  
 کبوس نامی جقدیسومه اولوس چیز ایطادس  
 قشردس بودا عسکر بیستل پونه طویول ارکالی  
 پونه کپظا ایطاداس پوز پزاد ووظامی  
 بونه کید بلیئده ساس بوقانا کطالی  
 میشا قارذوغارونه اکتوتوقورقانی  
 بود و کین خر جیدس ابو خانه زحافی  
 کبر نام کز پزاد متوسو کطافانی

- 7 Dê thelí bólô yâñîcâryâ ô pôlihrônîzmenôs  
Ketô nô mâ cî ôbşôs bî îñê kâbôthâ menôs
- 8 Nâ şê vûlîsô b â r n b r s etûtî î şilâðes  
Pâ lâ nâ pâ d r e m e nâ sùnê kenâ yinûsâ mândres
- 9 Ke'î şilâðes thâ yinû ~~ta'îm~~ sultân hânê ðes ôlî  
Kemeşanâ yemîsûnê ta'îm 'askerî ôlî
- 10 Kebôs nâ mîlîpûmastâ<sup>67</sup> cî ômôrfûs şilâðes  
Kebôs nâ mî cîklâ psûmê ôlûs cîzâbiðâðes
- 11 Şilâðes pûdâ 'askerîsâs pûnê tî yôlî erkânî  
Pûnê kîzâbiðâðesâs pûðîðâ dô nizâmî
- 12 Bûnê kîdâbâşîðê sâs bûkânâ ketâ nâtî  
Mebşâ kârðâ tô vğâlânâ etûtî tô kalâfâtî<sup>68</sup>
- 13 Bû kê vekîl-harcîðes abû hânê râhâtî  
Ke bernânê keðîðânê metôsô saltânâtî
- 7 Δε thelí μπολό γιανιτσαριά ο πολυχρονισμένος  
Και τ' όνομα τση όψιος βει είναι κι αποθαμένος
- 8 ‡ Nâ şê vûlîsô b â r n b r s ‡ ετούτοι οι ξυλάδες  
‡ Pâ lâ nâ ‡ παντρεμένα σου 'ναι και να γινούσαμ άντρες
- 9 Και οι ξυλάδες θα γινού σουλτανχανέδες όλοι  
Και μέσα να γεμίσουνε ταλίμ ασκέρι όλοι
- 10 Και πώς να μη λυπούμαστε τσι όμορφους ξυλάδες  
Και πώς να μη τσι κλάψουμε όλους τσι ζαμπιτάδες
- 11 Ευλάδες πού da 'σκέρι σας, πού 'ναι το γιόλι ερκάνι  
Πού 'ναι κι οι ζαμπιτάδες σας πού διδα do νιζάμι
- 12 Βούναι κι νταμπασίδες σας που κάνα ‡κεδανάτι ‡  
Με ψοιά καρδιά το βγάλανε ετούτο το καλαφάτι
- 13 Βου και βεκίλ χαρτζίδες αβού 'χανε ραχάτι  
Και baίρνανε και δίδανε με τόσο σαλτανάτι

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<sup>67</sup> mîlîpûmastâ: mîlîyômastâ MS

<sup>68</sup> kalâfâtî:klânâtî

و در بیدار خسته خستدندس بوخانه دولتی  
 بچی مغالی اپتورکا تو سپه قانده رعیتی  
 بونه کیباش قافازده ساس بوخانه زار دلیکا  
 بسا قارذایا توغالا نه جبراز کسار دیکا  
 و نه قارا اولقوز ساس بو قاناد کورد و مکا  
 کورد باطوسا اطاجار شاکشنا سالوریا  
 بونه که جووه له کیدس نقله مرانخطا  
 بوخانه تو تریه کتا اهلر لیکا  
 بونه کیتو بیجید سل کبونه تایا ماکا  
 بونه کعی صاقاز سل ابو خانه قاناکا  
 بونه که یا کینچا دیس ساس بو سانه سالوریا  
 اود و نلاطا اولونه پیشا کصمتا ویا  
 اوستا دس قافوریز که کبونه تا کرد منا  
 بسا قارذایا توغالته قاوکا کم جبرازا

- 14 <Bû>nê kêbîr ha'iriðes abû hânê dovleti  
<>cî meğâlî îtürkâ tû sîkânê rağbetî
- 15 Bûnê kîbâş kâlfâðê sâs bû hânê râdiflikâ  
Mebşâkârð yâ tav gâ lânê cabrâzâ ke sârîkâ
- 16 Bûnê kârâu'luçcûðesâs bû kânâdâ †kôrdônâ  
Bôr bâ tû sâ istâ çârşâ kîşenâ sâ lôdaryâ
- 17 Bûnê kê çônê lê kîðes naklenê merâ nihtâ  
Bû hâsânê tô terbiyê ketâ †ehlirezilîkâ †
- 18 Bûnê kîtôbcîðesâs kebûnê tâ yâmâkâ  
Bûnê k'î şâkâðesâs abû hânê kânâkâ
- 19 Bûnê kê yâñîcârîsâs bûsânê sâ lôdaryâ  
Ô dôthe lâ tâ vâ lûnê † bîşâ ke'sâ r yâ †
- 20 Ûstâðes kâkôrîzi kê kebûnê tâ kûrdâmnâ  
Mebşâ kârðyâ tavğalatê kâvakâ kê cabrâzâ

- 14 <Πού>ναι κερπίρ χαίρηδες αβού'χανε ντοβλέτι  
<> μεγάλη η τουρκιά τούς ήκανε ραγμπέτι
- 15 Πού 'ναι κι μπαξκαλφάδες σας που 'χανε ραντιφλίκια  
Με ψοιά καρδιά τά βγάλανε τσαπράζια και σαρίκια
- 16 Πού 'ναι καρραουλουκτσούδες σας βου κানা da †κιουρδώνια †  
Βορβατούσα εις τα τσαρσιά κι είξενα σα λιοδάρια
- 17 Πού 'ναι και τσοβελέκηδες, να κλαίνε μέρα νύχτα  
Που χάσανε το τερμπιγιέ, και τά †εχλιρεζιλίγια †
- 18 Πού 'ναι κι τοπσίδες σας και πού 'ναι τα γιαμάκια  
Πού 'ναι κι οι σακάδες σας απού 'χανε κανάκια
- 19 Πού 'ναι κι οι γιανίτσαροι σας βου 'σανε σα λιοντάρια  
Ο ντό θελα τα βάλουνε † bîşâ ke'sâ r yâ †
- 20 Ουστάδες κακορίζικοι και μούναι τα κιορδάμνια  
Με βσοιά καρδιά τα βγάλατε καβούκια και τσαβράζια

استادس قاجبر از اسل کبوس ققر ز سینه  
 کویس ابوطون الوساس بوس اقسه خور سینه  
 استادس کبیر و شذه ساس مشینا کفارقا  
 بوس قاقا سینه سومه اولاس طا کورد و نا  
 کبوس قاقا سینه سومه طا قول اکتا الایا  
 استادس خفر دس ابشنا سا کوریا  
 استادس قاجبر از اسل قاجریا کسینقا  
 اود و ثرو طا و الیه منا از غرقنا سته ایندیا  
 ای او شکه یا ایچاری ساس مه سیر مالشر فر دس  
 صادا ایدر کا ابشنا انه محی لانتوک و ریس  
 کالای اود و ثرو بی ابشنا  
 تری پونه ده پنجاه استی بی قلیس قوفی  
 ایو مورقنا بی پتونه جقر نلس ایور طادس  
 قاقول اکتا ایو س مازی محی استادس

- 21 Ûstâðes tâcabrâzâ sâs kebôs taḳzezostîtê<sup>69</sup>  
Kô bos apô tō nâ lôsâs bôs aḳsêhôrstîtê
- 22 Û>stâðes kíḳîlâ ḡ ðê sâs m s î nâ keḳârâñâ  
†Ke†bôs thâ tâ ḳseḡâsûmê ôlâ sâs tã kûrdâmnâ
- 23 Ke bôs thâ tâ ḳseḡâsûmê tã ḳôlâ ketâ lâ yâ  
Ûstâðes keneferiðes îḡânâ sâ lôdaryâ
- 24 Ûstâðes tâcabrâzâ sâs †t b r yâ k m ḡ î ñâ miskina †  
Ô dô thelâ tãvâletê menâ † azḡeri â ḳ ḡ â stâ îðyâ †
- 25 Ôḡkê î yâñîçârîsâs mê sírmâle<ne>s zônes  
ḡâ dâ aḡlâñâ îḡânânê mecî lâ n s t û s v royes
- 26 Kâlây ôdô thelâ yinî ebḡân† .....†  
†Te†rî pôtê ðê nîḡânê istî yî tîñîkûmenî
- 27 Îyômôrḡsâ cí îtûnê çikrîtîs îyôrtâðes  
Tã ḳôlâ ketâ lâyâ dûs mâzî mecî ûstâðes
- 21 Ουστάδες τα τσαπράζια σας και βώς τα ξεζωστείτε  
Κι όπως από τον άλλο σας, βώς α ξεχωριστείτε
- 22 Ουστάδες κι η κοιλιά ḡ δε σας m s î nâ keḳârâñâ  
Και πώς θα τα ξεḡάσουμε όλα σας τα kûrdâmnâ
- 23 Και πώς θα τα ξεḡάσουμε τα κόλια και τ'αλάγια  
Ουστάδες και νεφέριδες είσανε σα λιοντάρια
- 24 Ουστάδες τα τσαπράζια σας † t b r yâ m ḳ ḡ î ñâ †  
Οντό θελα τα βάλετε μ'ένα †e z ḡ r â ḳ ḡ â stâ îðyâ †
- 25 Ως και οι γιανιτσάροι σας με σιρμαλένιες ζώνες  
Σα da ασλάνια είσανε με τση †lâ ñ s t û s v r î s †
- 26 † Kâlâ 'â û dô θελα γενεί ebḡâ †† .....†  
†Ταί†ρι ποτέ δεν είχανε εις τη γη την οικουμένη
- 27 Η γιομορḡsâ cí îtônê τση Κρήτης οι γιορτάδες  
Τα κόλια και τ'αλάγια dous μαζί με τους ουστάδες

<sup>69</sup> naḳzezostîtê: taḳzezostîtê MS

بونه کی جور باهینه ساس بوبیشنا مطا قول  
 بونه کی بوبیشنا مال ساس مطا قول مندا اول  
 بونه کی درویشدن بولفاتا اغازده ل  
 او بر سر آ کی لینه سانه اوساد از عازده ل

بونه کی یول اذ ساس بوسیرنا هو کلبتی  
 الله فو کازنه مدد یا محمدی  
 طوبول ارکاز اپوتنه استقری علی عرطادس  
 لتوقوز موز نور سفند و تری ناخو حیا ل  
 بونه کی خا کیذ ساس بونه کی طور نا هیزس  
 بو کی سردن کورد بده ساس کی جت اغازیدس  
 بونه کی یختیا اذس بون کفوس سیک ساس  
 او کی کافی تری کینی میلوسا ذیکا  
 بون ساس نا کلمنه اتوقوس کسوکم اذس  
 بولوسو کدیا تو کاریدس هم ویشدن صفا اذس  
 اذس او دونشنانه کینا ایچ قسودس

- 28 Bûnê kî cõrbâcîdê sâs bûyşanâ istâ kôlâ  
Bûnê kô beytâ mâ lîsâs meţâ kôrdâmnâ d ôlâ
- 29 Bûnê ke 'î dervîşides bû leġâ tâ ġâzêlâ  
Ôbdus ekî layđûsânê ôsâ dâ ziġârdêlâ
- 30 Bûnê kî yûlemâđesâs bû sîranâ tō † külbetetî †  
Allâh allâh fô ñâ zâ nê meded yâ Muḥammedî
- 31 Tō yôl erkânî †apô tinê † istikrîfî † e sçî 'aretâđes †  
Istô kôzmô đenôreskondô terî nâ hõcîhâres
- 32 Bûnê kê hâsekîđesâs bûnê kî tōrnâcîđes  
Bû kî serdengeçdîđê sâs kî cetaġâlarîđes
- 33 Bûnê kê yiḥtyârîđes bûnê kiġnôstîkîsâs  
Ôtî kânî θlâ yenî kînî mîlûsâ đîkâ
- 34 †..† †b r bîmâs nâ k k l m nê † etûtûs kî mû r tâđes  
Bûlûsî ki điyâkõñârîđes dervîşîđes şoftâđes
- 
- 28 Πού 'ναι κι τζορμπατζίδες σας που ειζανα εις τα κολια?  
Πού 'ναι κι ο μπειταμάλης <σ>ας με τα κιορδάμνια τ'όλα
- 29 Πού 'ναι κι οι ντερβίσιδες που λέγα τα γκαζέλια;  
Όπ τούς εκηλαϊδούσανε ωσά τα ζιγαρδέλια
- 30 Πού 'ναι κι γιουλεμάδες σας bou †σύραν το k l b t t î †  
“Αλλάχ Αλλάχ” φωνιάζανε “μεντέτ για Μουχαμμέτη”
- 31 Το γιόλ ερκάνι † απότεινε† εις τη Κρήτη † esçî aretâđes †  
Εις το κόσμο δεν ορέσκουντου ταίρι να 'χου τσι χάρες
- 32 Πού 'ναι κι οι χασεκίδες σας, πού 'ναι κι οι τορνατζίδες  
Πού κι οι σερντενγκετσίδες σας κι οι τσετ ' αγαλαρηδες
- 33 Πού 'ναι και γιχιάρηδες πού 'ναι κι οι γνωστικοί σας  
Ό, τι κι άν ήθελε γενεί, κείνοι μιλούσα δίκια
- 34 †..† †μπι ραμπι μας να ναι κλαμενα† ετούτους κι οι μουρτάδες  
Πλούσοι και διακονιάριδες, ντερβίσηδες σοφτάδες

بوژانه اپيانيجار يا متوبولي محقق  
 كفوكاسو قارفاخا لاتا و سانا استورلي  
 ابوژانه اپيانيجار يا مولو جي تونينو  
 كفوكاسو استونو كسنا محمد  
 سيقو ساندري يا نيجار يا سيقو ساندري  
 يانا ندو تور و وئيشوس عيسى كو محمدس  
 سيقو ساندري يا نيجار يا باي كا قومي باي  
 ابوژانه كپينه موزيتو موزه قاني  
 سيقو ساندري يا نيجار يا زه نينه بولوع تانس  
 كاشف شده روده اي بو تپدس كيشينه كرتانس  
 مانا اجانه زيبق سومه اتو توس كيعور  
 اهلر بزيك اكا نرويشا كولس جيعانقسا  
 بولس ايسانه اينجا كتوس كوس نانس هاستونه  
 كلس يالي دايومنه يا نيجار يا كبونه  
 تور اما ابو ييني كه اتوننا تودوري  
 رفتو يا او و پوس موزه او جا ميشا نور مو او و سيرس تو ايدو كه امر  
 اقمي اپيانيجار يا تا قبا نسيه شو

- 35 Îblûsî ûdô ne bşinâ ne ke binâ escî ҡsilâdes  
İkrâmî tû seķânânê ôsî sânê aĝâdes
- 36 Ketrôĝâ kepôlî psômî dervîşide<s> şoftâdes  
Tû dyâķôñârû đđđânê bilâvyâ ķarâvânes
- 37 Kô dô thelá tô ħriyâ stô kekâ nenûs pâra đes  
Âpô kîđâ isônôndâ tûrkî ke'ârâyâdes
- 38 Kebôs thâhî ciķseĥâsûmê etûtisâ cîĥâres  
‡Tôn thâ rôndas ‡ tô nîĥânê tûrkî ke'ârâyâdes
- 39 Takşâ bô sîĥânê bsî şî etûtî 'pyôrtâdes  
Bô thâ nânê kebî ĝânê me'ôlestûs cîĥâres
- 40 Bô thâ nê îyânîcârÿâ metô bôlî miĥnetî  
Kaf î kemâs tâ ârnâkâ istâ vâsânâ istô dertî
- 41 Apôthânê îyânîcârÿâ môlô cî tô ziyetî  
Kafî kemâs istô the' ô ke senâ Muĥammedî
- 
- 35 Οι πλούσοι ούντωνε ψήνανε και πίνα ες τσι ξυλάδες  
İkrâmi tous eķânane ôs' eîsane aĝâdes
- 36 Καί τρωγα και πολύ ψωμί ντερβίσηδε<ς> σοφτάδες  
Tou diakoniârou díðane pilâβia ķaraβânes
- 37 Ki onto' thela to aĥreíασto και κανενούς παράδες  
Aπό 'keí 'ða isównonta tûrķoi και aραγιáδες
- 38 Πώς θα τσι ξεχάσουμε ετούτεσα τσι χάρες  
‡ Tον θάροντας ‡ τόν eíχane tûrķoi και aραγιáδες
- 39 Τ' άκσα πώς eίχane ψυση eτούτοι οι γιορτάδες  
'Poθânane και pĥgane me ôles tous τσι χάρες
- 40 'Póthane η γενιτσαριά με το πολύ μιχνέτι  
Kî'afĥke 'mâs t'arónaκia εις τα βάσανα εις το ντέρτι
- 41 'Póthane η γενιτσαριά μ'όλο τση το ζιηνέτι  
Kî áfĥke 'mâs isto theó και sένα Mουχαμέτη

سقوساندي يا پنجار يا قوساندي وزيني  
 ياناندي تور تور و پيشوس عليس كو محمدس  
 سقوساندي يا پنجار يا باباي كا قومي باش  
 ابو زانه كپينه موزيتو موزه فاني  
 سقوساندي يا پنجار يا زه نينه بولوعر تانس  
 كاشه روده اي بو تيدس كيشينه كرتانس  
 مانا جانه زين قسومه اتوتوس كيعورد  
 اهلر زليجا كاتر و پيشا كولس هيعانقسا  
 بولس ايسانه اينجا توس كپوس تانس هاستونه  
 كلس يالي تا پومنه يا پنجار يا كبونه  
 تور اما ابو ييني كه اتونا تودوري  
 زفتو يا او پيس موزه او جا ميشا فور مو او و سدير س تو ايدو كه امر  
 سقوساندي يا پنجار يا تا قبا تسيه شو

- 42 Sîḱô sâ ndî yâñîcâryâ sîḱôsâ ndô ziyetî  
Yâ nâ ndô tûrḱû vò'îḱôs 'Alis kô Muḱammedis
- 43 Sîḱôsâ ndî yâñîcâryâ bâ'î kâḱômî bâ'î  
Abôḱhânê kebiyinê môḱî tó môḱâ ḱânî
- 44 Sîḱôsâ ndî yâñîcâryâ ḱê nîñê bôlô 'ortâḱes  
Kâ ḱḱ/fû ḱ ḱḱ ḱê rôḱâ î bústîḱes kob ḱîñê kerâtâḱes
- 45 Mâ nâ câ nê zîḱîḱsûmê etûtûs k/gî'ûrtâḱes  
ḱ E h l r îz líkâ kâ ḱ rôḱsâ kôlus cî'âtîḱsâḱes ḱ
- 46 Bôles îsânê îḱhârestûs kebôs ḱâ ḱsê ḱhâstûñê  
Kemîs bâlî ḱâ rûmnê yâñîcâryâ kebûñê
- 47 Tô brâmâ âbôyîñî kê etûtunâ tô devîrî  
Mebḱâ âfôrmî ô vâsîlâs tû îḱḱkê emîrî
- 48 ḱeftey yâ ô vâsîlâs mûḱê ô Hâcî Bektaḱîḱ  
<M>â fte'î î yâñîcâryâ tâ ḱabâ'etyâ êḱî
- 42 Σηκώσαν τη γενιτσαριά, σηκώσαν το ζιηνέτι  
Για νά'ν του Τούρκου βοηθός Αλής κι ο Μουχαμέτης
- 43 Σηκώσαν τη γενιτσαριά, πάει κι ακόμη πάει  
Απόθανε και πήγινε, μόδι το μόδε κάνει
- 44 Σηκώσαν τη γενιτσαριά, δεν είναι μπολό ορτάδες  
Κι αφού ξε ρωτά οι πούστιδες κι όψοιοι 'ναι κερατάδες
- 45 Μα νά τζ' αναζητήξουμε ετούτους κι ορτάδες  
ḱ Εχλιρεζιλίγια κι αθρώπιζια κι όλους τζι ατικσάδες ḱ
- 46 Πολλές ήσανε οι χαρές τους και πώς θα ξεχαστούνε  
Και μείς πάλι θα πούμε "γιανιτσαριά και πού 'ναι"
- 47 Το πράμα απογίνηκε ετούτωνα το ντεβίρι  
Με πσοιά αφορμή ο βασιλιάς τού ήδωκε εμίρι
- 48 Δε φταίει για ο βασιλιάς μούδε ο Χατζη Μπεκτάζης  
<Μα> φταίει η γενιτσαριά, τα καμπαέτια έξει

۱. تودقسه او بیر تنوس کفوس طه سلیم نس  
 اولانالز موقفسانه ذه پنجانده دضای  
 اولانانین تانینادوس کتا اهلرین لیکا  
 برپسا کینقانه اولاد بسز لیکا  
 ذیوولیلر دس فغانده مذینوس قابتی  
 ذیکارنی اناس تنوس ذتلی ناسا هقی  
 ذه نلسیفوس او بیلر موزده که بیغیر  
 یاکینونان اس تنوس نو سیزو که اولی بر  
 تور تور منوس اولانده کیناز ایلداس  
 یلر پسانه کور بقانه اولوس قوس بیجه زانس  
 توشوکتلی توو بیلر او نیوس ناتویقسی  
 کیتور قوس ابو جیر منوس یانا حقسه خور  
 تور ما ابویینیکه سوتوز مو تونایانو  
 ملسو قوق اوو بیلر س توایشه نه توناروس

- 49 † Istô đîksê ô bîr stôs† ki´ô sultân Suleymânis  
Ôlâ tâ lizmônîksânê đê nîhânê nizâmî<sup>70</sup>
- 50 Ôlâ tâ`itâ`iθyâ dūs ketâ †ehl rîz lîkâ †  
Yîrîsâ keyinîkânê ôlâ edepsizlîkâ
- 51 Đîyô vâsîlâđes fâġânê međîhôs kâba`etî  
Đîkâ k̄rinî enâs θε`ôs đeθelî nâ sâ hatî
- 52 Đê nbsîfûsâ vâsîlâ mû đê kê peyġamberî  
Yâ kînô nâ kenâs θε`ôs tû sîzô kê ôtî brebî
- 53 Tûrkôromnûs evânânê kebenâ zâbitâđes  
Yîrîsânê kevrîkânê ôlûs tûs †cîcêzâzes<sup>71</sup> †
- 54 Tô şevketlî tô vâsîlâ ô theyôs nâ tô voyθîksî  
Kîtûrkûs âbô çîromnûs yâ nâ cikse hûrîsî
- 55 Tô brâmâ âbô yînikê stô kôzmô stô nâbânô  
Meboşô k̄unvetî ô vâsîlâs tô îşê nê tô θârôs
- 
- 49 † Ιστό `δειξε ο προεστός † κι ο Σουλτάν Σουλευμάνης  
Όλα τα λησμονήξανε, δεν είχανε νιζάμι
- 50 Όλα τα ιταίτια τους και τα † εχλιριζλίκια †  
Γύρισα κι εγινίκανε όλα εντεπσιζλίκια
- 51 Δύο βασιλιάδες φάγανε με δίχως καμπαέτι  
Δίκια κρίνει ένας Θεός δε θέλει νασαχάτι
- 52 Δεν απηφούσα βασιλιά μούδε και πείγαμπέρη  
Για κείνονα κι ένας Θεός τούς ήδωκε ο,τι πρέπει
- 53 Τουρκορωμιούς εβάνανε και μπαίνα ζαμπιτάδες  
Γυρίσανε και βρήκανε όλους τους † τσιτσεζάδες†
- 54 Το ξεβκλετλί το βασιλιά ο θεγιός να το βοηθήξει  
Κι τούρκους από τζι ρωμιούς για νά τζι ξεχωρήσει
- 55 Το πράμα απογίνηκε στο κόσμο στον απάνω  
Με πόσο κουβέτι ο βασιλιάς τὸ εἴzene το θάρρος

<sup>70</sup> nizâmî: niţâmî MS

<sup>71</sup> cîcêzâzes : cîcêzâđes?

او محمد بن تودو که تو و لایر و نسیم فی  
 کو حضرتش او علس تودو کنه توفی  
 کو باند و قریش او نشوس تو ایندو که الهامی  
 ابنا ربقایا تا افغانا باری انتقامی  
 شیخی نازنه ایخرو بندو تو بو لحر و نرمنو  
 کو بو و الی تپشرا دو نوینی کرد منوس  
 او س کچی ششزاده دستو او نشوس نا جیلانی فی  
 خرنوس بو لوس ناز پسونه الی یسین تینقوفی  
 بره جاس نا تو قانومه تو و لایر و نسیم  
 لئو کسو ستو تو نخومه تور کی کوار ایازس  
 اثر اغوزی استو تریاسه خاکوتس او سلیمس  
 بود تازس کچی افورمس او انا قانی ذکر  
 ۱۲۴۲  
 ۲۱۲ ص

آبا پرلو  
 آبا پرلو

- 56 Ô Muḥammedis tû đòkê tû vâsîlâ nuşrê tî  
Kô ḥazretis ô 'Alis tû đòkinê ḵuvvê tî
- 57 Kô bândôkrâtis ô θε'ôs tû îđòkê ilhâmî  
Abtâ rîḵâthyâ tâ eftâ nâ bârî intiḵâmî
- 58 Şîlî nânê îḥrô nîttû tû bô liḥrônizmenû  
Kô bû vâlî tîşirâ dû navyenî kerđemenôs
- 59 Ôs kicî şehzâdê đestû ô theyôs nâ cibliθî nî  
Ḥronûs bôlûs nâ zîsûnê istî yis tînîḵûmenî
- 60 Brê bimâs nâ tû ḵânûmê tû vâsîlâ dû'âdes  
Istû skû stô tô neḥûmê tûrkî ke'â râyâdes
- 61 Itrâḡûđî âbtô teryâsê Ḥâñôtis ô Selimis  
Côtâdes kecî âfôrmes ôlâ tâ ḵânî đikr<i>

Fî 12 Safer 1242 [15 September 1826]

Apâprîlû<sup>72</sup>

Apâprîlû

- 56 Ο Μουχαμέτης του 'δωκε του βασιλιά νουσρέτι  
Κι ο χαζρέτης ο Αλής του δώκηνε κουβέτι
- 57 Κι ο παντοκράτης ο Θεός του ήδωκε ιλχάμι  
Απ'τα ρικάθια τα εφτά να πάρει ιντικάμι
- 58 Σιλλιοι να `ναι οι χρόνοι του βολυχροτισμένου  
Κι όπου βάλει τη χειρά του να βγαίνει κερδεμένος
- 59 Ως κι τζι ξεχζαντέδες του ο Θεγίος να τζι πληθήνει  
Χρόνους πολλούς να ζήσουνε εις τη γης την οικουμένη
- 60 Πρέπει μας να του κάνουμε του βασιλιά ντουάδες  
Εις τους σκιούς τόν έχουμε τούρκοι και αραγιάδες
- 61 Ιτραγούδι από ταίριασε Χανιώτης ο Σελίμης  
Τζ 'ορτάδες και τζι αφορμές όλα τα κάνει δίρκ<i>

Απ' Απριλιού

<sup>72</sup> Apâprîlû: *ye* not dotted; bis

**English Translation****A plain song in Greek (türkî<-i> rûmî)****Column a**

- 1 The harvest season is upon us from April and May  
Listen and let me tell you the end of the *ortades*
- 2 The king gave an order and issued a *ferman*  
Janissaries, he wants no more, but he does want the *Nizam*
3. These janissaries, they did give occasion  
And they were at fault, deficient in their Turkish creed
4. No way is it the fault of the King or the holy men  
It's the fault of the *Turko-Romnioí* and above all the *zorbades*
- 5 They were not learned in the Turkish creed, nor in the Noble Koran  
And they fired shots at the Noble Banner
6. At that stage the King introduced the *Nizam*  
And the whole janissary lot were in great disarray
7. He no longer wants the janissaries -May he live long  
Whoever as much as mentions their name, count him dead
8. [Unclear ] these halberdiers  
[Unclear] married for you, and if we could just beget proper men
9. And the halberdiers will all stay at the Sultan's barracks  
All the barracks will be full of trained soldiers
10. But how could we not feel sorry for the handsome halberdiers  
And how could we not weep for the all the policemen?
11. Hey halberdiers, where's your army, where's your companions (of the  
path)  
And where are your policemen who used to establish order?
12. Where are your chamberlains who used to do [unclear]  
With what a heavy heart they took out this [unclear]
13. And where are your treasurers living in comfort  
They who used to wheel and deal with such pompous airs?

**Column b**

14. Where are your grand benefactors full of good fortune?  
The ones all the Turkish dignitaries used to respect so?
15. Where are your master builders who had their own reserves  
With what a heavy heart they took off their waistcoats and their turbans
16. Where are your guards who used to brag  
They used to stroll in the markets and they were like lions
17. They are useless idlers, let them cry night and day  
As they lost their manners and ketâ [unclear]
18. Where are your gunners and their hired henchmen?  
Where are your water-carriers with their cups
19. Where are your janissaries who were like lions?  
What business did they have putting on [unclear]
20. Bad tempered masters, where are the [unclear]  
With what a heavy heart you've taken off your hats and waistcoats
21. Masters, your waistcoats, how are you going to take them off?  
And how are you going to separate from each other?
22. Masters, [unclear ]  
And how are we going to forget all ?your posturing?
23. How are we going to forget your wing divisions and your regiments?  
Masters/Officers and plain soldiers were all like lions.
24. Masters your waistcoats [unclear]  
Why did you take on such an [unclear]
25. Like your janissaries with embroidered cummerbands  
They were like lions with [unclear]
26. [Unclear ]  
An equal there never was in the inhabited earth
27. They used to be Crete's pride and beauty, the *ortades*  
Their wings and their regiments, each with their masters
28. Where are you soup-makers in each wing?  
Where is your chief treasurer with all his pomp?

29 Where are your dervishes who used to sign gazels  
They used to be like goldfinches with their birdsong

**Column C**

30 Where are your scholars who used to [unclear]  
"Oh God" they used to cry, and "Help, oh Muhammad"

31 The companions of the path used to be the virtue of Crete  
It did not please them in the world to have an equal in their joys

32 Where are your sergeants and your *turnacidés*  
Where are your berserk troopers and your gangmen?

33 Where are your elderly and your wise ones?  
Come what may, they always spoke in fairness

34 ... oh Lord, ... let some weep for them ... and the turncoats  
Rich and poor, dervishes and young students

35 The rich ... used to enjoy a roast and a drink ... from the halberdiers  
They gave them offerings, those who were *agas*

36 They ate a lot of bread, the dervishes and the young students  
To the poor they offered rice pilafs and a plate of food

37 I did not want what's not necessary, nor did I want anyone's money  
That's how the Turks and the *reayas* become equals

38 How are we going to ever forget their joy?  
Turks and *reayas*, they had [unclear]

39 I had heard that these *ortades* had real courage  
They died and passed away with all their graces

40 The whole Janissary lot died, with plenty of suffering  
And they left us, the flock, alone in grief and trouble

41 The whole Janissary lot died, with all their decorations  
And entrusted us to God and You, oh Muhammad

42 They got rid of the Janissaries, they got rid of their beauty  
So that Ali and Muhammad would help out the Turks

43 They got rid of the Janissaries, they are still on their way out,  
They died and went their way, covering field by field

44 They got rid of the Janissaries, the *ortades* are no more

And they ask you, the faggots, and those who're so wretched  
 45 "Let us look out for these *ortades*  
 [unclear ]  
 46 Their graces were plenty and how could we forget them?  
 Once again we will say where have the Janissaries gone  
 47 It all got out of hand in their period  
 With that excuse the King gave his order  
 48 But they are not at fault, neither the King nor Hacı Bektash  
 The Janissaries are to blame, they are the ones at fault

**Column d**

49 [unclear] and Sultan Suleyman  
 They forgot about everything, they had no sense of order  
 50 All their obediences and the [unclear]  
 They all turned into debaucheries  
 51 They got rid of two Kings who were blameless  
 But God is a fair judge, He does not need advice  
 52 They took no heed of either King or the Prophet  
 That's why the one God gave what was required  
 53 They would allow the *Turko-Romnioi* to become policemen  
 The searched and found all the punished ones/the dwarfs  
 54 God help our Glorious King  
 So that he can separate *Turks* from *Rums*  
 55 It all came to an end in the world above  
 With great strength the King had all the courage  
 56 It was Muhammad who gave good advice to the King  
 While his Excellence Ali gave him strength  
 57 The All-Powerful God gave him inspiration  
 So that he get his revenge from the seven *rikats*  
 58 May he live a thousand years, he of many years  
 And may he succeed on whatever he embarks upon  
 59 And May God give him plenty of heir-princes  
 May they live long on this inhabited earth of ours

- 60 It is our duty to offer prayers for our King  
For we consider him auspicious, both Turks and *reayas*
- 61 This song was put together by Selim from Chania  
He mentions everything about the *ortades* and their causes

*Written on 12 Safar 1242 (15 September 1826)*

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