A Tale of Coexistence: A History of Cyprus from 1860 to 1931

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Approvals

"A Tale of Coexistence: A History of Cyprus from 1860 to 1931" a dissertation prepared by Nur ÇETİNER in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, has been approved on 24 March 2023 by:

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Declaration of Originality

The intellectual content of this dissertation, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.

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Abstract

A Tale of Coexistence: A History of Cyprus from 1860 to 1931

Nur ÇETİNER, Doctoral Candidate at the Atatürk Institute
for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2023

Prof. Cengiz Kırlı, Dissertation Advisor

This dissertation examines the inter-communal relationships between Orthodox Christian Greek Cypriots and Muslim Turkish Cypriots from 1860 to 1931. The study aims to shed light on a history of coexistence on the island of Cyprus. The main goal of this dissertation is to present an inclusive bi-communal narrative and to ask new questions about the national identity construction processes of the two communities living together. The chronological timeline of the thesis is started with the Ottoman inspection on the island in 1860 and is completed with the rebellion in 1931. The study intends to start from 1860, in other words, before the administration of the island was passed to the British, and end with the 1931 rebellion because it was necessary to take a date after 1923 in order to see the effects of the establishment of the new Turkish Republic of Turkey and its aftermath on Cyprus. Further, it examines the identity formation processes of Cypriots using "ambivalence" while constructing a common historical narrative by examining the daily lives of Cypriots and their inter-communal relationships. Based on Ottoman and British sources, this study explores the socio-political life of Orthodox Christian Greek Cypriots and Muslim Turkish Cypriots during the late Ottoman period and under British colonial rule.

100,000 words

Özet

Bir Birlikte Yaşama Hikayesi: 1860'tan 1931'e Kıbrıs Tarihi

Nur Çetiner Doktora Adayı, 2023
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kırlı, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez, 1860 yılından 1931 yılına kadar Kıbrıslı Ortodoks Hristiyan Rumlar ile Kıbrıslı Müslüman Türkler arasındaki toplumlar arası ilişkileri incelemektedir. Bu tezin temel amacı, kapsayıcı bir iki toplumlu anlatı sunmak ve birlikte yaşayan iki toplumun ulusal kimlik inşa süreçlerine ilişkin yeni sorular sormaktır. Tezin kronolojik zaman çizelgesi 1860 yılında Osmanlıların adada yaptığı teftiş ile başlamış ve 1931 yılındaki isyan ile tamamlanmıştır. Bu çalışma 1860 yılında, yani Kıbrıs İngiliz yönetimine geçmeden önceki Osmanlı döneminden başlayıp 1931 isyanı ile bitmektedir. 1931 yılında bitmesinin sebebi ise yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunun ve sonrasının Kıbrıs üzerindeki etkilerini görebilmektir. Ayrıca, bu tez Kıbrıslıların günlük yaşamlarını ve toplumlar arası ilişkilerini inceleyerek ortak bir tarihsel anlatı inşa ederken "müphemlik" kavramını kullanarak Kıbrıslıların kimlik oluşturma süreçlerini incelemektedir. Osmanlı ve İngiliz kaynaklarına dayanan bu çalışma, geç Osmanlı döneminde ve İngiliz sömürge yönetimi altındaki Kıbrıslı Ortodoks Hıristiyan Rumlar ve Kıbrıslı Müslüman Türklerin sosyo-politik yaşamlarına ışık tutmayı hedeflemektedir.

100,000 kelime

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- English –Advanced
- Ottoman Turkish –Advanced
- Greek –Intermediate



To the peoples of Cyprus

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BOA	The Presidency Ottoman Archives (Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)
CCR	Cyprus Court Registers
CO	The Colonial Office (The National Archives of United Kingdom)
CPIO	Cyprus Press and Information Office Digital Archive
FCO	The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (The National Archives of United Kingdom)
NA	The National Archives of TRNC - Kyrenia
SA	State Archives of Cyprus - Nicosia
TNA	The National Archives of United Kingdom – London
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

A Note on Transliteration

All the Ottoman Turkish translations in the dissertation are mine. The simplest form of Latinization is used in the transliteration of Ottoman Turkish. However, the Greek newspapers are translated with the help of Hasan Özgür Tuna. As in Ottoman Turkish, the simplest form of Latinization is used in Greek transliteration.

The names of the places were kept the same. I used them as they were in the archival documents. Besides, the Hijri dates in the Ottoman documents were translated into Gregorian dates with the date translation system of the Turkish Historical Society and added to the footnotes.

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NOTE: The in-house editor of the Atatürk Institute has made detailed recommendations with regard to the format, grammar, spelling, usage, syntax, and style of this dissertation.

1

Introduction

§ 1.1 Who are the People of Cyprus?

-Who are you?
-What do you mean, who am I?
These are tough questions.
-Leonard Zelig?
-Yes, definitely.. who is he?[1]

This dissertation aims to shed light on a history of coexistence in the island of Cyprus. History of two communities of Cyprus, Orthodox Christian Greek Cypriots and Muslim Turkish Cypriots, from 1860 to 1931 is examined in the thesis. The study intends to start from 1860, in other words, before the administration of the island was passed to the British rule. After the Ottoman-Russia war in 1878, the administration of Cyprus was temporarily left to the British rule in order to support the Ottoman

1 Woody Allen, *Zelig,* (1983). (Conversation between Leonard Zelig and Dr Fletcher).

Empire against Russia.[2] The British promised to assist the Ottoman Empire in the Congress of Berlin; in return, the administration of the island was assigned to the British, but the Sublime Porte continued its sovereignty over the island.[3] From this time to 1960, the island was ruled by the United Kingdom.[4] 1860 was chosen because it was the time the

2 Before the Congress of Berlin on 13 June 1878, on 4 June, the Cyprus Convention was signed between the United Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire. The administration of Cyprus was assigned to British in return to support of the United Kingdom against Russia. For details about the convention, see: Sir Edward Hertslet, *The Map of Europe by Treaty; Showing the Various Political and Territorial Changes Vol. IV 1875 to 1891* (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Harrisons and Sons, 1891), pp. 2722-2725, via www.archive.org access, 27.09.2022; Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks 1571-1878* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1989),pp.259-267. Also, see: D.E. Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (USA: Harvard University Press, 1934).

3 ..İngiltere'nin gerek Rusların Dersaadet'e girmesine mani olmasının ve gerek Berlin Kongresinde Devlet-i Aliye'yi müdafaa eylemesinin mükafatı olarak talep eylediği Kıbrıs cezirесinin işgal ve idaresini devlet-i müşarunileyhaya terk-i muvafakat eylediği.. See: Bab-ı Ali Hariciye Nezareti, *Kıbrıs Meselesi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1335), p.15.

4 The Cyprus Convention was signed on 4 June 1878 and according to the Convention: if Russia, holding Batum, Ardahan and Kars or any of them, attempts to invade another part of the lands of the Ottoman state in Asia in the future, England will unite with the Ottomans to protect and defend these lands by force of arms, in return, the Sultan promises to England to make reforms for the Christian population in the Ottoman lands and agrees to assign the island of Cyprus so that England could fulfill its commitment."Rusya Devleti Batum ve Ardahan ve Kars veyahut mevakı-i mezkureden birini yed-i zabtında tutup da ileride her ne vakit olursa olsun muahede-i katıyye-i sulhiyye ile tayin olunan Asya memalik-i şahanesinden bir kısmını daha zabt ve istilaya tasaddi edecek olursa ol halde İngiltere Devleti memalik-i mezkureyi silah ile muhafaza ve müdafa'a etmek üzere Saltanat-ı Seniyye ile birleşmeyi taahhüd eder ve buna mukabil zat-ı hazret-i padişahi dahi Memalik-i Mahruse'de bulunan tebaa-i Hıristiyaniyye ve sairenin hüsn-i idare ve himayelerine müte'allik ileride devleteyn beyninde kararlaştırılacak olan ıslahat-ı lazimeyi icra edeceğini İngiltere Devleti'ne vaad ile beraber devlet-i müşarunileyhayı taahhüdat-ı vakıasının icrasınca lazım gelen vesaiti temin edebilecek bir hale koymak için kendisine Kıbrıs cezirесini tahsis ve asker ikamesiyle cezireyi idare etmesine muvafakat eyler." See: Bab-ı Ali Hariciye Nezareti, *Kıbrıs Meselesi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1335), p.10; The National Archives, London (TNA), FO/93/110/27B; *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs (Nüfusu-Arazi Dağılımı ve Türk Vakıfları)* (Ankara: TC Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2000), p.23. However, Cyprus never passed under the Ottoman rule again. The issue is detailed in the second chapter.

Ottoman government sent an inspector to the island to investigate the Tanzimat rules. Cypriots submitted their objections to the Ottoman inspector and requested solutions. On the other hand, 1931 is the year of the rebellion on the island. The uprising was mainly associated with the Enosis demand of the Christian Greek Cypriots, but in fact, the initial reason was the new budget. I would like to end the timeline of the thesis by looking at the Muslim Cypriots' role on the road to the rebellion. Also, it was necessary to take a date after 1923 in order to see the effect of the establishment of the new Turkish Republic in Turkey and its aftermath on Cyprus. This dissertation examines the two communities of Cyprus when their national identities were not fully established. Unlike many other studies which will be elaborated in below, the main goal of this dissertation is to present an inclusive bi-communal narrative and to change the question about the national identity construction processes of the two communities living together. We also need to ask why the identity construction process was formed this way rather than how it was formed. In other words, the thesis would like to step out of the teleological narrative and show that different results could be reached. As seen from the studies below, most studies of Cyprus history focused on a single community, and none of them asks why Cypriots did not construct an identity based on where they lived. This thesis aims to fill this gap by changing the question of the national identity construction process and including two communities in the historical narrative.

The answer to the question "who are you" can be confusing for the people of Cyprus. While having a conversation with one of my Turkish Cypriot friends about the 2020 presidential election of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), she said that she cried all night after the results were announced that the candidate supported by Turkey won. She evaluated the intervention of Turkey against the independence and existence of the Turkish Cypriots on the island.[5] However, as the conversation continued, she started to mention that Turkish Cypriots are more

5 For some news about the issue, see: https://indyturk.com 30.09.2020; http://www.detaykibris.com 10.10.2020; https://t24.com.tr 11.06.2021; https://medyascope.tv 10.06.2021.

Turkish than people from Turkey and open-minded and modern because Turkish Cypriots were descendants of Alevis.[6] On one hand, she desires to be independent from Turkey, but on the other hand, she identifies herself based on Turkey. The dilemma she is in is not unique to her; you can realize similar things and arrive at a similar conclusion when you talk to different Turkish Cypriots.

The above quote is from a mockumentary by Woody Allen. It is about a man who did not belong anywhere or who belonged everywhere. He is known as a human chameleon because he becomes like whoever he spends time with; a doctor, an artist, a black man etc. Leonard Zelig did not have his own identity, but he adapted to the conditions. When the doctor who tried to "heal" him asked why he was changing himself according to the people around him, he answered that it is safe and it protects himself. Further, Michel Foucault described identity as a constituted thing. The identities are not given but always constituted by the power; the notion of "man" has not always existed but is a recent invention.[7] In that regard, we are not the ones who determine "who we are." It has already constituted, and we were born into it. People themselves created the identities. The process is like a cycle: people have constituted the identities, but then they assume and adopt them as if these identities

6 It is one of the heterodox sects of Islam. The opinion that being descendants of the Alevis is not rare in North Cyprus, see: N. Beratlı, *Kıbrıs Türklerin Tarihi*, (Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür Yayınları, 1997). On the other hand, Mete Hatay defends that the reason for secularism and lack of religiosity among Turkish Cypriots is not Alevism. According to him, the process of secularization of the Muslim community began in the mid-nineteenth century with the Ottoman reforms. For details, see: Mete Hatay, "'Reluctant' Muslims? Turkish Cypriots, Islam, and Sufism" *The Cyprus Review* vol.27, no.2 (2015), pp.43-63.

7 Michel Foucault, *The Order of the Things,* (USA: Vintage, 1994), p.386. Foucault examined how people have been constantly constituted by the power within the society they live in. Truth and its legitimation are constituted things, so it is not possible for us to reach a definite truth or a clear definition for any concept. In other words, the answer to "who are you" has constantly been changing, and we, the people, have been reproducing the meanings over and over.

have always existed and are something given.[8] National identities are among the identities that affect our lives the most today. Prejudices about who we can be, begin to take shape according to our national and also religious identities.[9] On the other hand, people also have prejudices about who they are, formed in their own minds and shaped by the society they were born into. However, the people of Cyprus are confused about their identities. If we consider the example mentioned above, Turkish Cypriots are not sure how they identify themselves; based on whether the island they live in or "the motherland" Turkey. On the one hand, they are uncomfortable with Turkey's interventions on the island but, on the other, have difficulty defining themselves without comparing them with Turkey.[10] Similar to Zelig, people in Cyprus did not belong anywhere and

8 Not only identities but the many concepts we use today as they have always existed are recent inventions. For example, the meaning of "culture" before the 19th was not the same. The meaning we attach to most concepts today differs from their previous understandings. In other words, people have reproduced most of the concepts they thought always existed over time and invented new meanings. For details, see: Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: 1780-1950* (USA: Colombia University Press, 1983).

9 Many academic debates and approaches exist on nationalism, such as when nationalism emerged, whether it was something produced by people or something that has always existed. For the main ones, see: J.A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); E. Kedourie, *Nationalism*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Benedict Anderson*, Imagined Communities, A brilliant exegesis on nationalism*, (UK: Verso, 2006); EJ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (UK: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1992); A.D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986). For theories of nationalism that have developed since the 18th century, see: Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism a Critical Introduction*, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Here, I take nationalism as Etienne Balibar, who thinks that the main problem is not when or how nationalism appeared but the reproduction of nationalism. See: E. Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology" *New Left Review*, vol.13, no.3, (1990), pp.329-361.

10 For an article about the confusion of Turkish Cypriots before the borders with the Southern part of Cyprus were opened, that is, at a time when Turkish Cypriots were more isolated than they are now, see: Ali Bizden, "Kıbrıs Pasaportlu Kıbrıslıtürkler" *Birikim*, no.108 (April, 1998) https://birikimdergisi.com Also, for an ethnographic study

needed to identify themselves. However, they did not choose to identify themselves with the people around them or the island they lived in, but they had looked far away to find themselves. This dissertation does not defend that the islanders came to this situation in a linear or teleological way. While reaching this circumstance, I would like to open a window into the past for clues about the things that affected them, what kinds of variables they were exposed to, and how they reached from different possibilities to the current situation. Why is it so difficult to define who the people of Cyprus are? Further, the thesis aims to present an alternative approach to a specific period in the history of Cyprus. The thesis examines the identity formation processes of Cypriots using "ambivalence" while constructing a common historical narrative by examining the daily lives of Cypriots and their inter-communal relationships.

§ 1.2 Theoretical Framework

Cyprus and the story of its people cannot be separated from its insular characteristic. The fact that Cyprus is an island and being an islander are influential elements in the history of Cyprus. The concept of insularity involves many ideas in itself, but more importantly, it consists of both connectivity and isolation. On the one hand, the islands are safe and isolated places, but on the other hand, they can be faced with danger from outside, from the sea, at any moment. The sea can brings anything to the island. In other words, the sea is both the protector and the enemy of the islands.[11] The main point is not whether the island is isolated or

on Turkish Cypriots, see: Yael Navaro, *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity,* (USA: Duke University Press, 2012).

11 Christy Constantakopoulou examines the Aegean islands regarding interaction, integration and connectivity. She defends that the islands in the Aegean sea were parts of the integrated world of the sea. The islands were the parts of the network between connectivity and isolation. See: Christy Constantakopoulou, *The Dance of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire, and the Aegean World,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). However, I would like to examine the island of Cyprus not as a part of something. The thesis aims to give the leading role not to the center but to the local like many

connected but how this situation is manifested and what implications it has because the isolation and connection are relative issues.[12] While the islands live an isolated life surrounded by the sea on all four sides, simultaneously, the outside world transmits culture both to islands and other regions through them. As an example, Braudel mentioned the spread of sugar cane from India to Egypt, via Cyprus to Sicily and then to America.[13] Further, the proximity of the island to the other land, its distance, the tides, and its size all make it difficult to define in itself.[14] In that

recent studies, see: Yonca Köksal, *The Ottoman Empire in the Tanzimat Era: Pronvicial Perspectives from Ankara to Edirne,* (UK: Routledge, 2019); Antonis Hadijikyriacou "The Ottomanisation of Cyprus: Towards a Spatial Imagination Beyond the Centre-Province Binary" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* vol.25, no.2 (2016), pp.81-96; A. Hadijikyriacou "Local intermediaries and insular space in late 18th century Ottoman Cyprus" *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* (2014), pp.427-456; Michalis N. Michael, Matthias Kappler and Eftihios Gavriel, eds. *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009); Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman To Ayntab in the 17th Century* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2007); Ariel Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: Rival Paths to the Modern State* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2004); Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Also, it should not be forgotten that it was Fernand Braudel who indicated that the features that isolate the islands are also the features that can connect them to the outside world via maritime transport. See: F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol.I, trans. Siân Reynolds (London and New York: Fontana, 1972), p.150. Braudel described the Mediterranean islands as the connection point of the Mediterranean's trade route. Also, he mentioned that this trade route connected Cyprus with Syria and the islands constituted the dormant fleet of Venice.

12 Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "Ottoman(ist)s and the Sea, Islands, and Space: An Overview of the State of the Field on the Occasion of a Recent Review Article" *Turkish Historical Review*, no.11 (2020), pp.315-316.

13 F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol.I, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), p.154.

14 For details about the definition of the island, see: Russell King, "The Geographical Fascination of Islands" in *The Development Process in Small Island States,* ed. by Douglas G. Lockhart, David Drakakis-Smith and John Schembri (London & New York: Routledge, 2002), pp.13-37; Godfrey Baldacchino, ed. *The Routledge International Handbook of Island Studies* (London & New York: Routledge, 2018); P. Horden & N. Purcell, *The Corrupting*

circumstances, the people of Cyprus, islanders, have lived in both dangerous and safe place. Living on the island carries islanders into an in-betweenness. The island can be a place of captivity and freedom for the islanders at once.

On the other hand, although the islands have their own characteristics compared to the mainland, the relationship of people with land and landscape can be regarded as a human construction both within the islands and abroad.[15] Wherever people live, on the islands or the mainland, they constitute and fictionalize their own relationship with that piece of land. The important thing is to examine how people imagine themselves, which is effective in the identity construction process.[16] Moreover, it should not be ignored that the British colonial administrators were also islanders. However, it is debatable to what extent the British identified the Cypriots with themselves. Although they associated the Orthodox Christian Cypriot community with ancient Greece, they considered both communities backwards from a colonial point of view.[17] For example, the

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Sea, (Cornwall: Blackwell, 2000); Mark Patton, *Islands Time: Island sociogeography and Mediterranean prehistory* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996); Cyprian Broodbank, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades,* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

15 For the analysis of the landscape in terms of its interaction with the space of human experience and the studies examining the ownership relations built by a human being on the landscape, see: Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Barbara Bender, *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives,* (Oxford: Berghahn, 1993).

16 This situation can be observed in Herzfeld's work on Crete. The Glendiots built their identities based on the place they lived in and then added the Cretan and Greek identities to this identity, but the identity that defined them primarily was formed through their relationship with the place where they lived. They were firstly Glendiot, then Cretan, then Greek. See: Michael Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village,* (USA: Princeton University Press, 1988).

17 Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island A History of the British in Cyprus,* (London&New York: IB Tauris, 2010),p.126. For details about the islander character of the British, see: Jan Rüger, "Insularity and Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century" in *The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837–1901, The Sea and Global History*, ed. by Milles Taylor, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

British colonial administration was strongly against marriage with Cypriots.[18] Although Cyprus was an island, it was a backward region for the British and Cypriots could not be compared with them.

Further, when Cyprus was under Ottoman rule, it differed from other Ottoman provinces since Cyprus was an island. The situation between connectivity and isolation of the island had decentralized the balance of power on the local in a sense. The relationship Cypriots constructed with the island also affected their relations with the center and their daily lives.[19] On the one hand, the islanders established power relations within the island; on the other hand, they were in a power relationship with the center.[20] Petitions had an essential role in relationships between the local and the center. In order to win the power conflict within the island, they might have to get the center behind them, and in such cases, petitions were used as a tool.[21] Moreover, petitions were essential tools to reach

18 Alexis Rappas, "Greeks under European colonial rule: national allegiance and imperial loyalty" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* vol.34, no.2 (2010), p.208.

19 Here we can regard Richard Fardon's warning about the locality of the islands as well. He insisted that the locality and its discourse should not be confined to isolated, distant places without connection to main political centers. See: Richard Fardon, *Localizing Strategies: Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing,* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990). The island's insular feature includes both isolation and connectivity in itself, and similar to the other remote local places, it produces its own inter-relationships within the locality. Also, see: Aylin de Tapia, "Orthodox Christians and Muslims of Cappadocia: Intercommunal Relations in an Ottoman Rural Context (1839-1923)" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2016), pp. 26-28.

20 For examples, see: Antonis Hadijikyriacou, "The Ottomanisation of Cyprus" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 25 No.2 (2016), pp.81-96; M. Hadjianastasis, "Cyprus in the Ottoman Period: Consolidation of the Cypro-Ottoman Elite, 1650–1750" in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, ed. by M. N. Michael, M. Kappler & E. Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009)pp. 63–88.

21 For example, see: Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "Local intermediaries and insular space in late-18th century Ottoman Cyprus" *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* (2014), pp.427-456. Also, for the role of petitions in the centralization of the Ottoman Empire and reaching the periphery, see: Jens Hanssen, "Practice of Integration – Center Periphery Relations in the Ottoman Empire" in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. by J. Hanssen, T. Philipp and S. Weber (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2002),

the center of the state, but people should know how to write to use the petition practice. Petitions might seem like the tools of the elite and literate class, but the illiterate class could write their petitions with the help of petition writers (*arzuhalci*).[22] Moreover, when the inspection came to the island, which is detailed in chapter 3, the ordinary people had a chance to convey their complaints to the inspector. The inspector traveled from village to village, collecting collective complaints. Although most people were illiterate, people were able to convey their complaints thanks to the writers. In other words, petitions and inspections were some of the practices used by people to solve their problems. Local elites could use them in their power conflict, but also ordinary people benefited from them to submit and solve their issues.

While examining the island of Cyprus and the identity-building process of the islanders, the inter-communal relationship on the island cannot be ignored.[23] The communities examined in this thesis are Christian

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pp.49-74. Hanssen emphasizes inspection tours and local petitions as a practice of integrating peripheral parts to the center and an Ottoman centralization process. He also examines the local councils, but since I used the inspection and petition practices in the thesis, I highlighted them. Hanssen studies petitions and inspections in order to show the state's desire to enhance its information about the peripheral provinces. However, my aim is to show islanders' practices of solving problems in their daily lives.

22 For details about the *arzuhalci*, see: Gülderen Sarıyıldız, *Sokak Yazıcıları Osmanlılarda Arzuhaller ve Arzuhalciler*, (İstanbul, Derlem Yayınları, 2010); Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Arzuhalciler" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia of Istanbul from past to present], vol. 1 (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1993). For example in the different parts of the Ottoman Empire, see: Yasemin Avcı, Vincent Lemire and Ömür Yazıcı Özdemir, "Collective Petitions (ʿarż-ı maḥżār) as a Reflective Archival Source for Jerusalem's Networks of Citadinité in the late 19th Century" in *Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840-1940: Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City* ed. by Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire (Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 161-185.

23 For studies about inter-communal relationships, see: Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation. Muslim-Christian Coexistence and Its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Aylin de Tapia, "Orthodox Christians and Muslims of Cappadocia: Intercommunal Relations in an Ottoman Rural Context (1839-1923)" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2016); Rebecca Bryant, ed. *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016); Mark Mazower, *Salonica,*

Orthodox Greek Cypriots and Muslim Turkish Cypriots. They have shared the island for long centuries, and during the Ottoman and British administrations, they had lived together, and they lived and coexisted in a shared space. In the thesis, the shared space is the island itself, broadly speaking, and it comprises the places of "political, economic or social cooperation or antagonism."[24] The island of Cyprus is considered as a space where people from different religious and ethnic identities spent their daily lives together and produced something together. In addition, coexistence brings borders to the lives of people. These borders were not clear but mostly fluid. When the borders started and when they ended are not certain. People consciously or not have constructed boundaries with people they live within the same places. These people do not necessarily have to be from different identities. In daily life, people form everyday politics with other people with or without the same identity with whom they live. People create boundaries between themselves and the "other" within their daily lives. At first glance, boundaries in the past seem more complex than today because society was more heterogeneous.

> ..social relations across confessional borders had to be confirmed, created and reproduced again and again through the diverse everyday practice of neighborhood relations, mutual assistance in agriculture, and attendance at religious rituals of the confessional "Other."[25]

City of Ghosts Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism Community, History and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000). Also, see: Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The social organization of culture difference* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969).

24 Rebecca Bryant, "Everyday Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Space" In *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict,* ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016),p.3.

25 Anja Peleikis, "The Making and Unmaking of Memories: The Case of a Multi-Confessional Village in Lebanon." in *Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. by U. Makdisi & P. A. Silverstein (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), p.134.

However, since the boundaries between people and their identities are constructed things, whether the present or the past is more complex, is about how we build those boundaries and the "others." Moreover, inter-communality includes conflict that exists in most human relations. In other words, inter-communal relations were not so different from those in the same community. According to people's daily interests and gains, the boundaries between themselves and others were blurred. These interests were also decisive in relationships with people who belonged to different identities. The relationships in and inter-communities were constituted in accordance with the people's daily practices. Nevertheless, with the emergence of nationalism, these daily practices were replaced by longer-term interests. Another crucial issue in inter-communal relationships is "toleration." The meaning of the term does not always comprise positive expression. When people tolerate their neighbors, they might consider them inferior to themselves.[26] On the other hand, it is unclear how consciously tolerate or not tolerate people others. As a natural consequence of living together, they might tolerate or not tolerate each other in instantaneous interests. The behavior of two communities, or even two people, towards each other cannot be evaluated without considering the relationship of interest. These issues are detailed in the fourth chapter.

Examining the inter-relations between communities is comparable with studying relations between neighbors. Members of the same community who did not live in the same house were also neighbors, but it is the people who have constantly been building the identity of themselves and others. In the historical process and recent times, identity distinctions have been built on religious and ethnic identities, but these distinctions could have been made on very different characteristics. In other words, the relations between communities can be likened to relations between neighbors, because who would belong to which community is also

26 See: Robert M. Hayden, *Antagonistic Tolerance Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites and Spaces,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

a process that is constructed. If so, how can we define neighbor? Are they strangers or one of us? Answering these questions is difficult even if there are no religious or national identity issues. The questions can be asked in general situations too, not only for multi-communal societies. However, things get complicated when the identities are added to the picture. The issue of "neighbor" has a place both in Christianity and Islam. The Bible commands, "love thy neighbor as thyself"[27] and Muslims believe that the prophet Mohammed said, "the one who sleeps while his neighbor is hungry is not one of us." The two religions give particular importance to the relationships with the neighbors. On the other hand, Freud examined the neighbor as "a perfect stranger", and the commandment is incomprehensible to him; "why we should love our neighbor?"[28] Any sort of stranger can be our neighbor, and Freud considered neighbors as a kind of enemy because one cannot know totally who the person is in next door.[29] Then why do both religions put emphasis on the "neighbor?" On the other hand, religions do not mention the neighbors' identity, so one can deduce that no matter what religion the neighbors belong to, you should love and help them. If so, how could people be hostile to their neighbors? Lacan examined the issue differently from Freud. The neighbor is not only the perfect stranger but belongs both to the outside and to the inside, and it includes both internal and external features of us. He used the term; "*extimité*, "extimacy," standing for: an excluded interiority or an included exteriority; an intimate exteriority or external/foreign intimacy,

27 Alenka Zupančič, "Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself?!" *Problemi International*, vol.3, no.3 (2019),p.89.

28 Ibid. Also, see: Sigmund Freud, "Civilization and its Discontents," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud XXI* trans. and ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 2001).

29 Freud had more complex ideas about the neighborhood, but I left the issue here as it would go beyond the scope of the thesis. I would like to give this quote for the clue: "As a result, their neighbour is for them not only a potential helper or sexual object, but also someone who tempts them to satisfy their aggressiveness on him, to exploit his capacity for work without compensation, to use him sexually without his consent, to seize his possessions, to humiliate him, to cause him pain, to torture and to kill him." See: Ibid., p.111.

transversal to the divide between Outside and Inside."[30] In other words, the relationship between the neighbors is an ambivalent relationship. Lacan defined the term ambivalence as *hainamoration;* hateloving. *Hainamoration*, which means feeling hatred and love at the same time, brings *jouissance*.[31] The origin of the word ambivalence is derived from the Latin *ambi* means both, and *valentia* means strong/force.[32] Coexistence of two strong feelings, hate and love, produce ambivalence; neither love nor hate, or both love and hate.[33]

The ambivalence feature of neighbor gives enjoyment because we cannot have an exact definition for the neighbor. We cannot know all the things about the neighbor. S/he comprises some features that belong to us but also foreign features that we cannot know. We can love and hate the same person because we cannot know the person exactly, and we cannot own her/him. Thus, *hainamoration* produces *jouissance* mixed with jealousy. We have a deep jealousy to take what belongs to our neighbor. In order to prevent conflict between people who live together as neighbors, religions ascribed particular importance to the neighbor. Societies fictionalize the neighborhood as something necessary to live peacefully. Neighbors help each other whenever they need it, and people should get along with each other. Nevertheless, fiction does not prevent people from *hainamoration* and ambivalent situations. Freud probably was not the

30 Alenka Zupančič, "Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself?!" *Problemi International*, vol.3, no.3 (2019),pp.89-90.

31 Stephanie Swales, Carol Owens*, Psychoanalyzing Ambivalence with Freud and Lacan*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2020), pp.xiv-xv, 9-11. For details about Lacan and his idea, see: J. Lacan *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book VII, The Ethics of Psychoanalysis 1959-1960*, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller (New York & London: Norton, 1992); Y. Stavrakakis, *The Lacanian Left Psychoanalysis, theory, politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); S. George, *Trauma and race: A Lacanian study of African American racial identity* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2016); S. Žižek, ed. *Jacques Lacan Critical Evaluations in Cultural Theory* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003).

32 Stephanie Swales, Carol Owens*, Psychoanalyzing Ambivalence with Freud and Lacan*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2020),p.9.

33 For details, see: Tadej Troha, "On Ambivalence" *Problemi International* vol.1, no.1 (2017), pp.217-244.

first person who questioned "why we should love our neighbor", but he put it into words and defined neighbor as a "stranger."

This brings us to another term, “stranger.” Who is a stranger? Georg Simmel defined the stranger as:

> the person who comes today and stays tomorrow. He is, so to speak, the potential wanderer… and strangeness means that he, who also is far, is actually near…[34]

According to Simmel’s definition, the stranger is also ambivalent because s/he is both far and near. Like the neighbor, s/he involves ambiguity. However, the stranger does not belong to our society. S/he comes from another place to our place but does not leave. The stranger is different from the neighbor because neighbors belong to the same society. Even though they include ambiguity, and besides their obscurity, they have similar features to us. According to Bauman, the stranger is neither friend nor enemy; it is something unknown and unknowable.

> …And all this because the stranger is neither friend nor enemy; and because he may be both. And because we do not know, and have no way of knowing, which is the case. The stranger is one (perhaps the main one, the archetypal one) member of the family of *undecidable*…[35]

People cannot know where the stranger belongs; inside, outside or both? The stranger cannot be classified, and s/he is a threat to the

34 Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel,* translated and edited by.Kurt H. Wolff, (USA: Free Press, 1950),pp.402. For details about Simmel and his idea, see: Dale McLemore, “ Simmel’s ‘Stranger’: A Critique of the Concept” *The Pacific Sociological Review* vol.13, no.2 (1970), pp.86-94; Albert Salomon, “The Cultures of Sociology and the Sociologies of Culture: Georg Simmel Reconsidered” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* vol.8, no.3 (1995), pp.361-378; Donald N. Levine, “Simmel at a Distance: On the History and Systematics of the Sociology of the Stranger” *Sociological Focus* vol.10, no.1 (1977), pp.15-29.

35 Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, (UK: Polity Press, 1995),p.55.

modern world order; "an entity ineradicably *ambivalent*…. blurring a boundary line vital to the construction of a particular social order or a particular social life-world."[36] Bauman determines Jewish people in Europe as a stranger and defines ambivalence through them. Jewish people in Europe, especially in Germany, were not friends or enemies but strangers. They were in-between friends and enemies, chaos and order. One cannot classify the Jewish people, as ambivalent people they did not belong anywhere. They could not be controlled and had no place in the modern controlled world order.

Cyprus has hosted different people from ethnic and religious identities for several centuries. The scope of the thesis comprises Orthodox Christian Greek and Muslim Turkish communities within the island. Muslim population were settled on the island in 1571. They came and stayed, so can we consider Muslim settlers as a stranger? In 1878, the administration had passed from the Ottomans to the British, and the British came to the island. They came and stayed. Can we consider British administrators as a stranger? What is the difference between the British and Ottomans in terms of being strangers? The Ottoman administration can be evaluated as a strange administration for Cypriots already living on the island before 1571. However, after almost three centuries, the Ottoman administration became familiar. Christian Cypriots in 1878 were born in the Ottoman State and did not know different administrations. In addition, since these classifications were produced by modernity, it might not be correct to examine the Ottoman Empire as a stranger. Otherwise, it can be possible to examine everyone as a "stranger." It is about the perspectives and how we construct the "other." Because all these constructions and classifications are products of the modern world, explaining the newly coming Ottomans to the island after 1571 as "strangers" is confusing. On the other hand, the British administration was a "stranger" to

36 Ibid.p.61. Also, people living under colonial rules were already in an ambivalent position as they tried to imitate their colonists in order to "normalize" themselves or get rid of their inferior status. Homi Bhabha described this imitation as “mimicry.” See: Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse” *Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis* vol. 28, (1984), pp. 125-133.

both communities. The British came to the island but it was not clear when they would go or whether they would go. The Ottoman Empire still had right on the island, but the Cypriots would be ruled by a government they did not know.

Christian and Muslim communities of Cyprus had built their national identities based on different countries; Greece and Turkey. They did not build their identities based on their own country. Their ambivalent situation was influential in the process of identity construction. Their situation was different from Jewish people who are examined by Bauman because Jewish people did not have an imaginary homeland; they were excluded and became "other" within their lands. However, both Christian and Muslim communities on the island did not consider Cyprus as their homeland; they imagined that they belonged somewhere bigger than they lived, Greece and the Ottoman State/Turkey. On the other hand, Jewish people were trying to be assimilated because they could not be classified, but the more they assimilated, the more they became "other." As Jewish people, both communities in Cyprus tried to construct the Greek and Turkish nations to avoid being excluded from the classifications. They could eliminate the ambivalent situation if they belong to the Greek or Turkish nation. However, neither Greece nor Turkey made any claims on the island until at least the 1950s. No matter how much they describe themselves as Turkish and Greek, they could not escape being excluded. As they identified themselves as Greek and Turkish, their ambivalent situation had intensified.

§ 1.3 Historical Framework

1.3.1 *Cyprus Before the Ottomans*

Cyprus, the third largest island of the Mediterranean after Sicily and Sardinia, was sunk and resurfaced many times in ancient times. It may surprise you that any topic you are interested in can be related to this relatively large island in the Mediterranean. Apart from being the birthplace of Aphrodite, the name of the island, *Kypros,* is also mentioned in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.[37] Moreover, it is possible to come across the name of Cyprus in philosophy too. The founder of Stoicism, a school of philosophy, is Zeno of Citium, Cyprus. Although he was born in Cyprus, he moved to Athens and became the founder of the Stoic school around the third century BCE.[38] Further, one of Shakespeare's tragedies, *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice*, is a story set in Cyprus. Othello is a successful and respected Maghreb commander during the period when the Venetian army in Cyprus was fighting the Ottomans, and the play is about his marriage to a white woman, Desdemona. One of the castles on the island is still known as the castle of Othello.

In the center of Cyprus, the highest point of the Troodos Mountains, with its foothills stretching towards the south and west coasts, is 1,952 meters above sea level. Extending along the northern coast and up to the Karpasia peninsula, pointing to the Gulf of Iskenderun in the northeast, this land stretches along another mountain range, the Kyrenia Mountains. Between the Troodos mountain and Kyrenia range lies a plain, the eastern part known as Messoria, which occupies most of the rest of the island's 3,500 square miles. The Kyrenia range, lower than Troodos, has always been strategically more important. The steepness of the Kyrenia range is more pronounced and separates the capital Nicosia from the

37 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Vol. I: To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.82.

38 Joshua Mark, "Zeno of Citium" *World History Encyclopedia* (2011). https://www.worldhistory.org access, 12.2022.

closest point on the coast, the port and fortress of Kyrenia.[39] One of its fertile regions is the Messoria plain, and in addition to citrus and olive trees, scrub and dwarf trees form the general vegetation of Cyprus.

The geographical location of the island, and its proximity to Mesopotamia, had caused it to play an important role in Mediterranean trade and had been occupied by many different civilizations throughout history. Around the first century BCE, the island was occupied by Romans, and after its division in 395 CE, Cyprus remained under the rule of the Eastern Roman, Byzantine, Empire.[40]



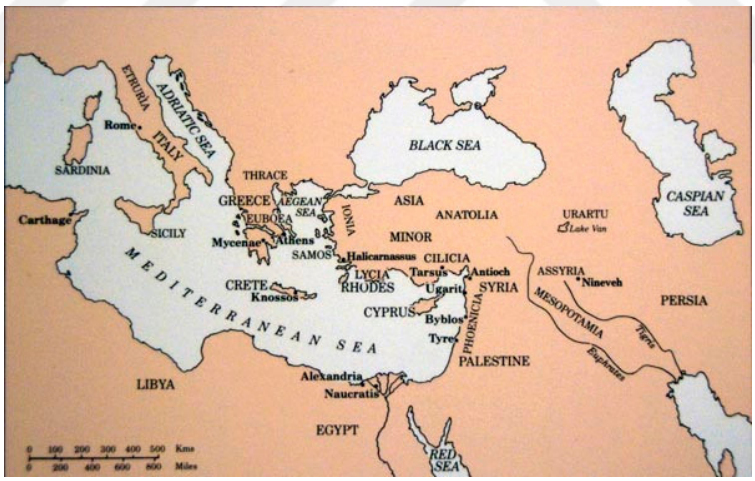
Map 1.1: A Physical map of Cyprus[41]

39 Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993),p.13.

40 For details, see: H.D.Purcell, *Cyprus,* (New York: Praeger, 1968); George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Vol. I: To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

41 https://alearningfamily.com/main/cyprus-physical-map/ access, 12.2022

The island continued to be a province of the Byzantine Empire until 1184, when a member of the former imperial dynasty, Isaak Komnenos, claimed the island and became the independent ruler. However, his rule did not continue for a long time. During the Third Crusade, in 1191, Richard the Lion Heart's fleet, which sailed to retake Jerusalem from the Muslims, was dispersed by a storm. Some of Richard's ships were driven ashore on Cyprus, and his fiancée and sister were on one of the ships that crashed off the coast of Cyprus. Isaak Komnenos took Richard's fiancée and sisters captive and plundered the ships. Upon this, Richard attacked Cyprus and defeated the ruler of the island. This time Cyprus fell into the hands of the Richard of England, who embarked on the Third Crusade.[42] After seizing Cyprus, in May 1191, Richard married his fiancée Berengaria of Navvare in Limassol at the chapel of St. George and was crowned King of Cyprus. Berengaria of Navvare was also crowned Queen of Cyprus and England. It was the first time that a British monarch had his/her wedding and coronation in a place outside of Britain. Cyprus was the first and only place where these ceremonies were held outside Great Britain.



Map 1.2: Cyprus and the ancient Mediterranean World[43]

42 For details, see: Savvas Neocleous, "Imagining Isaak Komnenos of Cyprus (1184-1191) and the Cypriots: Evidence From the Latin Historiography of the Third Crusade" *Byzantion* vol.83 (2013), pp.297-337.

43 British Museum, https://www.fergusmurraysculpture.com access, 12.2022

Nevertheless, Richard's main intention was not to take Cyprus, and unwilling to keep it. On his way back to his country, he sold the island to the Knights Templar. Unfortunately, the ordeal of the Cypriots did not end there. The Temple Knights, who imposed heavy taxes on the people of the island in return for the money they gave to take Cyprus, could not administer Cyprus. One year later, they begged Richard to take the island back, and this time Cyprus was sold to a French nobleman, Guy of Lusignan. The Lusignan dynasty did not give Cyprus back and ruled the island for nearly 300 years as the Kingdom of Cyprus.[44] The last monarch of the Kingdom of Cyprus was Caterina Cornaro. She was the daughter of a Venetian merchant family and married Lusignan King of Cyprus James II in 1468. After a few years, James II died, and Caterina ruled Cyprus from 1474 to 1489.[45] However, the Venetian government forced Caterina to abdicate, and the Queen of Cyprus ceded her right to Venice in 1489, then left the island.

44 Ibid. For details, see: Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

45 Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus" in *The Emblematic Queen Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship* ed. by Debra Barrett-Graves, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.11-34.



Figure 1.1: Portrait of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus By Gentile Bellini, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest[46]

The Venetians ruled the island from 1489 until the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus in 1571. The Ottomans, on the other hand, held the island until they leased it to the British in 1878, but they continued to be the theoretical owner of the island until the Great War. From the First World War to 1960, the island was ruled by the British colonial administration.

Where were the people of Cyprus in the whole story? The ruler of Cyprus had changed many times, and the island was sold or leased throughout history. Cyprus had rich and fertile lands when Richard the Lion Heart occupied the island. Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who visited the island in 1212, describes Cyprus as a fertile island with the best wines. A persistent problem in later centuries, locusts were not recorded before the year 1351, and agriculture or viticulture was the occupation of the majority of the island's population. Most of the vineyards were located on the southern slopes of Troodos. When the Lusignan dynasty bought the island, the

46 https://www.mfab.hu access, 12.2022

majority of the population was Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian and lived in the countryside. In the 12th century, Cyprus consisted of a rural society with several urban centers. These centers were not surrounded by walls. In 1191, the island's estimated population was around 100,000. Although the towns developed under the Latins, less than one-fifth of the total population seemed to live in the towns even in the 16th century.[47] On the other hand, the Latin occupation had destroyed not the Greek church but the Greek Cypriot landowning aristocracy. With the arrival of the Lusignans, eastern orthodoxy no longer enjoyed the patronage and protection of the ruling class while retaining the support of the Greek-speaking indigenous population. Also, with Richard's occupation of Cyprus, the people's will to resist had been broken between him and the Knights Templar. As far as is known, Guy of Lusignan's settlement on the island did not meet with internal opposition. What happened to the former Byzantine landowners is unclear; they might have fled to Constantinople.[48] When the Lusignan domination that started in Cyprus, settlers from Syria and Palestine started to migrate to the island. As the Muslims began to establish dominance in the places they lived, many Christian people found the solution to migrate to Cyprus. Besides, settlers from the West, including knightly adventurers, clergy, and merchants, contributed to the transformation of the original predominantly French-speaking ruling class into a more heterogeneous, cosmopolitan group.[49] After a relatively short Venetian rule from 1489 to 1571, the island passed under the Ottoman rule, and Muslims were added to the island's Christian population. Thus, Cypriots, most of whom were peasants engaging in agriculture, continued this during the Ottoman period, along with the Muslims added to the Cypriot population.

47 Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993),pp.14-15.

48 Ibid.,pp.20-21.

49 Ibid.,p.22. For details, see: George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Vol.II The Frankish Period 1192-1432,* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1948).

1.3.2 *Cyprus Under the Ottomans*

With the capture of the Famagusta castle on July 1571, Cyprus became an Ottoman island and the Venetian period came to an end.[50] Similar to the other newly conquered areas, Cyprus was opened to settlement in 1572. The governor of Cyprus, Sinan Pasha, sent a petition to the center and informed that the island included extremely fertile lands, and the region that was destroyed during the conquest should be prosperous with the people to be settled in the newly conquered areas. Those who decided to be sent to Cyprus were identified in a short time with lists sealed by the Kadi. According to these lists only a few of the people sent were volunteers. However, there were also those who wanted to go voluntarily from outside the designated lists. In order to encourage voluntary migration, the state has provided some additional benefits to such persons. In addition to being exempt from tax for two years, the exiled people had more advantageous conditions than others.[51] Thus, the population of the island had changed sharply with the occupation of the Ottoman Empire. The Muslim population from the several places of Anatolia was added to the Orthodox Christian Cypriots.

After Cyprus was occupied by the Ottoman Empire, the government of the island was assigned to Muzaffer Pasha, who was appointed as the Beylerbeyi of Cyprus.[52] Although the Venetian effect did not fade away overnight, the Ottoman ruling elite took over from the Venetian elite.[53] The socio-political life of the island and the balance of power among the

50 Nuri Cevikel, *Kibris Eyaleti Yonetim, Kilise, Ayan ve Halk (1750-1800),* (Famagusta: Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 2000), p.21.

51 For the details and the petition of Sinan Pasha see: Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler" *I.F.M*. vol.11, no.1-4,(1949/50), p.550-560.

52 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume IV: The Ottoman Province The British Colony, 1571-1948*, (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010), p.2.

53 M. Hadjianastasis, "Cyprus in the Ottoman Period: Consolidation of the Cypro-Ottoman Elite, 1650–1750" in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, ed. by M. N. Michael, M. Kappler & E. Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009),p.78.

elites started to change. Orthodox Christian clergymen and ambitious local notables began to build up their power by settling in their regions as Ottoman officials. In such a case, conflict and power struggles among the Christian and Muslim elites were not unusual. In 1670 Cyprus were assigned to Kapudan Pasha and he appointed a governor (mütesellim) to collect the taxes within the island. The aim of the mütesellim was to collect the taxes in maximum profit with minimum effort and he had to negotiate with the local notables for this. Ultimately, the role of the Orthodox high clergy became more critical within the Ottoman administration. Further, European trade opportunities in raw silk and cotton exports attracted local notables, clergy and military men and they began to acquire land and expand their holdings to meet the growing demand for fabrics and raw materials.[54] In this power struggle among the elites of the island, Mehmet Ağa Boyacıoğlu eliminated the other elites and became de facto ruler of Cyprus controlling administration and taxation from 1685 to 1690.[55] He did not against the Ottoman rule on the island but he desired to monopolize his authority within the island. The fact that Cyprus is an island and its distance from the mainland helped him to monopolize his authority but in the end he was captured and executed as a rebel.

The power of the Church of Cyprus consolidated when the Ottoman government started to appoint prelates as Kocabashis to represent the non-Muslim community in 1754.[56] However, the Muslim elites of Cyprus became uncomfortable with the power of the Church of Cyprus. For this reason, the governor Küçük Mehmet taking advantage of the Greek War of Independence, executed the Archbishop Kyprianos and three bishops

54 Marios Hadjianastasis, "Crossing the line in the sand: regional officials, monopolisation of state power and 'rebellion.' The case of Mehmed Aga Boyacıoğlu in Cyprus 1685-1690" *Turkish Historical Review* no.2 (2011), pp.159-161.

55 Ibid., pp.164-165.

56 Theoharis Stavrides, "Cyprus 1750-1830. Administration and Society" in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, ed. by M. N. Michael, M. Kappler & E. Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), p.91. The Kocabashis, who were previously responsible for distributing and collecting the poll tax and other taxes, and their delivery to state officials, gradually began to gain power and wealth. See:"Kocabaşı" *DİA* vol.26 (2002), pp.140-141.

in 1821, claiming that they were preparing a rebellion.[57] Thus, the power of the church, which had become stronger in 1754, was broken in 1821. However, in this power struggle, there was hardly anyone who considered the benefit of the ordinary Cypriots. Before the 1821 events, Cypriots had rebelled several times over heavy taxes. For example, in 1764, Cypriots, both Christians and Muslims, who could not stand the heavy taxes imposed by Muhassıl Çil Osman Ağa, rebelled and burned the palace of Muhassıl. At the end of the rebellion, the Muhassıl was killed but the Sublime Porte was not satisfied with the killing of the Ottoman official and punished the Cypriots with heavier taxes. This attitude of the Ottoman State provoked a new revolt begun in summer of 1765 led by the Dizdar of Kyrenia, Halil Ağa.[58] Although Halil Ağa continued the revolt for a year with the support of the peasants, the irregular troops of Karamanians sent by the Sublime Porte suppressed the revolt and executed Halil Ağa in 1766.[59]

On the other side, the problems of the Cypriots were not only heavy taxes. The reason why they could not pay these taxes was the recurrent problems of locust, drought and plague on the island. For instance, George Hill recorded that "one of the worst attacks by locusts culminated in 1628, after the insects had paid visits to the island regularly for eighteen years.. in 1640 there was a great famine, and in the next year an

57 Michalis N. Michael, "Revolts and Power Negotiating in Ottoman Cyprus during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century"*Archivum Ottomanicum Special Cyprus Issue* no.32 (2015), pp.123-127; Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus,1878-1915 The inconsequential possession,* (UK: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp.153-154; Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), pp.12-13; George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume IV: The Ottoman Province The British Colony*, 1571-1948, (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010), pp.119-137.

58 Dizdar was the person responsible for the security of the castle. For details, see: "Dizdar" *DİA* vol.9 (1994), pp.480-481.

59 Thoharis Stavrides,"Cyprus 1750-1830. Administration and Society" in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, ed. by M. N. Michael, M. Kappler & E. Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), p.100.

outbreak of plague."[60] These serious natural disasters did not stop to occur in the island during the entire Ottoman governance. According to some contemporary sources one third of the population of Cyprus lost their lives because of the plague during the second half of the 18th century.[61] Also, these ongoing natural disasters caused the population to migrate from the island.[62] In the 19th century, according to the census of 1831,

60 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume IV: The Ottoman Province The British Colony, 1571-1948,* (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010), pp.67-68. For details, see: Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571- 1640,* (New York & London: NYU Press, 1993), pp.173-204.

61 Thoharis Stavrides,"Cyprus 1750-1830. Administration and Society" in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, ed. by M. N. Michael, M. Kappler & E. Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), p.99; Nuri Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyâleti : Yönetim, Kilise, Ayân ve Halk (1750-1800): Bir Değişim Döneminin Anatomisi*, (Famagusta, Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 2000),pp.119-121; Claude Deleval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908),p.355.

62 Nuri Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyâleti : Yönetim, Kilise, Ayân ve Halk (1750-1800): Bir Değişim Döneminin Anatomisi,* (Famagusta, Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 2000),p.119; George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume IV: The Ottoman Province The British Colony, 1571-1948*, (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010), pp.79-80; Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks 1571-1878,* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1989). For details about the early modern period of Cyprus, see: K. Çiçek, "Zimmis (non-Muslims) of Cyprus in the Sharia court: 1110/39 A.H./1698–1726 A.D."(Ph.D diss., University of Birmingham, 1992); V. Costantini, "From Greek village to Levantine city: the transformation of Larnaca under Ottoman Rule" in *Histories of Ottoman Larnaca,* eds. E. Balta, T. Stavrides, I. Theocharides, (Istanbul: Isis, 2012), pp. 25-32; V. Costantini, "Old Players and New in the Transition of Cyprus to Ottoman Rule" in *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi,* eds. V. Costantini, M. Koller, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), pp.373–388; M. Hadjianastasis, "Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans: A Social and Economic History of Ottoman Cyprus, 1640–1704" (Ph.D diss., University of Birmingham, 2004); A. Hadjikyriacou, "Society and economy on an Ottoman island: Cyprus in the eighteenth century" (Ph.D diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2011); R. C. Jennings, *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Women, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon,* (Istanbul: Isis, 1999); R. C. Jennings, *Village Life in Cyprus at the Time of the Ottoman Conquest*, eds. M. A. Erdoğru, A. E. Özkul (Istanbul: Isis, 2009); A. E. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi, 1726–1750* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2005); T. Stavrides, "The Rise and Fall of

approximately 16,000 Muslims and 30,000 non-Muslims lived on the island.[63] The island's total population was around 45,000, but this figure only represents part of the population since only men who could pay taxes were counted in the census. In other words, by the 19th century, the total population of the island was about 100,000.

One of the critical events affecting the period of this dissertation is the proclamation of the Tanzimat.[64] The 19th century was a period of modernization, which can be traced to the states' implementations. Modern states desire to control and organize everything within their borders. The Imperial Edict of Gulhane (Edict of Tanzimat) resulted from this request. The state was in need of a strong army, and for this reason, it needed a useful taxation system to create a strong military. The Edict of Tanzimat was proclaimed on 3 November 1839, and a copy of the edict reached

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Mehmet Boyacıoğlu (1683–1690)"in *Studies on the History of Cyprus under Ottoman Rule* ed. T. Stavrides, (Istanbul:Isis, 2012),pp. 203–224; Halil İnalcık, *Ottoman Policy and Administration after the Conquest*, (Ankara: Ayyıldız, 1969); Ahmet C. Gazioglu, *The Turks in Cyprus. A Province of the Ottoman Empire (1571-1878),* (London: K. Rustem, 1990); Ahmet An, *Kıbrıs'ta İsyanlar ve Temsiliyet Mücadelesi (1571-1948),* (Nicosia: Mez-KOOP, 1996); *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture* eds. Michalis N. Michael, Matthias Kappler and Eftihios Gavriel, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009).

63 *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs (Nüfusu-Arazi Dağılımı ve Türk Vakıfları)* (Ankara: TC Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2000), p.93. Also, see: Evangelia Balta, ed., *Registering Life in a Multicultural City Late Ottoman Nicosia, Greek and Ottoman Fiscal Registers (1825-1833),* Istanbuler Texte und Studien, Herausgegeben von Orient-Institut Istanbul, Band 47, Vol. II Supplementum 1, Ergon Verlag in Kommission, (Baden-Baden, 2022).

64 For details, see: Halil İnalcık, "Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu" *Belleten* (1964), pp.603-622. For the administration of the state, some new practices started to implement with the Tanzimat. These principles were issues such as the safety of life, protection of honor and property, determination of tax and recruitment of soldiers. Ibid.p.612. Also, see: R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire: 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Halil İnalcık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu eds. *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015); Carter Findley, "The Tanzimat" in *The Cambridge History of Turkey,* ed. by R. Kasaba (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.11-37.

Cyprus on 16 December 1839.[65] The edict commanded the convening of the council and all notables and ordered the Edict of Tanzimat to be announced to all the people after the ceremony. Then the edict should be sent to all provinces within the island. The Muhassıl established the Council of Tanzimat, but the Cypriots were dissatisfied with the council members. They prepared a committee, sent it to Istanbul, and complained about the acts of the Muhassıl Osman Bey. They thought that two Kocabashis who oppressed the people were appointed council members and the Muhassıl, and these Kocabashis collected illegal taxes from the people. In addition, they sent prepared letters to the councils to be signed. These letters were about the satisfaction of the provincial councils' members from the Muhassıl and Kocabashis. After the investigation of the government of Istanbul, it was understood that both Archbishop, Kocabashis and Muhassıl oppressed the people. Muhassıl Osman Bey and Archbishop were dismissed.[66] The next Muhassıl Mehmet Talat Efendi was also dismissed because of the complaints of the Cypriots, and Hacı Mehmet, who the people requested, was appointed as Muhassıl in 1841.[67] In 1842 the Archbishop sent a letter to Istanbul and said Cypriots were satisfied with the Muhassıl Mehmet and expected that some people who migrated from the island would return to Cyprus.[68]

With the declaration of the Tanzimat before 1860, uneasiness against the new tax system began on the island. The most important effect of the Tanzimat on ordinary people was the change in the tax system.[69] With the proclamation of the Tanzimat, the new tax system was introduced for collecting taxes without intermediaries and the Muhassıls were assigned

65 Mehmet Demiryürek, *Nizâm-ı Cedid'den II.Meşrutiyet'e Osmanlı Reform Sürecinde Kıbrıs* (İstanbul:Akademik Kitaplar, 2010),p.93. For details, see: Michalis N. Michael, "Trying to Impose the Reforms in the Periphery: Actions and Reactions to the Tanzimat in Cyprus The Case of the Muhassıl Mehmet Talat" *OTAM*, no.34 (2013), pp. 163-184.

66 Ahmet Uzun, *Tanzimat ve Sosyal Direnişler,* (İstanbul: Eren, 2002),pp.18-22.

67 Mehmet Demiryürek, *Nizâm-ı Cedid'den II.Meşrutiyet'e Osmanlı Reform Sürecinde Kıbrıs,* (İstanbul: Akademik Kitaplar, 2010), pp.117-123.

68 BOA, A} DVN 1,60 11.02.1842.

69 Cengiz Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" (1840-1844)*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009), p.68.

to the new system.[70] In the tax farming system, which was the previous tax system, the income of a particular region was taxed in predetermined fixed amounts and collected by intermediaries. After the Tanzimat, an attempt was made to establish a tax system based on personal income and eliminate intermediaries. This new situation caused unrest in many provinces, and as a result, inspectors were sent to the provinces to control the implementation of the Tanzimat.[71]

Kocabashis refers to the prominent, well-known, and in some cases, the head of the civil representatives of the Christian subjects in certain regions of Ottoman society.[72] They were powerful members of the administrative class that oppressed ordinary people in Cyprus. Another crucial administrative authority is the Naib. The Naibs were an auxiliary authority that supported the Kadi in his works related to the trial, went to the places where the Kadi did not go, made judgments and took decisions on his behalf. Kadi was the person who managed the legal affairs in the regions of the Ottoman state.[73] Kocabashis and Naibs are significant for the thesis because their names often appear in people's complaints. Since they had the authority to collect taxes, people complained about the oppression of Naibs and Kocabashis. Another important authority for the period to be examined is the Mutasarrıf. He was like the governor of the provinces, and after the Tanzimat, the independent governorship system

70 The title and powers of the muhassıl changed according to the periods, and the muhassıls undertook administrative duties as well as collecting taxes. For details see: Yücel Özkaya, Ali Akyıldız, "Muhassıl" *DİA* vol.31 (2020), pp.18-20. For a critique of general approaches to this system and details about the implementation of the new tax collecting system after Tanzimat, see: Nadir Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2015), pp.39-91.

71 For details, see: Erdoğan Keleş *Anadolu'da Tanzimat ve Teftiş 1850-1853,* (Ankara: Gece Akademi, 2019).

72 "Kocabaşı" *DİA* vol.26 (2002), pp.140-141.

73 Since he was responsible for enforcing the Shari'ah law, he was not only a central government official but also the representative and spokesperson of the people against the state. For details, see: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, (Ankara: TTK, 2014).

under the Mutasarrıf became widespread.[74] During the proclamation of the Tanzimat, Cyprus was administered with Muhassıl dependent to the Divan-ı Hümayun. After the Tanzimat, the island was connected to the Province of Archipelago. Later, in 1861, the administration of the island began to be administered by the independent Mutasarrıf.[75]

The majority of people living in Cyprus were peasants. The peasant class was divided into two groups, agricultural workers and smallholder peasants. The living conditions of the ordinary Cypriots were not good in both the Ottoman and British administrations. The peasants, who were already in a bad situation, did not improve during the British period and even got worse due to the tribute to be paid to the Ottoman Empire. For instance, in 1929, 80% of Cypriot peasants were indebted to the usurers.[76] Society in Cyprus was divided into two classes: ruling elites and peasants, which both included Muslim and Orthodox Christian Cypriots. In addition to these two classes, the middle class did not appear during the Ottoman administration but during the British rule. Orthodox Christian and Muslim Cypriots belonged to the lower classes, shared the same economic and social difficulties, and mostly lived in mixed villages. In other words, the daily lives and customs of Orthodox Christian and Muslim communities on the island were not different from each other.[77]

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74 For details about the Ottoman administrative system before Tanzimat, see: Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire in Classical Age, 1300-1600,* (London & New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973); Mehmet İpşirli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatı" in *Osmanlı Devlet Tarihi I* ed. by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Istanbul: Feza Yayıncılık, 1999), pp.139-245.

75 Hasan Samani "Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, 2006), pp.13-14.

76 Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), p.48. For details, see: Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019); Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996).

77 Andrekos Varnava, "Cypriots Transforming their Identity during the Early British Period: From a Class Religious and Regional Identity to a Hellenic Ethno-Nationalist Identity" in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood The Ottoman and Post-Ottoman*

Moreover, the people living in the Ottoman Empire were not divided into only economic classes but also religious classes. The Ottoman *millet system* divided people within the empire according to their religion, and the status of the people was defined within this system. The Muslim people were the head of the system; they were first-class subjects. Christians and Jews came after them.[78] In the Ottoman state, non-Muslims had rights and obligations in accordance with Islamic law. In the Islamic state, non-Muslims were considered people under protection; in return, they paid extra taxes such as poll taxes. This discrimination among the religious classes was attempted to be abolished with and after the Tanzimat reforms. The Church was a powerful institution in this kind of society because it was the representative authority. Not only the Muslims but also the Orthodox Christians of the ruling class were a privileged class under Ottoman rule.[79] Especially in the 17th century, the Church of Cyprus increased its power by being included in the tax farming system. After a century, laypeople became weaker because the bishops were upgraded

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World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism ed. by M. Michael, T. Anastassiadis, C. Verdeil, (Berlin: Klaus Schwars Verlag, 2014), p.150.

78 For details, see: Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, from Millets to Nations* (Princeton: Center of International Studies Princeton University 1973). Also, see: Marc Aymes, *A Provincial History of the Ottoman Empire Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the 19th century* (New York: Routledge, 2014). Aymes discusses the millet debate and examines the link between the formation of nations and the millet system, questioning the bond between millet and nation, and religious and national communities. He shows that the previous system did not prepare the environment for the development of nations. For a different perspective about the millet system, see: Ayşe Özil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia* (London & New York: Routledge, 2013). In her study, Özil brought a new approach to the field by questioning the narrow perspective that examined Ottoman Greeks in the context of continuities and similarities.

79 Andrekos Varnava, "Cypriots Transforming their Identity during the Early British Period: From a Class Religious and Regional Identity to a Hellenic Ethno-Nationalist Identity" in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood The Ottoman and Post-Ottoman World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism* ed. by M. Michael, T. Anastassiadis, C. Verdeil, (Berlin: Klaus Schwars Verlag, 2014),p.151.

and became lifelong Kocabashis of the Orthodox Christian Cypriots. This regulation weakened and prevented ordinary Orthodox Christian islanders from rising to power. In the 19th century, although the bishops seemed to have lost their personal political power with the Tanzimat, the new system contributed to the institutionalization of the Church as part of the administrative structure as well as the economic structure of the island.[80] However, when the administration passed to the British, the new modern government did not support the Church in the administrative framework. The British desired to establish a secular government in Cyprus.[81] This new situation led the Church to seek a new position in order not to lose its power. Ultimately, the Church reproduced itself from the religious leader of the Orthodox Christian Cypriots to the national leader of the Greek Cypriots. As the Church tried to reproduce its power, it had to take advantage of an already strong ideology, so it preferred the Great Idea.[82] Nevertheless, the British administration offered to cede Cyprus to the Kingdom of Greece during the First World War in return for Greece's support on the war, but Greece refused the offer.[83] Like the new Turkish

80 Michalis N. Michael, "The Church of Cyprus and the Transition from Ottoman Rule to British Modernity" in *Monastic Economy Across Time Wealth Management, Patterns, and Trends* ed. by R. Avramov, A. Fotic, E. Kolovos, Phokion P. Kotzageorgis (Sofia: Center for Advanced Study Sofia, 2021), pp.246-250.

81 Ibid, pp.251-252.

82 It expresses the goal of resurrecting the Byzantine Empire by putting the places that were traditionally related to the Greeks since ancient times, including the regions still under Ottoman rule and with a large Greek population under the rule of a Greek State. For details, see: Roumen D. Daskalov, Tchavdar Marinov, ed. *Entangled Histories of the Balkans Vol.I* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). In this idea, the desire of Cyprus to be united with Greece is called Enosis / Ένωσις which means union.

83 For details, see: Stavros Stavridis, "Greek-Cypriot Enosis of October 1915: A "Lost Opportunity"" *Balkan Studies* (1996),pp.282-307; Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915 The inconsequential possession*, (UK: Manchester Uni. Press, 2015),pp.261-265; Antonis Klapsis, "The Strategic Importance of Cyprus and the Prospect of Union with Greece, 1919-1931: The Greek Perspective."*The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* vol.41, no.5 (2013), pp.765-782; G. S. Georgallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, 1918-1926: With a Survey of The Foundations of British Rule* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1979), pp. 88-102.

Republic, which abandoned the Muslim Turkish community of Cyprus with the Treaty of Lausanne, the Orthodox Christian Greek Cypriots were abandoned by Greece during the Great War. However, both communities of Cyprus did not give up on identifying themselves through Greece and Turkey.

The Ottoman Empire assigned the island's administration to the British after the war with Russia in 1877-1878. The Muslim community on the island had lost their privileges when the administration had changed, and they lost their state that identified themselves when the new Turkish Republic was established. The Muslim community of Cyprus was not included even in the Turkish National Pact.[84] They were excluded from the new Turkish Republic. In addition, the new republic renounced all her rights over Cyprus in the Treaty of Lausanne and recognized the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on 5 November 1914.[85] The Muslim community was given the right to choose Turkish nationality within two years from the coming into force of the Treaty.[86] However, they should leave their home and start to live in a place they do not know. It was not an easy choice, and the majority of the community did not choose to be Turkish citizens. The population of the Muslim community on the island, which was about 59,717 in 1921, increased to 62,860 in 1931.[87] Although a 5% increase in ten years is not much, it shows that the population did not decrease by immigrating to Turkey. This option created an in-between situation for the Muslim community. How should

84 Mete Tunçay, "Misak-ı Millî'nin 1. Maddesi Üstüne" *Birikim* no.18-19, (1976),pp. 12-16; Nejat Kaymaz, "Mîsâk-ı Millî Üzerine Yapılan Tartışmalar Hakkında"*TTK Bildiriler* (1983),pp. 1941-1958. According to Tunçay National Pact is not something with definite boundaries, but it is a legend. However, this does not change the fact that the new republic did not claim any rights over Cyprus and the people left over from the Ottoman Empire in Cyprus.

85 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume 4: The Ottoman Province The British Colony*, 1571-1948, (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010), p.414.

86 Ilia Xypolia, "Imperial Bending of Rules: The British Empire, the Treaty of Lausanne, and Cypriot Immigration to Turkey" *Diplomacy & Statecraft,* vol.32, no.4 (2021), pp.674-676.

87 Census of 1921 and 1931, Republic of Cyprus, Statistical Service.

they describe themselves? If they defined themselves as Turkish, should they leave the country where they were born and raised? If they stay, will they ignore their Muslim Turkish identity? Where do they belong? All these factors from the time the island's government had changed amplified the ambivalent situation of Muslim Cypriots. When they started to build Turkish national identity, the geography they lived in became ambiguous. This contributed to their irredentist idea. They did not build Cypriot identity but Turkish identity, so they should be part of the Turkish Republic. They were like abandoned children and did not know how they should describe themselves. They were first-class subjects during the Ottoman administration because of the Ottoman *millet system*. Since the island was given temporally and theoretically still belonged to the Ottoman Empire, they supported the Ottoman rights on the island. They claimed rights on the island by identifying themselves with the Ottoman State. The belonging they created in order not to give up their rights on the island alienated them from their own country over time. Building Turkish identity meant belonging to Turkey, not Cyprus. On the other hand, the irredentist idea of the Muslim community could evaluate in terms of migration from the Ottoman State to the island. The Muslim community was settled on the island after the occupation in 1571, but the migration from the Ottoman land never stopped. The state had expelled some criminals to Cyprus, but also some of them escaped to the island. Even my grandmother mentioned that during the 19th century, her great-grandfather escaped from Anatolia to the island because he was a criminal. Thus, people who came to the island in the 19th century or a generation ago may found it a little more challenging to connect with the island and build an identity base on Cyprus. However, these people were stuck in a more ambiguous situation because they were abandoned where they had just arrived. They needed to belong somewhere and identified who they are. Further, sharing the same language with the Ottoman State and also the Turkish Republic made it easier for the Muslim community to build an identity based on Turkey. Nevertheless, the existence of Greek-speaking Muslim Cypriots should not be forgotten. They were ignored by the intellectual class who constructed the Turkish identity. It is the

artificial aspect of the identities and creates in-betweenness. Moreover, some Muslim Cypriots had joined the Great War in the British army against the Ottoman State, but also some of them tried to help the Ottoman soldiers who were brought to Cyprus as captives.[88] These examples shed light on the ambivalent circumstances of the Muslim Cypriots. They belong to neither British nor Ottoman or both British and Ottoman.

The Muslim community was also influenced by Young Turks, who were expelled to the island.[89] The literate Muslim Cypriots had read Turkish books published in the Ottoman Empire or Turkey, and they dreamed of belonging to something bigger than just belonging to an island. Nevertheless, they were abandoned entirely by the establishment of the Republic of Turkey but did not stop identifying themselves with Turkey. Their minority position might be influential on the attitude.[90] They were also trying to get on well with the British administration to protect their interests but were unlikely to identify themselves through the British colonial administration. In order to suppress their weaknesses and ambiguousness brought on by being abandoned, they preferred to take shelter in those who left them. Unlike Jews in Europe, the Muslim community in Cyprus made themselves the "other" within their country. In order to solve the problem, the island should have been returned to the former owner.

On the other hand, the Christian community on the island had lost some of their privileges when the administration was changed. The

88 Andrekos Varnava, *Serving the Empire in the Great War The Cypriot Mule Corps, Imperial Loyalty and Silenced Memory* (UK: Manchester Uni Press, 2017); A. Varnava "British Military Intelligence in Cyprus during the Great War" *War in History* vol. 19, no. 3 (2012),pp. 353-378; A. Varnava, *British Cyprus and the Long Great War 1914-1925 Empire, Loyalties and Democratic Deficit* (London & New York: Routledge, 2020), pp.61-88; Mahmut Akkor, "I. Dünya Savaşında Çeşitli Ülkelerdeki Türk Esir Kampları" (MA Thesis, Sakarya University, 2006).

89 Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs*, (İstanbul:İletişim, 2005),pp.215-216.

90 For example, in the first census of the British administration in 1881, the Muslim population was 42,638, but the Christian Orthodox population was 140,793. The Muslim community of the island has always been a minority in the aspect of population number. Republic of Cyprus, Statistical Service.

religious class had partly independence within the Ottoman *millet system* and did not desire to change this. Their religion was the same as the British, but the new administration that came to the island was strange to them. It was an unknown administration that came to their country from another place. Especially the literate class and merchants of the Christian Cypriots were influenced by the independence of Greece and Greek nationalism.[91] Like the Muslim community, Christian Cypriots shared the same languages as Greece. Moreover, Cyprus had been ruled by many different foreign administrations. Cypriots were not familiar with governing themselves because they were mostly governed by different administrations. The Venetians ruled the island before the Ottomans and the Lusignans before the Venetians. In the collective consciousness, the only life they knew was to be under the foreign administrations not the self-governance or having native administration.[92] Further, because Cyprus was part of the Greek Great Idea, reviving the Eastern Roman Empire, constructing a national identity based on Greece was probably attractive to the intellectual class of the Christian community. They did not belong only to the small island on the Mediterranean but the whole Eastern Roman Empire. Had they not built Greek nationalism, Greece might have been against them because of the Great Idea. Although the Christian community of Cyprus was the majority subject of the island, they were in the minority within the Ottoman Empire and in the eyes of the Ottoman administration of the island. When the administration was changed, the Christian Greek community became the underestimated subject of the colonial administration. The new government considered them as an underdeveloped subject on the underdeveloped island of the Ottomans.[93] The fact that they belonged to the same religion did not prevent the British administration from seeing the Christian Greek Cypriots as

91 For details, see: Yiannos Katsourides, T*he Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer, 2017).

92 Ibid, p.16.

93 For the British perspectives on Greeks, see: Robert Holland & Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

backwards. In this circumstance, being a part of the Eastern Roman Empire was probably very attractive to the Christian community. They belonged to something bigger and became influential. Being underestimated in their own country alienated them from their own island. The Christian Greek community differed from the ancient Greek image that the British administration had, and the new administration could not classify them. They were Christian and spoke Greek, but they were backward. This attitude put the Christian Greek community in an ambivalent situation. Who were they, and where they belonged? Greek nationalism helped them to answer these questions. They could get rid of the in-betweenness and ambivalent situation with the ideology of Greek nationalism. However, they were abandoned by their “motherland” during the Great War. Both communities of Cyprus were left by their "motherlands", but they never gave up the irredentist ideas.

Thus, when Cyprus was assigned to the British, the island had fallen into an ambivalent situation that drew the islanders in and alienated them from their place of residence. The thesis aims to shed light on a period when national identities were not yet fully established, but Cypriots were experiencing ambivalency and in-betweenness. The thesis tries to examine the history of Cyprus not from one side but from a comprehensive point of view. I would like to emphasize the shared past of the people of Cyprus. How were they living together when not separated from each other, and how did they deal with the in-betweenness, or were they always in an ambivalent situation? How did they live together as neighbors? The thesis does not aim to find the reasons and results of the Cyprus problem or illustrate wholly peaceful or troubled relations but as a Cypriot who grew up in Europe's last divided capital, Nicosia, I would like to show that another reality is possible. I believe that in order to be freed from the Cyprus problem, which is still a big part of the Cypriots’ lives, we must first produce an inclusive bi-communal historical narrative. I desire to open a window to the island's history before the Cyprus problem occurred and examine the ambivalent situation of the Cypriots. Did the ambivalent situation have an impact on the identity construction of the

islanders? Could not Cypriots who had lived together for centuries, build an inclusive identity through their own homeland?

§ 1.4 State of the Art

The history of Cyprus has been studied in several aspects, and many intellectuals have explored the island. In George Hill's four-volume History of Cyprus, which he wrote from 1940 to 1952, Hill wrote a history of Cyprus from the early years of the island to the twentieth century, relying on primary and secondary sources in Greek, French, English and much more limitedly in Turkish. He examined Cyprus from the imperialist point of view and did not narrate the story of ordinary Cypriots. He contributed to the political and economic history of Cyprus. In addition to Hill, George Georghallides produces voluminous works about Cyprus, but he examined the political and administrative aspects of the island's history and mainly focused on British rule and the Christian Greek Cypriots.[94] Ronald Jennings was among the first who examined both Christian Orthodox Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots under Ottoman rule.[95] He explored the social life on the island during the early period of the Ottoman administration from 1571 to 1640. He primarily benefitted from Ottoman court records and documents of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf*). He also gave importance to the visibility of women in the court and even wrote the first chapter of the book on the island's women. Jennings comprehensively studied the socio-economic history of the island in the early years of Ottoman rule.

The book of Rolandos Katsiaounis is very significant for the island's labour and social history. It was the first book to investigate the history of Cyprus in the aspect of labor, and Katsiaounis argued that the history

94 George, Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1979); G. Georghallides, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis* (Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1985).

95 Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World 1571-1640* (New York & London: New York University Press, 1993).

of Cypriots was beyond racial and ethnic divisions. He pointed out the social divisions.[96] However, as he stated in the introduction, his study comprises only the Greek Cypriot laboring poor. His work is valuable in that it shows the formation process of the Cypriot working class. At the end of the 19th century, although many industries were still dependent on agricultural production, they had become modernized with the use of new technological techniques and especially internal and external communication. He showed how peasants and rural laborers transformed into the working class in this process. In addition, after Katsiaounis, the history of Cyprus continued to be studied in terms of labor. For example, Alexis Rappas has works on labor issue under British colonial rule, mainly in the 1930s.[97] The dates are too late for this study, but he examines two strikes, including Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, in one of his studies. One was the miners' strike in 1936, and the other was the female spinners' strike in 1938.[98] He illustrates the shared history of the people of Cyprus. He excludes neither Turkish nor Greek communities, also nor women. Rappas defends that Turkish Cypriots individually attended the strikes, but they could not be convinced about the nationalist feelings of the Greek Cypriots. Turkish Cypriots did not assume Greek Cypriots as only workers but as Greek nationalists. Further, his works are valuable in the aspects of subaltern studies. He mostly gives the leading

96 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996).

97 Alexis Rappas, *Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict* (London & New York: IB: Tauris, 2014); A. Rappas,"The Labor Question in Colonial Cyprus, 1936–1941: Political Strakes in a Battle of Denominations." *International Labor and Working-Class History* vol.76, no. 1 (2009), pp.194-216; A. Rappas, "The Elusive Polity: Imagining and Contesting Colonial Authority in Cyprus during the 1930s" Journal of Modern Greek Studies, vol.26 no.2 (2008), pp.363-397; A. Rappas,"The Uncharted World of Cypriot Colonia Servants and the Ideological Foundations of British Rule" *The Cyprus Review* Vol.23, no.2 (2011), pp.57-76.

98 A. Rappas, "The Labor Question in Colonial Cyprus, 1936–1941: Political Strakes in a Battle of Denominations." *International Labor and Working-Class History* vol.76, no. 1 (2009), pp.194-216.

role to the ordinary Cypriots and narrates their stories under colonial rule.

Moreover, Andrekos Varnava is one of the historians who study the colonial history of Cyprus in the most detailed way. His initial book starts with the beginning of the British administration and criticizes the strategic importance of the island for the British colonial empire.[99] Then he analyzes the Cypriots' role during the Great War on the Macedonian Front.[100] In his other book, he extended the period of the first world war to 1925 for a comprehensive analysis of the period.[101] Varnava paints a detailed picture of British colonial Cyprus, especially the first five decades of the colonial rule, with his important books and many articles. His works are valuable in the aspect that shows among Cypriots from both upper and lower classes, Greek and Turkish national loyalty to their "motherland" was not common to all and that some Cypriots were loyal to their "motherland," while others served and assisted the British Empire.[102] On the other side, he examines Cyprus from the perspective of subaltern studies but does not give vital importance to the historical agency of Cypriots. For example, according to him, "the Cypriot Orthodox may not have become 'Greeks' if the British and the Hellenist leaders, which replaced, marginalized and absorbed the leaders that preached good relations with the British and Muslims, had not imposed it on them."[103] He does not attach enough importance to the historical agencies of the Christian Orthodox islanders and gives the responsibility to British and Hellenist leaders. Further, Turkish nationalism is also considered a reaction to the Greek nationalists and the encouragement of the

99 Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus,1878-1915 The inconsequential possession*, (UK: Manchester University Press, 2009).

100 Andrekos Varnava, *Serving the Empire in the Great War The Cypriot Mule Corps, Imperial Loyalty and Silenced Memory* (UK: Manchester Uni Press, 2017).

101 Andrekos Varnava, *British Cyprus and the Long Great War 1914-1925 Empire, Loyalties and Democratic Deficit* (London & New York: Routledge, 2020).

102 Ibid.

103 Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus,1878-1915 The inconsequential possession*, (UK: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.279.

British administration.[104] These are some of the reasons for the nationalist movements on the island but not the whole. In the thesis, I would like to emphasize the role of Cypriot agencies against external influences and show how they behaved and how much they were affected or unaffected by these effects. Ordinary people should have reasons to adopt the influences. For instance, Raymond Williams insisted that ordinary people and intellectual elites mutually influence each other. They live in the same society, and the elites are also the people of the society same as the ordinary people.[105] The British colonial rule did not belong to the Cypriot society, but although it had an effect on the nation-building process, it should not be seen as the only factor. People living in the same society affect and are affected by each other, but this state of being affected is, in a way, related to the person her/himself. People choose how to react to an effect according to her/his own interests.[106] For instance, Loizos Kapsalis explains in detail that the Greek Cypriots' aim of achieving social, political and moral revitalization was a part of conscious and voluntary process of 'self-formation' undertaken by the Greek Cypriot elite and not imposed by foreign intervention. He reveals how conscious the Greek Cypriot elites were in their modernization processes during the nineteenth century. Kapsalis

104 Andrekos Varnava, *British Cyprus and the Long Great War 1914-1925 Empire, Loyalties and Democratic Deficit* (London & New York: Routledge, 2020), pp.9-20.

105 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: 1780-1950* (USA: Colombia University Press, 1983).

106 The intellectual class tried to impose their opinions on the public, primarily through the newspapers, but how much people are influenced by reading or listening to something is debatable. For some studies, see: David Dodell-Feder, Diana I. Tamir, "Fiction Reading Has a Small Positive Impact on Social Cognition: A Meta-Analysis" *Journal of Experimental Psychology* vol.147, no.11 (2018),pp. 1713-1727; Giulia Poerio, Peter Totterdell, " The Effect of Fiction on the Well-Being of Older Adults: A Longitudinal RCT Intervention Study Using Audiobooks" *Psychosocial Intervention* vol.29, no.1 (2020), pp.29-37. The last research concludes that whether or not the content listened to is fiction or non-fiction, people are influenced according to their personal interactions with the content. In other words, not everyone is affected in the same way, and not everyone is affected by the same content.

gives the main role to the Greek Cypriot elites in his thesis.[107] The aim of this thesis is also to give the main role to Cypriots, and to ask whether the ambivalent situation that Cypriots have been abandoned into plays a role in the identity construction of the islanders. In other words, there might be different causes besides the easily seen effects, and I would like to present a narrative of history through the eyes of Cypriots, going beyond the easily seen reasons.

Ilia Xypolia criticizes the reduction of the causes of Turkish nationalism in Cyprus to the reaction of Greek nationalism and the policy of the British administration.[108] For example, Niyazi Kızılyürek is another important historian who studies the history of Cyprus, but he reduces Turkish Cypriot nationalism as a counter-nationalism.[109] He criticizes nationalism in Cyprus and its effect on the Cyprus problem. On the other side, Xypolia examines the emergence of Turkish nationalism among the Muslim Cypriots base on four factors: "the agitation of Greek Cypriot nationalism; the success of Ataturk's revolution; the modernization of Cypriot society; and the British 'divide and rule policies."[110] It is an important study in terms of dealing with the Turkish national building process in Cyprus more comprehensively. In this work, she examines the effects of

107 Loizos Kapsalis "Social Progress and Moral Regulation in Cyprus (1860 – 1914)" (Ph.D. diss., King's College London, 2018).

108 Ilia Xypolia, *British Imperialism and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus 1923-1939 Divide, Define and Rule*, (London&New York: Routledge, 2018). Also, see: Ilia Xypolia, "Cypriot Muslims among Ottomans, Turks and Two World Wars" *Boğaziçi Journal,* vol.25 no.2 (2011), pp.109-120; Ilia Xypolia, "Imperial Bending of Rules: The British Empire, the Treaty of Lausanne, and Cypriot Immigration to Turkey" *Diplomacy & Statecraft,* vol.32, no.4 (2021), pp.674-691; I. Xypolia, "Orientations and Orientalism: The Governor Sir Ronald Storrs" *Journal of Islamicjerusalem Studies* vol. 11 (2011), pp.25-43.

109 Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003). Kızılyürek has many valuable works on the history of Cyprus. For examples, see: N. Kızılyürek, *Glafkos Clerides: The Path of a Country* (Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2008); N. KıIzılyürek, *Paşalar ve Papazlar* (London,1988); N. Kızılyürek, *Birleşik Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Doğmamış Bir Devletin Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005); N. Kızılyürek, *Bir Hınç ve Şiddet Tarihi: Kıbrıs'ta Statü Kavgası ve Etnik Çalışma* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016).

110 Ilia Xypolia, *British Imperialism and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus 1923-1939 Divide, Define and Rule,* (London&New York: Routledge, 2018),p.27.

Greek Cypriot nationalism and British rule on the Turkish Cypriot nation-building process but expands the picture by going beyond the first-seen reasons. However, she examines only one community on the island. Like Xypolia, Ioannis Moutsis and Altay Nevzat also study the nation-building process of the Muslim Cypriot community.[111] Moutsis gives a leading role in consolidating nationalism among Turkish Cypriots to the emergence of a nationalist elite. His main sources are the newspapers produced by the elites. His works are valuable in showing the role of the Turkish Cypriot press in the nation-building process among Muslim Cypriots, but the agency of the ordinary Muslim Cypriots was overlooked in his thesis. Nevzat's thesis is more comprehensive, but like the first two, it comprises only the Muslim community. This thesis would like to illustrate the common history of the people of Cyprus, and in addition to these valuable works, it wants to quest whether ambivalence plays a role in the identity construction process of two communities. On the other hand, Christos P. Ioannides' study significantly contributes to the history of ordinary Christian Orthodox Cypriots, to the "history from below."[112] He examines the Greek Cypriot folk poems, festivals, and coffeehouses to illustrate the urban-rural connection during colonial rule. *Panigyri*, which was periodical fairs, are analyzed in the aspects of its religious, commercial, and cultural role. However, the Muslim community is missing in his book, and Ioannides romanticizes Greek nationalism on the island while describing the rituals and festivals of the Orthodox Christian community in Cyprus. He examines British philhellenism and their desire to keep Cyprus as a colony in terms of British ambivalence. He considers the attitude of the British ambivalent, but being philhellene did not mean that they would put their own interests second. In addition, Ioannides attributes it to ambivalent that Greek Cypriots both get along well with the British

111 Ioannis Moutsis, " The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014); Altay Nevzat, "Nationalism Amongst the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave"(Ph.D. diss., Oulu University, 2005).

112 Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule : Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019).

administration and wanted Enosis.[113] Some of Greek Cypriots were both happy with the British administration and wanted Enosis. However, it was not unreasonable to try to create an opportunity for Enosis by keeping good relations with the administration. The thesis examines the desire of Cypriots to be part of another country and questions whether the ambivalent situation they were in was effective in their national identity building process.

Rebecca Bryant is an anthropologist who studies the history of Cyprus in the eyes of an anthropologist.[114] She examines the society of Cyprus during the colonial era. How the relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots started to change under the British administration is examined, and the influence of nationalism on both communities is investigated in the book. She has examined the nationalist movement on the island and its peak and bottom periods. The book analyzes different administration methods of the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain. The question of how the administration method of the Ottoman Empire became insufficient in the time of the colonial era is asked in the book. Moreover, Bryant defends that the Cyprus problem is directly linked to the colonial administration and the influence of modernization on the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Her work is valuable in that it comprises both communities of the nation-building process. However, she argues that we should go back to the colonial era to understand the present conflicts between the two communities on the island. Her method has a teleological side. She is looking at the causes of the current situation in the past. Although the past has an undeniable effect on our present life, it is problematic to establish direct cause-effect relationships. Of many

113 Ibid.,pp.41-59.

114 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern the Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*, (UK: IB Tauris, 2004). Also see: R. Bryant, "Everyday Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Space" in *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*, ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), pp.1-38; R. Bryant, Yiannis Papadakis, "Modalities of Time, History and Memory in Ethnonational Conflicts" in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory History Community and Conflict,* ed. by R. Bryant & Yiannis Papadakis (London & New York: IB Tauris, 2012), pp.1-26.

possibilities, only one could have survived, but different outcomes could have arisen.[115] For example, according to Marc Aymes, who goes beyond the central-periphery dichotomy and addressed the Ottoman world as a "provincial empire," "Maybe then Cyprus was not necessarily preordained to be caught up in the process leading to the final and symbolic date of 1878 after all. What we find here is a form of history which follows its own pulse."[116] He insists that the former events do not predispose to the latter. On the other hand, this does not mean that the thesis rejects all the cause-effect relationships. The point is every situation should be examined in its conjunctures and times. One of the aims of the thesis is to show how Cypriots reacted to the critical changes that affected their lives in the conditions of their time.

Further, it is essential to study the history of Cyprus without forgetting its insular feature and, accordingly, its different status from the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire.[117] Antonis Hadjikyriacou contributes to the spacial history of the island within Ottoman history. He is one of

115 For example, in his novel The Stranger, Albert Camus describes a man who did not cry at his mother's funeral and killed someone several days later. The court attributed the reason for this murder to the fact that he was not saddened by the death of his mother and considered what happened after that day as the reason for the murder. However, the murder was committed by coincidence. This is not what Albert Camus tried to explain in the novel, but we can use this example in the aspect of historical perspective. Successive events do not have to be the result of one another. For the novel, see: Albert Camus, *The Stranger* (New York: Vintage, 2014).

116 Marc Aymes, *A Provincial History of the Ottoman Empire Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the 19th century* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p.85.

117 Antonis Hadjikyriacou, *The Islands of the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Marcus Wiener, 2018); A. Hadjikyriacou, "The Respatialization of Cypriot Insularity during the Age of Revolutions" in *The French Revolution as a Moment of Respatialization*, eds, Matthias Middell & Megan Maruschke (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), pp.149–165; A. Hadjikyriacou, "Envisioning Insularity in the Ottoman World" in *Insularity in the Ottoman World*, *Special Issue of Princeton Papers,* ed. by A. Hadjikyriacou, (2017),pp.vii-xix; A. Hadijikyriacou, "The Ottomanisation of Cyprus" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 25 No.2 (2016),pp.81-96; A. Hadjikyriacou, "Ottoman(ist)s and the Sea, Islands, and Space: An Overview of the State of the Field on the Occasion of a Recent Review Article" *Turkish Historical Review*, no.11 (2020), pp.303-323.

the important historians that shifts the attention from the center to the province. His works are valuable in the aspects of examining the local and its multiple dimensions of political, economic and social organizations. Hadjikyriacou mainly studies the early-modern period of Cyprus, and as can be seen from the references made in the theoretical framework, this thesis has significantly benefited from his works. Further, the environment people live in is vital in their daily experiences of the people. Being an island and having insular characteristics are environmental factors. Irene Dietzel examines the relationship between the environment and people in Cyprus and explores the impact of the environment and environmental policies on the coexistence and the conflict between Cypriots.[118] For example, Ottoman land reform and delimitation of forestry during colonial rule are examined in the book. Her interdisciplinary work, by incorporating environmental factors into history, contributed to the history of Ottoman and British Cyprus. This thesis does not examine the environmental or spacial history of Cyprus, but it is not possible to explore the history of Cyprus without considering its environment and island characteristics. For this reason, chapter two is mainly devoted to the insularity of Cyprus and its similarities and differences with some other islands.

The article of Thekla Kyrtitsi is crucial in putting women in the history of Cyprus.[119] She examines the two women organizations that were

118 Irene Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island,* (De Gruyter: Germany, 2014). Also see: Irene Dietzel, "Sharing Traditions of Land Use and Ownership Considering the "Ground" for Coexistence and Conflict in Pre-modern Cyprus." In *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict,* ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), pp.41-58; Vasilios Makrides & Irene Dietzel, "Ethno-Religious Coexistence and Plurality in Cyprus Under British Rule (1878-1960)" *Social Compass* vol.56, no.1 (2009), pp.69-83. Also, for details about the British policy on the forests and agriculture in Cyprus, see: Sarah Elizabeth Harris, "Colonial Forestry and Environmental History: British Policies in Cyprus, 1878–1960" (Ph.D. dis., The University of Texas, 2007).

119 Thekla Kyrtitsi, "Engendering Nationalism in Modern Cyprus: The First Women's Organizations." In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed. by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018),pp.93-110.

established by literate middle-class Christian Greek Cypriot women in Limassol during the end of the 19th century. In addition to the organizations, the periodical, which was published together with two organizations from 1906 to 1907, is also examined in the article. The relation of women, Greek nationalism and Cypriot modernity is discussed in detail. This work has made an essential contribution to the missing role of women in the history of Cyprus. This thesis does not give specific importance to the women in the history of Cyprus, but it tries not to overlook them. In particular, I tried to provide examples of women's cases in court records, but unfortunately, when it is not stated who is mentioned in the historical events, the leading role in history is left to men. It is necessary to make extra efforts to show that women are also historical agencies; however, this is outside the scope of this thesis. These works can be extended, and the thesis uses many other secondary sources about the history of Cyprus.[120]

120 Some of them: Peter Loizos, "Politics and Patronage in a Cypriot Village, 1920–1970," in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, eds., Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury (London: Duckworth & Co., 1977); Paul S. Cassia, "Banditry, Myth, and Terror in Cyprus and Other Mediterranean Societies" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 35 no. 4 (1993); Hasan Samani "Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, 2006); M. N. Michael, "History, Myth and Nationalism: The Retrospective Force of National Roles within a Myth-Constructed Past" in *The Troubled Triangle Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* ed. by A. Aktar N. Kızılyürek, U. Özkırımlı (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island A History of the British in Cyprus,* (London&New York: IB Tauris, 2010); M. N. Michael, "From the Ottoman Meclis-i Idâre to the British Legislative Council" in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood The Ottoman and Post-Ottoman World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism*, ed. by M. N. Michael, T. Anastassiadis, C. Verdeil, (Berlin: Klaus Schwars Verlag, 2014), pp.105-130; Yiannos Katsourides, *The History of the Communist Party of Cyprus, Colonialism, Class and the Cypriot Left,* (London: IB Tauris, 2014); P. Saint Cassia, "Marriages At The Margins: Interfaith Marriages In The Mediterranean" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* vol.27, no.2 (2018), pp.1-22; Meltem Onurkan-Samani, "The Legislative Council and Its Historical/Political Implications in Cyprus (1882-1931)" In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed.by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.75-92; Loizos Kapsalis, "Society, Religion and Moral Reform in early twentieth-century Cyprus." In *Cyprus Colonialism to the Present: Visions and Realities*, edited by A. Yiangou and A. Heraclidou (London & New York: Routledge, 2018), pp.25-37.

§ 1.5 On Primary Sources

Regarding primary sources, several different archives were used to gain a broader perspective on Cypriots and their inter-communal relationships. This dissertation is based on primary sources from the following archives: the Presidency Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (BOA), The National Archives in London (TNA), the State Archives in Nicosia (SA), the National Archives in Kyrenia (NA), and the Archives of North Cyprus Pious Foundations (Evkaf).

Presidency Ottoman Archives in Istanbul have many official sources such as reports, orders, and petitions. The thesis has used not only one catalog but many different catalogs to find information about the island.[121] In The National Archives in London, two catalogs were mainly used; records of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and records of the Colonial Office. Cyprus sheri court registers (CCR) during the Ottoman administration are reached from the Archives of Evkaf. The newspapers used in the thesis are from the digital archives of the Cyprus Press and Information Office and the National Archives in Kyrenia. Further, some documents belonging to the British colonial era were found in the State Archives in Nicosia. Thus, the dissertation used petitions, sheri court registers, official reports and orders, newspapers, and Cyprus Blue Books which were prepared regularly each year by the British Colonial administration and sent to the Colonial Office in London.

The petitions are significant to this thesis because one can reach the voice of ordinary Cypriots thanks to these documents. They had critical roles in the relationships between Cypriots and the center of the administration. The desires and problems of the islanders can be explored through the petitions. The newspapers are another source to hear the voice of Cypriots, but this time, Cypriots were from the elite class. Not all petitioners were lower-class people, but newspaper writers were all from the upper class. The subjective opinions of the elite and literate

121 BOA. A.{DVNSNMH.d; A.}MKT.MVL; A.}MKT.UM; A.}MKT. NZD; A.}MTZ.KB; A.}MKT.MHM; DH.MKT; HR.TH; HR.SYS; KB.MAA.FE; Y.MTV; Y.PRK.DH; Y.EE.KP; Y.A.HUS; Y.PRK.AZJ.

Cypriots can be examined through the newspapers. The aim is to show the opinions of the particular class of the two communities. Moreover, the court registers are essential sources to show the inter-communal relationships on the island. Cypriots from both communities had access to the sheri courts. It can be evaluated from the court registers that the daily problems of people living together were not belonging to different religions or ethnic origins. In most cases, people had their personal interests in mind, not religious differences.

§ 1.6 Dissertation Outline

This dissertation consists of seven chapters, including the introduction and conclusion chapters. After the introduction, the second chapter aims to put Cyprus in the Mediterranean environment and examines the importance of the island under the Ottoman and British administrations. The existing balance of power on the island and the articulation of the people sent by the Ottomans to this balance also affected the relationship between the center and the province. Existing elites on the island were also forced to engage in dialogue with the Ottoman center. It can also be seen that under Ottoman rule, Cyprus remained on the internal border close to more autonomous provinces such as Egypt and Syria. Also, the use of the island as a place of exile creates a different interaction. When Great Britain occupied the island, Cyprus remained in the middle of the British colonies. It was not a border, but it could be called a transit point for other colonies. The chapter examines whether Cyprus was a frontier or contact zone, or both. The chapter shows that even the location of Cyprus had an ambivalent feature. Also, the island's position is compared with Crete, Malta, Corsica, the other important islands in the Mediterranean Sea, and Ireland an island that experienced the British imperial rule as well. Ireland is not in the Mediterranean, but it is examined in terms of being another island colony of the British. The question of why some other islands, which are similar to Cyprus in many ways, did not create an irredentist ideology but Cyprus did, is elaborated in the chapter.

The third chapter examines the relations between the two administrations and the islanders. The aim of the chapter is to analyze the perspectives of the islanders and the administrations on each other. The main questions are how the islanders represent themselves against administrations and how they built their identities in these circumstances. The socio-economic problems of Cypriots and how they handle these problems are examined. Especially the petitions of the islanders were used to hear the voice of ordinary islanders. My aim is to convey the situation of the Cypriots based on concrete examples. Court registers and petitions were used in accordance with this aim. Further, the colonial point of view of the Ottomans towards the island can be related to the fact that Ihsan Bey was sent to the island for inspection.[122] In these petitions during the inspection, we see the cooperation between the elites each other and the collaboration between the ordinary islanders themselves. Another subject of the chapter is what changed and remained the same during the British administration. Also, how they fall into an ambivalent situation, especially after changing the administration, is discussed. It can be deduced that there was a closer relationship between the people and the administration during the Ottoman administration. Therefore, changing the administration created ambiguity. The islanders were looking for the old close relationship, but the British administrators who wanted to establish a more modern administration did not accept this; we can see abandonment, in-betweenness and ambivalency in both communities, especially during the British administration. Also, the new administration did not know how to govern Cyprus because they were not totally the owner of the island. Theoretically, the island still belonged to the Ottoman Empire. This situation created ambiguity for both the new

122 The Ottoman archives include more than one Ihsan Bey, and it is not clear the one sent to Cyprus for inspection was which one of them. Also, it is difficult to understand which were the same person and which were different. For example, one Ihsan Bey was an ambassador of Berlin in 1856, and the other was Chief Clerk of Edirne Assembly in 1855. See: BOA, A.}AMD 68,41 14.08.1856; BOA, A.}MKT.DV 85,80 3.11.1855. However, it is clear that Ihsan Bey, mentioned in the thesis, was an Ottoman officer and was sent as an inspector to Cyprus in 1860.

administrators and the islanders. In some cases, Christian Greek and Muslim Turkish Cypriots were united in their own interest against the British colonial administration, but they did not think that they could unite to create an identity base on their living place.

The fourth chapter is analyzed the social lives of Cypriots. How were they sharing their daily lives? How did the Ottoman land system affect their lives? The topics discussed in the chapter are syncretism, sharing traditions, toleration, coexistence, intermarriages, and conversion. Toleration might not be a good verb because people do not tolerate people equal to them; tolerate who are inferior to them. Since both communities had majority and minority features during the Ottoman era, they might consider their neighbor who should be in cooperation inferior, but they had been living together for a long time, and their customs were mixed. They did not consider their ethnic and religious identities when they had a common benefit. Further, people of Cyprus were not sharing only the same places but the culture and tradition. Different communities did not live-in peace only because they tolerated themselves antagonistically or for necessity, but they unconsciously adopted and shared beliefs and traditions of the other community. On the other hand, boundaries still existed between the two communities, but these boundaries were not certain, people had reproduced them in their daily lives. People of Cyprus from different communities lived in mixed villages and cities and joined each other's weddings and religious ceremonies. They shared religious and cultural daily habits. However, both communities requested to stay away from inter-religious marriages. It means they were aware of their ethno-religious differences, but these differences were not obstacles to living and sharing something together. The boundaries between the two communities were fluent and changeable according to the circumstances.

In the fifth chapter, conflicts on the island are examined, starting with the conflict between the nationalist and conservative elites of both communities. The heterogeneous structure of the Cypriot communities can be seen in these leadership disputes. Then the first inter-communal conflict between the islanders is discussed. The importance of education and external factors on the conflict within the island are questioned. The

other significant event influential in the Cypriots' daily lives was the Great War. The Cypriot Mule Corps, composed of Orthodox Christian Greek Cypriots and Muslim Turkish Cypriots, is crucial to understand the ambivalent situation of the islanders. People mainly from rural areas joined the British army. Orthodox Christian Greek Cypriots joined the Protestant British army with the Muslim Turkish Cypriots, and the Muslim Turkish Cypriots joined the Christian army against the Ottoman Empire. The dire economic conditions on the island got ahead of religious and national identities. Greece itself entered the war only in 1917 but the Cypriots were conscripted before that date. The chapter is ended with an examining of the 1931 rebellion, which is known as *Oktovriana,* October events.

Lastly, the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot press have been analyzed in the sixth chapter to reach the subjectivities and perspectives of the intellectual class. The first newspaper in Cyprus was published in 1878. Therefore, it is not possible to compare the newspapers under the two administrations. However, the papers show the views of some Cypriots during the British administration. How do they represent themselves and define the "other" in papers? The ideology that the elite class wanted to impose on ordinary Cypriots can also be seen through the newspapers. Identity construction processes and the ambivalent situation they were in have been examined through the newspapers. Although the newspapers are subjective sources, they are essential to see the views and opinions of the intellectual class of Cyprus. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the literacy rate in Cyprus was not high, but the newspapers did not reach only the literate Cypriots. The papers were read in public places, and the opinions reached illiterate Cypriots too. Although newspapers do not represent the entire population, they are valuable sources for learning what the elite class desired to impose on the rest of the people.

2

The Island of Love

Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, is believed to have been born near Paphos, on the island of Cyprus. She was born from the white foam produced by Uranus' testicles after his son threw them into the sea.[1] If you visit Paphos, you should swim around the rock Aphrodite was born seven times to reach infinite beauty and charm. Hearing this story, one might think that the island is a place of love, but in contrast, Cyprus is a place with a divided capital. However, when you discover that Aphrodite is believed to be the goddess of war in some places, you will probably not be surprised that Cyprus is such a place.

The island has hosted so many civilizations and conflicts since the beginning of time. Moreover, the administrations of Cyprus were not only changed through wars but also by selling or renting the territory. The geographic location and insularity of Cyprus had not always been attractive

1 https://www.princeton.edu/~graphicarts/2012/03/the_birth_of_aphrodite.html access, 11.11.2021.

for the governments of the island. When the Ottoman Empire leased the island to the British, this was not the first time for the island. For example, Richard the Lionheart had sold the island to the Knights Templar centuries before the Ottomans.[2] By the 19th century, the destiny of the island had not changed, and its administration was passed to the colonial empire without a war.[3] After The Cyprus Convention was signed on 4 June 1878, the additional act was made on 1 July 1878.[4] It was decided that the excess amount of income after deducting the expenses would be given to the Istanbul government every year.[5] The British administration could be regarded as an administration appointed by the Ottoman State. The theoretical owner of the island, the Ottoman State, demanded the excess amount of income. This was a kind of price for giving the island to the British. Cyprus was practically still the property of the Ottoman State, but the right of use and administrate was given to the United Kingdom. In order for Cyprus to be returned to the Ottoman administration, the lands captured by Russia in Armenia had to be taken back.[6] Thus, the administration of the island was given to the United Kingdom for an indefinite time and price. In that regard, Cyprus could be considered as leased

2 J. Flori, & J. Birrell. *Richard the Lionheart: King and Knight* (Edinburgh University Press, 1999),pp.113-131.

3 For the study about the fact that Cyprus did not always have strategic importance contrary to popular belief, and was not always a valuable colony for the British, see, Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915 The inconsequential possession*, (UK: Manchester Uni. Press, 2015). The strategic importance of the island did not remain constant but changed in accordance with the events that took place around the island. For example, during the Napoleonic Wars in the Mediterranean, Cyprus became an important territory. See, Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "The Respatialization of Cypriot Insularity during the Age of Revolutions" in *The French Revolution as a Moment of Respatialization*, eds, Matthias Middell & Megan Maruschke (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 149–165.

4 Bab-ı Ali Hariciye Nezareti, *Kıbrıs Meselesi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1335), pp.11-13.

5 İngiltere, masarif-i idare çıkarıldıkdan sonra varidatın el-yevm fazla kalan miktarını sene be sene Bab-ı Ali'ye tediye edecek.. ibid.,p.13.

6 Eğer Rusya Kars ve muharebe-i ahirede Ermenistan'da zabtetmiş olduğu sair yerleri Devlet-i Osmaniyye'ye reddedecek olursa Kıbrıs Adası İngiltere tarafından tahliye edilecek ve 1878 senesi Haziranının dördü tarihli mukavelenamenin dahi hükmü olmayacaktır. Ibid.

property; the owner state transferred the use of its property to another state in exchange for a price. The price in here was both the excess amount of income and the protection of the British against Russia.

The situation was confusing both for the new administration and the communities on the island. Once an ordinary Ottoman island, it had the difficulty of falling into an ambivalent situation. What would the islanders do now? Would it be an important problem for them or not? The leasing of the island plays a significant role in understanding the Cypriots. Since the United Kingdom did not totally own the island, the islanders did not greet the new administration with rebellion. After the treaty of San Stefano, which was signed in 1878, at the end of the war between the Ottoman State and Russia, the position of the Ottomans became very weak. The treaty of Berlin replaced the former treaty, and the British sided with the Ottoman State in return for Cyprus. The Ottoman Sultan was still the protector of the Muslim community, and Cypriots continued to appeal to the Ottoman capital when they had a problem that could not be solved within the island. Shortly after the Cyprus Convention, Sadık Paşa was sent to the island with the edict of the Sultan. The edict was sent for the Mutasarrif of the island, Mufti and Naib of Nicosia. The aim of the edict was to explain the new situation of the administration to the Ottoman administrators.[7] In addition, a telegram was sent that the copies of the edict would be sent to the district governor's offices and that the British admiral who came to the island would be accepted.[8] In other words, the British entered the island with the edict of the Ottoman Sultan. On the other hand, the treaty of Berlin paved the way not only for the loss of Cyprus but also for Tunisia. When the administration of Cyprus was passed to the British, Great Britain began to look favorably on France's acquisition of Tunisia in order to prevent her reactions.[9] After three years of the treaty, in 1881, as Italy's interest in the Mediterranean coast countries increased, and it gained strength in Tunisia, France did not wait any longer

7 BOA, A.{DVNSNMH.d., 14,5, 10 1878.

8 BOA, HR.SYS. 897,3 11.07.1878.

9 Mustapha Stiti, "Tunus'un Fransızlar Tarafından İşgali Karşısında Osmanlı Siyaseti (1878-1888)" (Ph.D. diss., Istanbul University, 2008), pp.27-31.

to invade Tunisia. However, France did not sign any agreement with the Ottoman State, like we see in the Cyprus case, but with Tunisian Bey. Tunisia became a protectorate of France by signing the Treaty of Bardo.[10] Unlike Cyprus, the people of Tunisia did not remain unresponsive to the colonial occupation and began to resist.[11] Tunisia cannot be examined in terms of falling into an ambivalent situation because Tunisia was partly independent from the Ottoman State. People had their own Bey and this Bey signed the treaty with France. Moreover, Tunisian people did not identify themselves based on another country like the people of Cyprus. Although the Ottoman Sultan could not do anything against the occupation of Tunisia, the people started to resist by opposing the French invasion. In Cyprus, the new British governor was, in a sense, a governor appointed by the Sultan. The new administration was a stranger to the Muslim community, but it was also an official of their Sultan. Since it was a government that came at the behest of the Sultan, it made things easier for the Muslims, at least until the Great War, when the British unilaterally terminated the contract and claimed the island. As the situation changed after 1914, the Muslim community found itself in an uncertain and weak position.

10 Ibid, p.65. Also, for the detail about the occupation of Tunisia by the Ottomans and the power struggle in the Mediterranean, see. Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002) at volume I. Cyprus had never been as independent as Tunisia. When Cyprus was conquered in 1571, it was organized as a separate province headed by Beylerbeyi and took its place in the Ottoman provincial organization. Although its place in the administrative structure had changed over the years, Cyprus had never been ruled by a semi-independent Bey like Tunisia. For example, in 1640, the island was added to the Province of the Archipelago and came under the administration of Kapudan Pasha, the commander in chief of the Ottoman Navy. For the details see, Hasan Samani "Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, 2006), Nuri Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyâleti: Yönetim, Kilise, Ayân ve Halk (1750-1800): Bir Değişim Döneminin Anatomisi,* (Famagusta, Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 2000).

11 Mustapha Stiti, "Tunus'un Fransızlar Tarafından İşgali Karşısında Osmanlı Siyaseti (1878-1888)" (Ph.D. diss., Istanbul University, 2008), pp.73-89.

On the other hand, the Christian community was initially hopeful about the governmental change. However, as it will be examined in the next chapter, they did not desire any changes in their privileges. The Ottoman *millet* system provided them with almost an independent power. Especially the clergy members had privileges they enjoyed and wished to maintain. The new administrators had the same religion as the Christian community, but this put them in an even more ambivalent position. Should they accept a Christian government or not? What would they do when their personal interests were harmed? Or should they remain loyal to the Ottoman Empire, the rule they lived in for three hundred years? What did it mean for them to be handed over to another government once again? Should they rebel or not?[12] Until 1914, obeying the British administration was the same as following the Ottoman administration. Nevertheless, things changed after that time, and the situation of both communities became more ambiguous.

The Ottoman Empire was a stranger to the Christian community of the island. After spending centuries under their rule, Ottomans became a familiar entity for them, yet the British administration was an unknown for both Christian and Muslim communities. However, the British administration was not the actual owner of the island, at least until the Great War. For this reason, the new administration was both a stranger and no stranger. This situation created ambivalency for the Muslim community. To revolt against the new administration meant to revolt against the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the new administration was seem to

12 According to traditional historiography, Sophronios welcomed Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley and expressed his feeling about being united with Greece. However, recent studies show that this historiography began after the death of Sophronios, and he did not desire unification with Greece. Sophronios requested equality and continuation of the rights of the Orthodox Church under the new rule. For the details, see, Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), pp.25-28, Andrekos Varnava, "Sophronios III, 1865-1900: The Last of the 'Old' and the First of the 'New' Archbishop-Ethnarchs?" In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. by A. Varnava and M. N. Michael, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp.106-147.

be better for the Christian community because they had the same religion, though, their sects were different. They did not have precisely the same faith. In addition, the growing nationalist movement had an impact on the Christian communities' view of the British administration. Nationalism started to spread among the elites of Cypriots at first. The idea had developed hand in hand with modernization. The expansion of the middle classes in the cities with the help of the development of new professions, such as lawyers, journalists, merchants, etc., caused the spreading of new ideas. Nationalism was one of these new ideas, as well as an impressive one. As it will be elaborated in the sixth chapter, elite Cypriots had used the press to spread their modernist and nationalist ideas to the ordinary islanders.[13] The developing public sphere, such as coffee houses, was the main bases for them. Their ideas could reach to illiterate islanders in the public sphere. The development of journalism and meeting places were also crucial for creating public opinion.[14] In these places,

13 Print capitalism and the mass media are the essential elements of national identity construction. The concept of simultaneity that created them and plays a leading role in the construction of the perception of nation. There are particular objects and concepts that bring this concept of simultaneity to people, and newspapers are essential in the construction of nationalism because they instil similar ideas and feelings in people from different places. For the details, see, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, A brilliant exegesis on nationalism*, (UK: Verso, 2006).

14 Newspapers and public spheres are inseparable developments. Newspapers could meet their audience in the public sphere see, Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*, (London and New York: IB Tauris), p.32. For the constitution of the public and the public opinion in the Ottoman State, see, Cengiz Kırlı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empire," in *Publics, Politics and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa* (New York: Columbia / SSRC Book, 2009), pp. 177-203. In its simplest form, the public sphere refers to a space in our social life where something akin to public opinion can be formed. People of all classes can gather and exchange information in the public sphere. Jürgen Habermas established the concept of the public sphere. Habermas used the 18th century coffeehouses dialogues in France to establish this concept. The public sphere was where political issues were discussed rationally. For the details, see, Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, trans. Thomas Burger & Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), Craig

mostly in coffeehouses, the ideas of the elite were passed on to the lower classes, with the literate people reading newspapers to the illiterate. The idea of nationalism and being a part of something big started to develop and spread. Moreover, at the end of the 19th century, the economy of Cyprus was still rural, and its society was traditional. Most of the islanders lived in poor rural residences, and they supported their lives with farming or husbandry. That is to say, "at the end of the 19th century, Cyprus was a patriarchal and hierarchical society based on class, age and gender hierarchies with religious leadership having a significant proportion of power."[15] In this hierarchical environment, the upper class had undertaken to convey the "right ideology" to the lower class. However, to base the influence of nationalism on the lower class only on the upper class would be to deprive them of their agency. Cypriots must have their own reasons for being influenced by this ideology in these changing times and circumstances.

Furthermore, nationalist ideas attracted not only Cypriot men but also women because, with nationalism, women could be a member of the Greek nation and have a significant role in the national purpose. Women could be both human beings and parts of a great nation thanks to the

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Calhoun, "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. by Craig Calhoun (Cambridge & Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-48, However, It is unclear whether people of different classes could really interact so freely in the public sphere. The public sphere can also be considered as Habermas's fantasy. See the criticism of Habermas and the historians to learn why they used the public sphere so eagerly, Harold Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians," *Journal of Modern History,* vol. 72, no.1, (2000), pp. 153-82. Also, unlike Habermas, Foucault considered these spheres as places under the surveillance of the power, and with modernization, the power began to take control of people's daily lives. See: Michel Foucault, "Governmentality" in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 1991); Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

15 Thekla Kyrtitsi, "Engendering Nationalism in Modern Cyprus: The First Women's Organizations." In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed. by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.96-97.

nationalist idea.[16] From the end of the 19th century, nationalism started to spread to all components of the island. Considering this, the rulers of Cyprus can be discussed in the aspect of being stranger. As mentioned above, the new administration could be stranger to the Christian Cypriots, but for the Muslim community, the British administration came to the island with the consent of the Ottoman Empire. Even so, the new rule was an administration they did not know, and it cannot be said that the Muslim community did not feel that the new administration was a stranger. However, since they were mostly part of the administrative or the rural class, the middle-class formation of the Muslim community was delayed. The delay in the formation of the middle class and the ambivalency kept the Muslim community from developing national ideas against British colonial rule. It was in their best interest, for the Muslims in the ruling class, to cooperate with the new administration, and the ambivalency of the island's situation at the beginning also contributed to their attitude.

§ 2.1 Cyprus: Contact Zone or Frontier Zone?

Cyprus is an island, and this fact can be considered as a reason for the ambivalent situation. The importance of the geographical location of Cyprus for the Ottoman and the British administrations was not the same. Was Cyprus either a contact zone or a frontier zone for the administrations? How was the island affected by its environment? Larger Ottoman islands in the Mediterranean like Crete and Cyprus, depended on the availability of human labor to maintain agriculture, and therefore needed some mechanisms to secure adequate population numbers. According to the Ottoman administration of the settlement policy, the population was exiled to the newly conquered places.[17] In addition to this settlement

16 Ibid.pp.104-107.

17 Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler", *I.F.M.* vol.11, no.1-4,(1949/50), p.550-560.

policy, the island allowed the seasonal influx of migrant workers from Syria and Anatolia. Its location made this influx easier.[18] The settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire and the seasonal influx altered the population of the island after the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus in 1571. In addition to the Orthodox Christian Greek community and other minority communities such as Latins, the Muslim community was added to the population. Muslim community never could be a majority subject of the island, but they mostly belonged to the administrative class. Those not from the administrative class also considered themselves superior because they belonged to Islam, the religion of first-class subjects. Thus, the Muslim community coped with their minority position with the help of the Ottoman *millet* system. The island was both close to and far from the Ottoman Empire. Even the location of the island involved an ambivalent situation. Moreover, communication with the center was not easy, even in the 19th century. The connection of the telegram line was established on the island in 1871.[19] Before this date, communication with the center or other parts of the empire took a long time. A mail ferry arrived on the island every 15 days, but in case of any disruption, the islanders could receive important news after a month. The administrators of the island were not satisfied with this communication gap, and in the end, the telegram line was established in 1871. However, the line broke down in a short time and had to be repaired several times. When the administration was changed, the British established their own telegram line.[20] This means communication was a problem for the islanders. Cypriots could not easily get news from outside of the island.

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18 Irene Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island*, (De Gruyter: Germany, 2014), pp.81-82.

19 The first electric telegraph appeared in the Ottoman Empire in 1839 but the first telegraph line linked Istanbul to Europe in 1855 during the Crimean War. For the details, see, Roderic H. Davison, "The Advent of the Electric Telegraph in the Ottoman Empire" in *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774-1923*, (USA: University of Texas Press, 1990), pp. 133-165. For the example of the other parts of the Ottoman Empire, see, Ö. Keskin & A. Sönmez, "Spreading of Telegraph in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of Çanakkale Telegraph Line" *OTAM*, no.25 (2009), pp.67-81.

20 Diren Çakılcı, "Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı Telgraf İşletmesi" *Tarih Dergisi* no.62 (2015), pp.65-85.

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean. At that time, the insularity of Cyprus was significant for both the islanders and the governments. Its location is close to both Europe, Arabian Peninsula, and Mesopotamia. For this reason, it comprises cultural characteristics from different territories. As it will be examined, the first newspaper on the island was established by a Cypriot, Theodoulos Constantinides, who lived in Egypt. He was living with the Greek Community in Egypt.[21] This means that the islanders had close relations with various countries, and this enabled the cultural exchange between them.

On the other hand, because Cyprus is an island, it has been surrounded by the sea since ancient times, this insular feature caused Cypriots to face different problems. The island always needed to be ready against threats coming from the sea, such as pirates or invaders. It can be said that islands consist of the incorporation of sea and land. The interaction between the maritime and the terrestrial is a significant feature of the islands. The islands include both isolation and interconnectedness in their characterization. The feature of insularity includes both connectivity and isolation. It does not mean only isolation, but it is a "condition of multiple possibilities."[22] As mentioned, communication outside was not accessible, at least until the end of the 19th century. The sea could convey the islanders to different worlds, but also it could isolate them in the island. The trade and merchants played an important role in connecting islands to other parts of the world. Thus, the sea could be both an obstacle and an opportunity for the islanders.[23] In addition to this, the

21 "The Greek Brotherhood of the Cypriots of Egypt" was formed by merchants in 1873. Ottoman merchants belonging to Romaic communities established commercial bases throughout the Ottoman State, and the Cairo Brotherhood sent T. Constantinides to Cyprus with the mission of establishing a Greek newspaper. See, Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915 The inconsequential possession*, (UK: Manchester Uni. Press, 2015), pp.163-165.

22 Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "Envisioning Insularity in the Ottoman World" in *Insularity in the Ottoman World*, *Special Issue of Princeton Papers,* ed. by A. Hadjikyriacou, (2017), p.ix.

23 For more information about islands and insularity, see, Antonis Hadjikyriacou, *The Islands of the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Marcus Wiener, 2018), Christie

geographical importance of Cyprus was not always the same. Its location became essential or unimportant in accordance with the time and circumstances. For example, especially during the 17th century, its geostrategic location had little to offer to the Ottomans at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, as that part of the sea considered an Ottoman Lake. At the beginning of the Ottoman administration, Cyprus was only another province of the empire, not a frontier province like Crete.[24] At the end of the 18th century, Napoleon's military operation in Egypt increased the importance of Cyprus. The military operations around the island meant that Cyprus became a supply center for the Ottoman army. Spacial and insular situation of the island gained importance when the military operations existed around Cyprus. In other words, military threats near the island and the naval operations based there highlighted the spacial and insular character of Cyprus as an island.[25]

Moreover, at the beginning of the British administration, the geostrategic location of the island was essential for the United Kingdom, but

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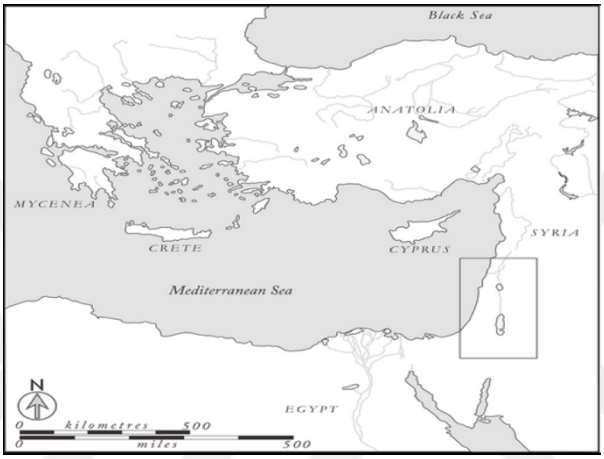
Constantakopoulou, *The Dance of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire and the Aegean World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Molly Greene, *A Shared World Christians and Muslims in the Early Mediterranean*, (Princeton: Princeton Uni Press, 2000). In addition, for a valuable literature review about the subject, see, Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "Ottoman(ist)s and the Sea, Islands, and Space: An Overview of the State of the Field on the Occasion of a Recent Review Article" *Turkish Historical Review*, no.11 (2020), pp.303-323.

24 Antonis Hadijikyriacou, "The Ottomanisation of Cyprus" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 25 No.2 (2016), p.83. In his study, Hadijikyriacou looks at the "Ottoman methods of conquest" from a different perspective and tries to go beyond the center-province binary. He emphasizes the power and patronage network on the island and examines Cyprus as a "contact zone", not the periphery integrated into the center. He insists on the constant negotiation between center and province. His approach is vital so as not to lose the island's own agency. He takes the island beyond a space that is only integrated into the center. Also, see: E. Natalie Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol.51, no.4 (2009), pp.771-800. Rothman examines the Venetian dragomans' positions in the Mediterranean "contact zone."

25 For the details see, Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "The Respatialization of Cypriot Insularity during the Age of Revolutions" in *The French Revolution as a Moment of Respatialization*, eds, Matthias Middell & Megan Maruschke (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 149–165.

after the occupation of Egypt in 1882, the importance of the island began to diminish.[26] Although Robert Holland did not defend this idea because the British administration was in need of Cyprus to protect Egypt, it does not change the fact that the importance of the island increases or decreases according to the changing conditions.[27] Ultimately, it is challenging to discuss the history of Cyprus as something permanent or consistent. Like the other parts of the world, the geostrategic and sociopolitic history of the island is in constant flux.



Map 2.1: Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus and Crete

Map 2.1 shows the location of Cyprus on the right and Crete on the left.[28] The closeness of Cyprus to Syria and Egypt can also be seen on the map. Crete was more important because it was located on the frontier

26 Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915 The inconsequential possession*, (UK: Manchester Uni. Press, 2015). As Antonis Hadjikyriacou points out in his work, in the footnote above, the island was more valuable when it belonged to someone else. The island was usually peaceful and did not need solid military troops, but its importance increased when there was a military operation nearby.

27 Robert Holland, "Cyprus and Malta: Two Colonial Experiences" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol.23 No.1 (2014), p.10.

28 https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-the-Eastern-Mediterranean-Inset-Map-of-the-Southern-Levant-indicating-the_fig1_281408901 by Xander Veldhuijzen access, 9.11.2021.

between the Western Mediterranean, which mainly belonged to the European powers, and the Eastern Mediterranean, belonging to the Ottoman State. However, the frontier zone is not always considered only the locational borders. The frontier zones can be considered as a space where difference is articulated, encountered, and managed. It is both zone of conflict and reciprocal exchanges.[29] If we discuss this explanation of frontier zones considering the Ottoman settlement policy, Cyprus could be a frontier zone for the empire. The Ottoman conquest of the island had changed the population, and the Islamic culture became a part of Cyprus. Christian community and Muslim community formed a mixed culture over the centuries. The frontier zone is the border of inside and outside, and also it includes in-betweenness and ambiguity. Cyprus was not far away from the mainland of the Ottoman Empire, but people could not travel to or from Cyprus whenever they wanted. One could not walk or ride a horse to other parts of the state but was in need of a ship. Travelling to or from Cyprus by ship might not be difficult because of its close location, but it could be challenging because of the necessity of sailing. Thus, Cyprus had an ambivalent position for both the islanders and the Ottoman Empire. The islanders might feel both closeness and distance. However, the same situation can be elaborated with the term *contact zone*.

> …the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.[30]

The situation of Cyrus also included the features of the *contact zone.* The Ottoman settlement policy created a connection between people who were geographically and historically separated. The Muslim people from the other parts of the Ottoman lands were incorporated into the

29 Birgit Meyer,"Frontier Zones and the Study of Religion" *Journal for the Study of Religion,* Vol.31 No.2 (2018),pp. 60-61.

30 Mary Loise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), p.8.

Christian community. In addition, the state and its province were not something separated. Imperial Center and its provinces were in constant interaction and negotiation with each other. Furthermore, it was not easy to clarify the balance of power between the center and the province.[31] The province had its own elites and power relations. When the island was conquered by the Ottomans, Cyprus already had an existing balance of power within its elites. The Ottoman center added its own officers and subjects to this equation and created a new balance of power. As the balance of power within the island started to change with the new owner, the elite people who already had power had to interact with the center to protect their position.[32] This paved the way for dialogue and synthesis between the center and province. In addition, the geographic position of Cyprus and its distance from the imperial center were influential in the interaction between the capital and the province. The location of the island was in the middle of the internal border between the center of the Ottoman state and its more autonomous provinces, Egypt and Syria.[33] The island was both close to and far away from the Ottoman capital, and it was also located within the internal border. This affected the connection between the empire and the island. For instance, the empire had used the island as a place of exile, which created a different kind of interaction. That is to say, the ongoing relations and interactions between the other parts of the empire and the island kept on continuing in Cyprus.

On the other hand, Mary Pratt often uses *contact zone* as "colonial frontier."[34] The Ottoman Empire probably did not have a colonial perspective when the island was conquered, but after three centuries the times had changed with modernity. The empire was affected by not only

31 Antonis Hadijikyriacou, "The Ottomanisation of Cyprus: Towards a Spatial Imagination Beyond the Centre-Province Binary" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol.25 No.2 (2016), p.83.

32 Religious elites who desired to maintain their power can be given as an example.

33 Antonis Hadijikyriacou,"The Ottomanisation of Cyprus: Towards a Spatial Imagination Beyond the Centre-Province Binary" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol.25 No.2 (2016), p.90.

34 Mary Loise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2008),p.8.

European ideologies but also European colonial ideas. The administrative class of the Ottoman State had started to perceive peripheral provinces as backwards and thought that they were in need of civilization.[35] Thus, Cyprus became one of the provinces of the empire that needed to be modernized. Tanzimat reforms were implemented to make Cyprus a modern and civilized state. For this reason, as will be elaborated in the third chapter, Ihsan Bey was sent to the island as an inspector to control the Tanzimat regulations and to restore this backward province of the empire. In light of this perspective, Cyprus can also be examined as a *contact zone* defined as "colonial frontier." According to Pratt's definition of the *contact zone*, historically and geographically separated people come together and make contact with each other. However, in the 19th century, Cypriots did not come together to make contact from historically and geographically different places. They had been living together since the 16th century. They had created a common culture and mostly lived in mixed villages. The empire did not import people from the other parts of the state to the island, at least in the 19th century, but criminal people had permanently been exiled to the island. They were exiled over the centuries, and this contributed to communication among the different people on the island. As it will be mentioned in further chapter, Namık Kemal who was one of the these famous exiled people profoundly influenced the Muslim community in Cyprus.

35 In order to survive against European imperialism, the Ottomans also created their own Orient, including especially the Arab regions, and considered them backward people who needed to be civilized. See: Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism" *The American Historical Review*, vol.107, no.3, (2002), pp. 768–796; Selim Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery": The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 45, no. 2 (Apr., 2003), pp. 311-342; Mostofa Minawi, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*, (USA: Stanford Uni Press, 2016); Mustafa Serdar Palabıyık, "Ottoman travelers' perceptions of Africa in the Late Ottoman Empire (1860-1922): A discussion of civilization colonialism and race" *New Perspectives on Turkey,* no.46 (Spring 2012), pp. 187-212.

Migration from the other parts of the Ottoman lands to the island was continuing even in the 19th century.[36] Thus, Cyprus was a place where different cultures and religions were encountered, and people were able to overcome these differences to live together. The island had some of the features of both contact and frontier zone during the Ottoman administration.



Map 2.2: The map of the British Empire in the early 1920s, Encyclopedia Britannica.

On the other hand, renting the island changed not only the administration of Cyprus but also its situation. The *contact zone* referring to the "colonial frontier" became an apt description for the island. The British had not theoretically owned the island until 1914, but the British administration began to be established in 1878. The island became one of the colonies of the United Kingdom, and it was defined in a song as another

36 There were those who came to the island as a result of being exiled or those who came to escape from a crime they committed. For example, according to my grandmother, her great-grandfather escaped from Anatolia to Cyprus with a boat because he was a criminal.

little baby, a little colony of Queen Victoria.[37] Moreover, according to this definition, people from different geographies and civilizations came into contact with each other, including British people and Cypriots. They came together under asymmetrical relations of power, as colonizer and colonized.[38]

Map 2.2 illustrates the British colonies during the 1920s, and Cyprus was located in the middle of the colonies. It was on the route to India, one of the most important colonies of the United Kingdom. The island was not a border but a transit point within the colonies. Cyprus might not be a frontier for the British administration, but it was a colonial frontier where various people from different geographies came into contact, and sometimes caused conflict in line with the European expansionist perspective.[39] Thus, Cyprus can be considered a *contact zone* as a colonial frontier during the British administration.

§ 2.2 Cyprus as a British Colonial Island

As one of the colonies of the United Kingdom, Cyprus was different from the other British colonies. The British empire did not establish a settler colony in Cyprus, created by emigrants from the United Kingdom or other British dominions. Colonists and residents were the same in this type of colonialism. The land was occupied and alienated from indigenous people. In addition, settler colonies were based on dispossession

37 Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus,1878-1915 The inconsequential possession,* (UK: Manchester University Press, 2009) pp.285-287. For the European view of the East, see the classic work, Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (UK: Penguin, 2003), and for the criticism of the post-colonial and subaltern studies that emerged later, see Arif Dirlik, *The Postcolonial Aura Third World Criticism In The Age Of Global Capitalism*, (UK: Routledge, 1998).

38 Mary Loise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2008),p.8.

39 Ibid.

and alienation of natives' lands instead of appropriating natives' labor.[40] The United Kingdom mainly established this type of colonialism in the continent of America. They had produced different forms of exploitation in accordance with the colonized region. For instance, British colonialism usually pursued indirect colonialism in Africa, allowing native leaders to continue their political and legal power over the people. At the same time, the British administration collected taxes and reports from the leader. This means that the colonial power administered the colonies indirectly. The opposite of it is direct colonialism. Great Britain practiced this type of colonialism in trade-oriented colonies such as Hong Kong and Singapore. The colonial administration was unified, and they bureaucratically implemented indirect colonialism, however, they did not include large-scale and permanent British settlements. The last type of colonialism British used was hybrid colonialism, which combined indirect colonialism with either settler or direct colonialism. For instance, indirect and direct colonialism came together in certain Asian and Pacific colonies and established hybrid types. India is one of them; it was too large to be easily controlled by the central bureaucracy. The British colonial empire first established settler and direct colonialism in America and Australia. After those, Asian territories were colonized through direct and hybrid types of colonialism. Lastly, sub-Saharan Africa, Borneo, and a few Pacific Islands were colonized as indirect and hybrid forms.[41]

When the British colonial empire took over the island, she did not know what she should do at first. The British administration took control of Cyprus for a while. The Ottoman Sultan was still the theoretical owner of the island and the protector of the Muslim community within the island. The island was conquered by the Ottomans in 1571, and after 307 years, the administration was transferred to Great Britain. Map 1

40 Adele Perry, "Reproducing Colonialism in British Columbia" in *Bodies in Contact, Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, ed. by T. Ballantyne, A. Burton (Durham & London: Duke Uni Press, 2005), pp. 143-145.

41 M. Lange, J. Mahoney, M. vom Hau, "Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies" *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 111 No.5 (2006),p. 1427.

illustrates the region before the Suez Canal[42] opened in 1869, and without the canal, Cyprus did not have so much importance to the United Kingdom. However, after Suez Canal, the island became necessary for the control of India.[43] Thus, with the Cyprus Convention, the United Kingdom promised to assist the Ottoman Empire in an attack on Russia against the Ottoman territories in the Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia. In return, the administration of the island was transferred to Great Britain, but the Sublime Porte retained its sovereignty over the island.

On the other side, Cyprus was not the only place that formally belonged to the United Kingdom. Like the island, the British administration leased Kowloon from China in 1898, and eventually, it became a colony of Hong Kong.[44] British withdrew from there in 1997.[45] However, in contrast with Cyprus, no price had been determined for the leasing of Hong Kong; only the duration has been determined. Inversely, the exact duration was not determined in the Cyprus Convention. When Russia gave back the occupied lands, the British administration would withdraw from the island.[46] The amount remaining after deducting administrative expenses from the tax collected will be given to the Ottoman State as the hire purchase. How they calculated the price is explained in the next chapter. Moreover, Hong Kong was captured after the war with China, but in the case of Cyprus, the Ottoman State did not battle with the United Kingdom but with Russia. The island was given to the British to stand against Russia. In addition, the administration of Hong Kong was not ambiguous for the British administrators because they would govern for a specific time.

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42 Artificial waterway in Egypt that connects the Eastern Mediterranean to the Red Sea and divides Africa and Asia.

43 For the historical and current importance of the Suez Canal, see, Honae Cuffe, "The Suez Canal: Its History and Significance" *Royal Australian Navy Sea Power Semaphore*, no.4 (2021).

44 *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Supplement: Official Documents (Oct., 1910), pp. 295-296.

45 Nadia Kornioti, "The Island of Cyprus, Sovereignty, and International Law in the Early Decades of British Rule (1878-1923)" *The Cyprus Review*, Vol.32 No.2 (Fall, 2020), pp.113-114.

46 BOA, A.{DVNSNMH.d... 14,35 7,19 04.06 1878.

However, the situation was uncertain in the case of Cyprus. As will be mentioned elaborately in the further chapter, the British governors were not quite sure what they should do on the island.

The new government consisted of islanders like Cypriots. Insularity had an important place in the identity construction of the British, and they defined themselves as islanders, separating themselves from the European continent. For example, when the idea of the construction of the Channel Tunnel that linked them to the continent appeared in the 19th century, the proposal sparked intense backlash and a debate about what insularity meant for Britain.[47] Living on an island differed from living in terrestrial places. There were many things that water brings; culture was enriched with seaside trade, and interaction with distinct places was increased. However, as mentioned, the meaning of insularity includes both connectivity and isolation. In other words, insularity can contribute to the islanders' own identity construction against the outside. For the British, being an islander was a significant part of their identity.[48] Nevertheless, Cypriots had not constructed their identity in accordance with being an islander. The British imagined themselves in accordance with the environment they lived in, but for Cypriots, the environment they lived in

47 Jan Rüger, "Insularity and Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century" in *The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837–1901, The Sea and Global History*, ed. by Milles Taylor, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.152. Rüger explains what insularity meant for the British, especially in the 19th century, and he stresses that insularity meant freedom and protection from foreign rulers for the British. I think one of the reasons of the British who wanted to be apart from the European continent is the fact that they considered themselves as superior, and their insular identity contributed to this idea. For a long time, they kept themselves apart from the European continent and organized celebrations of navy and sea in accordance with the idea of the "island race." Ibid, p.151. For the details, see the whole chapter of Jan Rüger. For more information about the insularity and British identity, see, Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

48 When the island status was associated with a negative meaning in the poem "island nation" by Rudyard Kipling, published in 1902, many people found it insulting and abusive. See: Jan Rüger, "Insularity and Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century" in *The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837–1901, The Sea and Global History*, ed. by Milles Taylor, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.158-159.

stayed in the background. As will be mentioned in the further chapter, Archbishop Sophronios, who was the Archbishop of Cyprus from 1865 until his death in 1900, described himself as an Orthodox Cypriot. He identified himself in accordance with his living place, but after Sophronios, his identification was not continued. Unlike the British, Cypriots did not belong to the Colonial Empire, but they had been colonized by different empires for many centuries. For this reason, it is not surprising that Cypriots had looked for other places to be a part of something bigger and gain their dignity.

On the other hand, although the new rulers were islanders, they did not consider Cypriots as people who shared the same features with them. Cyprus consisted of non-European and backward people who had been ruled by the backward empire for centuries. Even the Greek Cypriots were not European enough, and they needed to be civilized by the British administration. The British administrators did not believe that Greek Cypriots could reach to their Ancient Greek past without the support of the enlightened British government.[49] The first High Commissioner, Sir Garnet Wolseley, wrote about his experience in Cyprus in his journal, and the contemptuous point of view toward Cyprus and Cypriots appeared in his journal.[50] Wolseley had considered Cyprus not as an island like Great Britain but as a backward place in the East. He complained that Cyprus

49 Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island A History of the British in Cyprus*, (London&New York: IB Tauris, 2010),p.126.

50 Sir Garnet Wolseley, *Cyprus 1878 The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley*, ed. by Anne Cavendish, (Nicosia: Cyprus Popular Bank Cultural Centre, 1991). The journal started after Wolseley's appointment to Cyprus on 19th July 1878 and ended on December 31st 1878. He remained for five more months in Cyprus but did not continue his journal. The journal is essential in the aspect of the British High Commissioner's perspective on the island. He evaluated Cyprus and Cypriots from an orientalist point of view. For example, he defined the owners of the house where he stayed when he came to the island as "It is simply impossible to bring these owners of houses to reasons. They are so avaricious that they cannot even make up their minds as to the extent they will be satisfied to rob us." Ibid, pp. 34-37. For a different perspective, see the memoir of Esme Scott-Stevenson, who was the wife of British Commissioner of Kyrenia, Captain Andrew Scott-Stevenson, in 1879; *Our Home in Cyprus*, (London: Chapman and Hall Limited, 1880).

was a filthy place and had been mismanaged by Muslims for many years: "Wherever one goes here is the same: the face of the Island is stamped with relics of a past prosperity that has been destroyed by the Muslims."[51] In the eyes of the new British ruler, Cyprus was a dirty and backward place that needed to be civilized with the help of the British. Therefore, the fact that Cypriots were islanders stayed in the background for the new islander administrators.[52]

§ 2.3 Irredentism in Cyprus and the other Islands

Map 2.3 illustrates the Mediterranean Sea during the 19th century. In contrast to the first map, it shows almost the whole Mediterranean. It is added to the chapter to show the location of Malta. Malta, which is a tiny island compared to Cyprus, is located under Sicily. Like Cyprus, Malta is one of the islands of the Mediterranean, and it became a British colony at the beginning of the 19th century. Although Cypriots were not as affected by what happened in Malta as those in Crete, Malta and Cyprus were similar in some respects.[53] The two islands were unsurprisingly affected by nationalist ideologies, and both islands resisted British colonialism with

51 G. Wolseley, *Cyprus 1878 The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley*, ed. by Anne Cavendish, (Nicosia: Cyprus Popular Bank Cultural Centre, 1991), p.10. Also, he complained about the lack of drainage system in the cities; "..the walls would necessarily be filthy, impregnated as it would be with the filth exuding from the cesspits belonging to every house, which are never cleaned out.." Ibid, p.27.

52 Besides, Sir Garnet Wolseley was one of those who opposed the Channel Tunnel, which was planned to connect England to the European continent. See: Emile D'Erlanger and Arthur Fell, "Geographical Aspects of the Channel Tunnel: Discussion" *The Geographical Journal*, vol.50 no.2 (1917), pp.113-117.

53 Also, they were different in many ways, see, Robert Holland, "Cyprus and Malta: Two Colonial Experiences" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol.23 No.1 (2014), pp.9-20. Malta was seen on many levels as a "fortress" of the British colonial empire, while Cyprus remained a restricted and superficial colony. Also, Malta showed its strategic importance in the battle of Navarino in 1827 and its vital and logistical point during the Crimean War in the 1850s.

national desires. Although Maltase nationalism embraced the Italian language and culture, it did not include irredentist purpose in contrast to Cyprus. People in Malta formed their own language, which was composed of Arabic, Sicilian, Italian and English. Moreover, although the Maltase language was originally non-literary vernacular, in 1920, some leading Maltase writers and poets established the "Union of Maltase Writers" to create a standard orthography.[54] As a result of the union, they published their own alphabet in 1924 and in 1934, Maltase became an official language along with Italian and English.[55] Maltese nationalists did not want to unite with Italia, and having a language of their own was a significant factor in the identity construction process. The fact that they had their own language was influential for their sense of belonging to the place



Map 2.3: 19th century map depicting the missionary journeys and last voyage of the Apostle Paul across the Mediterranean. Illustration by Philip R Morris (1836-1902).

54 Iliya John Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), p.40.

55 Ibid, pp.40-41.

they lived. Language is a crucial element of identities, and the origin of language is important in determining where people feel they belonged.[56]

However, in Cyprus, the communities did not have their own languages, and both Christian and Muslim communities had developed the idea of nationalism with the desire for unification with the "motherlands" (Greece and Turkey). Both Christian and Muslim communities had non-literary vernacular languages similar to Greek and Turkish, but they did not form their dialect as distinct languages. The Maltase language was a vernacular language like the language of Cypriots, but the people in Malta constructed this vernacular language as a systematic written form and created their own language. Since Cypriots mostly had been living in mixed cities and villages, especially the Muslim Cypriots knew to speak the Cypriot version of Greek.[57] Even today, both communities have many common words that they use in their daily speech.[58] All the features of our identities that we have today were constructed in the past. The people of Cyprus could construct their own language and form their identity based on the island. However, unlike Maltese people, Cypriots did not choose to form an identity based on where they lived.

Therefore, although the two islands were Mediterranean islands under British colonial rule at the same time, their experiences were different from each other. For example, both in Malta and Cyprus, the upheavals occurred against the colonial administration respectively in 1930 and 1931. Nevertheless, the British colonial administration did not respond to the upheavals in the same way. The colonial administration suppressed

56 Shared language is crucial for nations. People need to feel that they have their own shared destiny, and the language is essential in the creation of shared destiny and history, for the details and to see the importance given to the language in the theories of nationalism see, Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism a Critical Introduction*, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

57 Eleni Lytras, Charis Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future*, (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2011).

58 For example, *bahce* is used as a garden and *gancelli* is used as a garden gate by both communities. In addition, Seftali / Sheftalia, one of the traditional dishes of Cyprus, is known by the same name in both communities and is cooked in a similar way. The only difference is that the Greek Cypriots use pork while the Turkish Cypriots use lamb.

the uprising in Cyprus in more authoritarian ways. The Legislative Council was closed in Cyprus, but the administration granted legal reforms in Malta.[59] In addition, unlike Malta, the colonial government did not hesitate to apply all kinds of violence to suppress the riot in Cyprus. One of the reasons for the difference was the strategic location of Malta. It was a British naval base against the Fascist government in Italy, and for this reason, the colonial administration did not want to prolong the unrest on the island. Maltese nationalists did not desire to unite with Italy, and their attitude served the purpose of the colonial government, no need to prolong the issue. On the other side, the strategic location of Cyprus was not as crucial as Malta, and the nationalists in Cyprus already had an irredentist idea. The British colonial administration defined Malta not as an ordinary colony but as their "fortress" in the Mediterranean.[60] As it can be seen in Map 3, Malta is a tiny little island below Italy, but for the British, its location was more critical than Cyprus. As mentioned, the occupation of Egypt in 1882 reduced the strategic importance of Cyprus for the British, but the closeness of Malta to both Europe and North Africa enhanced its value and made Malta a fortress for the British Colonial Empire.

On the other side, Crete was an island in the Mediterranean composed of Christian and Muslim communities such as Cyprus. Similar to Cyprus, Catholic and Orthodox Christians had lived in Crete for almost five hundred years before the Ottomans. In the 17th century, the Ottoman rule added people from different religion to the island's society. Muslim Ottomans and converted Cretans created one of the largest Muslim communities in the Greek world.[61] Christian Cretans and Muslim Cretans had continued to live together even after the Greco-Ottoman war when the island became autonomous. Unlike Cyprus, Crete was not leased, but the

59 Iliya Marovich-Old, "Nationalism as Resistance to Colonialism A Comparative Look at Malta and Cyprus" In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed. by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 261-277.

60 I. Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), p.48.

61 Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 4.

Ottoman province of Crete became an Autonomous Crete after the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897. The Ottoman State again became a theoretical owner of another island in the Mediterranean. Crete was not a colony of the British, but more than one foreign ruler had power on the island. The Ottoman Sultan shared his sovereignty with the Great Powers (Britain, Italy, France, Russia), who were the protectors of the island, including the second son of the King of Greece, Prince George, who became a High Commissioner. In addition, the local actors were granted a local parliament which was composed of a majority of Christian Cretan and a minority of Muslim Cretan deputies.[62] In the end, in 1912, Crete integrated into the Kingdom of Greece, and the island has never been independent since then. The declining Muslim population came to an almost non-existent level as a result of the population exchange in 1923.[63]

62 Elektra Kostopoulou, "The Muslim Millet of Autonomous Crete: An Exploration into Origins and Implications" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2009), pp. 14-15.

63 For details about Crete and the Greco-Ottoman War, see, Pınar Şenışık, "The Transformation of Ottoman Crete: Cretans, Revolts and Diplomatic Politics In The Late Ottoman Empire, 1895-1898" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2007), T.G. Tatsios, *The Megali Idea and the Greek- Turkish War of 1897: The impact of the Cretan Problem on Greek Irredentism, 1866-1898* (New York: East European Monographs, 1984), Mehmet O. Yılmaz, "The Greko-Ottoman War" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003), M.U. Ekinci, "The Origins of the 1897 Ottoman-Greek War: A Diplomatic History" (MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2006), S.Katsikas & A.Krinaki, "Reflections on an "Ignominious Defeat": Reappraising the Effects of the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897 on Greek Politics" *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol.38 no.1 (2020), pp.109-130. For a different perspective, see, Elektra Kostopoulou, "The Muslim Millet of Autonomous Crete: An Exploration into Origins and Implications" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2009). Kostopoulou examines the island, not from a linear perspective, but she studies both Christian and Muslim communities as constantly changing and evolving agents. The Muslim community was not identified as an oppressed minority group, but the community would reach different consequences. On the other hand, Pınar Şenışık provides valuable information, but I disagree with her perspective because she underestimates the historical agents and attributes the main importance to external factors. For example, p.3: "The Greek state's irredentist policies and ideological and cultural infiltrations played a vital role in introducing modern Greek identity in Ottoman Crete. In other words, the Cretan Christians were gradually indoctrinated by the idea of belonging to an "imagined community."

Both Crete and Cyprus were Ottoman islands in the Mediterranean composed of Christian and Muslim communities. Their stories were not the same, but both islands were affected by the idea of Enosis. Christian Cypriots and Christian Cretans had their own reasons for being influenced by the idea. Crete is geographically closer to Greece than Cyprus. Cretans did not hesitate to rebel against the oppression both before and during the Ottoman administration. The first rebellion of the 19th century in Crete broke out together with the Greek Rebellion of 1821. The Greek War of Independence continued until 1829, and the Ottoman State received support from the governor of Egypt, Mehmet Ali Pasha, against the Greek rebels. After the war, Crete was given to Mehmet Ali Pasha as compensation for his help to the Ottoman forces.[64] The ongoing maladministration and oppression in Crete caused unrest among the people. Since the rule of Mehmet Ali Pasha imposed new taxes and increased existing taxes, Cretans were not satisfied with the new administration. The rebellions can be seen as a search for a way out of the oppressions, and Christian Cretans might have considered unification with the Kingdom of Greece as a solution to the dire situation. However, the economic condition of the Kingdom of Greece was not good; they went bankrupt in 1893. The uneasiness within the island of Crete was seen as a way to distract the public from the economic crises. For this reason, Greece, despite its bad economic situation, started to give military support to Crete against the Ottomans in 1897.[65] The Kingdom of Greece was not the solution to the problems in Crete, which were mainly economic, but Christian

64 Pınar Şenışık, "The Transformation of Ottoman Crete: Cretans, Revolts and Diplomatic Politics In The Late Ottoman Empire, 1895-1898" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2007), p.112. For details about Egypt and Mehmet Ali, see, Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his Army and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For details about the Greek rebellion, see, David Brewer, *The Flame of Freedom: The Greek War of Independence (1821-1833)*, (London: John Murray, 2001; Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence, 1821-1833*, (Berkeley: Uni of California Press, 1973).

65 S.Katsikas & A.Krinaki, "Reflections on an "Ignominious Defeat": Reappraising the Effects of the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897 on Greek Politics" *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol.38 no.1 (2020), pp.109-130.

Cretans were not aware of this at that time. However, the islanders did not unquestioningly support unification with the kingdom. In line with the changing conditions, people's attitudes also were changing. For example, when the High Commissioner Prince George decided to annex Crete to the Kingdom of Greece in 1905, Eleftherios Venizelos and his followers initiated an uprising against the regime and the project of Prince George.[66] This means that one cannot say that Cretans always wanted to unite with Greece, but also cannot say they did not.

These events in Crete affected Cyprus too. In June 1896, the British authorities were alerted about the secret recruitment from Cyprus to Crete. The recruitment process had already begun, and many young Cypriots embarked on Crete.[67] The recruitment process was run by Nicolaos Katalanos, who came from Greece to Cyprus and became a teacher in the Pancyprian Gymnasium. Katalanos came to Cyprus in 1893 to teach Physics in the newly founded school in Nicosia, Pancyprian Gymnasium. Thus, he became one of the influential nationalist figures on the island for the next 28 years. Apart from being a newspaper and club manager, he also gave various lessons to the working class.[68] He also played a significant role in the nationalist archbishop's victory.[69] Intellectuals from Greece, such as Katalanos, are among the reasons why Greek Cypriots were

66 Elektra Kostopoulou, "The Muslim Millet of Autonomous Crete: An Exploration into Origins and Implications" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2009), p.15.

67 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.210. However, according to Andrekos Varnava, in contrast to the traditional historiography, not so many Greek Cypriots joined voluntarily to the Greek army especially compared to the numbers joining the British army between 1916-1922. For the details, see, Andrekos Varnava, "Greek Cypriot "Volunteers" in the Greek Army, 1914-1922; Querying Loyalties and Identity." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol.38 no.2 (Fall, 2020).

68 For the details about N. Katalanos and his activities, see, Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), pp.76-98.

69 Yiannos Katsourides, T*he Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer,2017),pp.122-124. The conflict between conservatives and nationalists in the election of the archbishop is examined in the further chapter.

influenced by Greek nationalism. However, considering Katalanos as a primary reason for the effect of Greek nationalism on Christian Cypriots underestimates the local agencies. They had reasons to be influenced by Greek nationalism. We cannot attribute the reasons they chose to be part of the Great Idea solely to the efforts of Katalanos and other nationalists. The fact that they were treated as second-class subjects and were underestimated for centuries had drawn them to Hellenism. They could be part of something bigger and finally become first-class subjects with Greek nationalism. They were alienated and could not be part of where they lived because they had been constantly underestimated. This made them ambivalent and unable to belong to where they lived in. They considered Enosis as a way to get rid of the underestimation they faced, and to gain dignity. In this challenging situation, Christian Cypriots did not think that they could be independent on their own or along with the Muslim Cypriots.

The other island which suffered from similar problems in the Mediterranean is Corsica. Map 3 shows it on the left side, next to Italy and above Sardinia. The island has a complicated relationship with Italy and France. Today it is one of the regions of France, but some of the islanders are not satisfied with this dependence. The conflict within Corsica still continues today.[70] Corsica was ruled by Genoa for almost four hundred years, and the island had experienced a brief period of independence until the French rule in 1768.[71] Corsica is very isolated due to its geographical feature. The island is encompassed by two mountain systems that create an uncompromising environment. The mountain systems

70 See for the recent events:
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/10/clashes-in-corsica-after-prison-attack-on-nationalist-figure-yvan-colonna
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/16/france-may-offer-corsica-autonomy-struggles-quell-protests access, 17.06.2022.

71 Karina Varley, "Between Vichy France and Fascist Italy: Redefining Identity and the Enemy in Corsica During the Second World War" *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.47, No.3, (2012), p.509. For example of conflict on the island during the French rule, see: Stephen Wilson, "Conflict and Its Causes in Southern Corsica, 1800-35" *Social History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1981), pp. 33-69.

contributed to not only the pastoral economy and patriarchal society but also introspective clan organization and mistrust of outsiders.[72] The geographical features have affected the identity construction process of the islanders. Since Corsicans were more isolated than the people in Cyprus, they could easily build their identity based on where they lived. The island is very close to both France and Italy, but Corsicans mostly did not identify themselves based on another "motherland." Being geographically isolated is probably not the only reason, but what I want to show here is that there can be different identity constructions on a similar island in the Mediterranean. Therefore, Malta is not the only example of the independent identity construction based on the living space. In other words, there are many islands in the world where the islanders desire to be independent and construct their own identity in the place they live.

If we broaden our examples, another island, which has been divided into two and still face some problems, is Ireland. Ireland is not located in the Mediterranean, but it was once a British colony like Cyprus; in fact, Northern Ireland is still part of the UK.[73] People on the island were divided according to their sects of belief, not according to their ethnicities. The Catholics desired to be independent of the British, but the Protestants requested to live as a part of the UK. The nationalism in Ireland was combined with Catholicism, and it became a conflict between the two sects. Indeed, the conflict between them can be evaluated in terms of class conflict. The Protestants mostly belonged to the upper class and had more properties, but the Catholics mostly belonged to the lower class. The British settlers started to migrate to the island during the 12th century, but they did not interfere with the internal affairs until

72 Ian B. Thompson, "Settlement and Conflict in Corsica" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 3, No. 3, (1978), p.259.

73 Ireland has long been called an "internal colony." For example, see, Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975). However, historians have compared Ireland to other colonies, especially India. For the details, see: Julia M. Wright, *Ireland, India and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2007); T. Foley & M. O'Connor, *Ireland and Empire: Colonies, Culture and Empire*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006).

the 17th century. The British encouraged Protestant immigration to the island in opposition to the Irish, who rebelled against the British involvement in their internal affairs. Their purpose was to assimilate the Catholic Irish people in order to spread the Protestant sect. In this process the Protestants gained a privileged wealth in the fertile and vast lands they occupied. Catholics, on the other hand, began to impoverish over time. With the arrival of settlers from British Island, the Irish Catholics fell into a difficult situation economically. They tried to regain their lands, which were taken from them by force and given to the Protestants. For this reason, conflicts started between Catholics and Protestants during the 17th century.[74] However, my aim here is not to stress the fact that the national conflict started in the 17th century, yet it can be said that the class distinction between them began to emerge starting from the 17th century. Things became worse with the potato famine in the 19th century. The economic condition of the Irish consequently widened the gap between the Catholics and Protestants.[75] Therefore, it can be said that the class distinction between Protestant and Catholic Irish caused them to form different identities in the process of identity construction. While the poor Catholics considered separation from England as salvation, the Protestants considered it as the loss of their possessions.[76] On the other hand, this does not mean that there was a sharp division between Protestant and Catholic Irish and no attempt at reconciliation. For instance, in 1870, Isaac Butt, who was the founder of the Home Rule movement, preached an Irish Christian crusade, Catholic and Protestant, against British radicalism and secularism.[77] Some intellectuals tried to form unification between Catholic and Protestant Irish, but somehow, Protestant Irish has

74 Çağdaş Öncü, "Kuzey İrlanda Sorunu: Etnik Milliyetçilik ve Kimlik" (MA Thesis, İnönü University, 2019), pp.27-30.

75 For details, see: S. Bartoletti, *Black Potatoes: The Story of the Great Irish Famine 1845-1850*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001).

76 K. Nutt & P. Gray, "Rethinking Irish Nationalism: Identity, Difference and the Northern Conflict" *An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 83, No. 329 (Spring, 1994), pp. 7-19.

77 Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "Irish Nationalism and Irish Catholicism: A Study in Cultural Identity" *American Society of Church History*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (1973), p. 526.

continued to desire to be part of the UK, and Northern Ireland is still under British possession. To consider that Catholic and Protestant Irish were influenced only by the religious elite in forming their identities would be to underestimate their agency. Over time, influenced by many variables, mainly due to the class conflicts, some Irish formed their identity through the place they lived, while others formed it through another country.

Although these islands have experienced similar things, in fact, there have been different processes in all of them. Malta, Cyprus and Ireland were once British colonies, but why did Cypriots develop the irredentist national movement but some Maltese, Corsican and Irish did not? Cyprus did not have a state of its own for a long time. Before the British and Ottoman administrations, it was governed by Venetians and, before that, Lusignans. Christian community has always belonged to other states, but the Muslim community, belonged to the Ottoman Empire, not to the island.[78] They had created a perspective that fit their historical background or constructed the background in accordance with their perspectives. Since they did not have their own state for a long time, they did not have an independent state perception. They have built their identity based on different states, Greece, and Turkey. They did not create an island consciousness. They identified themselves not as islanders but as part of something bigger. Moreover, Cyprus was not an island as geographically isolated as Corsica. The communication system, such as the telegram line, was not perfect in Cyprus, but Cypriots could move abroad, and the migration from the different parts of the Ottoman State to Cyprus had not ended even in the 19th century. Although limited, Cypriots had relations with the outside of the island. These relations influenced the communities in the identity construction process and might have prevented them

78 Yiannos Katsourides considers that the traditional Greek Cypriot politics of compliance with foreign rulers contributed to Greek nationalism because the Greek nationalist movement in Cyprus grew out of a growing impatience with the existing mode of politics. See, Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer,2017), p.16. However, the ideology that emerged from this discontent was to come under the another foreign rule's domination.

from constructing their identities on the basis of their geography and environment. Thus, in these circumstances, they constructed an irredentist national idea. On the other side, Malta was also governed by foreign rulers, including Romans, Greeks, Hospitallers, French and British. Before the French and British, the Hospitaller Knights governed the island for centuries, and the social relation between Maltase and Knights was deficient.[79] The people of Malta were mostly on their own and not dependent on any other state. Moreover, although nationalists in Malta believed that Italian culture and language were crucial parts of Maltese identity, most of the population spoke Maltese, not Italian.[80] Not only Maltese people but also Irish and Corsican had their own language, and in the construction of national identity, language is the crucial element.[81] It is not a coincidence that the people who desired to be independent have constructed their own languages. Cypriots also had spoken in a different accent, but they did not establish their own language. The nationalism of Cypriots might have been different if they had established the distinctive accent they used as their own language. However, the islanders had chosen to perceive their language as dependent on Greek or Turkish. The fact that Cypriots had spoken two different languages also had an impact on this formation. Nonetheless, Muslim Cypriots, especially those living in mixed villages, could speak the Christian Cypriot's accent of Greek, and even today, the two languages have common words and usages. Thus, it is all about the perception of the people. The people of Cyprus had built irredentist nationalism and did not perceive their accent as different from their "motherlands' languages." They had fictionalized all aspects to defend their irredentist national idea. It means they had created an environment with their own perceptions different from the environment they lived in and had associated their sea-bound island with other countries.

79 https://www.britannica.com/place/Malta/The-arts#ref279564 access, 17.11.2021

80 Iliya Marovich-Old, "Nationalism as Resistance to Colonialism A Comparative Look at Malta and Cyprus" In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed. by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p.265.

81 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, A brilliant exegesis on nationalism*, (UK: Verso, 2006).

However, they could fictionalize that their languages were different kinds of Greek and Turkish. The issue is not how similar the languages are to each other, but how the people define their language. This definition is an essential element of the identity construction process. For example, if you want to study Greek in Cyprus today, you can choose whether you want to learn Cypriot Greek or mainland Greek. If such distinctions had begun to be made in the 19th century, perhaps we would now examine a different identity construction. On the other side, unlike the Cypriot educated class, the Maltese elites mainly was educated in the University of Malta, which was founded in 1592.[82] This small elite group mostly spoke in Italian, and they might have been influenced by Italy, but since they did not study in Italy as Cypriots were educated in Greece and Turkey, the "motherland" had less impact on their identity construction process. Since there was no university in Cyprus, the Cypriot literate class had visited their "motherlands" for many years and studied there. These visits had a significant impact on their identity building process and had an undeniable influence on defining themselves in the "motherlands." Spending a period of their lives in Turkey and Greece caused them to establish deeper ties with these countries. However, it would be wrong to consider that education abroad was the only reason for their irredentist identity construction. It was just one of the impacts on their identity building process.

Like the language, Cypriots did not construct their own national heroes. Eric Hobsbawm introduced social banditry as a form of lower-class social resistance. The bandits were usually people who robbed and plundered in the rural areas, but they often became heroes of the popular resistance in the eyes of ordinary people. They were not regarded as simple criminals by ordinary people but lords, and the state accepted them as criminals.[83] The famous band in Cyprus, known as the *Hassanpoulia*

82 Iliya John Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), p.40.

83 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). Hobsbawm described social bandits who gained fame and popularity in the eyes of the peasants. The bandits win

(poulia means bird), appeared in Paphos during the late 19th century, at the beginning of the British administration. Two communities had been living together in Paphos. Although these bandits were mostly known as Muslim Turkish Cypriots, the gang's victims and accomplices included both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.[84] The *Hassanpoulia*, which appeared in 1887[85], was destroyed in 1896 when its leaders were killed or

public praise by exposing authority and defending the interests of the popular masses against the elite oppression. However, his perspective can be considered too general and romantic. For a critical perspective on his idea, see: Anton Blok, "The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1972), pp. 494-503. For example, Blok thinks "Rather than promoting the articulation of peasant interests within a national context, bandits tend to obstruct or to deviate concerted peasant action" p.496. Other examples for criticism of social banditry see, Pat O'Malley, "Social Bandits, Modern Capitalism and the Traditional Peasantry: A Critique of Hobsbawm," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol.6, No. 4 (1979), pp. 489-499; Richard White, "Outlaw Gangs of the Middle Border: American Social Bandits," *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol.12, No.4 (1981), pp.387-408. And for Hobsbawm's answer to Blok see: E. Hobsbawm, "Social Bandits: Reply" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.14 No.4 (1972), pp. 503-505.

84 Paul S. Cassia, "Banditry, Myth, and Terror in Cyprus and Other Mediterranean Societies" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35 No. 4 (Oct., 1993), pp.775-776. Cassia examines the reasons for the decline of banditry during the British colonial period in Cyprus and the effect of colonial rule on this decline. Contrary to Hobsbawm's view that bandits necessarily belong to the peasantry, he argues that bandits often belong to the groups who created the bandits as national characters in literary texts or controlled their production, and the bandits became part of remembered history, mainly because they were included in written history. I agree with Cassia's idea; like nationalism, national heroes also need to be fictionalized.

85 1887 was the year of mass mobilization in Cyprus. Both Christian and Muslim Cypriots were not satisfied with the heavy taxes. They firstly appealed to the local authorities and then organized protest meetings. The committee which organized the protests included five Christians and two Muslims. For details, see: Sia Anagnostopoulou, "The Mass Mobilizations in Cyprus within the British Colonial Framework 1887-1889" in *Social Transformation and Mass Mobilization in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean Cities 1900-1923*, ed. by Andreas Lyberatos, (Greece: Panepistimio Kritis, 2013). The economic problems which were already bad in Cyprus during the Ottoman period had never been solved during the colonial era.

executed by the British administration.[86] However, "the *Hassanpoulia* were never incorporated in a Cypriot national rhetoric, and subsequent Cypriot *agonistes* modelled themselves on the equally dubious Greek *klephts*[87] rather than their own homegrown variety."[88] Both Muslim and Christian Cypriots did not fictionalize the *Hassanpoulia* as a national hero at the beginning of the 20th century. Although their stories were made epic by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, they did not become national heroes. The *Hassanpoulia* was described as brave in both Greek and Turkish Cypriots epics, but some of the Turkish Cypriots' epics described the gang as a reaction against the British, while the Greek Cypriot versions did not.[89] However, *Hassanpoulia* did not become a national hero for the Turkish Cypriots too. One of the reasons is that the literary class of both communities did not fictionalize the gang as national heroes. Muslim Turkish Cypriots had felt abandoned since the administration was changed and tried to restore their bonds with the Ottoman Empire and later with Turkey. This caused their ambivalent situation, and their solution to this situation was to identify themselves with the Ottoman State. On the other side, Christian Cypriots might not have used the gang because the gang mainly consisted of Muslim Turkish Cypriots. However, while national epics were being constructed, not everything could be fictionalized as they were then. That is to say they could have created common Cypriot or Greek Cypriot national heroes instead of Greek *klephts*. However, the fact that they were second-class subjects both in the Ottoman period and in the British period alienated them from the place where they lived, pushing them to look for something bigger. The hero who came out of their own land might not be sufficient hero for them.

86 Ismail Bozkurt, "Ethnic Perspective in Epics: The Case of Hasan Bulliler" *Folklore*, Vol.6 (2001), pp.97-98.

87 Bandits in Greece.

88 Paul S. Cassia, "Banditry, Myth, and Terror in Cyprus and Other Mediterranean Societies" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35 No. 4 (Oct., 1993), p.794.

89 Ismail Bozkurt, "Ethnic Perspective in Epics: The Case of Hasan Bulliler" *Folklore*, Vol.6 (2001), p.101. Example for the Turkish Cypriot epic: I died, but I did not surrender to the British [---] It is not possible for us to leave this arena Even if the British destroy us.

Further, years later, in 1974, the *Hassanpoulia* was shot as a movie by Greek Cypriots and Greek filmmakers; *Hassanpoulia is Kyprou* (Hassanpoulia: The Avengers of Cyprus).[90] It was completed in 1974 and released in local movie theatres in 1975. However, the film was an erotic film, including sex and violence.[91] According to Costas Constantinides: "*Hassanpoulia* …does not foreground a Cypriotness or does not invent a past to highlight those common characteristics that call for a celebration of a state's "national" pedigree; however, it could be argued that the film's structure and aesthetics may undermine such forms of "national cinema."[92] The shooting of the film was interrupted by the coup against Makarios' government with the help of the Greek junta in Greece. This led to the Turkish military intervention in Cyprus. *Hassanpoulia*, incidentally or not, may reflect as a "rebellion" against the junta's suppression of political freedoms.[93] Thus, the political situation in Cyprus did not allow *Hassanpoulia* to become a national hero even after many years.

On the other side, the historical narrative of Christian Cypriots started to be changed by the end of the 19th century. The mythical hero of the Christian Cypriots had been altered. During the 19th century Tefkros who was a founder of the Cypriot city of Salamis, appeared as the mythical ancestor of the Cypriots. This is in line with the new theoretical structure

90 Costas Constantinides, "Erotic Adventures on Aphrodite's Island: The Unofficial Cypriot Black Emanuelle Trilogy and the Film that 'Increased the Birth Rate in Cyprus'" *Cine-Excess* no.2 (2016), p.82.

91 The 1970s were the years when erotic films increased in many parts of the world due to the effects of the global economic crisis. For example, for Turkey see, Özgür Yaren, "Turkish Erotics: The Rise of the Sex Influx" *The Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 50, No. 6, (2017), pp.1356-1375 and "Turkish Sex Influx: Exploiting Class Constituting Desire" *Camera Obscura 97*, Vol. 33 No.1 (2018), pp.1-27.

92 C. Constantinides, "Transnational Views from the Margins of Europe: Globalization, Migration, and Post-1974 Cypriot Cinemas" in *Cypriots Cinemas, Memory, Conflict and Identity in Margins of Europe*, ed. by C. Constantinides and Y. Papadakis, (USA: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), p.161. For further information on the movie, see chapter five in the book.

93 Costas Constantinides, "Erotic Adventures on Aphrodite's Island: The Unofficial Cypriot Black Emanuelle Trilogy and the Film that 'Increased the Birth Rate in Cyprus'" *Cine-Excess* no.2 (2016), p.90.

of "Greekness" and the desire to be a part of the glorious history of Hellenism.[94] They desired to belong to something bigger and being a part of Hellen meant to be a part of a respected past and present. Before the 19th century, Hettim who was a grandson of Noah, was the origin of the Christian Cypriots. For example, in 1788, Archimandrites Kyprianos published *Chronological History of Cyprus*, and he narrated the origin of the Cypriots in accordance with the biblical world and based on Hettim.[95] A century later, the historiography of Christian Cypriots refocused on the Greek national narrative, and Hettim was replaced by Tefkros. This shift was not unique to Cyprus but part of the broader transformation of identities in the eastern Mediterranean. In the book of Kyprianos, Cyprus was described as a strong spacial island as a country, and the roots of Cypriots were traced to the grandson of Noah, but after a century, the island was defined as part of the Great Idea.[96] The narrative of Cypriot historiography was shifted from one identity model to another, and both of them are strong models, but in contrast to other places in the Mediterranean, the national narrative was not constructed based on where they live. In the 19th century, when nationalism became widespread, to be descendants of Noah was no longer sufficient for them. However, an identity construction through Cyprus was not considered sufficient for Christian Cypriots. They felt the need to get beyond the biblical narratives, as they were despised even by the British government, which had the same faith.

On the other hand, it cannot be said that all Cypriots constructed their identity through another country. For example, the Communist Party of Cyprus (CPC), founded by Greek Cypriots in 1926, was against Enosis and supported independence.[97] While CPC was trying to integrate with the

94 Sofia Kapeti, "Relationship between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots during the British rule 1878-1960" (MA Thesis, International Hellenic University, 2017), p.20.

95 Ibid.

96 Andreas Panayiotou, "Hegemony, Permissible Public Discourse and Lower Class Political Culture" In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory History Community and Conflict*, ed. by R. Bryant and Y. Papadakis (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), p.72. See the whole article for the details about the historiography and the public discourse in Cyprus, ibid. pp.71-93.

97 Alexios Alecou, "Shaping Identities: The Cypriot Left and the Communist Party of Greece in 1940s" *Journal of Historical Sociology* vol.30 no.2 (2015), p.6.

society, it did not exclude the Muslim Cypriot community either. For example, during the 1931 revolt, the party had an anti-British stance but did not support Enosis. CPC refused to carry the Greek flag in the demonstrations so as not to alienate the Turkish Cypriots. The party desired to unify all Cypriot workers against the British colonial administration, but the nationalist Greek Cypriots did not allow the party's desire and insisted on Enosis.[98] In addition, some Turkish Cypriots had tried to collaborate with CPC, but the Turkish Cypriots did not show much interest in the communist movement. Among the reasons for this might be the fact that the literate Turkish Cypriots had positions in the colonial administration and the community of Muslim Cypriots formed a small fraction of the Cypriot working class.[99] Therefore, the communist Cypriots could not provide an organization involving the two communities. Among the reasons for this is the oppressive policy of the British administration against leftists during the 1920s. Moreover, after the 1931 revolt, similar to the other political organizations, the British colonial government oppressed the communist organizations. The police were allowed to detain people who might have an interest in communism, and to search their homes without a court order and confiscate written documents from them. In the end, on 16 August 1933, all communist organizations were declared illegal.[100] The leftist group that desired independence could not cope with the nationalist elites of both communities and the British colonial rule. For example, on 13 August 1931, the Turkish Cypriot newspaper *Söz* published an article about the communist people in the Turkish Cypriot community.[101] The title of the article was "The wolf eats the one who leaves the herd"[102] and was threatening the Turkish Cypriots who

98 Yiannos Katsourides, *Kıbrıs Komünist Partisi Tarihi Sömürgecilik, Sınıf ve Kıbrıs Solu*, (İstanbul: Kalkedeon, 2014), pp.264-266.

99 Abdullah Korkmazhan, *Bir Tarafı Uçurum Bir Tarafı Ateş, Kıbrıslı Türk Toplumunda İlk Sol Hareketler ve İkinci Kuşak Kıbrıslı Türk Solcular 1919-1965*, (Nicosia: Baranga Publication, 2021), pp.22-23.

100 Ibid, p.24.

101 *Söz*, 13.08.1931.ç.

102 Sürüden Ayrılanı Kurt Yer

cooperated with the communist Greek Cypriots.[103] Thus, leftist Cypriots could not make their desire for independence real, and could not be as effective as the nationalists among the Cypriot communities.

§ 2.4 Conclusion

Cypriots had fallen into an ambivalent situation after the administration was changed. Further, even its location had ambivalent features. Cyprus comprised both the features of the frontier zone and the contact zone. When the British administration came to the island, people living apart historically and geographically came together and made contact with each other, so the use of the term *contact zone* in the sense of "colonial frontier" became meaningful for Cyprus. Moreover, the island was both close to and far away from the Ottoman Empire, but also the problems in communication contributed to its insular features in terms of isolation. The people living on their own under Ottoman rule had to adapt to a different situation with the British administration. Under this new administration, where they belong and how they will define themselves became a problem. Further, although the new administration was Christian, they had continued to underestimate the Christian Greek Cypriots. These problems caused in-betweenness and ambivalent situations for the islanders, and they started to become alienated from their own place. Cypriots began to form their identities through other countries.

Unlike Malta, Corsica and Ireland, people in Cyprus formed an identity based on different countries, not on their own island. The in-

103 For the details about the communism and leftist organizations in Cyprus, see, M. Michaelides, "The Turkish Cypriot Working Class and the Cyprus Labour Movement" *The Cyprus Review,* vol.5 no.2 (1993), pp.33-57, Alexis Rappas, "The Labor Question in Colonial Cyprus, 1936-1941: Political Strakes in a Battle of Cypriot Colonia Servants Denominations" International Labor and Working Class History, no.76 (2009), pp.194-216; Yiannos Katsourides, *The History of the Communist Party of Cyprus, Colonialism, Class and the Cypriot Left*, (London: IB Tauris, 2014).

betweenness and ambivalent situation of the islanders was the main effect of their irredentist nationalism. The national identity building process somehow began and continued differently in the other islands mentioned above, and people on these islands mostly did not build irredentist nationalism, but they had built their identity based on their island. Many impacts existed on Cypriots' irredentist nationalism. What is crucial in this process is that they did not construct their own language and national heroes. The spacial and insular features of Cyprus were also significant in the process. Although in a way, they were left to themselves, they were actually in close contact with the mainland, and the migration to the island was never ended.[104] This means there was a connection abroad. However, since Cyprus was big enough and its geological and climatic conditions were proper for a cash-crop-oriented economy, the island had the characteristics of being self-sufficient.[105] In other words, Cyprus includes both connectivity and isolation in accordance with its insularity. Further, insularity is not unique to Cyprus but is a feature of the islands. Both above-mentioned islands have the features of being insular spaces. Nevertheless, identity construction processes took place in different ways in each of them. This shows that this process would be different in Cyprus and also on the other islands as well. One of the aims of this thesis is to shed light on the question of why the identity construction process of Cypriots takes place in this way. Contrary to the other islands, the abandonment and ambivalence of the Cypriots stand out.

On the other side, comparisons between the British colonies are a key to understanding why the British colonial rule did not implement the same administrational strategy in all of her colonies. The colonial administration used different governing strategies in accordance with the colonies. As explained above, Great Britain used a particular type of colonial administration system in her colonies in different parts of the world, and she implemented direct colonialism on the island of Cyprus. Although the

104 Those who fled to the island for committing a crime or were exiled to the island by the state.

105 Antonis Hadijikyriacou, "The Ottomanisation of Cyprus" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 25 No.2 (2016), p.91.

colonial administration ruled Cyprus as the deputy of the Ottoman Empire until 1914, she mostly kept the governance of the island in her own hands. The Muslim administrative class was not dismissed, but they started to be part of the new rule. For example, the British administration had the right to appoint the delegates of the Pious Foundations (Vaqif). The first British delegate was Malcolm Seager, but the administration did not always appoint a British. In the year 1899, Musa Irfan Bey was appointed as a new delegate by the British administration.[106] Regardless of being British or not, the administration could appoint a person who would listen to its order. It means the colonial rule could govern the Muslim foundation. Especially during the 1920s and 1930s, the Pious Foundations of Cyprus became a powerful institution within the Muslim community but also became a pawn of the colonial administration.[107] However, the fact that the Pious Foundation was a pawn of the British administration does not indicate that the indirect colonial system was implemented on the island. The appointment of the delegate was not a secret. Also, the island was governed by the colonial governor. The British administration directly ruled the island and exploited its resources. The following chapters elaborate on the relationship between the administrations and the Cypriots in the islanders' point of view. Even if it is the birthplace of Aphrodite, we see conflicts in the history of Cyprus rather than love.

106 Eleni Bouleti, "The Muslim Community on Cyprus and British Colonial Policy, 1878-1915: The Significance of the Cyprus Evkaf in the Colonisation Process" *The Cyprus Review* Vol.23 No.2 (Fall 2011),pp. 45-51.

107 M. H. Altan, J. A. McHenry, R. C. Jennings, "Archival Materials and Research Facilities in the Cyprus Turkish Federated State: Ottoman Empire, British Empire, Cyprus Republic" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.8 No. 1 (1977), p.31.

3

From the Ottomans to the British: The Relations between Administrations and Islanders

While examining inter-communal relations, the relationship between the communities and the governments should also be investigated.[1] The government and rulers directly influence people's daily lives. The actions of the administrators may influence the relationship between communities, and the policy of the rulers may create friendship or enmity between

1 About the role of the government in inter-communal relations, see: Johan Brosché "Conflict Over the Commons: Government Bias and Communal Conflicts in Darfur and Eastern Sudan" *Ethnopolitics* (2022), pp.1-23. The aim of the article is to explain why inter-communal conflicts turn into violence in some regions and not in others, and to determine how the behavior of governments affects inter-communal relations and conflicts. The author conducted field research in Eastern Sudan from 2007 to 2015 to understand the society, and to get firsthand information about inter-communal relations. Also, for different inter-conflict examples and solutions processes, see the project of Diyarbakır Political and Social Research Institute: "Çatışma Çözümü ve Barış İnşası: Dünya Deneyimleri Serisi (Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding: World Experiences Series)." The reports of Nepal, Sri Lanka, Guatemala, Colombia, Mexico and Ruanda can be accessed on their website: www.disa.org.tr access, 20.09.2022.

the neighbors. The period this thesis focuses on comprises of two different administrations: the Ottoman administration which lasted until 1878, and later on the British administration. The change in administration directly influenced the daily lives of the people. This study aims to illustrate the relations between the communities and administrations. What was the effect of the administration on the lives of people? How were their relations with the Ottoman administration, and how did it change during the British administration period.

This chapter analyzes the perspectives of the islanders and the administrations on each other. It will shed light on how the islanders represent themselves against administrations and how they built their identities in these circumstances. The chapter will also show the colonial and imperial attitudes of the administrations. Another point this chapter focuses on is the class of the Cypriots that are included in the thesis. The previous chapter explained the effects of being in an island, and its environment. This chapter turns back to the islanders. The thesis wishes to illustrate islanders from all ranks and classes.

Cyprus was an island that was governed by the Ottoman and British administrations. During the reign of the Ottoman Empire, the Muslim community belonged to the administrative class, but they were still part of the public. I believe analyzing the people of Cyprus from all ranks ensures an understanding of islanders' lives. In other words, this thesis wishes to investigate Cypriots from all classes, such as villagers, priests, muftis, and kadis. The overall situation of the island can only be understood if we analyze the history of Cyprus from an extensive perspective. Therefore, according to the thesis, the people of Cyprus are not only people from lower or upper classes but people from all classes. On the other hand, the island has hosted more than two communities, but the thesis comprises only the communities of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots for the convenience of the research.[2] Other communities of Cyprus might be the subject of further researches.

2 Although the population censuses mostly generalized people as Christian and Muslim, the censuses by mother tongue show that there were people who spoke Arabic and

§ 3.1 The struggle of the Islanders with Socio-economic Problems

One of the unchanging issues under the two administrations was financial troubles. Agriculture was one of the primary sources of the economy of Cyprus, but the harvest of the island was not sufficient for the whole population. The water sources of the island were not enough for agricultural production, and the rain was essential for agriculture. The drought caused by the lack of precipitation caused the people, who make a living from agriculture, to face famine from time to time. In addition to the drought, locusts created many problems for agriculture. The locusts destroyed agriculture, especially between 1845 and 1869, and left the people on the island in an economically difficult situation. The drought after the locusts worsened the economic situation on the island, thus Cypriots tried to survive throughout 1869 by getting supplies from the other parts of the empire. In 1873, this time, the crops were damaged by heavy rains, and some other Ottoman provinces sent grain to the island.[3] Agriculture was crucial not only for the people but also for the state because the deterioration of agriculture meant that people could not afford their taxes.

Armenian. See: Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, population censuses, www.cystat.gov.cy

People who spoke Arabic could be either Muslim Cypriots or Christian Maronite Cypriots. For details about Maronite Cypriots, see: Simone Paturel, "Reconstructing the History of the Cypriot Maronites" *Journal of Cyprus Studies* no.15 (2009), pp.19-39. Also, for Armenian Cypriots, see: Alexander - Michael Hadjilyra *The Armenians of Cyprus* (Cyprus: Kalaydjian Foundation, 2009). In addition to Maronite and Armenian Cypriots, the island has hosted Jews and Latins (Roman Catholics of European or Levantine descent) too, ibid, pp.4-7.

3 Cemil Çelik, "Cyprus: Famine and Responses Under the Ottoman Administration." *Cedrus*, no.2 (2014), pp.500-505. The island was not suffering from famine or locust problems only in the 19th century. For details, see: Ronald C. Jennings, "The Locust Problem in Cyprus" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* vol. 51, no. 2 (1988), pp. 279-313; Nuri Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti Yönetim, Kilise, Ayan ve Halk (1750-1800): Bir Değişim Döneminin Anatomisi* (Famagusta: Eastern Mediterranean University Printing ,2000), pp.119-121.

There would be two things for people to do in that situation: live in terrible conditions or escape from the island. However, moving from one place to another was not an easy thing within the Ottoman Empire. In the 19th century, people were required to have a *mürur tezkeresi* (travel permit), which was a sort of internal passport to travel. The aim was to prevent migration and control the people. The state implemented the *mürur tezkeresi* to maintain security and order. However, the implementation was not always successful in preventing the mobility of people both in Cyprus and the other places of the empire.[4] The *mürur tezkeresi* was a kind of surveillance mechanism of the government. The people within the empire could be controlled with travel permits.[5] However, this situation

4 Fatmanur Samastı, "History of Identification in the Ottoman Lands: From the Security of the Person to the Security of the State: Implementation of Mürur Tezkeresi in the Nineteenth Century" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010). Samastı defends in her thesis that implementing the *mürur tezkeresi* did not prevent people from migrating and could not enable the state to control people's every step. Also, the *mürur tezkeresi* was not the first implementation of the travel permit, but it was the implementation in the 19th century. In the previous centuries, there were different documents for the permission of people's travel such as *ilcan*. For details about travelling within the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, see: Nalan Turna, *19.yy.'dan 20.yy.'a Osmanlı Topraklarında Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş Belgeleri: Mürûr Tezkereleri* (İstanbul: Kaknüs yayınları, 2013). The book gives an example of Mustafa, who applied to take *mürur tezkeresi* to travel to Hijaz. However, it was found out that he migrated from Erzurum to several places in the Ottoman lands, including Cyprus. However, the man travelled to many places before applying to *mürur tezkeresi* for Hijaz. As Turna points out, the example is also an indication of how the subjects were escaping from the surveillance practices. This means people were finding a way to escape the state's control mechanisms, and the travel permits could not always prevent them.

5 Exposing people to constant surveillance is a product of the modern system. See: Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (USA: University of California Press, 1987); Michel Foucault, Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). In his book, Foucault used the panopticon prison which was designed by English philosopher Jeremy Bentham. In the panopticon, the source of power is rendered invisible and the illusion that it can exist anywhere and anytime is imposed on prisoners. Then people begin to live with the assumption of as if they are being watched all the time. In other words, people's daily lives are brought under the surveillance of power. However, this surveillance power is actually reproduced by people who think that they

differed in the Cyprus case, on the one hand the fact that Cyprus is an island made migration easier but on the other hand it was also difficult. It was not easy for people to go anywhere whenever they wanted, as it was necessary to use ships to migrate from the island. As mentioned in chapter 2, even the mail ferry arrived on the island twice a month. This means that both communication and transportation were problematic because of the insularity of Cyprus. The immigrant without permission could be detected and returned on land travel, but this was unlikely in sailing. Even if the immigrants were caught after getting on the ship, there would be nothing left to do but wait until they reach their destination. Moreover, people could only be sent back if they were caught at the destination. Nevertheless, people were finding a way not to get caught because escaping from Cyprus was always a problem. In 1840, when the Tanzimat started to be implemented in Cyprus, the Kocabashis were warned about the false documents of travel permits. They were ordered to register the travels of the Christian community so that the poll tax would not be reduced.[6] Departing from the island was always a problem, and people found a way to handle the surveillance mechanisms of the power, such as producing false documents. Twenty years after that order, in 1860, about 1500 Cypriots immigrated to Greece because of the oppression of the taxmen. The administration ordered the changing of the governor to prevent escape from the island.[7] Economic difficulties influenced people's daily lives negatively, and they sometimes had to change their habits. Leaving the island was a drastic change for people.

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are constantly being watched and they have to live as if they are under surveillance at all times. So, it can be said that security intelligence technologies in the modern world are tools that restrict people's daily lives and bring them under the surveillance of power. *Mürur tezkeresi* is one of the early examples of these tools.

6 Celal Erdönmez, "Şer'iyye Sicillerine göre Kıbrıs'ta Toplum Yapısı (1839-1856)" (Ph.D. diss., Süleyman Demirel University, 2004), pp.19-20.

7 BOA, A.}MKT.MVL. 117, 63, 26.06.1860. Also, see: Marc Aymes, *A Provincial History of the Ottoman Empire Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the 19th century* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 135-145. Aymes discusses the mobility movement in Cyprus in the early 19th century and its connection with Anatolia, Syria and Egypt.

Leaving from the island was one of the solutions of the islanders, but not the only one. The Christian and Muslim Cypriots did not always quietly escape from the island, but they had complained about the administration through petitions. In addition to making a petition, Cypriots visited Istanbul, the empire's capital city, to complain about the inappropriate behavior of the taxmen. For example, some notable Cypriots visited Istanbul in 1860.[8] Twenty-five days after the visit, the Grand Assembly of the Ottoman Empire sent an order to the governor of Cyprus about the oppression of the taxmen and the escaping of Cypriots from the island. The assembly ordered the governor's replacement to prevent people from oppression and migration from the island.[9] Governor Ishak Pasha was dismissed because he did not eliminate the problems that led to the migration of the people, and did not report this situation to Istanbul. Hayrullah Pasha was appointed in his stead. It seems that this also did not work because a petition concerning the high taxes was submitted after this change. In 1860, the petition concerning the complaint of the people regarding the taxes was represented to the Cyprus Governor Hayrullah Pasha.[10] The type of the petition was *mahzar* which includes the signature of more than one person. In this example, eight Cypriots, both non-Muslims and Muslims, cooperated in writing a petition against the tax burdens.

The petitions are significant for this thesis because the people directly submit their requests to the administration, and their voices can be heard thanks to the petitions. They not only submitted a petition about their requests and complaints but also their contentment. For example, when the Cyprus governor Hayrullah Pasha was dismissed from his office, both Christian and Muslim Cypriots made petitions about their

8 BOA, A.}MKT.UM. 408, 26, 1.06.1860.

9 BOA, A.}MKT.MVL. 117 ,63, 26.06.1860. The task of the Grand Assembly, *Meclis-i Vala,* which was established during the Tanzimat period, was to prepare laws and regulations in order to carry out reforms. For details, see: Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat Devrinde Meclis-i Vala* (Ankara: TTK, 1999).

10 BOA, HR.SYS, 896, 36, 13.08.1860.

contentedness.[11] Probably Hayrullah Pasha was not a good governor and oppressed the people. As mentioned above, Cypriots made a petition about the high taxes to governor Hayrullah Pasha, but he was probably one of the oppressors and did not solve the islanders' problems. It can be deduced that the people were not shy to apply to the central office of the administration. If the governance of Cyprus did not solve their problem, they did not hesitate to apply to Istanbul in order to represent themselves. However, the situation was not unique to Cyprus. Like Cypriots, people from different parts of the Ottoman Empire were not shy to apply the administration. People within the Ottoman lands were accustomed to making petitions, and this habit was not exceptional for the 19th century. For instance, people could give their petitions directly to the Sultan during the Friday Prayer and when he goes hunting or on a campaign.[12]

11 BOA, A.}MKT.MVL. 787, 46, 16.12.1861. After Hayrullah Pasha, who could not solve the problems on the island, Ziya Pasha was appointed instead of him. BOA, A.}MKT. NZD. 408, 64 23.02.1862.

12 Halil İnalcık, "Şikâyet Hakkı: 'Arz-ı Hâl' ve 'Arz-ı Mahzar'lar," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* no.7-8 (1988), pp. 33-51. The petitions were not something that appeared in the 19th century. Some other sources for the petition habit within the Ottoman Empire, see: Suraiya Faroqhi, "Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanic Legitimation (1570–1650)" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* no.35 (1992), pp. 1–39; Michael Ursinus, *Grievance Administration (Şikayet) in an Ottoman Province: The Kaymakam of Rumelia's 'Record Book of Complaints' of 1781–1783* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005); Cengiz Kırlı, "Tyranny Illustrated: From Petition to Rebellion in Ottoman Vranje," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no: 53, (Fall 2015) pp. 3-36; John Chalcraft, "Engaging the State: Peasants and Petitions in Egypt on the Eve of Colonial Rule," *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* no.37 (2005), pp. 303-325. Submitting a petition was a method also used by the ayans (notables in the provinces) in the classical period. The ayans attempted to influence the decisions of the government through petitions. For details, see: Halil İnalcık, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration" in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Society*, ed. by Thomas Naff & Roger Owen, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press 1977), pp. 27-53. Petitions did not lose their importance during the Tanzimat period as well. With the practice of inspections, they became an important tool for the state to penetrate and control the provinces. For details about the importance of both inspections and the petitions, see: Jens Hanssen, "Practices of Integration -Center- Periphery Relations in the Ottoman

Therefore, the first decision of the people was not to leave the island. Cypriots had tried to do something to change their lives; however, when their problems could not be solved, they decided to immigrate from Cyprus. The Ottoman administration was concerned about the immigration of Cypriots. Therefore, it was ordered by the Ministry of Finance that the expanses of the people who come back to the island be covered by the government.[13] The population of the island was very significant because the economy of Cyprus was dependent on agriculture and animal husbandry, and these depended on people. The high escape rate from the island could cause a worsening economy and worsening dominance of the administration. In order to determine the situation on the island, and to find solutions to the problems, Grand Assembly decided to send Ihsan Bey to the island as an inspection officer.[14]

§ 3.2 The Inspection of 1860

The scope of this thesis was extended to the Ottoman reign on the island. Any date before 1878 could be chosen for this aim; however, 1860 was chosen because, that year, the Ottoman Empire sent an inspector to the island to investigate how the Tanzimat rules were implemented in Cyprus.[15] For this purpose, the inspector collected the petitions of the

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Empire" in *The Empire in The City Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. by J.Hanssen, T.Philipp, S. Weber (Lebanon: Orient-Institut, 2002), pp.49-74.

13 BOA, A.}MKT.NZD. 322, 13, 21.08.1860.

14 BOA, A.}MKT.MVL. 117, 63, 26.06.1860.

15 BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 1860. The main concern of the Ottoman government in the implementation of the Tanzimat was the collection of taxes. For example, in 1840, when the Tanzimat was newly announced, the new tax system on the island caused unrest among the people. Unrest among the islanders arose when the new Muhassil began to make a list of Christian villages to collect taxes. For details about the implementation of a new taxation system and disturbance among Cypriots after the Tanzimat, see: Michalis N. Michael, "Trying to Impose the Reforms in the Periphery: Actions and Reactions to the Tanzimat in Cyprus The Case of the Muhassıl Mehmet Talat" *OTAM*, no.34 (2013), pp. 163-

islanders, and the people's voices could be heard by way of these petitions. Before inspector Ihsan Bey had arrived on the island, some Cypriots went to Istanbul to submit their complaints, and these people were sent back to Cyprus in the same ship with Ihsan Bey.[16] Ihsan Bey was charged with controlling the Tanzimat rules within the island, but the islanders' complaints were one of the reasons for this inspection.[17] The people of Cyprus complained about the taxes and locust problem, and one of the duties of Ihsan Bey was to find solutions to these problems.[18]

The inspection of Ihsan Bey is an essential example of the sharing of lives and lands in Cyprus, but also it is a significant example of the aspect of the relationship between islanders and the Ottoman administration. Twenty years after the Edict of Gulhane, the conjuncture had changed, but the Ottoman Empire was still trying to provide powerful central sovereignty. This new type of modern state desired to know and control everything.[19] For this reason, in 1860, the Ottoman government sent an officer to investigate the situation of the people in Cyprus. Firstly, the inspector sent both Greek and Turkish announcements to provinces and

184. For different parts of the Ottoman Empire, see: Halil İnalcık, "Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkileri," *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Toplum ve Ekonomi* (1993), pp. 361-424; Ahmet Uzun, *Tanzimat ve Sosyal Direnişler Niş İsyanı Üzerine Ayrıntılı Bir İnceleme (1841)* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2001); E. Attila Aytekin, "Peasant Protest in the Late Ottoman Empire: Moral Economy, Revolt, and the Tanzimat Reforms" *International Review of Social History* vol.57, (2012), pp. 191–227.

16 BOA, A.}MKT.NZD. 315, 89 31.08.1859.

17 During the Tanzimat period, inspections were carried out in different parts of the empire, as well as Cyprus. For example, inspection in Rumelia, see: Yonca Köksal & Davut Erkan *Sadrazam Kıbrıslı Mehmet Emin Paşa'nın Rumeli Teftişi* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2007). For the inspection in Anatolia, see: Erdoğan Keleş *Anadolu'da Tanzimat ve Teftiş 1850-1853* (Ankara: Gece Akademi, 2019). The book explains the inspections of the Anatolian provinces of İsmet Pasha and Osman Efendi in detail.

18 Hasan Samani, "Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs (1839-1878)" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University,2006), p.15. As mentioned, making tax collection more efficient was very significant to Tanzimat implementations, and solving the problems about taxation was the main issue of the inspection.

19 For details about the modern state and its practices, see: Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (USA: University of California Press, 1987).

towns about the investigation. Later, he travelled around the island and received complaints from the Cypriots. Lastly, he prepared a report that included Christian and Muslim people's complaints and his answers to them.

One of the interesting issues about these documents is that the documents belong to the foreign office (*Hariciye Nezareti*). This segregation of documents can give a clue about the mentality of the Ottoman Empire. To reach an accurate result, one should examine all documents about Cyprus, which is outside this study's scope. Nevertheless, a brief interpretation can still be made. The government sent an inspector to investigate the situation on its peripheral island. The mission of the Ottoman Officer was to find the problem and provide judicial and legal administration. This attitude reminds us the European colonial states which aim to civilize the places outside of Europe.[20] In his article, Selim Deringil examines the Ottoman ideology about its peripheral lands.[21] He says:

> …as the nineteenth century neared its end, the Ottomans adopted a colonial stance toward the peoples of the periphery of their Empire. Colonialism came to be seen as a modern way of being.[22]

His idea can be adapted to Cyprus and the 1860 inspection. The Ottoman Empire tried to be a modern state and survive, so it needed to restore its backward peripheries. Cyprus was one of them. This perspective can

20 The colonial attitude of the Ottoman Empire is explained, and related sources are given about the subject in chapter 2.

21 Selim Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery": The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate" *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* (2003), pp.311-342.

22 Ibid.p.313. Also, Ussama Makdisi evaluates the Ottoman modernization as an imperial project and the project included the Ottoman desire to "reshape and discipline *not-yet* Ottoman places and people." U. Makdisi, "Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism: Modernity, Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform" in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. by J. Hanssen, T. Philipp and S. Weber (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2002), p.46. Both Deringil and Makdisi examine mostly the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Although Cyprus was not an Arab province, it was still a peripheral and *backward* part of the Empire.

clarify the meaning of the segregation of archival documents. Cyprus was a peripheral and uncivilized external part of the Ottoman Empire. The Empire had to civilize the island, and for this reason, an inspector was sent to examine the situation of the island and restore the rules according to the laws.

One of the documents belongs to the inspection dated 5 August 1860. Cypriots mentioned that both Greek and Turkish version of the announcement reached their township, and the officer travelled and informed the people about the inspection.[23] Then they started to complain about their taxes because, according to them, in addition to their standard taxes, they paid extra taxes as locust and cattle taxes, for several years, and they did not have more power to pay these taxes. It was indicated that they knew these taxes were not from the Sultan, and after their requests, the Sultan abolished them. At that time, people only paid the military and the tithe taxes. Then they started to pray to and give their gratitude to him. People on the island mentioned both the military and tithe taxes, so it can be deduced that Christian Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots submitted their complaints together. In addition, it is understood that people were pleased with the inspection and submitted their complaints. When the islanders received the information about the order of the Sultan regarding their complaints they increased their prayers for the Sultan. It seems that Cypriots were satisfied with this inspection. They could submit their objections and could see the changes in their complaints.

On the other hand, these documents might not show the reality. The other documents about the inspection mention similar problems and solutions, but they were all written in the same way. The same scribe might have written all of them, and it is not certain if the people could tell their complaints comfortably or not. Nonetheless, the government wanted to restore and improve the situation on the island. This inspection indicated both the Ottoman government's willingness to enforce the laws and the

23 BOA, HR.SYS. 896 ,31 05.08.1860. ..mutasarrıf-ı cezire ile müşarünileyh tahkik memuru tarafından okunan ilan kağıtlarından Türkçe ve Rumca bizim kazaya geldi ve memur beyefendi hazretleri dahi kendisi ekser kaza ve karyeleride gezdi hem herkese ..haber verdi.. müracaat ve tahkikatı iyice anladık..

inter-communal cooperation. The communities in Cyprus had declared their bad or good situation together, and they should cooperate to solve their problems.

The other document was issued on 7 August 1860.[24] Like the first one, it says that both Greek and Turkish announcements reached their township. The announcement was read and understood. Their complaint was about the extra taxes, but the Sultan abolished these extra taxes. This document also mentions the families who migrated to another place. They said that despite the information about migration, only five persons migrated from their township.

The third one also mentions the extra taxes and migration.[25] Similar to others, both Greek and Turkish versions of the announcement were sent to the township. They said that no one migrated from their township to anywhere. They mentioned migrants from the township of Karpas, but they were comfortable in their township and did not migrate anywhere. These documents are from three different townships and include almost the same subjects.[26] Only the first one does not mention migration. As mentioned, Cypriots had economic problems and considered migration as a solution. All townships received both Greek and Turkish announcements, which means these townships had a mixed population. Thus, Christian and Muslim Cypriots tried to read and understand the announcement together. Since the literacy rate was low at that time, a literate person read the announcement to others.[27] Christian and Muslim Cypriots had the same problems, and they submitted their problems together to the inspector. As mentioned, at the end of the 19th century, almost half of the Cypriot villages had a mixed population, and the bilingual

24 BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 33 07.08.1860.

25 BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 40 15.08.1860.

26 These three documents are not the only documents about the inspection. See: BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 34; HR.SYS. 896, 42; HR.SYS. 896, 47.

27 At the beginning of the 20th century, approximately 75% of the population was illiterate. See: Republic of Cyprus, Statistical Service, census of 1911 www.cystat.gov.cy

announcements were not surprising.[28] Living in the same region caused the same problems, as seen from the inspection. The Cypriots from the two communities had declared their common problems together to the inspector.

On 24 August 1860, officer Ihsan Bey prepared a report about the Cypriots' complaints and the administration's answers.[29] The people submitted every detail about their problems, and Ihsan Bey answered them and tried to solve their problems according to the rules. They complained not only about the taxes but also reported against the Naibs.[30] The inspector did not believe in the people immediately, but he answered that if the oppression of Naibs were proven, they would be punished. In addition to Naibs, Cypriots complained to the Archbishop, Patriarchs, and Kocabashis.[31] Ihsan Bey again wanted proof of the oppression of Christian leaders, and he specified that they would be punished by the laws. Another petition was about both the Kocabashis and Mültezims. The people complained that Kocabashis and Multezims collaborated to oppress the people. The answer was similar; if their oppression were proven, they would be punished according to the criminal code. This complaint shows that not only the ordinary Christian and Muslim people had similar difficulties, but also the administrators had the same profits. The Christian and Muslim communities had common points in many situations. This

28 For details, see: Eleni Lytras, Charis Psaltis*, Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future,* (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2011); Jan Asmussen, "Life and Strife in Mixed Villages: Some Aspects of Interethnic Relations in Cyprus Under British Rule" *The Cyprus Review* no.1 vol.8 (Spring, 1996), pp.101-110.

29 BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 46 24.08.1860.

30 BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 46, 01,01 24.08.1860. Kazalarda olan Naib efendiler hilaf-ı usulde makam etmekte oldukları. Cevabı: Naib efendiler içinde bu makule şeri şerifin mugayyiri … hilafı olarak para almış ve başka suretle zulum etmişler var ise haber verildiği ve ispat olunduğu halde terbiyesi icra olunacaktır.

31 BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 46, 01, 02 24.08.1860. Başpiskopos efendi ile sair piskoposlar ve kocabaşılar olunan mezalimi defe çalışmak lazım gelirken kendi menfaatleri için zulüm edenlere onlar dahi vasıta olarak zulüm etmekte oldukları ve kendi aidatlarını dahi ziyade ziyade aldıkları. Cevabı: Gerek Başpiskopos efendi olsun ve gerek sair piskoposlar ve kocabaşılar olsun ahaliye nasıl zulüm etmiş… ne yapmışlar ise beyan ve ispat olunduğu halde haklarında lazım gelecek mücazat-ı kanuniye icra olunacaktır

means that living in the same region did not affect only the ordinary people of Cyprus, but the administrators were also affected and were in cooperation.

Collaboration between the Christian and Muslim leaders was not the exception for the island. When Mehmet Emin Pasha went to Rumelia, he also encountered the same problem. For example, in Niş, the Ottoman governor Zeynel Pasha and Bulgarian Archpriest collaborated to cope with the punishment of the Archpriest. Besides, in the township council, both the Christian and Muslim deputies accepted bribes.[32] These collaborations between non-Muslim and Muslim elites show us that the relations were based on the profits beyond the national tensions among different nations.[33] Hence, both the elites and the ordinary people could collaborate if their profits were the same.

Furthermore, Ihsan Bey always answered in accordance with the rules. For instance, Christian people complained about military tax, and Ihsan Bey answered that the administration had declared the Greek version of this rule. He also added that if the people report the happenings against the rules and prove it, the administration will punish the responsible person.[34] Moreover, when Ihsan Bey tried to answer the problems of the people, he mainly referred to the civil code or regulations (*Nizamname*) about the issues.[35] He tried to implement everything according to the rules and did not want to establish arbitrary or archaic

32 Yonca Köksal & Davut Erkan, *Sadrazam Kıbrıslı Mehmet Emin Paşa'nın Rumeli Teftişi* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi,2007), pp.23-29.

33 Ibid.p.35.

34 BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 46, 01,03 24.08.1860. Aine-i askeriye namıyla her bir Hristiyan'dan 30'dan 60 kuruşa kadar para alındığı. Cevabı: Bu aine-i askeriyenin nasıl alınacağına dair … ile talimat yayılıp neşr olunmuş olduğundan burada dahi Rumcası size ilan olundu idi ona bakınız eğer onun hilafında her … bir şey yapıldığı haber verilir ve ispat olunur ise cezası icra olunacaktır.

35 Ibid. İşbu vergi maddesinin mahsusi nizamnamesi olduğundan her sene başında o nizamname mucibince büyük meclisden kaza meclislerine ve kaza meclislerinden dahi köylerin umum muhtar ve papazı … mazbatalar ile o köyün ne kadar vergisi olduğu beyan olunur onlar dahi tamamen nizamına tatbiken taksim ve tahsil ederler…

administration. The Empire desired to govern everywhere according to its own rules and presented the source of the rules to the subjects.

The report of Ihsan Bey is eight pages and includes different subjects about people's problems. The other important aspect of this report is that the report includes both Greek and Turkish versions of the petitions and the answers. The administration did not segregate the communities or take sides with one of them. Also, the announcements which were sent to the provinces were written both in Greek and Turkish. This was not the exception for Cyprus. When the Grand Vizier Mehmet Emin Pasha went to Rumelia, the regulations (*Nizamname*) were sent to the provinces in Turkish, Bulgarian, and Greek languages. The Grand Vizier desired the understanding of the regulations by all the subjects.[36]

Moreover, the people were aware of the criminal codes because sometimes they referred to the actions against the criminal codes. For example, they complained to the administrators of the townships because the administrators collected money for the guilty (*kabahatli parası*) from the poor people with some pretexts not according to the criminal codes.[37] It is understood that people were aware of their rights and made their complaints according to the codes.

§ 3.3 Cypriots' Practices of Solving Daily Problems

The Ottoman administration did not always send an inspector to the island, but the islanders continued to try to solve their problems in some ways. They developed ways of solving problems over time. Firstly, the islanders made an effort to solve the problems within the island and did not hesitate to apply to the court. Both Muslim and non-Muslim

36 Yonca Köksal & Davut Erkan, *Sadrazam Kıbrıslı Mehmet Emin Paşa'nın Rumeli Teftişi* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi,2007), p.23

37 BOA, HR.SYS. 896, 46, 01, 05 24.08.1860. Ceza kanunnamesi icabatıyla kabahatliden alınacak kabahat parasının kaza müdürleri kanuna uysun uymasın birer bahane ile fukaradan kendi kendilerine alıp…

communities applied to the Kadi court to solve their problems.[38] It can be said that escaping from the island was a problem for the administration, but Cypriots did not escape immediately when they had difficult problems. They applied to the court, made a petition, or directly visited the administrative center. Moreover, Cypriots applied to the center when they had a problem with the local governors.

The case of Ali Faiz Efendi is a significant example to illustrate both the relations between the Muslim community and the Ottoman Empire during the British administration and the power conflicts within the same community. The case involves the heterogeneous feature of the Muslim community and the importance of the benefits of the people. Ali Faiz Efendi was a grocer in Nicosia at the beginning of the 20th century. He has appeared in the documents that are about Mufti Ali Rıfkı and Chief Judge Osman Nuri. In the year 1902, some Cypriots sent a *mahzar* to the Ottoman ministry of interior.[39] According to them, the grocer Ali Faiz, who was known as a fraud[40], had made a false report about Mufti Ali Rıfkı and his friends. They defended that Ali Rıfkı was a well-behaved and loyal man.[41] In contrast, the grocer was a fraud and calumniator. However, Ali

38 Non-Muslim access to the Kadi court was not unique to Cyprus. Both non-Muslim and Muslim women and men could apply to the Kadi court all over the empire. For example, see: R. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* vol.18, no.1 (1975), pp. 53-114; R. Jennings, "Zimmis (Non-Muslims) in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* vol.2, no.3 (1978), pp. 225-293; R. Gradeva, "Orthodox Christians in the Kadi Courts: The Practice of the Sofia Sheriat Court, Seventeenth Century" *Islamic Law and Society* vol.4, no.1 (1997), pp. 37-69; Najwa Al-Qattan, "Dhimmis in the Muslim Court: Legal Autonomy and Religious Discrimination" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 31, No. 3 (1999), pp. 429-444; Leslie Pierce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (USA: University of California Press, 2003).

39 BOA, Y.MTV. 235,50. 12.10.1902.

40 Dubaracı bakkal Ali Faiz

41 ..Kıbrıs cezıresi müftüsü faziletli Ali Rıfkı Efendi daileri ilm-i diyanetine diyanet-i hamiyetine muadil hüsn-i ahlak ve siratıyla tezbih-i zat ve sıfat etmiş gayetle muhibbi devlet bir zat olarak..

Faiz had defended that the Mufti and the Judge could not protect the religious law against the existing government. Grocer blamed the Mufti and Kadi for collaboration with the British government.[42] After the petition of the grocer and the *mahzar* of some Cypriots, the Ottoman administration ordered him to be brought to Istanbul.[43] However, the grocer was sued in Cyprus because of his accusation against Mufti and Chief Judge. Ali Faiz behaved as impudent during the case, and he was prisoned. Also, he was subjected to a medical examination. Nonetheless, Mufti later withdrew the lawsuit. The Grand Vizier informed the Sultan about the situation and asked if it was appropriate to summon such a person as Ali Faiz to the capital.[44] The same grocer also tried to make money from the Ottoman administration when the Ottomans closed some newspapers in Cyprus. Some newspapers were closed as a precaution against obscene publications, and the Ottoman government sent money to them. Ali Faiz had coveted this money and sent Istanbul a letter about the island's obscene publication. However, the Ottoman administration investigated him and reported that he was a fraud grocer.[45] Nevertheless, the most exciting thing about him appears when one of the documents mentions him as an informer (*jurnalci*).[46] The case of Ali Faiz Efendi was also an example of the intimate relations between the Ottoman administration and the islanders. The grocer did not hesitate to blame the Mufti or the judge of the island. Whatever his complaint was, he had written directly to the center. It is unknown when he became an informer, but according to the document, the grocer was given ten liras for a month when he was an

42 BOA, Y.PRK.AZJ. 48,36. 15.08.1903.

43 BOA, KB.MAA.FE., 7,50. 23.06.1903.

44 ..böyle muayene-i tıbbiyeye tabii tutulmuş olan bir şahsın Dersaadet'e celbinin ne dereceye kadar caiz olacağı kestirilememiş..

45 BOA, Y.PRK.DH. 12,22. 12.03.1903. .. Kıbrıs'taki matbaalar kapattırılmış alet ve edevatı alınmış ve bazılarına mukabilinde atiye verilerek velhasıl şimdiye kadar Mısır'da yapılamayan şey Kıbrıs'ta pek az müddet zarfında vücuda getirilmişti..Kıbrıs'da bakkallık eden Ali Faiz nam şahıs matbuattan.. ettirilenlere verilmiş paraya göz dikerek bu da ortaya atılıp..

46 BOA, A.}MTZ.KB. 1,1. 03.02.1909.

informer. This situation continued until this payment was ordered to stop due to his lack of performance.[47]

The grocer probably was not alone; he had some cooperators. One of the documents defends that Ali Faiz was encouraged by two other men.[48] Whether he was encouraged or not, it is an essential example that one grocer could easily contact the Ottoman government and complain about administrators on the island.[49] He knew very well how to act in his own interests. When he had a problem with the Mufti, he complained that the Mufti did not protect Islam on the island, yet he lied to the administration without caring about Islam when it came to money. On the other hand, somehow, he became an informer of the administration for a while. It seems that he gave up his duties at some point, but continued to take the money. He did not care about Islam or nationality, he only cared about his personal gain.

Further, as mentioned, applying to the Muslim judge during the Ottoman Administration was common for both non-Muslim and Muslim communities. Non-Muslim people did not refrain from applying to the Kadi Courts in Cyprus as in the other parts of the Empire. Non-Muslims within the Ottoman State had the same habit of using the Sharia court. In Cyprus, on 1 March 1862, Greek Cypriot Sava from Kyrenia made a petition to the court of Nicosia.[50] According to him, Ligori and Eleni were in debt to Sava for renting his donkey and mule. He requested 16,459 piasters from Ligori

47 BOA, A.}MTZ.KB. 1,1. 03.02.1909.

48 BOA, Y.EE.KP. 18,1725. 21.02.1903.

49 In the Ottoman Empire, it was not unusual for the people to convey their grievances to the administration. The Presidency Ottoman Archives includes specific Record Books of Complaints consisting of complaints made by the people to the state. See: Bab-ı Asafi Şikayet Kalemi, BOA, A.{DVN.ŞKT. Also, see: Halil İnalcık, "Şikayet Hakkı: Arz-ı Hâl ve Arz-ı Mahzar'lar", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, (1988),pp.33-54; Michael Ursinus, *Grievance Administration (Sikayet) in an Ottoman Province: The Kaymakam of Rumelia's 'Record Book of Complaints' of 1781-1783* (UK: Routledge, 2005); Murat Tuğluca, *Osmanlı Devlet-Toplum ilişkisinde Şikayet Mekanizması ve İşleyiş Biçimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2016).

50 The Archives of Pious Foundations of TRNC, Cyprus Court Registers (CCR), no: 46, 5, 11 1.02.1862.

and Eleni. However, Sava could not prove his complaint, but Ligori and Eleni found witnesses to prove their indebtedness to Sava. Mehmet Efendi and Ismail Efendi testified for the sake of Eleni and Ligori. According to them, Sava and Eleni talked about this issue in the shop of Mehmet Efendi, and Sava said to Eleni that she and Ligori were not in debt to him. Sava denied this conversation, but the testimony of Mehmet and Ismail Efendi proved that Sava lied about the case. In the end, the case was refused.

One of the significant points of this case is that both the complainant and the defendants were non-Muslim Cypriots, but the witnesses were Muslim Cypriots. The case illustrates the intimate relations between the communities. Moreover, it shows the relationship between the people of Cyprus and the Ottoman administration. The administration belonged to the Muslim community, and the court was the Sheri court. Nevertheless, like the other parts of the Ottoman lands, the Christian community did not hesitate to apply to the Kadi court. As it was said, both the defendants and complainant were non-Muslim. They did not abstain from the Muslim court. On the contrary, they applied and used it for their benefit. They were in cooperation with the Muslim administration. The non-Muslim community could apply to the Metropolitan Bishop for their cases.[51] They could apply to both Kadi and Bishop, but the non-Muslim community had often preferred the Kadi court. For instance, on 11 November 1868, the delegated judges were ordered that they should not interfere with the responsibilities of the Metropolitan, such as performing marriages and granting divorces.[52] This means that the non-Muslim community applied to the Kadi court even when they got married or divorced. Nonetheless,

51 Andreas Neocleous & Co, *Introduction to Cyprus Law* (USA: Yorkhill Law Publishing, 2000), p.11. The Christian community was allowed to regulate family relations according to their own laws, and some cases were allowed to be heard in their own courts. Also, see: R. Jennings, Zimmis (Non-Muslims) in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* vol.2, no.3 (1978), pp. 225-293.

52 CCR, no: 49, 92, 236 11.11.1868.

the order stressed that these issues were about the people's sects and the Kadi court should not deal with these cases.[53]

In 1869, Hadji Yorgi applied to the Kadi court to complain about Lino.[54] According to Yorgi, Lino seized the lands of Yorgi, which were bequeathed to him by his father. Yorgi requested these lands back from Lino. However, Lino claimed that he did not seize these lands, but Yorgi's father sold the lands to him. Ahmet Efendi and Mihaili testified to the claim of Lino, and the Kadi decided in favor of Lino. In this example, Muslim Ahmet Efendi accepted to be a witness with Christian Mihaili for the sake of Christian Lino. Without regarding national or religious differences, islanders had attended this case. In most cases, Muslim and non-Muslim communities collaborated. They did not care about the differences, but they cared about winning the cases. In another case, both the defendant and the complainant were non-Muslims. When Yani was killed by Haralanbi, the heirs of Yani applied to the Kadi Court.[55] Haralanbi confessed that he killed Yani in self-defense. However, his claim of self-defense did not save him from the execution, but the heirs of Yani agreed to take blood money, and Haralanbi was rescued. In addition, the Jury of the Kadi Court (*Şuhudu'l Hal*) could consist of Christian Cypriots.[56] For example, when Mustafa died, his son Kasım claimed that Lino seized his father's lands and irrigation privileges.[57] At the end of the court, Kasım

53 In addition, after establishing the Nizamiye courts within the Ottoman lands, Muslims and non-Muslims were also using the Sharia and Nizamiye courts for their own benefit. Nizamiye courts were established in the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat Era to serve following the new laws and regulations, except for religious principles. In some cases, it did not matter to the people what religion the courts belonged to or whether they were secular. For more information, see: Avi Rubin, *Ottoman Nizamiye Courts: Law and Modernity* (Palgrave, McMillan, 2011).

54 CCR, no: 49, 128, 341 26.04.1869.

55 CCR, no:46, 12, 26 19.04.1862.

56 Suhudul' Hal was not precisely a jury but consisted of people present and testifying in court. For details, see: Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayntab in the 17th century*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Bogaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

57 CCR, no: 49, 144, 390 04.07.1869.

accepted that his father sold his lands and irrigation privilege to Lino when he was alive. The jury of the case was composed of Christian Cypriots.

In addition to ordinary people, priests sometimes were reported to the Kadi courts by Christian Cypriots. For example, in 1870, Christian Cypriot Penai applied to the court to report that Priest Çirkako occupied his vineyard.[58] At the end of the case, Kadi acknowledged that Penai was right and decided that Priest Çirkako should not use the vineyard. The Christian population could complain about their religious leader to the Kadi courts.[59]

On the other hand, during the Ottoman administration, as mentioned, some notables were sent to Istanbul to represent the requests or complaints of the people. For example, in 1870, the Archbishop of Cyprus, Sophronios, was the head of the deputation going to the center of the Empire. The deputation consisted of two Christian Cypriots and two Muslim Cypriots, and they desired relief for the islanders from the famine caused by the drought.[60] Cyprus was not the only part of the Empire that sent a representative to Istanbul. Other parts of the Empire also sent notables

58 CCR, no:50, 109, 246 01.11.1870.

59 Christian subjects could submit their complaints to the government like Muslim subjects. Also, complaining about the religious leaders was not unusual in other parts of the Ottoman Empire too. For example, see: Saliha Gümrükçüoğlu, "The Complaints of Ottoman Society according to Record Book of Complaints" *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* vol.61, no.1 (2012), pp.175-206. In her article, Gümrükçüoğlu examines the complaints in the 17th century, showing whom Muslim and non-Muslim women and men complained and about which subjects in tables.

60 Andrekos Varnava, "Sophronios III, 1865-1900: The Last of the 'Old' and the First of the 'New' Archbishop-Ethnarchs?" In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. by Andrekos Varnava and Michalis N. Michael, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), p.115. In addition, the delegation complained about becoming a part of the province of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid in 1868. Since the transportation between Çanakkale, the center of the province, and Cyprus was made only once in fifteen days, the state affairs of the islanders were delayed. The delegation demanded that Cyprus be transformed into a separate province. For details, see: Hasan Samani, "Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs (1839-1878)" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University,2006), pp.21-24.

to submit their requests and complaints. However, the notables sometimes abused their mission and collected extra money from people for their traveling expenses. Both non-Muslim and Muslim notables such as Kocabashis or Imams abused their positions and collected extra money from the people. On 16 August 1863, Sultan sent an order to the Governor of Cyprus, Halet Bey.[61] According to the order, some people from Anatolia and Rumelia were sent to Istanbul to represent the people. However, this situation was used as a pretext to collect money from ordinary people. Especially Kocabashis, who were the notables of the non-Muslim community, built churches or fountains thanks to the money they collected. The order identified these buildings as unnecessary constructions. Further, the order highlighted that some villages fell into ruin because of the miserable situation of the villagers. The Sultan ordered that this illegal money collection be prevented. He also ordered that the people should apply to the courts to support the representative, and only the court could determine how much money should be collected and who should be paid.[62] The Kocabashis misappropriated the money of villagers, and this was found out by the inspectors of Rumelia and Anatolia. The Sultan strictly requested that his people should only pay determined taxes and no more. He stressed that people who disturb the island's peace would be punished seriously.

This order illustrates that the Sultan requested to know the situation of his people. The modern state should know and control everything within its lands. For this reason, Sultan sent inspectors to different parts of the Empire. As mentioned, during the year 1860, Ihsan Bey was sent to

61 CCR, no:47, 4, 8 16.08.1863. ..Anadolu ve Rumeli caniblerinden bazı istida zımnında Dersaadetüme gönderilmekde olan ademlerin masarıfı ve millet masrafı diyerek kura ve kasabat imam ve muhtar ve kocabaşıları ahaliden tekalif-i mertebe-i miriyenin bir misline karib akçeler tahsil eyledikleri ve kocabaşılar bunu bir tarikle ticaret ittihaz edip beynlerinde kaldırım ve çeşme ve yahut kilise inşası gibi büyük ve münasebetsiz işler açarak ve buna kendileri akçe sarf ve köylüleri birer birer habs ile yedlerinden deyn senedi alarak ve faiz yerine mahsulatı dahi yarı bahasından aşağı fiyat ile zabt efkarına kalkışarak ekser köyler bu yüzden harap olmaya yüz tutmuş ve arazi ve emlak dahi kocabaşılar uhdelerine geçmiş olduğundan..

62 CCR, no:47, 4, 8 16.08.1863.

the island to control the working of Tanzimat rules all over the island. Also, the Sultan took the reports of investigators seriously and sent an order to the island about the problems of different parts of the Empire. He did not want to deal with the same problems in Cyprus. In addition, sending a representative to the center and submitting their desires or complaints were regular habits for the people of Cyprus. The Sultan also considered this habit as usual, and he encouraged people about this issue. His consideration can be understood from this order because the Sultan stated that people could apply to the court to support the representatives. Sultan was satisfied with hearing the requests of his people. During the reign of the Ottoman Empire, the sovereign and his people had an intimate relationship in Cyprus.[63] The Sultan wanted to know his people's situation and provide peaceful lives for easy tax collection. He was not dissatisfied with his people's direct visit to the center. On the contrary, he was ready to support the people who wanted to visit the center. Also, his subjects did not hesitate to submit their requests to the center of the administration.

Moreover, the Ottoman Sultan was not only the ruler of the Muslim community but all the people of the island, both non-Muslims and Muslims. The institutions within the Ottoman Empire served the whole population of the state, even the Muslim Pious Foundations (Waqfs).[64] Both non-Muslim and Muslim communities could benefit from the Waqfs. Cyprus involved many Waqf institutions that were useable for all communities. The non-Muslim community could hire the Waqf properties or directly govern them. For example, in 1870, Hace Hanna applied to the Kadi court because she claimed that her Waqf land was occupied by Zismo and Kakori brothers.[65] During the trial, the viceroy of the director of the Pious

63 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), pp.25-27.

64 For details about Waqfs, see: Murat Çızakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World From the Seventh Century to the Present* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2000); Sefer Soydan, "The Place of Waqfs in the Early Modern Agrarian and Urban History of Ottoman Cyprus" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2020).

65 CCR, no:49, 268, 654 03.06.1870.

Foundations was present in the court. In this case, Hadji Yani and Hani were the witnesses of Hace Hanna. The Kadi decided the Waqf land belonged to Hace Hanna, and he refused the defenses of Zismo and Kakori brothers. As in the other parts of the Empire, the Muslim Pious Foundations could be used by all communities, not only by the Muslim community.[66] Also, the foundations took the case seriously, and the director sent his viceroy to observe the case. Another issue is that the complainant in this example was a woman. A woman Christian Cypriot could apply to the court and, more importantly, could win the case.

In another instance, the governor of the Waqf properties in the colorist bazaar died. The Waqf involved two shops and one estate belonging to Mahmut Celebi Waqf. Mehmet Efendi was a governor of the Waqf, but he died without any issue. For this reason, the properties were auctioned for a new governor. At the end of the auction, the son of Luka, Hadji Haralanbi, hired both the shops and the estate. This renting took place in the presence of the Kadi and witnesses.[67]

The non-Muslim population could benefit from all the administrative institutions during the Ottoman administration. The relationship between the non-Muslim and Muslim islanders with the Ottoman government was almost the same. Both communities had almost the same opportunities and the same responsibilities. However, it does not mean that the Muslim community did not belong to the first class. The Ottoman Empire was governed by the *millet* system, dividing the people according to their religious groups. The Muslims were at the top of the system. Christians came after the Muslims and, lastly, the Jews. It means that the inhabitants were divided in accordance with their religious identity. After the Imperial Edict of Gulhane in 1839, things had started to change, and

66 For example, see: Suraiya Faroqhi "Pious Foundations in the Ottoman Society of Anatolia and Rumelia: a Report on Current Research," in *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne,* ed. by Michael Borgolte with Tilmann Lohse (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), pp. 223-256.

67 CCR, no:45, 47, 64 15.01.1860.

non-Muslims were promised to have the same rights as Muslims.[68] Nevertheless, it does not mean that the Edict was totally implemented, but it was a beginning. As the example of the 1860 inspection illustrates, the administration tried to treat its subjects equally.

On the other hand, according to the order sent on 12 September 1866, all officers should behave and dress appropriately for their ranks. Officers should not request anything from the public.[69] This order did not segregate any community or religious group but addressed every officer. The order had an inclusive feature because it did not address one religious or ethnic group. Considering these examples, we can say that during the Ottoman administration, the people of Cyprus had almost similar relations with the administration. The Sultan had an intimate relationship both with non-Muslim and Muslim communities. For this reason, Cypriots could contact the administration when they had a problem. Also, most of the time, the administration did not discriminate between the people of Cyprus. However, this does not change the fact that the non-Muslim population was considered second-class subjects. Although efforts were made to equalize the Muslim and non-Muslim populations, it could not be fully practiced.[70]

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68 "The decree itself promised four things: first, it guaranteed the security of life, honor, and property to Ottoman subjects; secondly, it declared equality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects; thirdly, it promised to establish a regular system of taxation and to abolish the tax-farming system; and fourthly, it underlined the necessity of a well-functioning system for military service which would include non-Muslims." E. Attila Aytekin, "Peasant Protest in the Late Ottoman Empire: Moral Economy, Revolt, and the Tanzimat Reforms" *International Review of Social History* vol.57, (2012), p.196.

69 CCR, no:47, 163, 262 12.09.1866. With the Tanzimat reforms, officials were prohibited from receiving gifts from the public because these gifts were now seen as bribes. For details, see: Cengiz Kırlı, *Yolsuzluğun İcadı 1840 Ceza Kanunu, İktidar ve Bürokrasi* (Istanbul: Verita Yayınları, 2015).

70 For details about the Tanzimat, see: Carter Findley, "The Tanzimat" in *The Cambridge History of Turkey,* ed. by R. Kasaba (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.11-37. The oppression against the people was not ended after the Tanzimat. For example, the Christian community of Cyprus was insulted by a *Mülazım* (lieutenant) in 1876. The *Mülazım* beat the villagers he had forcibly removed from their churches and

§ 3.4 What Changed After the Ottomans?

In 1878 the island was ceded to Great Britain. At the beginning of the British administration, since it was given temporally, the future of the island was not certain. Cyprus was not like the other colonies of Great Britain because they did not possess the island in real terms. For instance, one of the British war correspondents said; "Far from being the proud owners of a new acquisition, we are mere tenants."[71]

The possibility of giving back the island to the Ottoman Empire prevented producing a long-term development strategy for the island. The purpose of the British administrators was to save the day. Even British High Commissioner Wolseley believed that all the administrative problems were because of the shadowy figure of the actual owner of the island. Who was the real possessor of the island, the British King, the Ottoman Sultan, or both? Was Cyprus the land of Great Britain or not? These questions prevented the establishment of an efficient administrative system in Cyprus, at least until the annexation of the island in 1914.[72] Similar to Cyprus, Egypt was not totally occupied by Great Britain. However, the British desired to seize Egypt in a shadowy way and make reforms in line with their interests. Since the Suez Canal was significant to them, they did not want to lose Egypt to another European state.[73] Nevertheless, unlike Cyprus, their strategy was certain in Egypt, not ambiguous. The British did not hesitate to make reforms in Egypt, not because they considered the Egyptians, but because they needed the reforms.[74] In Cyprus, they did not have an interest in the reforms, and since the beginning, they did not

later had a feast prepared for himself and other *zaptiehs* (police). See: Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.55.

71 Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island A History of the British in Cyprus*, (London&New York: IB Tauris, 2010), p.20

72 Ibid., pp.20-22

73 Roger Owen, *Lord Cromer Victorian Imperialist Edwardian Proconsul*, (UK: Oxford Uni. Press,2004), pp.117–215.

74 Ibid.

totally understand who the owner of the island was and had hesitated to make an investment in the island.

When the island was ceded to the United Kingdom, the administration system was not changed sharply, but the new administration started to affect the lives of Cypriots gradually. The Ottoman Empire had been the theoretical owner of the island until the beginning of the Great War. Therefore, the British administration could not make too many changes immediately. For example, the Penal Code of 1858, Islamic Sheri Courts, and non-Muslim Community Courts remained valid even after the island was taken over.[75] On the other hand, Assize Courts, District Courts, and a Supreme or High Court were established by the new administration as the first step in changing the court system. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was to rule on all criminal and civil cases that did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman courts.[76] The British government had slowly replaced the old system with its own. Thirty-five years after taking over the island, the Governor of Cyprus proposed some changes of the court system to Chief Justice.[77] According to the proposal, the current system was inadequate and expensive:

> There are six District Courts, each consisting of an English President, a Turkish and a Greek Judge, with jurisdiction confined to their own district, is cumbersome and expensive; and it has seemed to me that it would not be difficult to devise a system which would promote efficiency and dispatch of business, and at the same time enable a very great reduction to be made in the staff

75 Turgut Turhan, "The Turkish Cypriot Legal System from a Historical Perspective" *Ankarabarreview*, no.1, vol.3 (2010), p. 102. Sheri Courts were continued until 1930, and in that year, the courts were attached to the *evkaf* department, which became a government department in 1928. This means that the power of Islamic Institutions was reduced. For details, see: Ioannis Moutsis, " The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014), pp. 140-144.

76 Andreas Neocleous & Co, *Introduction to Cyprus Law* (USA: Yorkhill Law Publishing, 2000), p.11.

77 TNA, FCO141/2357 3, 4, 5 07.08.1913.

> of the Courts in Cyprus, and so effect considerable economies in expenditure.[78]

Following these words, the proposal advocates that Cyprus has been changed within thirty years, and three districts instead of six would be enough for the island. However, the power of the Sheri Courts was restricted in 1882 when the judicial system was revised, and the jurisdiction of the regional courts was enhanced. The Sheri Courts' jurisdiction was transferred to civil courts, but the Sheri Courts were not closed.[79] In addition, during the Ottoman times, the bishops could imprison a priest or banish them to a monastery, but under British rule, they did not have the same authority.[80] Both religions' power was restricted during the British administration.

Cypriots soon began to take advantage of the new situation. They continued to claim their rights under British rule as the Ottoman government. For instance, one year after the change in administration, Dervish Ali complained that his land in Kaimakli had been claimed by Constanti, Grigor and Yorghi. He insisted that the land was a lawful legacy from his father, and he held all the imperial legal edicts. Dervish Ali claimed that three people from the village of Kaimakli made a wrong accusation against the supreme court, stating that his land belonged to them. According to Dervish Ali, the court gave a wrong verdict, and he submitted a petition to the British government to solve the situation.[81] When the

78 TNA, FCO141/2357, 5 07.08.1913. After the island became a Crown Colony in 1925, the post of Chief Kadi was abolished and three courts were established: Nicosia-Kyrenia, Famagusta-Larnaca and Limassol-Paphos. See: Ioannis Moutsis, "The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014), pp.142-143.

79 Andreas Neocleous & Co, *Introduction to Cyprus Law* (USA: Yorkhill Law Publishing, 2000), pp.11-12. The practices remaining from the Ottoman Empire lasted until 1935. The British Common Law was fully introduced on the island in 1935. Ibid, p.12.

80 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.140.

81 Cyprus State Archives, SAO3/782 14.06.1879. The mentioned supreme court was established with the 1864 Province Regulation. According to this, a Deavi council was

court, which remained from Ottoman rule, did not make the decision he wanted, Dervish Ali did not hesitate to complain about the situation to the British administration but also insisted that he had imperial edicts for the land. Dervish Ali believed that the decision of the Ottoman court was wrong, and that the British administration could solve this mistake. He represented the edicts in his hand as proof of his rightness. In another other example, this time, Esma Hanım stated that the verdict of the supreme court was wrong.[82] She made a petition to the government of Cyprus and wrote that the supreme court sentenced his son to murder, but his son did not kill the man. The man died a natural death in the coffeehouse. She also insisted that there were Christian and Muslim eyewitnesses who testified before the court. However, the court convicted his son, and she asked for mercy for her son. What is interesting is that the sentence of his son was given to him ten years ago. When the administration of the island changed, Esma Hanım applied to new rulers, thinking that she could save her son. Esma saw the change in the island's administration as a chance to save her son. It did not matter who was the governor for her.

Not only the Muslim community made petitions to the new government. For example, Eleni from Nicosia complained that she had a garden left to her by her father, but her late husband's creditors seized the garden.[83] Eleni submitted a petition to the British government and claimed the garden she had inherited. Another Christian woman complained about the supreme court's sentence in a property dispute with her nephew.[84] Like Esma and Dervish Ali, she thought the verdict of the

established in each district, and this council consisted of three members, Muslim and non-Muslim, under the presidency of the Sheri judge of the district. In the centers, a supreme court was established, and murder and civil cases that the district courts could not take were heard here. They also taken on cases in which the parties applied to appeal after the verdict of the district courts. See: *DİA*, "Nizamiye Mahkemeleri." For details about the courts established after the Tanzimat in Cyprus, see: Hasan Samani, "Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs (1839-1878)" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University,2006), pp.24-52.

82 SAO3/796 17.06.1879.

83 SAO3/822 1879.

84 SAO3/703 1879.

supreme court was wrong and applied to the British government. Moreover, when the British government could not solve the cases as the people desired, people wanted to apply to Istanbul, the center of the Ottoman Empire. For example, Georgi Christofides wrote a petition that his case should be referred again to the supreme court in Istanbul.[85] When the island was handed over to British rule, religious or national identity concerns did not exist in the practices of Cypriots to solve their problems. The important thing was to handle the problems they faced. The solution could come from the British or Ottoman administrations.

The Ottoman Empire started to establish councils after the Edict of Tanzimat. In 1867, in addition to Great Council in Nicosia, each of the sixteen districts of the island had its own Municipal Council. These councils were composed of the local governor as president, the Kadi, three Muslims, and two Christians that were elected within their communities. After five years, the system was changed, and two Administrative Councils as Chief Council were established. In addition, Judicial Tribunal was established and presided over by the Kadi. Each of them was composed of three Muslims and three Christian members.[86] The British administration continued this habit and, in 1882, established the Legislative Council, which was composed of both non-Muslim and Muslim Cypriots and British members.[87] The council comprised nine elected Christian Cypriots, three elected Muslim Cypriots and six appointed British members. The term of the council was five years, and the elections were held separately for the two communities. The number of Christian members were increased to twelve in 1925 when Cyprus became a Crown Colony. The number of British members also increased to nine, but the number of Muslim

85 SAO3/821 1879.

86 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume 4: The Ottoman Province The British Colony*, 1571-1948, (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010), pp. 205-2011. Also, see: Michalis Michael, "From the Ottoman Meclis-i Idâre to the British Legislative Council" in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood The Ottoman and Post-Ottoman World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism*, ed. by M. Michael, T. Anastassiadis, C. Verdeil, (Berlin: Klaus Schwars Verlag, 2014), pp.105-130.

87 Ilia Xypolia, *British Imperialism and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus 1923-1939 Divide, Define and Rule*, (London&New York: Routledge, 2018), p.122.

members remained the same.[88] It can be assumed that Muslim Cypriots felt even more powerless in this situation. On the other hand, the council did not hold an actual power and mostly nominal because absolute authority belonged to the British administration. When the colonial government had difficulties in implementing its policies, the Legislative Council could be ignored easily. Also, the Cypriot members could not deal with the critical issues because the significant issues, such as the island's budget, were solely the decision of the British administration.[89] In addition, all Cypriots did not have a voting right. Those who could vote should be a man above the age of 21 and hold a permanent residence on the island at least five years before the election date. Also, the voters should have paid the previous year's taxes or the rent of a house or a shop.[90] This meant that not only women, but also ordinary Cypriot men could not vote. The Legislative Council was an elitist council because of its form, and not surprisingly, the participation rate in the election was very low. Both the number of Cypriots who registered to vote and the number of Cypriots who actually voted were very few. For example, there were 13,616 registered Muslim Cypriot voters in the 1925 election, but only 8,552 Muslim men voted. Similarly, 45,342 Christian men were registered, but 29,966 of them voted.[91] Also, participation in the elections was very low compared to the population ratio of both communities. The Greek Cypriot population was 246,498 in the year 1921, and the Muslim population was 59,717. When the other years are analyzed, it is revealed that about ten percent of the population of both communities voted in the elections.[92] Table 3.1 shows the four election years, which were also the population census years. Since the British administration separated the Cypriots as non-Muslim and Muslim, the table shows Cypriots in the same

88 Yiannos Katsurides, Kıbrıs Komünist Partisi Tarihi Sömürgecilik, Sınıf ve Kıbrıs Solu, (İstanbul: Kalkedeon, 2014), pp.86-87.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.pp.90-91. Also, see: Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), pp.84-85.

91 Cyprus Blue Book 1925, p.96.

92 *Cyprus Blue Book* 1900-1901, 1910-1911, 1921, 1925, 1930.

way. The total participation in the elections was meager, but these members represented the people of Cyprus, and when they had a problem, the elected members made a petition to the administration or directly visited the head office. This made ordinary Cypriots dependent on these elite council members. It also means that the problems of councilors might not always be the same as those of ordinary Cypriots.

Table 3.1: Voting rate by population[93]

	Population		Registered Electorates		Voters		Percentage of Voters		
Years	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Total
1901	185796	48864	24952	6122	17816	2745	10%	6%	9%
1911	216310	55213	34331	7777	8241	2853	4%	5%	4%
1921	246498	59717	45342	13616	29966	8552	12%	14%	13%
1930	279247	62860	49831	11789	26024	5686	9%	9%	9%

§ 3.5 The Islanders: Between the Bargains of the Two Governments

When the British administration took over the management of the island, they did a careful survey of the financial condition of Cyprus. In September 1878 British Financial Commissioner prepared a report that included an estimate of revenue and expenditure of the year in addition to describing several taxes in Cyprus.[94] According to the report: the Ottoman revenue on the island can be classified under these main titles; tithes on agricultural produce, property tax and trade taxes, sheep and goat tax, custom dues, excise on tobacco and spirits, salt monopoly, exemption from military service and miscellaneous taxes.[95] Tithe tax on agricultural

93 The table is created according to the information obtained from the Cyprus Blue Book and the Census. There was no population census in 1930, and data from 1931 were used. In other years, census and elections were held in the same year.

94 Sir Charles W. J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* Robert Scott Roxburghe House, London, 1918, (reprinted, London: Zeno Publishers, 1972),p.79.

95 Ibid.

products was very crucial for the Ottoman Empire, whose economy was still based on agriculture in the 19th century.[96]

On the other hand, the British administration should have paid tribute to the Ottoman Empire in accordance with the treaty between them.[97] The Ottoman State determined the tribute according to the surplus of income of the island. Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire and the British government calculated different surpluses of income. According to the Ottomans, the total amount of income was 174,000 sterling, and the expenses of the island were 24,000 sterling. So, the surplus of income of the island was 150,000 sterling, but according to the British administration, it was 100,000 sterling. The British administration defended that the total income of the island was 170,000 sterling, and the expenses were 52,000 sterling.[98]

96 Nadir Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet* (1839-1908) (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2015), p.39.

97 According to the Cyprus Convention: "That England will pay to the Porte whatever is the present excess of revenue over expenditure in the island; this excess to be calculated upon and determined by the average of the last five years, stated to be 22,936 purses, to be duly verified hereafter, and to the exclusion of the produce of State and Crown lands let or sold during that period." Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks 1571-1878* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1989),p.261.

98 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume 4: The Ottoman Province The British Colony*, 1571-1948, (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010), pp.463-464

Table 3.2: The estimated revenue made by the British government for the first year of administration.[99]

Tithes on Agricultural Produce	£72,000
Property and Trade Tax	22,000
Sheep Tax	11,000
Custom Dues	13,400
Excise on Tobacco and Spirit	16,850
Salt Monopoly	15,145
Exemption from Military Service Tax	9,000
Miscellaneous	10,605
Total	170,000

After lengthy discussions and calculations, on 3 February 1879, the tribute was determined as 92,440 sterling.[100]

In another respect, the existing tax system was continued on the island during the British administration with some differences. During the Ottoman regime, the tithes were auctioned to rich people in the spring of each year. The tithe farmer signed an agreement for his purchase to be paid in six months installments beginning from 1 August.[101] Nevertheless, according to British officers, tax farming was not profitable. It was seen

99 Sir Charles W. J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London: Zeno Publishers, 1972),p.87.

100 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume 4: The Ottoman Province The British Colony, 1571-1948*, (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010),p.464

101 Sir Charles W. J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London: Zeno Publishers, 1972),p.80. If there were no customers as a result of the tithe auction or the highest proposed price was lower than the tithe price of the previous year, the tithe income was collected by the appointed officer. For details, see: Hasan Samani, "Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs (1839-1878)" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University,2006), pp.224-236. For the Ottoman tax farming system, which was changed with the Edict of Tanzimat, and the implementations made afterwards, see: Nadir Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2015).

as the reason for peasants' poverty, and British officers defended that the peasant fell into the hands of the moneylender because of the tax system.[102] British High Commissioner Sir Garnet Wolseley appointed one of the most successful tithe farmers as Chief Collector of Tithes and gave him the title of Auditor and Account-General. His aim was to prevent corruption among the tax collectors, and he reached his goal at least in 1879. Unlike the Ottoman period, all tithes were entirely collected in 1879.[103]

Furthermore, the only new tax that the British administration levied was locust taxes in 1881.[104] As mentioned, locusts destroyed the agricultural production on the island and caused famine. In the Ottoman era, every male Cypriot between the ages of eighteen and sixty had to bring a bushel of locust eggs each year, and they were obliged to work on destroying living locusts without any price. After the British took over the island, this obligation was abolished, and the administration imposed a special tax for the destruction of locusts. The amount of this tax was about 9,000 sterling per year.[105]

Thus, from the point of the welfare of the islanders, the new administration did not make things better but worse. For the protection of

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102 Sir Charles W. J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London: Zeno Publishers, 1972),p.81. Even in the 1920s, most of the population was peasants, and only 19% of the population belonged to the working class. See: Yiannos Katsurides, *Kıbrıs Komünist Partisi Tarihi Sömürgecilik, Sınıf ve Kıbrıs Solu*, (İstanbul: Kalkedeon, 2014), p.66. For details, see: Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996). The majority of Cypriot society was peasant when the island came under British rule, and this did not change much with the new government. As a matter of fact, in 1946, the peasant population had almost doubled compared to the Ottoman period. See: Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019), pp.70-71. In addition, many of the peasants owed money to usurers under the British administration too. For example, during the 1930s, 63% of farmers were indebted to moneylenders, ibid, p.79.

103 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus Volume 4: The Ottoman Province The British Colony*, 1571-1948, (USA: Cambridge Uni Press, 2010), pp.444-445

104 Ibid.p.448

105 Sir Charles W. J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London: Zeno Publishers, 1972), pp.90-91.

moneylenders, the new government made it legal in 1885 for lenders to claim and receive the right from the court to seize and retain an immovable property for the purpose of safe custody.[106] The tax policy of the new administration was heavier for the public. Cypriots were still suffering from poverty, and the new administration also added uncertainty. For example, in 1895, the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs reported his conversation with the translator of the British Embassy. He said that there were some political disturbances among Cypriots, but they were not dangerous, and nobody escaped from the island due to this problems.[107] It is understood that there was not an unproblematic situation in Cyprus and escaping from the island was still a problem, yet the ambassador needed to stress that people did not escape from the island.

As mentioned, the British administration had to pay 92,440 Sterling to the Ottoman Empire for rent. However, this money never reached Sublime Port because the tribute was used to pay the Ottoman loan of 1855.[108] To supply the tribute, Cypriots should have paid more taxes. As predicted, high taxes created uncomfortable daily lives and affected the social and political lives of the people. It is important to note that the tribute did not end after the British annexation of Cyprus in 1914. Its name was changed and became "*Share of Cyprus of the Turkish Debt Charge*."[109] It means that Cyprus continued to support the share of the Ottoman Public Debt even after the British annexation of the island. For this reason, Cyprus became one of the colonies that was forced to pay the highest percentage of taxes.[110] The British politics of taxation caused extreme poverty on the island.[111] For instance, according to a poem which was written on 15 April 1882, the British administration was blamed for attacking Cypriots with

106 The Cyprus Gazette, 2.02.1885.

107 BOA, Y.A.HUS. 326, 119 5.05.1895.

108 Sophia Argyriou, ''The Imperialistic Foundations of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus'' *The Cyprus Review,* Vol.30, No.1 (2018), pp.299-301.

109 Sir Charles W. J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London: Zeno Publishers, 1972), p.63.

110 Sophia Argyriou, ''The Imperialistic Foundations of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus'' *The Cyprus Review,* Vol.30, No.1 (2018), p.300.

111 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in* Cyprus (London: IB Tauris, 2004), p.26.

extreme and heavy taxes, and the poem called both Muslim and Christian Cypriots for unification against the British administration;

> Those efendis and kadis,
> To attack us with deeper
> And more constricting taxes.
> People of Cyprus, Christian
> Together with Muslim,
> You have a common interest,
> Work together.
> Enough of English
> Politics and flattery
> For our common good
> We must unite[112]

In 1882 the British administration did not annex the island yet, and it can be said that the British governor of Cyprus was appointed by the Ottoman Sultan. The island was suffering from not one but two administrations. For this reason, the poem complained about both *Efendis* and *Kadis* and *English Politics*. The people of Cyprus were satisfied with neither British nor Ottoman administration. Passing the administration from Muslims to Christians would be gratifying for the Christian Cypriots. However, the new governor could not solve the economic problems, and the daily lives of Cypriots did not improve. It can be said that, who the governor was, did not matter to the Cypriots. Their desired a better economy and lifestyle.[113] In addition, according to the poem, the Ottoman *Kadis* and *Efendis* were not trustworthy people, but they attacked Cypriots with more taxes. It seems the Muslim Cypriots who belonged to the elite group collaborated with the British administrators. The relationship between British rulers and the Ottoman elites in Cyprus seems to be a

112 Ibid.pp.38-39 *Keravnos*, 15.04.1882.

113 The complaints of the islanders through the newspapers are also examined in chapter 6.

cooperative relationship.[114] Both groups behaved in accordance with their interests. For example, the Legislative Council compromised of nine non-Muslims, three Muslims, and six officials, which means English men. If the Muslim members requested equal power with the non-Muslim Cypriots, they had to be on the British side. This attitude was beneficial for the British administration because it did not want any cooperation against itself. However, the Muslim community did not always stand with the British members of the council, and they sometimes cooperated with the non-Muslim members against the economic policy of the administration.[115] They frequently criticized the government's management of the economy. For instance, on 16 March 1887, one of the Greek Cypriot members of the Legislative Council submitted a resolution for the economic problems, and it was supported by nine Greek Cypriots and two Turkish Cypriots members. The resolution demanded economic relief for the Cypriots, and it stated that Britain and the Ottoman State should solve the economic troubles or the British Treasury should pay the whole tribute.[116] The Cypriots members of the council could have contributed to the establishment of the Cypriot identity, but they did not. They were unable to unite against colonial rule. They could have united in their common interests, but since they built their belongingness through different countries, they could not do that.

If we turn back to the poem, it seems the people of Cyprus were not pleased with both Ottoman elites and British administrators. They were the same for the islanders. Their economic conditions were not good during the Ottoman reign and did not improve during the British administration. On the other hand, the year 1882 was not a time when people did not

114 Ioannis Moutsis, " The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014),p.38.

115 Ilia Xypolia, British Imperialism and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus 1923-1939 Divide, Define and Rule, (London&New York: Routledge, 2018), pp.130-131.

116 Sia Anagnostopoulou, "The Mass Mobilizations in Cyprus within the British Colonial Framework 1887-1889." In *Social Transformation and Mass Mobilization in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean Cities 1900-1923*, ed. by Andreas Lyberatos, (Greece: Panepistimio Kritis, 2013), p.342.

know of nationalism. They were acquainted with this ideology, yet the poem does not stress the national identities but religious ones. The people of Cyprus still identified themselves as Christian or Muslim, not Greek or Turkish. In addition, the poem accepts their differences, but it calls the people of Cyprus to be unite against their common enemies, the British and the Ottoman administrators. It can be deduced from the poem that the people were separated according to their religious identity. However, it is crucial that some Cypriots tried to get rid of this identifications and wanted to unite the people of the island. Further, the poem does not mention the mother lands: Greece and Turkey. It addresses the Cypriots belonging to the island to unite against the oppressors. The poem defined Cypriots through Cyprus, where they lived in, and the poet did not become alienated from Cyprus and did not seek another place to belong.

§ 3.6 British Modernization on the Island

Passing the administration of the island to the British government was not an easy process from the beginning. In contrast with the Ottoman system, the British administration started to create a constitutional regime in Cyprus.[117] As mentioned, the British administration had to pay tribute to the Ottoman Empire, and the amount of the tribute was very high for the island, where the majority of the approximately 140,000 population was a peasant.[118] When the British administration collected the

117 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), p.25. For the different attitudes of the British government, see: Michalis Michael, "From the Ottoman Meclis-i Idâre to the British Legislative Council" in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood The Ottoman and Post-Ottoman World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism*, ed. by M. Michael, T. Anastassiadis, C. Verdeil, (Berlin: Klaus Schwars Verlag, 2014), pp. 105-130.

118 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), p.25. It has been mentioned above that a large part of the population was peasants under both the Ottoman and British administrations.

first taxes on the island, the Bishop of Kition wrote to Commissioner of Limassol Colonel Falk Warren and said;

> If I relate matters in a plain and straightforward manner, it is my character so to do: I used to act similarly toward the former administration, which was not an English administration, and whose officials were not citizens of the most Constitutional state under the Sun. Excellency, the Cypriotes are the most docile people in the Ottoman Empire, and if any persons have told you otherwise, they have deceived you. The rural population of Cyprus, as well as the inhabitants of the cities, are in penury, and they absolutely required some assistance at first so as to enable them to recover. They have been fearfully oppressed, contrary to orders, issued by the Imperial Government and in defiance of existing laws, by selfish officials; and I consider that it should be one of the highest duties of the new administration to shew without any delay the difference which ought to exist between the Turkish rule and the European administration of enlightened Englishmen. Dear Mr. Warren, I may be mistaken in my appreciation of things, but I will not conceal from you that I think that you treat the Christian population of this district, and their Spiritual Chief as unmanageable self-willed subjects, a trouble to their late paternal government, but this is as far from the truth as heaven is removed from Earth.[119]

Bishop Kyprianos illustrated his feelings with his words, and he asked for a solution to the problems, especially financial troubles. He directly wrote to the Commissioner of Limassol because Cypriot notables were accustomed to writing their problems directly to the Sublime Port. As mentioned, they made petitions to the Cyprus governor, or they directly visited the center to submit their complaints and desires. However, this behavior was not acceptable to the British administration. In the eyes of British administrators, the Bishop of Kition violated British rules and

119 Ibid.p.26. TNA, CO67/7, 339,340.

ignored British authority.[120] In point of fact, the Bishop criticized the system, which officers abused, but did not criticize Britannic Majesty. His meaning of the abuse was an equal tax collecting system among Cypriots.

The Ottoman administration did not implement strict administration on the island. For instance, the Ottoman administrators did not investigate the exact right of villagers to land, trees, and water. In contrast to this attitude, the British administration made detailed investigations into the topography and situation of all villages.[121] In addition, they apportioned the lands among peasants and gave them land titles. Thus, the Cypriot peasants were transformed into legal taxpayers, individuals with equal rights. Differences between peasants and religious leaders or other notables were abolished in the reign of the British administration.[122]

The Bishop compared the old and new administrations, and he defined the British administrators as *enlightened Englishmen.* He considered the Ottoman Empire a backward state, and he expected better government from the British governors. Nevertheless, his expectations and the European administration of enlightened Englishmen were different from each other. As mentioned, the new administration system was based on systematic taxation for all people. The new administration did not desire to act in favor of some groups, but the Bishop requested to continue his life as how it was during the old government. He expressed at the beginning of his writing that he *used to act similarly toward the former administration*. He contrasted the two administrations, but it seems that he did not want any change in the administration system. In addition, he expected better treatment of the Christian population, but he was probably disappointed because the new administration did not care about the religion of the islanders. Further, the new administration did not want religious authorities to represent the people of Cyprus. Unlike the Ottoman Council (*Meclis-i Idâre*), British Legislative Council removed all political responsibilities from the religious authorities. Also,

120 Ibid.

121 Sir Charles W. J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London: Zeno Publishers, 1972), p.84.

122 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), p.27.

new administrators refused to accept political petitions in the interest of the Orthodox Church.[123]

According to the new government, Cyprus was a new colony of the Britannic Majesty, and the people on the island were backward and ignorant; they did not become aware of the European civilization. The perspective of Great Britain on the island can be examined with the comical song of E.V. Page;

> Here's another little baby Queen Victoria has got,
> Another little colony, although she has got a lot,
> Another little Island, very wet, and very hot,
> Whatever will she do with little Cyprus?
> Already she has Colonies the names I quite forget,
> For on Victoria's family, the sun can never set,
> She'll surely never manage them, if troublesome they get,
> So I'll tell you I'd do with little Cyprus
>
> We could send Sir Wilfred Lawson, just to show them how to drink
> The water; that's so nasty, out in Cyprus
>
> Now that Cyprus has been rescued from the bonds of Mr. Turk,
> She can rescue us from 'Turkish Bonds' that 'Bulls' would gladly shirk
>
> We'll send them several palaces, that lately are 'to let'
> And if they're very good, we'll let them pay our National Debt
> We mean to do the fatherly by Cyprus
> We can give them the Permissive, and the Sunday Closing Bills,
> And lots of Irish Members, who will cure their island's ills
> And we'll send them Captain Burnaby, with tons of Cockles Pills,

123 Michalis Michael, "From the Ottoman Meclis-i Idâre to the British Legislative Council" in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood The Ottoman and Post-Ottoman World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism*, ed. by M. Michael, T. Anastassiadis, C. Verdeil, (Berlin: Klaus Schwars Verlag, 2014), pp.119-121.

To cure the collywobbles, out in Cyprus.[124]

These verses demonstrate that the new administration did not consider important the Christian population of the island. They were the same as the Muslim population because they were accustomed to the administration of the Ottoman Empire, the sick man of Europe. The poet ironizes even the drinking water, and he did not think that the people of Cyprus know how to drink water appropriately. The poet did not separate the Christian and Muslim populations of the island. Both communities were backward and ignorant in his consideration. The communities were in need of the learning of European civilization to reach a better life.

In 1879 two Cypriot priests were arrested because they grass downed their goats in the protected forest. Later, their heads and bears were shaved in prison.[125] The Cypriot notables strictly criticized this "*vandalous action,*" and their letters were published in the newspaper.[126] The British administration defended this attitude because, according to the administration, the action was standard; all prisoners were shaved in prison. Nevertheless, in the eyes of Cypriot notables, this was an insult to their honor and position.[127] It can be said that the attitude of the new administration was not expected for the Cypriot notables. It was a European Colonial Empire, and its first desire was to adjust the administration system to govern and exploit the island easily. However, the Cypriot notables did not want to lose their position, which they had during the Ottoman administration. They were accustomed to having precedence, and they wanted to continue their lives with these privileges, not the same as ordinary people. They had difficulty accepting the punishment of the

124 Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus,1878-1915 The inconsequential possession,* (UK: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp.285-287. "Comical Topical Song", written by E.V. Page.

125 Paul A. Skvarka, "Cyprus: The Road to Partition 1950-1974'' (MA Thesis, University of Washington, 1994), p.14.

126 Cyprus Press and Information Office Digital Archives, (CPIO), *Neon Kition*, 25.06.1879.

127 Rebecca Bryant, I*magining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), pp.27-28.

British administration because the Ottoman rulers did not behave them as the new rulers.

This example can be evaluated in terms of modernization. E.P Thompson explains in his book the process of the common lands becoming private lands.[128] He mentioned that land titles were started to use during the 18th century, and common areas became private lands. Common areas were enclosed, and peasants especially lost the properties which they used before. In the example of Cyprus, priests violated the rule, not ordinary peasants, and they grass down their goats in the forest which was protected and close to the use of people. They were probably accustomed to using this forest during the old administration, and they continued their habit. However, the new administration was different from the old one. It desired to establish a well-disciplined and modern system of administration. On the other hand, the people of Cyprus requested to live as they used to, and they did not consider the action of British rulers as justified treatment. It was not easy for the islanders to give up their habits.

The British administrative system had some differences from the Ottoman system, and especially noble Cypriots had difficulty getting used to this new system. Under the Ottoman administration, communication was sometimes problematic, and people mainly had left to their own devices.[129] The island can be described as almost disengaged under the Ottoman administration, but Great Britain requested to establish modern and systematic administration. On the other hand, Cypriots did not give up on their habits. They continued to make a petition about their desires or complaints and visited the center of the administration. For instance,

128 E.P Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters The Origin of the Black Act*, (London: Breviary Stuff Publication, 2013). Forests were generally public lands and were resource-rich lands around which an ecosystem of hunters, foresters, gatherers, and others traditionally earned their livelihood. With the new laws in the 18th century, forests which were common lands before, became inaccessible to ordinary people.

129 BOA, A.}MKT.MHM. 238,18, 21.06.1862. The Cyprus Assembly complained that it caused delays and difficulties in communication because the ferry was not operating regularly in Cyprus.

in 1912, some of the Greek elected members presented themselves before the Secretary of State for the Colonies.[130]

§ 3.7 Conclusion

Cyprus had experienced two different administrations at the end of the 19th century. The Ottoman Empire had ruled the island for over three hundred years, and she had a different administration system from Great Britain, a European colonial power. This part requested to illustrate the relations between the two administrations and the people of the island. The financial difficulties within the island were never solved during both two administrations. Cypriots were suffering from economic problems, and they escaped from the island from time to time. Escaping from the island was a problem under both governments, but Cypriots also preferred to make a petition to the rulers about their problems. They did not hesitate to complain about the administration, and they tried to be heard by the governors.

In addition, as in the other parts of the Ottoman Empire, both the Muslim and non-Muslim communities applied to the Kadi court when they were in need. Neither non-Muslim nor the Muslim community hesitated to apply to the Muslim Kadi court. The non-Muslim community used the Sharia court like the Muslim Cypriots. The Christian Cypriots had applied to the Kadi courts even when they complained about their religious leaders. Also, non-Muslim Cypriots could use the Waqf properties as the Muslim community.

The British administration was not in accordance with the habits of the Cypriots. The islanders were used to more free lives within the island, but the British rulers requested to establish a well-disciplined administrative system. This caused some problems between the new administration and the Cypriots. Further, the fact that the island was assigned temporally made the administrative position of the British ambivalent.

130 TNA, FCO141/2350, 107 26.06.1912.

Initially, they did not know how to manage the island. Also, Cypriots did not know how they should react to the new administration. This created a problematic situation for both the new administration and the Cypriots. In addition, another reason for the problems between the Cypriots and the British administration was the Cypriots' consciousness in the administration. They were used to intimate relations with the Ottoman administration, and the new colonial administration was strange to both non-Muslim and Muslim communities. The islanders requested to live as they lived during the Ottoman administration. The chapter shows that the British Christian administration did not care about the religion of the Greek Cypriots. They considered both communities backwards and the remnants of the sick man of Europe, the Ottoman State. Under the new administration, the disdain of the Greek Cypriot community, who were already second-class citizens in the Ottoman administration, alienated them from the place where they lived. As a result of alienation, they belonged to the island as long as Cyprus was a part of Hellenic ideology; otherwise, they did not belong to Cyprus. They desired to belong somewhere and get rid of their ambivalent situation.

4

Sharing Region / Sharing Religion: Coexistence on the Island of Cyprus

The main difference between humans and nonhuman animals is the ability to create narrative and fiction.

> Once the strong existing predisposition to play combined with existing capacities for event comprehension, memory, imagination, language, and narrative, we could begin to invent fiction, and to explore the full range of human possibilities in concentrated, engaging, memorable forms… I argued that fictional storytelling is itself a human adaptation, not just a byproduct of features the human genome was adaptively designed for… Narrative arose from an adaptive predisposition for sociality, social monitoring, and information-sharing…[1]

Humans have created their lives based on fictional imagination, and our social and even family relations are based on imagination. Social groups and identities are all the product of human beings, and this

1 Brian Boyd "The Evolution of Stories: from Mimesis to Language, from Fact to Fiction" *WIREs Cognitive Science* (2017). DOI: 10.1002/wcs.1444 access, 21.10.2020.

evolutionary feature of humanity can be used in historical research.[2] Benedict Anderson, while describing the formation of the nations, defended that they are imaginary things, and nations are not real but constructed by human beings.[3] The idea of Anderson can be extended with the opinion mentioned above. Not only the nations but the whole relations among people are based on our fiction. In other words, people can create their reality and believe it. Inter-communal relations can be evaluated through this idea. All the issues of inter-communal relations can be examined with the humans' ability to create fiction. They had shared their daily habits and customs, but they did not give up reconstructing their boundaries

2 For example, according to J.J. Bachofen, today's patriarchal family structure did not exist in ancient history. He defended that the ancient societies were matriarchal, but later patriarchy overtook the matriarchy and today's social order has been constructed. See: J.J. *Bachofen, Myth, Religion, and Mother Right: Selected Writings of J.J. Bachofen* (USA: Princeton University Press, 1992). He was one of the first who examined the family as a constructed thing. His work about matriarchy (*Das Mutterrecht*) was published in 1861 in German. After him, in 1884, F. Engels also argued that the traditional family as a monogamous household is a construction of capitalist society. See: F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (London: Penguin, 2010). The idea of matriarchy has been used but also criticized by feminist scholars. For example, Cynthia Eller defends that there is no sufficient source for the matriarchal states in history, and women do not need matriarchal myth to stand up against sexism. See: C. Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Will Not Give Women a Future* (USA: Bacon Press, 2000). However, my aim here is to stress the artificial and constructed aspects of our social relations. It is not essential for the thesis whether the matriarchal societies existed in the past or not. The significant thing for this thesis is that the idea that social structures are fiction has existed since the 19th century. In addition, Yuval Noah Harari has popularized the issue of fiction in his book, arguing that humans can act en masse because of their unique ability to believe in imaginary things such as gods, nations, money and human rights. This means that the social life in which people have been living is their own product. See: Y.N. Harari, *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* (UK: Vintage, 2015).

3 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, A brilliant exegesis on nationalism*, (UK: Verso, 2006). For details about the theories on nationalism, see: Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism a Critical Introduction*, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

repeatedly.[4] For instance, Cypriots consciously had imagined themselves in different identities as Muslim Cypriots and Christian Cypriots but unconsciously had lived according to the shared customs.[5] The imaginary identities helped people to create boundaries among themselves. The boundary had become visible, especially in mixed marriages. Both Christian and Muslim communities on the island were against mixed marriages because they did not consider the people from the "other" community as the neighbor who shared the same habits but considered those who belonged to the wrong religion.[6] When they complained about their problems to Ihsan Bey, they unconsciously became a whole piece of the island and did not consider the ethno-religious differences.[7] They could attend the other community's religious festival and socialize, sell or buy something at the festival but could not marry people from the "other" community.[8] All of these are about how people fictionalize themselves and "others." As in the below-mentioned experiment of Muzafer Sherif, people create their communities themselves, and later they become to identify themselves with the community. In other words, when people live together without narrating their identity, there is no problem, but when they start to fictionalize themselves and "others," the separation

4 For details about social boundaries, see: Rebecca Bryant, "Everyday Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Space" In *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict,* ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), pp.1-38.

5 For examples of their sharing, see: Eleni Lytras, Charis Psaltis*, Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future,* (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2011); Jan Asmussen, "Life and Strife in Mixed Villages: Some Aspects of Interethnic Relations in Cyprus Under British Rule" *The Cyprus Review* no.1 vol.8 (Spring, 1996), pp.101-110.

6 J. Asmussen, "Intermarriage and Interethnic Love Stories From Cyprus" *Halk Bilimi Dergisi* vol.57 (2011).

7 The inspection of Ihsan Bey was examined in chapter 3.

8 Although Ionnides does not mention much about Muslim Cypriots in his book, while examining the Christian Cypriots' *panigyri*, which was the eve of the feast day of a saint or a religious holiday, he mentions Muslim Cypriots who attended these religious fairs, especially for commercial activities. See: Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019), pp.115-116. "They (*panigyri*) also demonstrated, through Christian-Muslim trading, the peaceful coexistence between the two groups." Ibid, p.115.

and conflict begin. Fiction can be the reason for the conflict between communities. That is to say, human-being has created different communities through fiction and then assigned a meaning to them. The same purposes and interests are the reasons for the corporation between people belonging to different identities despite the fiction. Thus, the coexistence of different groups is a complicated issue. When they can live peacefully and when they live in a conflict can be changed according to the social and economic circumstances. According to Rebecca Bryant:

> "Coexistence," then, implies recognition of boundaries but also acknowledges that such boundaries are negotiable and that they allow us in some sense still to live together.[9]

When people were living together, they were aware of their differences, especially religious differences. However, these differences were not significant as today, and they could negotiate to live together. As mentioned below, people of Cyprus from different communities lived in mixed villages and cities and joined each other's weddings or religious ceremonies. However, both communities requested to stay away from inter-religious marriages. It means they were aware of their ethno-religious differences, but these differences were not obstacles to living and sharing something together.

The other significant aspect of the inter-communal relations in Cyprus is the issue of being a minority and a majority. Although the Christian Greeks were a minority within the Ottoman Empire, they were the majority on the island. In contrast to the Christians, Muslims were the

9 Rebecca Bryant, "Everyday Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Space" in *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict,* ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), p.8. The term coexistence is used mainly by scholars as a nostalgic term to describe the times when people peacefully shared the same everyday places before the violence broke out. For example, Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation. Muslim-Christian Coexistence and Its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Bryant's edited book has tried to go further and emphasized boundaries between communities had been living together. Coexistence is used in the book "..as an umbrella for understanding ways of living with acknowledged difference." Ibid.

majority component of the Empire but were a minority in Cyprus.[10] In 1881 Greek community was 73.9% of the island population, while Muslims were 24.4%.[11] Peter Loizos describes this situation as a "double minority."[12] Although the Cypriots who belonged to the Orthodox Christian community were a minority within a whole empire, they still formed a clear majority on the island. Despite this, Muslims belonged to the ruling political majority of the Ottoman Empire. Each community had both the characteristic of being a minority and a majority. These could be a factor that brings them closer in addition to the insular spatial feature of the island. Being both minority and majority could make easy the daily coexistence of the islanders. It can be deduced that both communities had a reason to see their group as both superior and inferior to another group. This might be the cause of balance and cooperation among communities.

Moreover, it would be beneficial to include social psychology while studying different communities. Some scientists have studied group conflict, its causes, and solutions.[13] For example, Muzafer Sherif's Intergroup

10 Vasilios Makrides & Irene Dietzel, "Ethno-Religious Coexistence and Plurality in Cyprus Under British Rule (1878-1960)" *Social Compass* vol.56, no.1 (2009), pp.73-74.

11 Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, Census 1881, www.cystat.gov.cy

12 Peter Loizos, "Part Two: An Alternative Analysis," *Cyprus, Minority Rights Group Report* no. 30, (1976); Vasilios Makrides & Irene Dietzel, "Ethno-Religious Coexistence and Plurality in Cyprus Under British Rule (1878-1960)" *Social Compass* vol.56, no.1 (2009), p.74. The term "minority" appeared in the language of political science as a "national minority" with the rise of nationalism during the 19th century. It entered the lexicon of sociology in the first half of the 20th century, and it has been used for relatively vulnerable groups whose members were subject to discrimination. See: Lewis M. Killian, "What or Who is a Minority" *Michigan Sociological Review* no.10 (1996), pp.18-31. My aim in using the terms "minority" and "majority" is not to emphasize the communities regarding discrimination. However, I would like to impress that both communities had reason to consider themselves both strong and powerless against each other. In other words, I use the terms not only politically, because the Muslim community was not a political minority under the Ottoman rule, but also in their literal sense, to express the quantity of communities. Although Christian Cypriots were not excluded in the 20th-century sense, the Christian community was discriminated against because it was seen as a second-class subject in the Ottoman *millet* system.

13 W.F. Stone, P.E. Schaffner, *The Psychology of Politics*, (New York: Springer Science Business Media, 1988), pp. 217-243.

Conflict Paradigm asserted a claim on the origins of the conflict between groups. Sherif and his colleagues conducted several experiments to find the reasons for the conflict. In the first of several experiments, twenty-four boys who were twelve years old, from a similar background were enlisted for a summer camp experience. In the first three days, they spend time together and develop friendships. After, the boys were divided into two equal groups, but the experimenters purposely separated best friends into different groups. They aimed to eliminate group friendship as a cause of intergroup conflict. In this phase, the two groups built new friendships within the groups. Also, they developed a hierarchical in-group structure and group identity. They denominated their groups as Red Devils and Bull Dogs. Next, games that would increase competition between groups started to be played. Competition contributed to a sense of group identity in both groups. In this phase, intergroup hostility started to occur and reach dangerous situations. For example, the children threatened each other with a knife.[14]

The main reason for the hostility between groups is the competition and its prize. It can be said that limited resources can be a cause of hostility between groups. Each group was very keen on winning the prize and earning the honor of their own community. They had created an

14 Ibid. pp. 225-226. The experiment was continued with the famous Robbers Cave Experiment. It was similar to the first experiment; 22 white 11 years old boys were enlisted in the summer camp in Robbers Cave State Park. Scholars have still used the experiments, but they also have been criticized. For example, both the groups and the competition in the experiments were artificial and did not necessarily reflect real life. Also, the experimental subjects were middle-class white boys and did not represent many other groups. See: S. A. McLeod, *Robbers cave experiment*, Simply Psychology, (2008), the article was updated in 2020, www.simplypsychology.org/robbers-cave.html access, 28.07.2022. Although these experiments were done long ago and have been subject to various criticisms, I think they are effective in understanding inter-communal conflict. Also see, M. J. Platow, & J. A. Hunter, "Intergroup relations and conflict: Revisiting Sherif's Boys' Camp studies." In *Social psychology: Revisiting the classic studies* ed. by J. R. Smith & S. A. Haslam, (London: Sage Publications, 2012), pp. 142–159. For the study to make Muzafer Sherif's works relevant again, see: A. Dost-Gözkan,& D. Sönmez Keith, eds. *Norms, Group Conflict, and Social Change: Rediscovering Muzafer Sherif's Psychology,* (UK: Routledge, 2015).

artificial group identity, and they were ready to do everything to protect this constructed identity. In addition, limited sources impassioned children. The sources were the main reason for the hostility because each group requested to win the games and reach the reward. This ambition contributed to the intergroup conflict.

On the other hand, in the last phase of the experiment, the children had to solve some problems together, such as the water problem in the camp area. The problems were created deliberately by the experimenters, and they could not be solved only by one group; both groups had to work together. Thus, the intergroup hostility became reduced when the children struggled together to solve their problems. Sherif and colleagues established the concept of "superordinate goals."[15] The goal made children forget the hostility between each other. Their communication had to develop to reach the "superordinate goal," which caused intergroup intimacy.

If we turn back to the situation in Cyprus, the limited resources and the communication between the communities can be the critical points for our research. Various criticisms can be made of the experiment of Muzafer Sherif, but I believe it would be helpful when examining inter-communal relations in Cyprus. Since the Ottoman conquest of the island, Greek Orthodox and Muslim Turkish Cypriots had lived together and shared the same sources. Cyprus was not a unique case for living in different communities together. People who belonged to different ethno-religious identities had lived together within the Ottoman Empire.[16] Although it was customary for Muslims and non-Muslims to live together within the Ottoman Empire, the fact that Cyprus is an island was an essential factor. Being an island contributed to a certain level of spatial proximity.[17] In addition, neither community had residential exclusivity, and communities did not live in separate quarters of the cities. People

15 Ibid. p. 232.

16 Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, (UK: Cambridge Uni Press, 2005), p.180.

17 Vasilios Makrides, Irene Dietzel, "Ethno-Religious Coexistence and Plurality in Cyprus Under British Rule (1878-1960)" *Social Compass* vol.56, no.1 (2009), pp.73-74. The insular feature of Cyprus was discussed in the thesis in Chapter 2.

occasionally had been divided according to their wealth, not the ethno-religious identity. However, people from different economic classes mainly had lived in the same neighborhoods as people from different religions.[18] All of these could be the reason for cooperation and conflict among the communities.

§ 4.1 Ottoman Land System and its Effects on the Coexistence

Agriculture was the primary source of the Cypriots' income and was based on smallholding peasantry. Also, Cypriot peasants were not the owner of the lands, but they were the grantees.[19] Most of the lands within the island were Miri lands, meaning the lands theoretically belonged to the Sultan, but the peasants had the right to cultivate.[20] Although the peasants could transmit the lands to their sons, money lenders, tax farmers, and government officials could threaten the peasants. With the reforms, the Ottoman government requested to protect peasants against abuses and extortions.[21] The peasants were essential to the Ottoman administration because they were the source of taxes which meant significant state income. The peasants had to be able to pay taxes to the power of the administration. The Ottomans had identified this system as a circle of justice; they were in need of troops for power, money for troops,

18 Ibid.

19 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.29.

20 This was not unique for Cyprus, it was similar in the other parts of the empire. See: Halil Cin, "Osmanlı Toprak Hukukunda Miri Arazinin Hukuki Rejimi ve Bu Arazinin Tmk. Karşısındaki Durumu" *Ankara Uni. Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.22 no.01 (1966).

21 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.29.

prosperity for money and justice and good administration for prosperity.[22] Justice and good administration were directly connected to the taxes because the system could not survive without money. Further, the Office of Registering of Properties on Lands and Buildings was established in Cyprus in 1867.[23] This indicates the desire of the state to know who possessed the lands and to be guarantee for the peasants' right to use lands. Hence, to facilitate tax collection.[24] Thus, the Ottoman governors had to protect the peasants to be able to collect taxes and maintain the power of the state. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the state was always able to protect the peasants.

The property rights on lands in the Ottoman State had transformed during the 19th century, especially with the Land Code of 1858. The Ottoman lands had been divided into five different statues: Mulk, Miri, Waqif, Mevat, and Metruk. Most of the lands within the Empire were composed of Miri lands, and the main aim of the Land Code of 1858 was to control the land revenues within the Miri lands.[25] The statute of the Miri lands was blurred and approached Mulk lands with the Land Code of 1858. Although peasant rights were different, both before and after the Land Code, from absolute property rights, in practice, these rights did not prevent the peasant from pretending to be the owner of the land.[26] The Land Code was a kind of reconciliation between the local powers and the

22 Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2013), pp.2-3.

23 Rolandos Katsiaounis, Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.30.

24 For details about the tax system in the late Ottoman Empire see: Nadir Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2015).

25 Huri İslamoğlu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858." In *New Perspectives on Property and Land*, ed. by Roger Owen and Martin P. Bunton, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp.1-29.

26 Ömer Lütfü Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi Toplu Eserler*, (Istanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980).

administration.[27] In addition, it requested to legalize the changing customs within the Ottoman lands. In other words, the state had tried to keep up with the necessity of the era and her subjects.[28] As an Ottoman island, Cyprus was also affected by the Land Code. As Huri İslamoğlu described, the Code led to the loss of land from peasants who owed money to moneylenders:

First, the cash requirements of peasant cultivators operating in an increasingly commercialized environment forced them to borrow money and, in the event of default in debt payment, forced them to sell their holdings for which they held a title deed or *tapu*. Second, the increased taxation demands of the central state also resulted in peasant indebtedness and the consequent alienation of their holdings.[29]

First, the cash requirements of peasant cultivators operating in an increasingly commercialized environment forced them to borrow money and, in the event of default in debt payment, forced them to sell their holdings for which they held a title deed or *tapu*.

27 Huri Islamoğlu, "Politics of Administering Property: Law and Statistics in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire." In *Constituting Modernity Private Property in the East and West*, ed. by Huri Islamoğlu, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 278-281.

28 Many scholars have dealt with the subject, and different approaches have appeared to the Land Code of 1858. For example, Haim Gerber claimed that the Land Code arose out of the need to regulate and modernize the Ottoman Empire's land system. According to him, the Land Code consisted of the reissue of the classical Ottoman laws of the 15th and 16th centuries, with some minor changes, in agricultural matters. See: Haim Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987). For review and critics of the essential approaches see: E. Atilla Aytekin, "Hukuk, Tarih ve Tarihyazımı: 1858 Osmanlı Arazi Kanunnamesi'ne Yönelik Yaklaşımlar" *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Vol.3 no.5 (2005), pp.723-744. I believe the Land code should be examined separately for each region. The socio-economic conditions and the historical background of agricultural relations were different in each region. If we put the state in the lead role while examining this issue, the historical agency of people in different regions is disappeared. For example, see: Samira Haj, *The Making of Iraq, 1900-1963: Capital, Power, and Ideology*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997).

29 Huri İslamoğlu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858." In *New Perspectives on Property and Land*, ed. by Roger Owen and Martin P. Bunton, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p.35.

> Second, the increased taxation demands of the central state also resulted in peasant indebtedness and the consequent alienation of their holdings.[30]

Although the Land Code affected distinct parts of the Ottoman lands differently, the peasants in Cyprus started to lose their lands in return for their debts to the moneylenders. Cypriot villagers remained in debt to moneylenders for many years. For instance, even in 1929, 80% of Cypriot peasants were indebted to the moneylenders.[31] The moneylenders charged very high interest to the peasants, and when they could not pay the loan, usurers appropriated the lands.[32]

Moreover, the Ottoman land system was not a simple but a complex system. Both the state, the tax collector, and the peasant had claimed the ownership right of the land. Besides, when the peasant had the right to use the land (*tasarruf*), s/he might have only the ground, the trees, or the water sources. During the 16th century, the heirs who had the right to the

30 Ibid.

31 Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), p.48. Even though this date was long after the enactment of the Land Code, the Code continued to be applied until 1946. See: Irene Dietzel, "Sharing Traditions of Land Use and Ownership Considering the "Ground" for Coexistence and Conflict in Pre-modern Cyprus." In *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict,* ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), p.49.

32 Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019), p.79. Also, see: Peter Loizos, "Politics and Patronage in a Cypriot Village, 1920–1970," in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, eds., Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury (London: Duckworth & Co., 1977); Alexis Rappas, "The Elusive Polity: Imagining and Contesting Colonial Authority in Cyprus during the 1930s" *Journal of Modern Greek Studies,* vol.26 no.2 (2008), pp.363-397. Rappas examines the three primary texts that were written during the 1930s: *The Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus* (1930) by Brewster Joseph Surridge, District Commissioner of Larnaca; Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs's *Memorandum* (1933); and Sir Ralph Oakden's *Report on the Finances and Economic Resources of Cyprus* (1935). He has examined the texts to illustrate the general framework of policymaking on the island, but these texts also give clues about the economic conditions of the islanders.

inherited property title deed increased, and the buildings and trees within the same land could be inherited by different persons.[33] Further, it does not mean that the properties remained in the same family because the inheritors could sell their rights to another person. In other words, the usage right of the trees and the water sources were independent of the land. This means people should cooperate for their own benefit because if they did not, the one who possessed the water source could prevent the land or tree holders from using the water. Moreover, the water source owner and the owner of the usage right of water could be different. This complex ownership rights over the properties bring us to the above-mentioned experiment. The sources can be the reason for both conflict and cooperation. Mutual interests are the leading cause of cooperation because people should cooperate to use their rights in accordance with their benefits.

Cyprus was not different from the other parts of the Ottoman Empire, and the islanders had to cooperate to sustain their daily lives. For example, in 1868, the peasant Mihaili decided to sell his fruit trees and irrigation right in Ayazma, which was once in ten days as ten hours.[34] Mihaili did not sell his water source but his usage right of water. The possessor of the water source did not intervene in the case, and Mihaili sold the water usage right to Luka's daughters by his own decision. In addition, religious or ethnic diversity was inevitable in this kind of relationship, and the differences did not matter. In 1869, three brothers, Mustafa Nafız, Ahmet Cevdet, and Mehmet Nail sold their twenty-one olive trees to Evanisya and Hristolu.[35] Ottoman land system contributed to the interethnic property relations among the islanders who belonged to different ethnoreligious identities. The issue of multiple ownership brought different persons together as shareholders of the same property.[36] These people

33 Halil Cin, "Osmanlı Toprak Hukukunda Miri Arazinin Hukuki Rejimi ve Bu Arazinin Tmk. Karşısındaki Durumu" *Ankara Uni. Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.22 no.01 (1966), p.778.

34 CCR, no: 49, 65, 161 24.10.1868.

35 CCR, no: 49, 168, 432 23.08.1869.

36 Irene Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island,* (De Gruyter: Germany, 2014), p.104.

should cooperate for their own benefits, and this could avoid conflict between Cypriots. The conflict between them might affect both groups [37] When people have the same purpose, they might not see other issues.

In addition to cooperation between peasants, the ruling class was cooperating for their benefit. For example, all zaptiehs were Muslims during both the Ottoman and the British administrations. However, their religion was not an obstacle to working together with tax farmers, who mainly were Christian Cypriots.[38] The common interest was the reason for inter-communal cooperation. In all the periods of history, people could unite in accordance with their profit. Sometimes, their identities could have lost significance, and having the same purpose can be more important than anything. The purpose of the people should not always be crucial, but it could be very simple. For example, people could have argued because of vinegar.

Greek Cypriot Luka was killed by choking while travelling to the city of Tuzla from his village Lefkara. During his journey, Luka had encountered Mihail and Osman. When they encountered, they started to argue for some reason. According to Luka's sons and daughters, the argument started because of the vinegar. Luka was carrying some of his properties to the city, including vinegar. Probably, his aim was to sell the products in the city. Unfortunately, he came across Osman and Mihail on his way. The details of the argument are unknown, but in the end, Luka was killed by the other two persons. Osman and Mihail choked and killed him with his imamah.[39]

The issue of the property has always been a problem among people. Buying and selling or inheritance issues may cause various problems

37 Nevertheless, it does not mean there would be no conflict between the farmers. The system could also contribute to the conflict between them. For instance, they could argue about the irrigation right, or the owner of the land and water could unite against the owner of the trees. However, it would be in everyone's interest to avoid conflict in the long term.

38 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.50.

39 CCR, no: 49, 117, 303 15.08.1868.

everywhere. In such cases, people can use anything in accordance with their benefits. Especially land issues can negatively affect the daily lives of people. For instance, sold properties created some problems among Cypriots in 1870.[40] Some properties that belonged to the Muslim Cypriots had been sold to the Christian Cypriots. This was not an unusual situation, but old owners made claims on the sold properties after that. They defended that the sales were invalid because converting to Islam was required in the title deed, which was prepared by the Pious Foundations. However, the properties were sold to the Christian Cypriots without the condition. The old owners requested the cancellation of the sales and demanded their properties back. According to the document, many Muslim Cypriots had sued for this reason. However, the document highlights that the cases should not be dealt with on this issue because taking back the lands from the Christians reverses the former judgment, which could break the order.

In the former example, identities are unnecessary because one Christian and one Muslim Cypriot united to kill another Christian man. On the other hand, in this example, the significance of religious identities can be comprehended. I gave these two examples as consecutive because the aim is to show the variability of the situations. It is not always possible to reach definitive results, especially when the subject is human. One of the purposes of this thesis is to show the variable aspects of people's daily lives. People can use or ignore their identities in accordance with their interests. The examples above unveil this truth. In the first, Cypriots of different religions killed someone for the same purpose. However, in the second example, Muslim Cypriots used their religious identity to take back the lands from the Christian Cypriots.

Being a proxy for each other was a part of the inter-communal relationships. It is about both confidence and self-interest. People do not depute someone untrustable for any issues. Further, only confidence is not enough to do business with someone. Someone trustworthy and convenient for self-interest can be asked to be a proxy. It is possible to find such

40 CCR, no:49, 263, 644 17.05.1870.

examples on the island of Cyprus. Sadık was a Muslim Cypriot with water rights in the mill, which belonged to the Pious Foundations.[41] Sadık did not live in the city where the mill was, and he wanted to sell his water rights to Christian Cypriots, Aspasia, Maratsa, and Angilidi. He needed a proxy for the selling transaction because he lived far away from the city where the mill was. Therefore, Sadık appointed Kostanti as a proxy.

Similar to the experiment of Sherif, the islanders should cooperate for the same goal. When the benefits for people are the same, there would be no reason to conflict. The secret of peaceful coexistence might be to unite for the same purpose. In contrast to this, different interests may be the cause of conflict. The Land Code of 1858 was not altered by the British administration and was valid until 1946.[42] The islanders had continued to share regions and cooperate during the British colonial era. The land system contributed to creating a lifestyle without regarding religious differences. On the other hand, when the British came to the island, they desired to change the land system and establish a new system like the Ryotwari system in India.[43] However, they had changed only the tax system, not the multiple ownership rights. Their aim was to collect taxes from people themselves, not from the intermediaries. When the British occupied India, a different tax system had existed in the country. Thomas Munro had composed the Ryotwari system to take the best advantage of the Indian economy. According to the system, the government was a

41 CCR, no: 49, 250, 615 01.06.1870.

42 Irene Dietzel, "Sharing Traditions of Land Use and Ownership Considering the "Ground" for Coexistence and Conflict in Pre-modern Cyprus." In *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict,* ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), p.49. Although the British administration complained of Cyprus' backwardness when it took the island, it did not change much on the island. For example, in 1938, the British journalist and scholar Elizabeth Monroe was making similar complaints about the backwardness of Cyprus that Wolseley, the first British High Commissioner, had made in 1878. She wrote that the British were not an owner of the island but a tenant and spent as little as possible on the island. See: Elizabeth Monroe, *The Mediterranean in Politics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), p.49.

43 Rolandos Katsiaounis, Labour, *Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.99.

proprietor of the lands and could determine the rights of every man who paid tax to the government.[44]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the colonial regime requested eliminating intermediaries and collecting taxes directly from the people. They had an existing system that was experimented with within their other colony, India. However, British administrators did not use a similar system in all their colonies. Their main aim was to get benefits from the colonies, and they implemented proper systems for the colonies. Cyprus became another British colony, and the existing system could be used on the island. Thus, they did not make so many changes to the land system.

The Ottoman system of multiple ownership over the land was continued until 1946, and the system contributed to the sharing culture within the island. People might share their cultural and religious features while sharing the lands and villages. It can be said that people in the same region had created heterogeneous local customs and religions.[45] In Cyprus considerable population of the islanders were living in mixed villages. For example, in 1891, the number of entire villages on the island was 802, and 346 of them were mixed villages, which was 43% of the total villages.[46] Almost half of the villages were mixed at the end of the 19th century. These numbers are for the villages, but also, the cities did not have homogenous populations. It means the island of Cyprus had embodied shared cultures and customs. Even the daily habits and stories could be shared in different communities. Communities could have shared many spaces. The spaces might be religious sites, economic activities, or shared spaces of mixed villages or cities. In addition, these spaces could contribute to social cooperation or antagonism between communities.[47] Shared

44 V.K. Saraswathi, "Administrative Skills of Sir Thomas Munro" (Ph.D. diss., Bharathiar University, 2014), pp. 69-76.

45 Irene Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island*, (De Gruyter: Germany, 2014), pp.117-118.

46 Eleni Lytras, Charis Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future,* (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2011), p.17.

47 Rebecca Bryant, "Everyday Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Space" In *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict,* ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), pp.2-3.

spaces were the main factor of coexistence, and they caused the sharing of culture and religion.

§ 4.2 Sharing Cultures and Religions: Sharing Lives

When you visit any former mixed villages in Northern Cyprus, you can run across the old churches which have been turned into a mosque or abandoned.[48] Some of them have become a meeting place for the young people who live in the villages. They have met and drunk alcohol in places which were sacred locations once. When I was a child, I did not want to enter and play in the old churches because their smell was like urine. The churches turned into mosques are luckier because people have continued to use and preserve the buildings. On the other side, the old mosques in Southern Cyprus are either still used as a mosque or ruined.[49] Because the Christian population of the island has always been the majority, they have a sufficient number of churches, and the mosques were not changed into churches. The Turkish Cypriot Pious Foundation has restored some of these old mosques left in the South, but others were abandoned to be ruined. It can be suggested that Muslim Turkish Cypriots had seen the properties that remained from the Christian Greek Cypriots as booty. This was very normal according to Muslim tradition because when the Muslims conquered a place, they could pillage the properties of non-Muslims. Thus, Turkish Cypriots did not hesitate to use and share Greek Cypriots' property or turn their churches into mosques.

In the light of this information, one can presume that Cypriots cannot tolerate people from different religions. However, the issue is not that simple. Cyprus has hosted Christians and Muslims for a long time, and as mentioned, the two communities did not live separately in the past. They had been living together and sharing some of their customs consciously

48 On using religious places in different regions, see: Robert M. Hayden, *Antagonistic Tolerance Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites and Spaces*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

49 http://www.evkaf.org/site/dokuman/gkrycamiler.pdf access, 12.05.2021.

or unconsciously. Living together with people from different ethnic and religious identities did not complicated as today, and people sometimes could find a way to share the same sacred places. Coexistence is not an easy term, and it includes more issues. It can sometimes be ambiguous because the identity of the people does not remain unchanged. People could change their religion or adopt the customs of other communities' religions without changing their own. Robert M. Hayden discusses the situation as "Antagonistic Tolerance."

> The Antagonistic Tolerance (AT) model applies to communities who define themselves and each other as Self and Other primarily on religious grounds and who live intermingle but usually discourage intermarriage. …… Antagonistic Tolerance is thus a mode of competitive sharing of space; this competitive sharing is also seen in the religious sites found in such a mixed environment.[50]

In this approach, people tolerate "other" people to live together but can become enemies when the conditions change. People are tolerant of each other when they have to live together. Moreover, the term toleration includes intolerance in its meaning. Toleration often means: "you are abominable, but I, being generous, shall let you live."[51] In other words, while tolerating another person, one thinks the other is worse and inferior. In Cyprus, since both communities have a majority characteristic, both might tend to see themselves as superior to the other.

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50 Robert M. Hayden*, Antagonistic Tolerance Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites and Spaces*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 19. Hayden also examines the issue in Cyprus. He uses two Christian tombs on the North side of Cyprus, St. Barnabas and St. Mamas. These two tombs are museums, not churches today but the authority in North Cyprus allows Greek Cypriots to practice religious rituals. As an example of antagonistic tolerance, Christians are allowed to come to these tombs, but these places are not fully converted into places of worship as they used to be. See: Ibid, Chapter 8. When we examine the current situation in Cyprus, we can see both the antagonism and the effort to show superiority in both communities. However, the scope of the thesis is not today, and the conditions have constantly been changing. It means just because it is like this today does not mean it was the same in the past.

51 Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, (UK: Polity Press, 1995),p.8.

On the other hand, Aylin de Tapia evaluates the situation differently. She prefers to use "necessary tolerance" instead of "antagonistic tolerance" because antagonism involves enmity in its meaning. People tolerate other people who are too weak to take seriously, or when the two groups have similar power, and both can come off worse in the situation of conflict. Aylin de Tapia has investigated the history of Cappadocia, and she does not think that violence is the constant element of toleration.[52]

> We might be tempted to observe the case of nineteenth-century Cappadocia through this spectre of "antagonistic tolerance." However, whether in the 1850s or the first decades of the twentieth century, sharing places of worship and rituals rarely happened in the context of violence. Even when the political decision to expel the Rums was experienced as a violent uprooting, locally, the departure of the "weak" Christian other did not occur in an atmosphere of violence, at least not like it occurred in the same period in other areas of Asia Minor…[53]

However, I do not prefer to use either the term "antagonistic" or "necessary." The main question is, were people from different ethnic and religious communities tolerate each other to live together, or is it just an inevitable consequence of living together. If there were a particular intention to tolerate the "other" to live peacefully, I would interpret this conscious toleration such as the group of Linobambakoi, which will be elaborated next. On the other hand, if their toleration is just a consequence of living together, I prefer to examine this as unconscious toleration. My intention is not to say these examinations do not include antagonism or necessity. As mentioned, the meaning of toleration includes hostility. Toleration contains both two features within itself, but one should also examine the communities living together as the point of

52 Aylin de Tapia, “Orthodox Christians and Muslims of Cappadocia: Intercommunal Relations in an Ottoman Rural Context (1839-1923)” (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi Uni, 2016), pp. 549-550.

53 Ibid. p.550.

consciousness. If the consciousness is ignored, explaining the situation of Linobambakois is getting complicated.

The other significant term to explain inter-communal relations is syncretism. Irene Dietzel has used the term syncretism for the heterogeneous structure of the Christian and Muslim Cypriots.[54]

> Syncretism is thus neither the curse of coexistence nor a cure for conflict but simply a natural epiphenomenon of religious plurality…..syncretism as an outcome of the environmental practices that were specific to the rural context of pre-modern Cyprus. All Cypriot peasants, regardless of their official religious affiliation, were likely to be susceptible to the beliefs associated to specific religious sites and to seek similar communication with the local saint, as long as this made sense in the context of their mundane environmental practices…[55]

Syncretism is the inevitable consequence of the communities that live together. People in mixed villages were not living separately from each other. They were neighbors, and ethno-religious plurality was part of Cypriots' daily lives. This plurality had caused to sharing of culture and also religious habits. Living in the same environment means being influenced by the same issues. The same places or plants could be sacred for both communities. For example, both Christian and Muslim Cypriots could believe in the same sacred place or the trees.[56] Both communities

54 Irene Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island,* (De Gruyter: Germany, 2014), pp.116-137. For details about syncretism, see: S. Palmisano & N. Pannofino, eds., *Invention of Tradition and Syncretism in Contemporary Religions*, (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

55 Irene Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island*, (De Gruyter: Germany, 2014), pp.131-136.

56 Ibid. pp. 128-129. Robert Hayden also mentions that in 2011, not only Greek Cypriots made a wish in Saint Barnabas, but also Turkish Cypriots have left some offerings to support his blessings for their wish. See: Robert M. Hayden, *Antagonistic Tolerance Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites and Spaces*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016). In other

were exposed to the same environment, and believing in the same sacred things is unsurprising.

On the other hand, syncretism contains hybridity and intermingling within itself. It can be seen as the result of the corruption or depurification of the former religion.[57] Syncretism has a negative meaning, but I do not consider the term unfavorable. All cultures, customs, and religions have changed over time, and Syncretism can be considered heterodoxy or heresy in the eyes of believers, not historians or other social scientists. For this reason, I do not hesitate to use the term syncretism in the case of Cyprus.

§ 4.3 Unconsciously Toleration and Sharing the Customs

The islanders did not share their religion and beliefs consciously. They were living in the same villages or cities, and they worked and mostly spent leisure time together. For instance, the church had celebrated the name day of a saint in many villages once a year, and both communities joined the events. The Muslim Cypriots had attended because they could sell their products or buy products that they were in need of. Besides, they could socialize at the celebration.[58] The celebration, which was arranged for the name day of a Christian Saint, was a commercial and social place for both Christian and Muslim Cypriots. The feast days and

words, syncretism is still valid on the island, and Cypriots have still continued their mixed religious traditions from the time they lived together.

57 Aylin de Tapia, "Orthodox Christians and Muslims of Cappadocia: Intercommunal Relations in an Ottoman Rural Context (1839-1923)" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi Uni, 2016), pp.548-549.

58 Eleni Lytras, Charis Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future,* (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2011), p.30. Both Christian Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots joined carnivals and fairs on the island. For example, Limassol became a carnival center during the 1900s, and even though the church viewed the carnival as a pagan-inspired festival and opposed it, both communities enjoyed the carnivals. For details, see: Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019).

religious holidays were an opportunity for the people in the cities to visit the villages for a few days and join the fairs. These fairs were the most critical mechanism that formed the links between the villagers and the broader society.[59] These events contributed to the coexistence of the communities. The sacred celebration for the Christian islanders was the opportunity for commerce for the Muslim islanders. In addition to commercial activities, Cypriots socialized with each other. Further, the communities were not only together in the religious celebration but also at weddings, baptisms, and circumcision.[60] In this kind of society, people unconsciously share their daily customs, including religious habits.

Furthermore, we cannot say that absolute tolerance existed on the island of Cyprus. Although the islanders had lived together and shared many customs, they did not tolerate inter-communal marriages. The intermarriage between the Christian and Muslim communities was not something that never happened, but it was rare and undesirable for both communities.[61] Nevertheless, people in the same places could fall in love with each other. The religious differences were not an obstacle to love but an obstacle to marriage. Christian community accepts neither the groom nor the bride who is a Muslim, but Muslims accept the bride who belongs to people of the book as Christianity. On the other hand, as Jan Asmussen has insisted, intermarriage could be beneficial for the Christian community because, in contrast with Muslim habits, when Christians marry, the family of the bride gives dowry to the groom. Christian community could be freed of this burden thanks to intermarriage.[62] Asmussen defends that although the exact number of intermarriages in Cyprus cannot be determined, there was a large number of mixed marriages, especially during

59 Ibid, p.109.

60 Eleni Lytras, Charis Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future*, (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2011), p.30.

61 Jan Asmussen, "Life and Strife in Mixed Villages: Some Aspects of Interethnic Relations in Cyprus Under British Rule" *The Cyprus Review* no.1 vol.8 (Spring, 1996), pp.101-104.

62 J. Asmussen, "Intermarriage and Interethnic Love Stories From Cyprus" *Halk Bilimi Dergisi* vol.57 (2011), p.84.

the Ottoman times.[63] These kinds of marriages can be traced in archival documents.

For instance, during the British administration, the son of Pasto Hasan converted to Christianity to be married to a Christian woman. He changed his name to Dimitri, and he had lived as a Christian man for a while. Nevertheless, Dimitri left his wife after a while, reverted to Islam, and left the island.[64] He probably was not accepted by his society and left the island after his separation. In this example, the man had converted to be married to a Christian girl but especially during the Ottoman administration, non-Muslim women had converted to Islam to find husbands easily. In a few cases, non-Muslim women might have converted to marry the men they were already in love with, but they mostly converted before finding a husband. Converted women could find husbands easily whether they were previously married or not.[65] Although these kinds of marriages might not be considered intermarriage because non-Muslim women had changed their identity, these marriages contributed to sharing religious customs. Women who converted did not leave behind all their traditions, and they brought the customs of their old religion to the Muslim family. Thus, these kinds of marriages had profound effects on inter-communal sharing. The Muslim family unconsciously began to implement some Christian customs thanks to the wife, a former Christian.

Although both communities did not accept conjugal relations with each other, this did not constitute an obstacle to cultural sharing between them. For example, many Cypriot folk songs about mixed love stories exist on the island, and one of the Cypriot ballads is about the love story between Emine and Christofis.[66] It can be said that sharing the same

63 Ibid. pp. 84-86.

64 TNA, CO67 /181/ 278. 21. 07. 1916.

65 Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571- 1640,* (New York & London: NYU Press, 1993), p. 140.

66 Jan Asmussen, "Intermarriage and Interethnic Love Stories From Cyprus" *Halk Bilimi Dergisi* vol.57 (2011), p.82. For details about intermarriages in different cultures and times, see: Paul Saint Cassia, "Marriages At The Margins: Interfaith Marriages In The Mediterranean" *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* vol.27, no.2 (2018), pp.1-22; Guest

region concomitantly brings other sharing issues. Sharing the lands means sharing almost the same difficulties, and the same daily habits.

Moreover, sharing the same neighborhood bring "constructive ambiguity"[67] in the Cypriots' lives. As Bryant describes, constructive ambiguity includes both common grounds and boundaries among people.[68] Cypriots' attitude about mixed marriage can be evaluated with constructive ambiguity. As mentioned, coexistence concomitantly brings the boundaries between communities. Two communities were living together, and this did not mean only being neighbors but joining inter-communal social activities such as religious and civil celebrations. These were their common ground to live together. On the other hand, their negative attitude to mixed marriage was the boundary between communities. They had coexisted in the same region and mainly lived peacefully, but there was still a boundary between them. Besides, the boundary was not clear, and it was ambiguous. When the boundary starts and ends were not certain, they were mostly friends, not an enemy, but their relations were not certain.[69] They had shared many religious and cultural customs but not

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Editors Yonatan Glazer-Eytan & Mercedes García-Arenal, "Special Issue: Mixed Marriage, Conversion, and the Family: Norms and Realities in Pre-modern Iberia and the Wider Mediterranean" *Mediterranean Historical Review,* vol.35 no.1 (2020), pp.1-99. The collection of essays about mixed marriage in the pre-modern Mediterranean are gathered in the special issue of the journal. The essays examine the intermarriages concerning religious conversion and family in the Christian, Jewish and Muslim societies. Mixed marriages were not unique to Cyprus; these articles show that mixed marriages have existed in different times and places.

67 Rebecca Bryant, "Everyday Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Space" In *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict,* ed. by Rebecca Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), p.23.

68 Ibid.

69 Also, the ambiguous relations among Cypriots had been pursued even in the 1960s. These times are not the scope of this study, but I would like to give an example to consolidate the ambiguous relations among Cypriots. When the Cypriots were divided into separate groups to fight each other, they continued to live together, such as in the villages of Paphos. According to the memories of Ahmet Safkan, who is in his 70s, when he was young, he and his friends had commenced fire on the Greek Cypriots at nights, and

consciously, and their unconsciousness contributed to the boundary between them.

§ 4.4 Consciously Toleration and Adaptation

People in Cyprus had lived together, joined the same events, and had the same troubles. They could complain and be grateful together as in the 1860 inspection. On the other hand, some people on the island consciously shared their religious activities. The group of Linobambakoi was the people who converted to Islam during the Ottoman administration.[70] However, they did not give up their habits of former beliefs, and they had continued two religious rituals together.[71] The case of Linobambakoi is not the subject of this thesis, but it is one aspect of inter-communal relations. The Linobambakoi people had chosen this kind of life as opposed to the administration. They could pass to the first-class subject level as being Muslim and reduce their taxes. In addition to this, they could continue with their fundamental beliefs. On the other hand, they had combined the customs of Christianity and Islam. They had two names, both

Greek Cypriots commenced fire on them. They were very far from each other, and nobody had died during these fires. They had tried to show their power to the other community. Interestingly, in the daytimes, Greek and Turkish men who fired each other during the night had continued to work in the lands side by side. This example is one aspect of the ambiguous relations of communities on the island. Their relations were neither entirely hostile nor fully friendly. Alternatively, they were both friends and enemies. Even during the 1960s, Greek and Turkish Cypriots continued to live together, but their relations were ambivalent. Interviews with villagers for the project of Pious Foundations of TRNC, "Geçmişten Geleceğe Kıbrıs Köyleri, Kozanköy" 13.08.2020.

70 The word Linobambakoi is the combination of linen and cotton. They were named that metaphorically because they looked different from what they actually were.

71 The community of Linobambakoi was not the only community that had been living their religion secretly. For example, there were crypto-Christians in the Black Sea and crypto-Jewish people mostly in Thracia and Western Asian Minor. For instance, see: Hovann Simonian, *The Hemshin: History, Society and Identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2007); Marc D. Baer, *The Dönme: Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries, and Secular Turks* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

Muslim and Christian, and participated in both the Church and the Mosque. More importantly, they were members of the two communities.[72] It means Linobambakois were a kind of contact zone between two communities. They had tolerated both religions, but also Linobambakois were beyond the toleration because they both tolerated the "other" and accommodated themselves to the dominant community.

The community of Linobambakoi included approximately 15,000 members during the mid-19th century. However, they disappeared during the early times of the British colonial era and were absorbed by either Greek or Turkish community.[73] The community was a part of the shared culture even when they disappeared. After that, Linobamnakoi's role in inter-communal relations became more important because they were absorbed with their binary cultures by both communities. The group, which became a conscious contact zone between two religions, was absorbed by communities that unconsciously affect and be affected by the other culture and religion. It can be deduced that the community of Linobambakoi had been influential in Cyprus's religious and cultural plurality.

The attitude of Linobambakoi is mainly seen as a strategy that is implemented by the weak.[74] However, their tactic was not a strategy of the weak but a clever protection maneuver. Linobamnakois could live as they wished and should not pay extra taxes thanks to their tactic. It was not about weakness but an adjustment to the changing conditions. They were an example for conscious toleration, but in fact, they were beyond this. They have adapted themselves to the dominant community, but they did not give up their former customs. They had consciously mingled the religions and the customs.

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72 Eleni Lytras, Charis Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future*, (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2011), p.12.

73 Irene Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island*, (De Gruyter: Germany, 2014), pp.129-130. Also, see: Marc Aymes, *A Provincial History of the Ottoman Empire Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the 19th century* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.157-164.

74 Irene Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island*, (De Gruyter: Germany, 2014), p.132.

On the other hand, while Linonbambakois mingled two religions, some Cypriots converted to another religion. As mentioned, during the Ottoman administration, non-Muslim women converted to find husbands easily, but after the administration had changed, the Muslim population had a chance to convert easily. Before the Edict of Tanzimat, conversion from Islam was forbidden. Even the converted non-Muslim people were not allowed to convert to their former religion.[75] Although the Ottoman politicians had tried to form more equality among the subjects, the Edict of Tanzimat did not abolish the execution of the apostate. After four years of the Edict of Tanzimat, an apostate Armenian, Avakim, was executed.[76] He had first converted to Islam in 1842 and taken the name of Mehmet. Later, he had travelled to Syria and returned to his former religion. However, when he returned to Istanbul, he was accused of being an apostate. In 1843 he was publicly executed. This execution gave an opportunity to the European states to put pressure on and abolish the execution of apostates. After this apostate crisis, in 1844, Sultan Abdülmecid I promised to

75 Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571- 1640*, (New York & London: NYU Press, 1993), p. 141. In the Ottoman Empire, primarily non-Muslim subjects were converting in order to enter the ruler class or not to pay poll taxes. The penalty of apostasy from Islam was death if s/he did not accept to reconvert to Islam, but as in some Christian states such as Spain, the Ottoman Empire did not have a policy of forced conversion. Although the Janissary Corps, which was composed of Christian levied children, is an example of institutionalized forced conversion, there was no sudden decline in the Christian population within the Ottoman Empire, as did the Muslim population in Spain, for example. For details, see: Selim Deringil, "There Is No Compulsion in Religion": On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1839-1856" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol.42, no.3 (2000).

76 Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 69. For details about the conversion in the Ottoman Empire, see: Marc D. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans. Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). Marc Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul" *Gender &History* vol.2, no.16 (2004), pp.425-458.

forbid the legal execution of converts from Islam, and in 1857, the punishment of converts was changed and instead of being executed they were exiled. The Ottoman politicians had found chose exile as a solution because they could not completely abolish the execution, which was against the Islamic rules.[77] Thus, after 1857 conversion to Christianity became easier because the punishment was not to the death penalty. However, even before 1857, in accordance with the promise of the Sultan, the Ottoman State did not want to execute the apostates but instead ordered the apostates to be shown as escaping either while going into exile or after being in prison for a while.[78]

Similar to the other part of the Ottoman Empire, conversion from Christianity to Islam was more prevalent in Ottoman Cyprus before renting the island. During the early period of the Ottoman administration, many Christians converted to Islam. It is not certain whether the Christian people converted willingly or not, but specific amounts of people had chosen to convert to the religion of the new administration.[79] Further, this kind of conversion had continued until 1856. Later, conversion to Islam almost finished around the same time with abolishing the execution of punishment for the apostate.[80] Nevertheless, conversion to other religions did not finish. As will be examined below, especially during the British administration, Muslim Cypriots started to convert to Christianity which was the religion of the new administration.

Moreover, conversion to Islam can be traced with the help of court records, but the reverse is not easy. When Christians converted, they informed the Kadi courts to avoid paying the poll tax. On the contrary, Muslims did not inform the court as they had not already paid the poll tax and did not want to receive any punishment. This kind of situation can be traced in exceptional cases. For instance, in 1843, Sündüs, who had lived

77 Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Cambridge Uni Press, 2012), pp. 7-76.

78 Ibid, p.62.

79 Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571- 1640,* (New York & London: NYU Press, 1993), p. 137.

80 Güven Dinç, "Kıbrıs'ta İhtida Hareketleri" *Bilig* no.84 (2018), p.251.

in Karpas with her Muslim father and non-Muslim mother, started to live in Tuzla. She had converted to Christianity after her moving to Tuzla. After two years, she returned to her former village as a Christian person.[81] However, the villagers realized that she had converted, and they complained about her to the court. After that, because her apostasy was proven, Sündüs was imprisoned.

However, after a month, Sündüs was released because she felt regret about her conversion and turned back to Islam and changed her name to Hatice.[82] Hatice was not executed or punished in different ways, but also, she has rewarded with monthly food support from the district governorship cellar.[83] The court assumed that she converted because of her young age (she was 17) and financial trouble. To eliminate the financial difficulties, the court decided to support Hatice. The case shows that the Ottoman administration did not want to lose the Muslim population, as there were not that many on the island, and the apostate girl was awarded instead of punished.[84] On the other hand, we cannot know why she converted to Christianity, her Christian mother might be influential in her choice, but it is apparent that she turned back to Islam because she did not want to be punished. Moreover, she was the child of intermarriage

81 CCR, no:40, 61, 70 22.08.1845.

82 CCR, no:40, 70, 79 16.09.1845. In the Ottoman Empire, apostates were first called back to Islam, but if they insisted on converting, they would be executed. However, the case of Sündüs happened after the promise of Sultan Abdülmecid I. It means that even if Sündüs had not become a Muslim again, she probably would not have been executed but would have been imprisoned.

83 CCR, no:40, 79, 87 24.10.1845. Nan-ı aziz: yevmi 2 çift (Bread: daily two pairs), Revgan-ı sade: mahiyye 2 kıyye (Ghee: monthly two oke), Revgan-ı zeyt: mahiyye 1 kıyye (Olive oil: monthly one oke), Pirinç: mahiyye 5 kıyye (Rice: monthly 5 oke), Lahm: mahiyye 7 kıyye (Meat: monthly 7 oke), Sabun: mahiyye 0,5 kıyye (Soap: monthly 0,5 oke).

84 Indeed, the Ottoman State did not consistently execute the apostates but considered them mad people. For instance, when a man converted to Christianity and became a monk in Mount Athos, Kadi called him back to Islam. However, he did not accept and claimed that Islam was a false religion. The apostate was not executed first but taken as a mad person, and he was executed only after insulting Islam publicly. See: Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Cambridge Uni Press, 2012), p.11.

between Christian and Muslim communities. Because she had a Christian mother, she was probably familiar with the Christian religion and customs. She unconsciously gravitated towards both religious traditions, and when she moved somewhere predominantly Christian people lived, she did not find it odd or hesitate to convert. On the other hand, the other probability is that her mother, secretly from the Muslim father, might have raised her as a Christian.[85] This possibility suggests the fluid and flexible feature of the identities. At the end of the incident, Sündüs turned back to Islam and renewed her name as Hatice. However, we cannot know her fundamental belief. So, if we examine people in Cyprus according to their ethno-religious identities, how can we evaluate the case of Sündüs. The case demonstrates that inter-communal relations were more complicated than they looked. Moreover, her example can be seen as an example of syncretism. Islam and Christianity were mingled in her life. Whether she had continued her life as a Christian or a Muslim, she had probably followed the customs of both religions in her life.

If we turn back to the apostate issue, as the example mentioned above shows, it was not beneficial to inform the court about the conversion from Islam to Christianity. Tracing the Muslim conversion during the Ottoman administration was not easy because of this. Nevertheless, finding the documents about conversion from Islam to Christianity during the British administration was not very hard.[86] So, how these apostates during the British administration should be examined? Were they the result of conscious or unconscious adaptation? Their situation was similar to Linobambakois in some ways but also very different. They had converted consciously to the religion of administration. This could be evaluated as conversion for benefit because belonging to the same religion as the

85 It was not surprising that a Christian mother desired to raise her child in her own religion. For example, in 1879, Christian Cypriot Maria in Limassol wrote a petition to complain about her child's Muslim father. She baptized her child, but the father objected. Probably they divorced, and the father held the child because the District Court decided to hand over the child to the mother. State Archives, Nicosia, Cyprus, SAO3 / 1110, 9 October 1879.

86 BOA, KB.MAA.FE. 6,46 07.03.1911; KB.MAA.FE. 7,50 27.09.1905; Y.MTV. 180,177 17.08.1898.

administrative class could be beneficial for the subjects. On the other hand, these people could be former Christians who had converted during the Ottoman era. However, the documents about the Muslim converts evaluated for the thesis belong to the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, from 1898 to 1911. As mentioned above, there was a sudden and significant decrease after 1856 in the number of people who converted to Islam. If the people who converted in 1856 decided to turn back their old religion, 42 years would have passed from their conversion. This period is not short. The young converted Cypriots in 1856 would be approximately 60 years old in 1898. On the other side, according to the document belonging to 1911, all Muslims converted to Christianity within the villages.[87] Since the conversion from Christianity to Islam had ended in 1856, if the apostates were crypto Christians, they had been living as crypto Christians for a long time. Further, from 1571 to 1856, approximately 500 Christian subjects had converted to Islam.[88] This number is not that many for 285 years. Thus, all these apostates probably were not former Christians.

In case of their consciousness about the conversion, it can be said that their attitude was not the same of Linobambakois because they did not pursue two religions simultaneously. Nevertheless, they had converted consciously; their behaviors were not without notice. They were aware of what they did as Linobambakois. Moreover, they probably considered their benefits when they decided to convert. Similar to the Linobambakois, they were trying to protect their benefits. On the other hand, their conversion was conceivably affected by their unconscious aspects. They had been living with Christian Cypriots for a long time and were familiar

87 BOA, KB.MAA.FE. 6,46 07.03.1911.

88 Güven Dinç, "Kıbrıs'ta İhtida Hareketleri" *Bilig* no.84 (2018), p.246. According to Molly Greene, conversion to Islam was facilitated, as the war, which lasted about twenty-five years in Crete, had a significant effect on the weakening of religious institutions. Since Cyprus was conquered by the Ottomans in just one year, the conversion rate in Cyprus was meager compared to Crete and Anatolia. See: Molly Greene, *A Shared World Christians and Muslims in the Early Mediterranean*, (Princeton: Princeton Uni Press, 2000), p. 40.

with Christianism. They had implemented some Christian customs unconsciously before the conversion. It can be said that their lifestyle probably did not change dramatically when they converted to Christianity. Therefore, both consciously and unconsciously, adaptation had influenced the people who became apostates during the British administration.

The Presidency Ottoman Archives include various documents about the conversion from Islam to Christianity during the British colonial period. When you search the archive, you can find several petitions to Shaykh al-Islam from the island belonging to different dates. Mostly the Mufti had been sending the petition to Istanbul to complain about the situation on the island. For instance, according to the document belonging to 1898, Muslim Cypriots lived in 305 different villages on the island, but only 65 of them included schools. Neither the school nor any place to teach Islam existed in most of the villages.[89] This situation was a very crucial issue for the Mufti because the Muslim community started to lose their Islamic beliefs and convert. The existing schools within the villages provided education in Greek, not Turkish. Also, the Christian priests were dominant in these villages. Mufti complained that in most villages, Muslims were ignorant and did not have a strong belief in Islam.[90] The priests had easily convinced them to convert. Mufti requested to protect the Muslim population from conversion; to do this; he was in need of qualified Muslim teachers to educate the villagers. However, he did not have enough money to employ Muslim teachers in the villages. He requested funds from Sultan to be able to provide a teacher to preach the Islamic truths. According to him, in addition to other proper teachers, Sheik Abdurrahman from Baf and Elhac Osman from Tire could preach and advise the Muslim community about Islam. The Christian community had sent a

89 BOA, Y.MTV. 180,77 17.08.1898.

90 According to the Cyprus Blue Books, during 1888-1889, 104 Muslim and 247 Christian schools were on the island. When we came 1912-1913, the number of schools increased to 411 for Christians and 196 for Muslims. It means that in 1912-1913, Christians had approximately four times as many schools as Muslims, but their population difference was also similar. See table 4.1.

priest to the villages to preach, and the Muslim community could be deceived easily because of their ignorance. To avoid Muslim Cypriots from Christian priests, the Muslim community should provide their preachers and teachers to teach Islam. Indeed, the Mufti did not want Cyprus, which was still an Ottoman island in theory, to be forgotten because he would lose his administrative position if this happened. These petitions can be evaluated as the struggle of old Ottoman administrators to maintain their positions on the island.

The situation is worth considering because, as mentioned, since the Ottoman conquest of the island, mainly the Christians had converted to Islam. The reverse of this was unusual. Converted Cypriots could return to their former religion, but non-converted Muslim Cypriots mostly did not change their religion. It is not hard to understand because the Muslim community had belonged to the administrative class, and Muslims did not pay the poll tax and were on top of the whole communities. On the other hand, Cyprus was different from the other lands of the Ottoman Empire. The island was handed over in 1878 and started governed by British governors. As a result, Islam ceased to be the religion of the administrative class from that date on. Muslim Cypriots were no longer the privileged class on the island because of the new administration.

I believe two significant incidents were influential on the Muslim Cypriots to be convinced to conversion. One of these is the situation mentioned above, changing punishment of the apostates subsequently from the apostate crises of Armenian Avakim. The punishment of execution was abolished in 1857. Apostates were exiled or punished in different ways. This new regulation could diminish the pressure on the subjects. They could change or come back to the religions they wished to come back to. However, it does not mean that all apostates were executed before 1857. As mentioned above, Sündüs was not executed but prisoned after her conversion was proved by the witnesses. Moreover, she was released and awarded when she turned back to Islam. It can be said that the abolishing of execution might be ineffective on the island. On the other hand, eliminating the risk of execution might be a relief for people who were indecisive about the conversion.

The second influential incident was changing the administration from the Ottoman administration to the British administration. As stated, the Muslim Cypriots no longer belonged to the privileged class. After 1878 the administration changed hands from the Muslims to the Christians. Some Muslim officers, such as Mufti or Kadi, had continued their work, but their power was reduced. The governor was not an Ottoman but a British officer, receiving orders from Great Britain, not the Ottoman state. However, the power of the Ottoman officers was not totally ended because the island did not totally belong to the British administration at least until 1914. Apparently, this was not sufficient for the Muslim Cypriots because the conversion from Islam to Christianity accelerated during the British administration. No Muslims probably expected punishment for the apostates under the Christian administration. Thus, it can be deduced that these two incidents might have played a part in the conversions.

In the archival documents, we realize that from the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman officers, especially Mufti, were worried about the apostates. Different petitions from different years were sent to Istanbul to complain about the situation. The document belongs to 1911 lists the villages where all or some Muslims converted to Christianity.[91] For instance, eight villages had thoroughly, and two villages had partly converted to Christianity in Limassol. Seven villages had thoroughly, and three villages had partly converted in Tuzla. The document emphasizes that the Muslim population in those villages did not know their mother tongue, Turkish, and spoke Greek. For this reason, they were affected by Greek priests and converted. A traveler Muslim preacher should be assigned to decrease this impact and protect people from Christianity. Hoca Said from Paphos was recommended for this assignment. Similar documents issued in 1898, 1902, 1905, 1907, and 1910 complained about the same problem and requested a Muslim preacher to teach Islam to Muslim Cypriots.[92] The reason for converting to Christianity was considered as ignorance of the Muslim Cypriots. Some of them did not even know Turkish, and they were

91 BOA, KB.MAA.FE. 6, 46 07.03.1911.

92 BOA, KB.MAA.FE. 6, 46 09.06.1910, 09.08.1902; KB.MAA.FE. 7,50 27.09.1905, 29.04.1907; Y.MTV. 180,177 17.08.1898.

not aware of Islam. Their villages did not include any Muslim schools, and Muslim Cypriots went to Greek schools and learned about Christianity.

I believe the problem was not an ignorance of the people. They had been living in mixed villages for a long time, and their customs and Christian Cypriots' customs had intertwined. By abolishing the death penalty for apostates and changing the administration to Christian Britain made people free to stay or change their religion. Moreover, as mentioned, the Muslim Cypriots were a minority during the Ottoman period, but they belonged to the administrative class, but when the administration was changed, they lost their privilege. They might have wanted to belong to the privileged class again or be anxious about belonging to the Muslim minority class under the British Christian administration.

On the other hand, these documents might not reflect the truth. The Mufti or Naibs might have tried to make money with this pretext because the documents requested money from Istanbul to assign a traveler preacher. The island was both close and far away from the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman administration might not know the actual situation on the island. Although Istanbul ordered an investigation about the issue on the island in 1905,[93] the documents about the apostates did not end after the investigation. The Mufti and Naibs had continued to send petitions to complain about conversion and request funds for preachers.

The British colonial administration had conducted detailed censuses every ten years since 1881. These censuses show that the Muslim population has not decreased over these years. Also, the difference between Turkish-speaking Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots in the census is approximately a thousand people. In other words, about a thousand Muslims did not know how to speak Turkish but identified themselves as Muslim. As can be seen on the table 4.1, Arabic people were also living in Cyprus and might have been Muslim. Since censuses based on mother tongue are more detailed, I put the mother tongue table here.

93 BOA, KB.MA.FE, 7,50 27.09.1905.

Table 4.1: Census by mother tongue[94]

Mother Tongue	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Greek	140793	160541	185796	216310	246498	279247
Turkish	42638	46449	48864	55213	59717	62860
Arabic	940	1313	1131	1036	1105	1013
Armenian	199	216	595	551	1503	3307
English	790	273	252	490	471	926
Others	793	494	384	508	1421	606
Total	186153	209286	237022	274108	310715	347959

Table 4.2: Population change rate by year

Mother Tongue	1881-1891(%)	1891-1901(%)	1901-1911(%)	1911-1921(%)	1921-1931(%)	1881-1931(%)
Greek	14	16	16	14	13	98
Turkish	9	5	13	8	5	47
Arabic	40	-14	-8	7	-8	8
Armenian	9	175	-7	173	120	1562
English	-65	-8	94	-4	97	17
Others	-38	-22	32	180	-57	-24
Total	12	13	16	13	12	87

The table 4.2 shows that the population of Turkish-speaking Cypriots had not decreased, but its growth rate decreased in specific decades. Between 1891 and 1901, which coincides with the dates of the documents as mentioned earlier, there was a decrease in population growth rates. However, the growth rate increased in the next decade, between 1901 and 1911. The Mufti had also continued to complain about the conversion of Muslims in 1911. In addition, migration was among the reasons for the decrease in the population growth rate. Thus, the complete and partial conversion of some Muslim villagers cannot be evaluated as accurate. This situation can also be seen as the Mufti's effort to show himself to the

94 Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, www.cystat.gov.cy

Ottomans. He desired to show that he was there and still a part of the Ottomans. The Mufti probably felt abandoned and tried to be visible to the Ottoman State, where he felt he belonged. Especially after the annexation of the island, he lost his belonging and fell into an ambivalent situation. It became unclear where he belonged. The Ottoman administrators in the island did not want to lose their old power and became worried because the "double minority" situation had changed against their interests. If their connection with Ottoman Statehad been broken, the Muslim Cypriots would have become only a minority community under the British administration. This must have made old Muslim rulers feel weak and powerless, and the petitions indicate these feelings. Moreover, the uncertainty of their future might have contributed to their feeling of powerlessness and unwillingness to break their bonds with the Ottoman Empire. The ambivalent situation that the Cypriots had fallen into was also influential in the reasons for writing these petitions.

§ 4.5 Conclusion

Syncretism is the inevitable consequence of coexistence. It is an inseparable part of the history of inter-communal relations. Consciously or unconsciously, people had shared their beliefs and customs with one another. They sometimes shared similar sacred places or rituals. When they shared unconsciously, both communities claimed that the shared things belonged to them, not the "other" community. Every community has created a fiction about their belonging to the community, and they describe people outside of the community as "other." The common rules of who can be the "other" and who cannot have been invented by the community itself at the time. After the invention, people who had been living together and were mostly the same with each other, became part of different communities and could sometimes become close friends and sometimes enemies. It is all about the situation and the profit of the people. For example, close neighbors during peacetime could turn into enemies because

of jealousy and to plunder other ones' properties when the inter-communal conflict begins. Hayden has described inter-communal relations as "Antagonistic Tolerance" because of this. However, as mentioned, the thesis approaches the topic in terms of consciousness. People had lived in peace before nationalism reached a peak because their daily interests depended on this. The Ottoman land system forced them to use different sources within the same lands together, such as water sources and trees, and they were in need of compromise and peaceful relations with "other" to support themselves. They did not feel consciously antagonistic, but they looked for their own benefit in every situation. People from different communities could unite to kill someone who belongs to one of the killers' communities. In a situation like that, no one cares about the ethno-religious identities.

Although Christian and Muslim Cypriots had shared many religious and traditional customs, both communities did not support intermarriages. This shows that they did not consciously share similar customs because no community wanted to mix with the "other" community when it came to interfaith marriage. As Bryant has insisted, coexistence includes "constructive ambiguity." Different communities could live together and share daily customs, but the boundaries did not disappear. The fiction of identity has been determining the boundaries between the communities.

Moreover, unconsciously sharing customs could be a reason for conscious conversion. Because the island was assigned temporally to Great Britain, the situation became different from the other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman subjects mostly converted from Christianity to Islam. For example, Aylin de Tapia has mentioned the conversion in the Cappadocia during the Ottoman period.[95] She has discussed the reason and the situation for converting the Christian population. Not only in Cappadocia but also in Istanbul, primarily non-Muslim subjects had

95 Aylin de Tapia, "Orthodox Christians and Muslims of Cappadocia: Intercommunal Relations in an Ottoman Rural Context (1839-1923)" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi Uni, 2016), pp.473-481.

converted to Islam.[96] During the Ottoman administration, the conversion in Cyprus mostly from Christianity to Islam like in the other parts of the Ottoman Empire. However, it had changed after the transfer of the administration to the Christian government. Non-Muslims and Muslims had lived for a long time in Cyprus, similar to the other Ottoman lands but changing the administration had altered the situation. As discussed above, being apostate included both conscious and unconscious adaptation. It was similar to the situation of Linobambakois in some respects but also very different.

The thesis does not underestimate the "Antagonistic" or "Necessary" tolerance, but it desires to put the consciousness into the history of intercommunal relations. Different communities did not live-in peace only because they tolerated each other antagonistically or for necessity, but they unconsciously adopted and shared the other community's beliefs and customs. The Linobambakois had consciously adapted both religious customs as a tactic to live comfortably, but the other Christians and Muslim Cypriots were not aware that they syncretized their beliefs. According to the fiction of their community, the two communities were very different from each other, but in fact, they were almost the same, and they could live mostly in peace because of this sameness.

Moreover, the petitions of Mufti and Naibs about the conversation of the Muslim community to Christianity show the desire for a sense of belonging. The elites of the Muslim community felt abandoned and tried to be visible to the Ottoman Empire. The ambivalent situation, especially after leasing the island, made them feel worried and powerless. These petitions are an indication of their desire not to be forgotten by the place where they feel they belong.

96 Marc Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul" *Gender &History* no.16, vol.2 (2004), pp. 425-429.

5

Conflicts on the Island

Archbishop Sophronios, who had served since 1865, died in 1900. He had witnessed the end of the Ottoman administration and the beginning of the British rule. In 1845, he left Cyprus to study theology at the age of 20. He studied at Antalya, Izmir and lastly at Athens until he returned to the island in 1861. Although Sophronios studied outside the island, he was not influenced by Greek nationalism. For example, when he sent an autobiographical note to the Jerusalem Theological School, he stated that his homeland is Cyprus and his parents are Orthodox Christians of the Eastern dogma.[1] He identified himself through his living place and his religious beliefs. He did not mention Greece or being Greek in his biographical letter. Andrekos Varnava explains him as;

> In short, Sophronios considered himself a 'Cypriot *Romios*' or, as the Ottomans would have put it, a 'Cypriot *Rum*'. These determinants – geographical space and religion – were clearly a reflection of both Byzantine and Ottoman approaches to social structures

1 Andrekos Varnava, "Sophronios III, 1865-1900: The Last of the 'Old' and the First of the 'New' Archbishop-Ethnarchs?" In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. by A. Varnava and M. N. Michael, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp.106-111.

> and governance and therefore were pre-modern in inspiration. This, however, does not make them illegitimate, and quite clearly, Sophronios had a collective identity within the ambit of Ottoman rule that reflected the political (Ottoman), social (high clergy), cultural (Cypriot), and religious (Eastern Orthodox Christian) realities in the geographical space that was the island of Cyprus. This made him, on the one hand, an Ottoman citizen of some prominence as a member of the ruling class, and, on the other hand, a Cypriot of the Eastern Orthodox Christian Church.[2]

Sophronios belonged to where he lived, and he did not construct an imaginary homeland. Even though he had lived in Greece, he did not build his identity based on Greece, but based on Cyprus. As the last Ottoman archbishop, Sophronios defined himself in accordance with the Ottoman *millet* system. He desired to live peacefully with his neighbors, Muslim Cypriots, and during his time, the education did not aim to impose Greek nationalism.[3] However, when the administration had passed to the British, the new government did not desire to cooperate with the religious elites. The new administration did not want to give privileges to the Church as the Ottoman administration did. For example, unlike the Ottoman administration, the colonial administration did not provide a police escort (*zaptiehs*) to collect taxes. Sophronios complained to the British, to the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, that the new rule did not recognize

2 Ibid, p.111. For an explanation of the concept of homeland and a discussion about where is the Rome and what or who is *Rum*, see: Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome Of One's Own: Reflections On Cultural Geography And Identity In The Lands of Rum" *Muqarnas* vol. 24, (2007), pp.7-25. For the version with the introductory part written for its Turkish translation, see: C. Kafadar, *Kendine Ait Bir Roma Diyar-ı Rum'da Kültürel Coğrafya ve Kimlik Üzerine* (İstanbul: Metis, 2017). Kafadar deals with the meanings attributed to the word *Rum/Rumi* throughout history in terms of space and context and examines the practical and theoretical meanings attributed to the concepts of Anatolia and Rome.

3 A. Varnava, "Sophronios III, 1865-1900: The Last of the 'Old' and the First of the 'New' Archbishop-Ethnarchs?" In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. by A. Varnava and M. N. Michael, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013),p.113.

his privileges which were given by the Ottomans.[4] The Archbishop wished to keep his privileges as in the old regime, but the British refused to share the administration with the Church. The new administration did not help the Church collect taxes and also started collecting taxes from the Church.[5] This can be linked to the ambivalent situation of the administration. Sophronios wished to keep his privileges which were given him by the Ottoman Sultan with *Berat.*[6] During those times, the island theoretically belonged to the Ottoman Empire. The Archbishop complained to the British based on the right granted to him by the Ottoman State. He thought his *Berat* was still valid. However, the British administration ignored the privileges of the Church. Ultimately, the Church wanted to maintain its power, and nationalism emerged as a way out for it to maintain its leadership. Nationalism was seen as a survival tactic for the leadership position of the Archbishop. Becoming a national leader meant keeping the authority of the Church as it were in the past.

§ 5.1 Community Leadership Conflict Between the Nationalists and the Conservatives

Cypriots should not be considered a homogenous group. Every community has different characteristics, they include different classes and groups. Even the same communities are not homogenous. This was also the same for Cypriots. The people who belonged to the same community sometimes had conflicts with each other. It also means their relations with the administrators should not be considered between the two parties.

The Church, which was against nationalism at the beginning of the British administration, came to have a nationalist point of view as a result

4 Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), p.106.

5 Ibid, p.107.

6 A document showing the right to use something, a privilege or an exemption and bearing the Sultan's signature.

of the election of the Archbishop after Sophronios death.[7] The election process was challenging. The competition for the Archbishop's throne started between the nationalist and conservative Greek Cypriots. The Bishop of Kyrenia was the candidate of the conservatives, and the Bishop of Kitium was favored by the nationalists. The Bishop of Kitium and his followers, known as *Kitiaki*, insisted that Christian Orthodox Cypriots were Greeks. The *Kitiaki* was determined to win the election no matter what, and they decided in a meeting that the opposing leading elites should be assaulted and killed. They accused the Bishop of Kyrenia and his followers, known as the *Kyreniaki*, of being traitors and British lackeys.[8]

The elections were important because the Church had a significant place in the ordinary Christian Cypriots' daily lives. For instance, the locust problem was very serious for Cypriots who were mostly supporting their lives through agriculture. In addition to weddings, baptisms and funerals, the Church also played a role against the locust. The Church not only had a special prayer for the silkworms but also created a prayer against the locust raids.[9] Although these prayers may seem like simple

7 Sophronios approved Enosis in 1895 when rumors emerged that the British would leave the island because he did not want the island to be returned to Ottoman rule. See: A. Varnava, "Sophronios III, 1865-1900: The Last of the 'Old' and the First of the 'New' Archbishop-Ethnarchs?" In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. by A. Varnava and M. N. Michael, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), p.134. However, both Rolandos Katsiaounis and Andrekos Varnava show that, unlike classical historiography, Sophronios did not demand Enosis when the first British governor Wolseley arrived on the island. In the book mentioned above, Varnava gives detailed information about the classical historiography on the subject and, Sophronios and his attitude towards Enosis. Also, see: Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), pp.25-28.

8 A. Varnava, "Sophronios III, 1865-1900: The Last of the 'Old' and the First of the 'New' Archbishop-Ethnarchs?" In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. by A. Varnava and M. N. Michael, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp.137-138.

9 Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019), pp.99-100.

things to people in the 21st century, they were very important for the Cypriot villagers whose whole life depended on agriculture. The ideology of the Archbishop and the Church, which had played an important role in the life of ordinary Cypriots, was therefore significant.

The conservatives, *Kyreniaki*, used Sunday church liturgies, and their ideology was based on religion. On the other hand, the ideology of nationalist elites, *Kitiaki,* was based on the nation. Both used the press and the reading clubs to support their candidates. Nationalist elites were mostly freemasons, and the traditional elites accused them of being atheists. On the contrary, the nationalist argued that freemasonry was not against Christian Orthodoxy.[10] The supporters of the Bishop of Kitium mostly belonged to the middle classes, who were Greek nationals and Hellenized Cypriots. Ultimately, the Bishop of Kitium was chosen, but the conservatives did not accept the result. They claimed that corruption had taken place in the election. The *Kitiaki* did not hesitate to use violence and fraud to win the election.[11] However, the old traditional establishment still had the power to be able to prevent the enthronement of the elected Archbishop. For this reason, the throne of the Archbishop remained vacant for a decade.[12] This indicates that the conflict between conservatives and nationalists continued for a decade. Although the nationalist party somehow won the election, it was not easy for them to take over the throne of the Archbishop.

During the same time, the owner of the newspaper *Zaman*, Dervish Pasha, was accused of supporting Kyrillos, the Bishop of Kitium. In 1901, Muslim notables of Nicosia gathered to write a *mazbata* about Dervish Pasha and sent it to Istanbul.[13] Dervish Pasha was blamed for his

10 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), pp. 227-229.

11 A. Varnava, I. Pophaides, "Kyrillos II, 1909-1916 The First Greek Nationalist and Enonist Archbishop-Ethnarch" In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. by A. Varnava and M. N. Michael, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp.154-155.

12 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), pp.230-240.

13 SA1/2064/1901, 19.06.1901.

publication against the Ottoman Caliph and the local government. In addition, they wrote that pasha did not only spread strife among the Muslim Community, but he also went to Karpas during the election of the Archbishop to make propaganda for the sake of the Bishop of Kitium, who was not approved by the Christian notables. The Pasha was defined as someone inclined to sedition, and who could create a disturbance among the population.[14] After these accusations, Dervish Pasha was sentenced to imprisonment, and his title of "Pasha" was withdrawn. Although the British government did not implement the prison sentence, they stopped using the title of "Pasha" for Dervish. Thus, the decision of the Ottoman State remained unfulfilled. Although Dervish Pasha was punished at the request of the Ottoman government, he was not punished in accordance with the Ottoman order. This illustrates the ambivalent situation on the rule of the island. The Ottoman government could punish a Cypriot man but had no authority to implement the full sentence.[15]

It is not clear whether the accusations are true or not. Still, from this *mazbata*, we can understand that the group that conservative Muslim Cypriots consider legitimate were Christians who were conservatives like themselves. They defined the Bishop of Kitium as "whose election was not consented to by the Christian notables."[16] Both Dervish Pasha and Bishop of Kitium threatened the traditional order of the society, and Christian Cypriot and Muslim Cypriot conservatives were against both. On the other side, as the Bishop of Kitium, Dervish Pasha was against the pro-British conservative Muslim Cypriot elites, and he was influenced by

14 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern the Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*, (UK: IB Tauris, 2004), p.100. Also, Bryant compares the activities of Dervish Pasha and Katalanos, ibid, pp.117-120.

15 For documents on Dervish Pasha's first being rewarded and then brought to court, see: BOA. İ.TAL. 101,2 18.07.1896; A.}MTZ.KB. 2,51 21.06.1898; Y..PRK.AZN. 21,78 6.05.1901. Also, as it will be explained in the sixth chapter, Dervish Pasha owned the newspaper *Zaman* which was supported by the Ottoman government to unify the Muslim community on the island. However, in 1898, his newspaper was banned from entering the Ottoman lands, see: BOA. HR.TH. 219,4 03.11.1898.

16 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern the Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*, (UK: IB Tauris, 2004), p.100.

the Young Turks. The Muslim notables complained about his publications because his newspaper *Zaman* published articles against the Sultan and supported the Young Turks. Indeed, Kyrillos and Dervish Pasha supported similar ideologies, and both were against the colonial administration. They were members of the Legislative Council, and sometimes they worked together, such as they did on the community control of education. Dervish worked well with the faction of the Greek Cypriot community who were against the colonial government. However, Dervish Pasha did this not only out of nationalist concerns but also out of religious concerns. For example, he was against the management of the revenue of the pious foundations, *evkaf*, by one British and one Muslim delegate with the approval of the High Commissioner.[17] Dervish Pasha and his friends considered this implementation incompatible with Islam. Although they seem to be completely different from each other, the Bishop of Kitium and Dervish Pasha had the same ideology. They were against the colonial government and desired to be ruled by a government with the same ethnic and religious identity as them. The problem is how they define themselves. Since they defined their identity with religious and ethnic features, they ignored their similarities. Both parties were against the colonial rule but did not want to be ruled by native islanders; instead, they dreamed of being governed by another state. At this point, their ideas diverged because the state in which they wanted to be governed was not the same.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the nationalist elites of the Christian community came to power, but it was not the same for the Muslim Cypriots. At the end of the 1920s, two important figures of the Muslim Cypriot community, Mısırlızade Necati Bey and Munir Bey, became rivals. In fact, the Muslim community was divided into two groups when Ziyai Efendi became a Mufti in 1909. Starting from that time, the Muslim notables were divided into two as supporters of Mufti and supporters of

17 Ibid., pp.101-102. For details about the *evkaf* under British rule, see: Eleni Bouleti, "The Muslim Community on Cyprus and British Colonial Policy, 1878-1915: The Significance of the Cyprus Evkaf in the Colonisation Process" *The Cyprus Review* Vol.23 No.2 (Fall 2011), pp. 39-56.

Evkaf.[18] Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi was a friend of Dervish Pasha, and both were members of the Legislative Council from 1896 to 1906. They supported that the Chief Judge of the traditional Muslim Court should govern the institutions of the Muslim community. According to them, Chief Judge was relatively autonomous from the colonial administration. They accused *Evkaf* of collaborating with the British. It was also a competition to be the leader of the Muslim community, and for governing the institutions.[19]

In time, successors of Mufti supporters became Kemalists who defined themselves as modernists and demanded social reforms in accordance with Turkey. In contrast, *Evkaf* supporters were traditionalists and demanded the continuation of the status quo, which was in their control.[20] At the end of the 1920s, Mısırlızade Necati and Munir Bey became two prominent leaders of the Muslim community. Munir Bey represented the traditional side as *Evkafçılar,* and Necati represented the *Kemalist* side. Munir was pro-British and pro-government. When the delegate of *Evkaf*, Musa Irfan, died in 1925, Mehmet Munir was appointed to *Evkaf*, and a few months later, he became a member of the Legislative Council. Like his predecessor, he was considered as pro-British. Controlling *Evkaf* was significant because it had a considerable amount of property. In other words, controlling *Evkaf* meant controlling the sources of the Muslim Cypriots' income. In the cities, people rented shops and commercial places from the *Evkaf* because a large part of the landed property belonged to *Evkaf,* and was governed through the trustees who were assigned by the *Evkaf*. The situation was the same in the countryside; farmers rented lands mostly from the *Evkaf*. The colonial government described Munir as a pro-British man who had the mentality of an old Turkish pasha, and who was favorable for the service to the British

18 Meltem Onurkan-Samani, "The Legislative Council and Its Historical/Political Implications in Cyprus (1882-1931)" In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed.by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p.82.

19 Ibid, pp.81-82.

20 Ibid.

government.[21] So, Munir was valuable to the British because he could control the community.

On the other side, Necati was the leader of the *Kemalist* group, and he spread *Kemalist* ideology among Muslim Cypriots. He and his supporters criticized the *Evkafçılar* because they collaborated with the British administration.[22] The Muslim community was dissatisfied with the developments that took place after the island was declared a crown colony in 1925. The colonial government firstly abolished the post of the Chief Judge and established three Sheri Courts for the Nicosia-Kyrenia, Famagusta-Larnaca and Limassol-Paphos. Because the colonial governor of the island appointed these three judges, the power of the Sheri Courts was reduced. Secondly, in 1928 the *Evkaf* was transformed into a government department. It was turned into a governmental institution without the financial support of the administration. Further, when Mufti Ziayi Efendi retired in 1927, the Ottoman Empire did not exist, and the new Turkish Republic did not have any institution to appoint a new Mufti. Even if such an institution existed in Turkey, the new Republic had renounced her rights on the island. The colonial government appointed Hakkı Efendi, who was Munir's brother-in-law but at the beginning of 1929, the government decided to abolish the post of the Mufti, and it was replaced by the *Fetva Eminliği,* the office of religious consultancy, which was attached to *Evkaf* and its salary was paid by the *Evkaf*. Lastly, in 1930 the Sheri Courts were attached to *Evkaf*.[23] Hence, the *Evkaf* became the most powerful institution among the Muslim community, but it belonged to the colonial administration. The *Kemalist* side was against these developments and criticized the legitimacy of Munir Bey. Moreover, many Muslim Cypriots were dissatisfied with the abolition of the posts of the Mufti and the Chief Judge. They began to look positively to the Kemalist party, which was

21 Ioannis Moutsis, "The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014),pp, 140-142

22 Ilia Xypolia, "Cypriot Muslims among Ottomans, Turks and Two World Wars" *Boğaziçi Journal,* vol.25 no.2 (2011), pp. 111-112.

23 Ioannis Moutsis, " The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014),pp, 142-143.

against all these abolitions. Thus, rivalry existed between these two sides, and in the election of 1930 *Kemalist* side won. Necati Bey, the head of the Kemalist group, was elected in the Nicosia-Kyrenia district, and *Kemalist* lawyer Zeka Bey was elected in the Famagusta-Larnaca district.[24] The *Kemalist* group won the election of the Legislative Council against Munir Bey, whom colonial governor Ronald Storrs supported. Ronald Storrs was close with Munir Bey because, unlike Necati Bey, Munir Bey mostly obeyed him. The governor defined Necati Bey as 13th Greek because he sided with the traditional enemies of his race. Necati Bey was against the British colonial administration and wanted to act for the benefit of the Turkish Cypriots. Necati Bey and his supporters were ready to enter a sustained period of coalition with Greek Cypriots.[25] The nationalist side of the Muslim community won thirty years after Christian Cypriots did. When Necati Bey was elected to the Legislative Council as a nationalist, the Christian elected members had already been nationalists.

When Kemalism in Cyprus is compared with Kemalism in Turkey, it is seen that they were not the same. Kemalist ideology in Turkey did not develop its political stance through religious institutions. In fact, the Kemalist government abolished many religious institutions in Turkey.[26] However, the Kemalists in Cyprus were against the abolition of religious institutions because these institutions were their last standpoints. Like Christian Cypriots, religion became the central point of the nationalist ideology for the Muslim community. The religious institutions had to be supported as institutions against the colonial government. The nationalist elite gave importance to these institutions since they were the only

24 Ibid, p.145.

25 Altay Nevzat, "Ronald Storrs and Mısırlızade Necati: The Governor's Encounter with the 'Thirteenth Greek'" *The Cyprus Review*, vol.23 (Fall, 2011),pp. 77-104. For the internal division of the Muslim community, also see: Ilia Xypolia, *British Imperialism and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus, 1923– 1939* (London: Routledge, 2018),pp. 133-140.

26 For details about the modernization process of Turkey, see: Erik J. Zurcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2004). For details about the people's daily practices against the modernization policy of the state, see: Murat Metinsoy, *The Power of People: Everyday Resistance and the Dissent in the Making of Modern Turkey 1923-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

institutions that could unite the people against the colonial administration. Although it may not seem logical at first glance for the nationalist elites to defend religious institutions, from this point of view, it becomes clear that they had no other choice. They needed these institutions to gain the people's support, and to form a force against colonial rule. On the other side, Munir Bey, a conservative Muslim Cypriot, was not opposed to the abolition of these institutions because he supported the colonial administration and did not want the government to change. He might have been more realistic than the nationalist elites because the Turkish Republic did not claim any rights on the island. Giving the island back to Turkey was a dream, and Munir Bey was probably aware of this. Siding with the colonial government was his solution to survive.

If one look at one of the examples of the conflict between the two sides among the Muslim community, it can be seen that the Muslim Cypriot Judge was blamed by the Muslim Cypriot police officers Receb and Ibrahim for attending an anti-government meeting in the house of Necati Bey. According to Judge Raif, Munir Bey had promised Sergeant Receb and Ibrahim for a promotion, and the allegation against him was not valid.[27] Also, Judge Raif claimed that the sergeants had a private vengeance against him. The governor of Cyprus considered sergeants and Munir Bey more trustworthy than the judge. Since they were on the side of the British government, they stood up to those who weren't, and the British government considered those on its side more reliable. If the sergeants and Munir Bey had opposed the British government, they would not have blamed Judge Raif for his anti-government actions. Instead, they chose to stand by the colonial government. The Governor of Cyprus, Ronald Storrs, reported allegations against the judge and his self-defense to the Colonial Secretary. As mentioned, Storrs did not like Necati Bey and identified him as the ringleader of the Kemalist anti-government movement.[28] In opposition to Necati Bey and Judge Raif, Munir Bey and the sergeants stood by the British colonial government. As mentioned,

27 TNA, CO 67/238/11, 28, 29 12.03.1931.

28 TNA, CO67/ 238/11 29, 30 12.03.1931

Turkish Cypriots missed the times when they were the island's owners. Both the actions of Necati Bey, Judge Raif, and Munir Bey show that they were struggling for power. One party wanted to be united with Turkey and be the owner of Cyprus again, while the other wanted to be close to the British government, the present owner of the island.

On the other hand, during the rivalry between traditional and nationalist elites of Greek Cypriots, the traditionalists had brought preachers from Greece.[29] In contrast to the Turkish Cypriot traditionalists, Greek Cypriot conservatives did not have ties with the colonial administration since the British administration was distant from religious authorities.[30] Although they wanted to cooperate with the British administration, the new administration was unwilling to do so. Muslim Cypriot conservatives were different from the colonial administration because they needed Muslim conservatives so that they would facilitate the management of the island, at least at the beginning of the British administration.

29 Eleni Koumna "The Origins of Greek Cypriot National Identity" (MA. Thesis, Western Michigan Uni.,1998),p.112.

30 For details about the attitude of the British administration against the Orthodox Church of Cyprus and its similarities and differences with the Ottoman rule, see: M. Michael, "From the Ottoman Meclis-i Idâre to the British Legislative Council" in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood The Ottoman and Post-Ottoman World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism*, ed. by M. Michael, T. Anastassiadis, C. Verdeil, (Berlin: Klaus Schwars Verlag, 2014), pp.105-130. The British administration did not want to accept religious authorities as natural leaders of the communities and did not support them as members of the administrative institutions. Also, for the historical narrative produced in the process of the Church becoming a national leader against the attitude of the British, see: M. N. Michael, "History, Myth and Nationalism: The Retrospective Force of National Roles within a Myth-Constructed Past" in *The Troubled Triangle Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* ed. by A. Aktar N. Kızılyürek, U. Özkırımlı (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010),pp. 149-159. As an example of the constant reproduction of stereotypes and myths, Michael uses the case of Archbishop Kyprianos, cited by national historiography, as a supporter of the Greek struggle for independence. He insists that the Church of Cyprus did not have a role of national authority in the second decade of the 19th century during Archbishop Kyprianos' time. The exclusionary policies of the British government caused the Church to reproduce its power as a national leader, and the historiography of the Church has also been reproduced in accordance with the national narratives.

§ 5.2 The First Inter-communal Conflict

Apart from the conflict among themselves, nationalist conflicts also broke out between the communities before the island came entirely under British rule. The events within the island and abroad played a role in the inter-communal conflict. However, the national feelings exacerbated the situation.

The Legislative Council members sometimes used resignation as a weapon to be heard by the administrators. In 1912, the non-Muslim members wrote a memorial to the High Commissioner of Cyprus, but they received a negative reply. After the negative reply, they gathered a mass meeting composed of villagers and decided on resolutions for their problems. According to them, the policy of the government was ineffective and illiberal. The Archbishop of Cyprus and some Mukhtars also supported the meeting against the British government and signed the resolution after the meeting.[31] One of the articles of the resolution was the resignation of the members. Also, they decided who would be the members of the central committee. The non-Muslim Cypriots made decisions after a discussion among themselves, not separately. They had both local and central committees to decide the issues about the island. Even in 1912, they started to establish an almost democratic formation to make decisions against the British administration. Further, their motivation against the British administration was not only about economic and political problems, but also about their national feelings. The third article of the resolution can be an example of this:

> Declares that no action, no pressure, no temporal power will subdue or alter their national feelings and their unchangeable Wish for their annexation to their co-racial Kingdom of Greece.[32]

The national feelings of the Christian Cypriots were beginning to awaken before the Great War. However, during the war, both Christian

31 TNA, FCO141/2350

32 TNA, FCO141/2350, 14, 28.04.1912.

Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots joined the British army together. It can be said that they were aware of nationalism and started to be sensitive to national feelings, but they were able to ignore nationalism when they had to. The main aim of the Greek Cypriots was to be freed from the misgovernment of the British administration.[33] Nevertheless, in these times, the nationalist ideology became the widespread ideology almost all over the world. Greek Cypriots considered nationalism a tool of liberation from the British administration. However, they did not see themselves as an independent nation but as a part of the Hellenic Kingdom. They could not imagine themselves only as a Cypriot but also Greek. The fact that they belonged to the same religion as the British rulers did not prevent them from being underestimated. They were second-class citizens in the Ottoman *millet* system, and the new administration did not change their situation. For these reasons, they started to alienate from their own place and fall into an ambivalent situation. Did they belong to the place where they had been underestimated for years? It can be said that their relationship with the Ottoman and British administrations resulted in their idea of nationalism and unification with Greece.

In addition to the political tension between the British administration and the Greek Cypriot council members, 1912 was the year of the Italo-Turkish War, and the Ottoman Empire was not in a good position against

33 Their problem with the misgovernment was the economic difficulties. However, the economy of the Kingdom of Greece was not good as Greek Cypriots expected. The Kingdom went bankrupt in 1893 and then could not cope effectively with the economic situation. Also, the Greek citizens were not satisfied with the heavy taxes. See: Stefanos Katsikas & Anna Krinaki, "Reflections on an "Ignominious Defeat": Reappraising the Effects of the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897 on Greek Politics" *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* vol. 38, no.1, (2020), p.112. In addition, the Church of Cyprus became a national leader of Greek Cypriots. It supported Enosis, but Greek Cypriots considered Enosis as economic salvation because in 1917, the Prime Minister of Greece, Venizelos, implemented a land reform program, and large estates were distributed to the landless peasants. However, since the Church was the largest landowner in Cyprus, this reform would not be implemented on the island. Also, the Church did not need to wait for Enosis to give land to the landless peasant. For details, see: Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019), pp.78-82.

Italy. For this reason, some Christian Cypriots made a celebration which provoked Muslim Cypriots.[34] Both communities were affected by the events happening abroad and reflected this in their inter-communal relationship. In addition to Italo-Turkish War, the Ottoman Empire entered the war in the Balkans in the same year. The daily lives of Cypriots were influenced by the news coming from abroad. Since the administrative status was not definite yet, the Ottoman Empire was still the owner of the island for the Muslim Cypriot community, but it was not the same for the Christian Cypriots. As mentioned, they were second-class subjects during the Ottoman administration, and their status was not improved by the new administration. They needed to find a way to be free and to become a first-class citizen. For this reason, some Christian Cypriots celebrated the Ottoman defeats. They did not want to go back to the old administration.[35] Therefore, on 24 May 1912, when Greek Cypriot schoolchildren from Nicosia Gymnasium passed through the Turkish Cypriot village singing and blowing bugles, the children and teachers were attacked by Muslim Cypriots. The tension between the communities raised when rumors emerged that some of the schoolchildren had been murdered. The next day there was a festival in Limassol, and a group of Greek Cypriots threw stones at some Turkish Cypriots in a horse carriage on the outskirts of Limassol. This escalated the events and caused a Turkish Cypriot riot, and the church bells were rung to gather the Greek Cypriots. The ringing of Church bells contributed to the violence. In the end, five Cypriots died, and more than a hundred were wounded.[36] These events had started when some Turkish Cypriots were provoked by schoolchildren, and then spread through the festival. The children were educated by nationalist teachers, and their syllabus was in accordance with the education in Greece. School education in both communities was taught by

34 Iliya John Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), pp.140-141.

35 As mentioned, even Archbishop Sophronios did not want the island to be returned, although he got along well with the Ottoman administration.

36 Iliya John Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), pp.141-144.

nationalist teachers who mostly studied in Greece or Turkey. Christian Cypriots educated in Athens, Trieste and Alexandria learnt the idea of nations and returned to the island to teach Hellenism.[37] Education was seen as a way of creating decent Greeks and Turks; students were taught how to be good Greeks or good Turks in schools.[38] Education is significant for constructing national identities because national ideas can be imposed and promoted through education.[39] However, education was not widespread on the island. For example, in 1911, about 25% of the Cypriots, including both women and men, knew how to read and write.[40] During 1912, 411 non-Muslim and 196 Muslim schools, fourteen Greek Cypriot newspapers, and only one Turkish Cypriot newspaper existed on the island.[41] Nevertheless, the education and print media were effective enough to initiate an inter-communal conflict. As will be elaborated, the newspapers were read in the coffeehouses or book clubs to the rest of the people, and the nationalist ideas could spread among the islanders. Moreover, the education rate increased over time, and in 1931, the literacy rate became about 45%.[42] The nationalist ideas were spread through the schools, firstly in the cities and then in the countryside, but due to the lack of financial resources, the number of schools in villages and women's access to the schools was limited. For this reason, the spread of national ideas to the villages remained behind the cities.[43]

37 Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915 The Inconsequential Possession*, (UK: Manchester Uni. press, 2012), pp.163-164.

38 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern the Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus,* (UK: IB Tauris, 2004), p.127.

39 For details, see: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, A brilliant exegesis on nationalism*, (UK: Verso, 2006); E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (UK: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1992). Also, see: Michel Foucault, *The Order of the Things* (USA: Vintage, 1994).

40 Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, census of 1911, www.cystat.gov.cy

41 Cyprus Blue Book, 1912-1913.

42 Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, census of 1931, www.cystat.gov.cy

43 Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), pp.84-85.

On the other hand, the British administration had an influential role in nationalist education. During the Ottoman administration, school education did not aim to create national identities but focused on building an identity around religion. For instance, "the Greek language was taught in Cypriot schools because it was the language of the church, not because it was the language of the people, who spoke a composite language, heavily influenced by various Greek idioms, as well as Frankish, Venetian and Ottoman idioms."[44] It can be said that the language of ordinary Christian Cypriots and the Greek language was not the same. Also, because the number of educated Cypriots was less and newspaper publishing had not started during the Ottoman administration, the impact of the Greek language was limited. However, the British administration considered the Christian Cypriots as a part of Ancient Greece and desired to modernize them. For example, British Governor Ronald Storrs believed that Cypriots could reach the classic past only with the help of the British administration.[45] In accordance with the modernization process, the British promoted *Katharevousa*, an artificial language which was created to purify the spoken tongue of Greek. Students had learnt this version of Greek and the newspapers used it.[46] This caused the language to become more like the Greek of Greece over time, and perhaps, for this reason, Christian Cypriots were not able to form their own language like Maltese. On the other side, the year 1912 coincides with the first year when the nationalist

44 Andrekos Varnava, "Sophronios III, 1865-1900: The Last of the 'Old' and the First of the 'New' Archbishop-Ethnarchs?" In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. by A. Varnava and M. N. Michael, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), p.109. Also, see: C.M. Bowra, "Homeric Words in Cyprus" J*ournal of Hellenic Studies*, vol.54 (1934), pp.54-74; Mehmet Yashin, "Introduction Step-Mothertongue" in *Step-Mothertongue From Nationalism to Multiculturalism: Literatures of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* ed. by Mehmet Yashin (London: Middlesex University Press, 2000), pp.14-16.

45 Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island A History of the British in Cyprus,* (London&New York: IB Tauris, 2010), p.126.

46 Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915 The Inconsequential Possession*, (UK: Manchester Uni. press, 2012), p.164.

Archbishop came to power, and his effect on education and the Christian community can be seen in the 1912 events.

Thus, the schools became a center of national ideologies, and it is not unexpected that students with a nationalist education caused such an event, but also it is not unexpected that ordinary people, who were exposed to nationalist propaganda through the newspapers, were provoked by the songs of the students. However, explaining all these events with the imposing of nationalism causes the agency of ordinary people to be taken away. The printing media and education had tried to spread national feelings among the ordinary people, yet people must have had a reason to accept these ideas. The ordinary people did not accept all of the ideas of the upper class without question, and it was their choice to adopt or not to adopt these ideas according to their own interests. Hellenistic nationalism was attractive to the Christian community because they could eventually become first-class subjects and avoid underestimation. On the other side, Ottoman or Turkish nationalism was the mainstay of the Muslim Cypriots who were abandoned.

Historians mostly argue that the Muslim Cypriots built Turkish nationalism as a counter-nationalism to Greek Cypriots with the contribution of British rule.[47] However, Ilia Xypolia criticizes this argument. According to her, this argument does not explain why the Muslim community on the island constructed nationalism much later than Christians and why they did not build their national identity during the

47 Some of them: Van Coufoudakis, *Cyprus: A Contemporary Problem in Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Modern Greek Studies, 2006); Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002); Şükrü Sina Gürel, *Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878–1960): Kolonyalizm, Ulaşçuluk ve Uluslararası Politika,* (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınlar, 1984); Fikret Halil Alasya, *Kıbrıs Tarihi ve Kıbrısta Turk Eserleri,* (Ankara: Turk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1964); Jonathan Stubbs & Bahar Taşeli, "Newspapers, Nationalism and Empire" *Media History* vol.20 no.3 (2014), pp.284-301. These sources can be extended. The argument is the classic idea about the building process of Turkish nationalism in Cyprus.

previous peaks of the Greek nationalist agitation.[48] The Christian and the Muslim Cypriots were not affected by the same issues. The Muslim community was influenced mainly by Young Turks who escaped or were exiled to the island. On the other hand, the Christian community had a connection with the newly born independent Greece. Especially the elites and merchants were in touch with Greece and Greek nationalism. Nevertheless, during the first period of the Young Turk era, Muslim Cypriots defended Ottoman nationalism, not Turkish nationalism. The Muslim Cypriots, who belonged to the same religion as the Ottoman administration, followed the Ottoman policy. While the Christian Cypriots started to build Greek nationalism, they still believed in the *millet* system and the Ottoman nation. The other idea is that the Turkish Cypriot nationalism was constructed because of the British imperial policies, like the Greek Cypriot community.[49] The misgovernment of the British administration might be another reason for Turkish Cypriot nationalism. However, the ambiguity that the Muslim Cypriot community had fallen into might be a reason. They had lost the administration that they identified themselves with, and their situation became ambivalent. Muslim Cypriots did not desire to be an insignificant minority while they had been a part of the ruling class for a long time. Niyazi Kızılyürek goes further and asks the question: "Why did the Turkish Cypriots or Muslim inhabitants of Cyprus refuse to become part of the modern Greek State through a union of

48 Ilia Xypolia, *British Imperialism and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus 1923-1939 Divide, Define and Rule*, (London&New York: Routledge, 2018), pp.17-18. She mentions that many scholars consider that the Turkish nationalist movement in Cyprus was developed in the 1950s with the contribution of the British; and asks whether Turkish nationalism was a counter-reaction, and why they did not developed this idea around the same time Greek Cypriots did. I agree with Xypolia, and I also believe that considering Turkish nationalism in Cyprus as a counter-nationalism that developed with the help of the British administration narrows our perspectives, and prevents us from thinking that there might be other reasons. We must consider that there might be more possibilities in the events where many people are affected.

49 Ibid.

Cyprus with Greece and insisted instead that Cyprus either remain a British colony or be partitioned?"[50]

On the other hand, this thesis asks why the Christian and Muslim communities of Cyprus accepted to become a part of another state instead of being a part of the place they lived in, in other words being Cypriots. Even if the Muslim community of Cyprus had not constructed a Turkish nationalist idea and accepted to be a part of the Greek state, the problem would not have been solved because there is no answer to the question of why they did not develop an identity construction based on where they lived. Further, why did the Muslim community of Cyprus, which was part of the ruling class, accept to become part of the Greek State which was considered as an old subject of theirs? I believe that it would not be a very expected outcome that they would desire to be a part of Greece, which they saw as their former subject. The Christian community of Cyprus was also the former subject of the Ottoman Empire; however, the two communities had been living together for centuries, and building a common identity based on Cyprus would be the more expected outcome. Building an identity based on Greece cannot be expected of the both communities in Cyprus even while they could not form an identity even based on the place where they lived together. On the other side, this question should be asked too: Why did the Christian community of the island refuse to become part of the Turkish Republic through a union of Cyprus with Turkey? Most of the population on the island has always been the Greek Cypriot community, and Kızılyürek might have asked the counter question because of this, but both versions of this question seem very unlikely in various possibilities.

50 Niyazi Kızılyürek, "Modernity, Nationalism and Secularization: The Turkish Cypriot Case" in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood The Ottoman and Post-Ottoman World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism,* ed. by M. Michael, T. Anastassiadis, C. Verdeil, (Berlin: Klaus Schwars Verlag, 2014), p.173.

§ 5.3 The Cypriot Mule Corps

The economy and politics are the main factors that influence people's lives profoundly. During the first two decades of the 20th century, the economic condition of the island was not improved. When the economy gets worse, people can do anything because they need to support themselves and their families to survive. They might join a war when they have no other option to support themselves. Different identities and ethnicities might lose their importance, and people can be united to deal with the worsening economic and political situations. During the Great War, the financial condition of the island was not good. The poverty of the Cypriots increased because of the ruthless taxes. British administration and its tax collection caused one of Cyprus's most significant periods of extreme poverty.[51] The already dire economic situation was getting worse during wartime. Some Cypriots had no choice but to join the war to support their families. They could earn their annual income almost in one month in the front line. Thus, both Christian Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots joined the British army together against the central powers, including the Ottoman Empire. The Cypriot volunteers and mules were sent to the Macedonian Front as rear-guard support.[52] Pack animals were needed because of the

51 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), p.26. For the poverty of the islanders, see: Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996); Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer,2017); Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019).

52 For more information about the Cypriots in the Great War, see: Andrekos Varnava, *Serving the Empire in the Great War The Cypriot Mule Corps, Imperial Loyalty and Silenced Memory* (UK: Manchester Uni Press, 2017); Andrekos Varnava,'Recruitment and Volunteerism for the Cypriot Mule Corps, 1916- 1919. Pushed or Pulled? *Itinerario,* No.38, (2015) pp.79-101; Nur Çetiner, "The Cypriot Mule Corps in the First World War."(MA thesis, Sabancı University, 2017), pp.55-75.

geographic situation of the Macedonian Front. Northern Greece particularly had mountainous topography coupled with poor infrastructure and rail network.[53] The British administration used the dire economic conditions on the island as a weapon to attract the Cypriots to the front line. From 1915 to 1918, approximately 15,000 Cypriots joined the Great War to serve the British army against their former Sultan. The Muslim Cypriots joined the Christian army against the Muslim Ottoman Empire with their Christian compatriots. On the other hand, the British were Christians, but their sect differed from the Orthodox Christian Cypriots, and Greece had not participated in the war until 1917.[54] The reason for the participation of the Christian Cypriots in the war cannot be explained by the fact that Greece was in the war because Greece had not entered the war yet when the Cypriot Mule Corps was established. In fact, the British administration offered to cede Cyprus to Greece in return for joining the war on her side, but Greece did not accept.[55] The Cypriot Mule Corps can be analyzed on the aspect of identity and belonging. The Cypriot muleteers were mostly from the lower class, and as will be elaborated in the further chapters, the nationalism on the island was the dream of the upper class. Indeed, it was the upper classes of both communities that fell into the ambivalent situation. The ordinary Cypriots joined the Great War together without concern about their religious or ethnic identities. The dire economic condition of the island forced some poor islanders to join the war. On the other side, it can be deduced that the volunteer Cypriots identified themselves with their living place because the motherlands were not decisive in making the decision to be muleteers in the British army. On the contrary, if they had taken their motherlands into account when making

53 Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island A History of the British in Cyprus*,(New York: IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 2011),p.79.

54 For details on Greece's entry to the war, see: George Kaloudis, "Greece and The Road To World War I: To What End" *International Journal on World Peace* vol. 31, no. 4 (2014), pp. 9-47.

55 Antonis Klapsis, "The Strategic Importance of Cyprus and the Prospect of Union with Greece, 1919-1931: The Greek Perspective." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* vol.41, no.5 (2013), p.767.

this decision, they should not have joined the war. They entered the army primarily to support their families living in Cyprus.

On the other hand, the Cypriot Mule Corps did not represent all the people on the island. The ages of volunteers were mainly from 18 to 35, and according to the census of 1911, the total Greek male population was 109,219, and the Turkish male population was 28,706.[56] Cypriots who joined the army made up almost 10% of the total male population, but of course, there were also men in the total population who were not in this age range. Moreover, both communities organized fundraising for Greece and Turkey during those years, and especially print media organized this kind of aid campaign.[57] Moreover, these campaigns were continued after World War I. For example, in 1920, the Turkish newspaper *Doğru Yol* called Turkish Cypriots to buy theatre tickets because the income from the play was to be sent to Izmir.[58] In 1922, Greek Cypriots were called to join the Greek army in Asia Minor to support their "motherland."[59] Both communities were forced to support the "motherlands" and expected to be nationalist. However, the nationalists in both communities were elitists, not ordinary Cypriots, and they did not represent the wishes of ordinary people. Some Muslim Cypriots joined the British army during WWI to support themselves and their families. The important thing was the economic conditions, not the nationalities. Nevertheless, the nationalist elites created an oppressive environment and joining the British army became a secret for many Turkish Cypriot muleteers. For example, one of the members of the Royal Irish Rangers, Major Condon, examined the

56 Republic of Cyprus, Statistical Service, www.cystat.gov.cy access, 09.2021

57 Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer,2017),p.142.

58 NA, *Doğru Yol*, 12.01.1920. Since the Ottoman Empire was on the defeated side as a result of the First World War, many parts of Anatolia were occupied, and then the War of Independence started. The Turkish army fought against the Greeks in Izmir. For details, see: Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume 2: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808–1975* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.340-372.

59 Y. Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer,2017),p.142.

Cypriot Mule Corps in the 1970s and interviewed some Cypriot muleteers who were alive at that time. He was astonished to learn that some Turkish Cypriots also joined the British army. Condon collected the medals which were given to the Cypriot muleteers after WWI, and only one medal exists in his collection belonging to the Turkish Cypriot muleteer. The medals show the dates of service, and the medal of the Turkish Cypriot volunteer shows that he had served until November 1919. This made Condon suggest that the muleteer might have also served in Constantinople because some Cypriot volunteers continued to serve the British army after the end of WWI and were sent to the capital of the Ottoman Empire. Further, contrary to his description of the interviews with Greek Cypriots muleteers, he cut short the information about Turkish Cypriot muleteer. Condon did not write even his name, only wrote that one Turkish Cypriot now living in Trikomo in North Cyprus, enlisted to the Macedonian Mule Corps in 1916. Condon did not explain why he did not give more information about the Turkish Cypriot volunteer, but probably the muleteer was not comfortable speaking about his war experience against the Ottoman Empire.[60] It can be deduced that some Muslim Cypriots could not act as freely due to the pressure of nationalist elites. Thus, as being muleteers, the fundraising campaign for the "motherlands" did not show the nationalist feelings of the whole Cypriots. Some Cypriots might have supported these aid campaigns to avoid being excluded from the community. Around the same time, others joined the war in the British side to support their families.

60 Nur Çetiner,"The Cypriot Mule Corps in the First World War."(MA thesis, Sabancı University, 2017), pp.55-75. Major J.P.B. Condon, *The Macedonian Mule Corps 1916-1919 Some Records Compiled* (1979), TNA, WO/405/1.

§ 5.4 The End of an Era, 1931 Revolt

The economic problems on the island were not solved after the Great War. One of the significant problems among the islanders and the British administration was the tribute. Both communities in Cyprus were not satisfied with the Share of Cyprus of the Turkish Debt Charge. However, at the beginning of the British administration, the Muslim community did not want to abolish the tribute because they considered it a connection with the Ottoman State.[61] As mentioned, in 1887, the tribute resolution was supported by both Christian and Muslim members of the Legislative Council. However, this did not become a Cypriot-wide level movement. The members of the Pan-Cypriot Committee did not include Muslim Cypriots. The committee was responsible for consistently making all demands and decisions from protest meetings and local committees.[62] The committee and the common economic problems could have caused the construction of the Cypriot identity, but it did not happen because Muslim Cypriots hesitated to participate. However, Muslim Cypriots consider the tribute as a confirmation of Ottoman sovereignty over the island. Although they knew that they would be relieved economically, they did not want to break their last ties with the Ottoman Empire. Further, the Muslim Cypriots were against sending a delegation to London; they defended sending it first to Istanbul. If the Ottoman State permitted, the delegation could be sent to London.[63] The Muslim Cypriots insisted on Ottoman sovereignty over the island because, without the Ottoman administration, they could not identify themselves. The Legislative Council and the shared problems could form a common Cypriot identity against the

61 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the 19th Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996), p.186.

62 Sia Anagnostopoulou, "The Mass Mobilisations in Cyprus within the British Colonial Framework 1887-1889." In *Social Transformation and Mass Mobilization in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean Cities 1900-1923*, ed. by Andreas Lyberatos, (Greece: Panepistimio Kritis, 2013), p.342.

63 Ibid, pp.342-343.

colonial administration, but a shadow of the old administration did not permit this process. The uncertainty of the owner of the island caused an ambivalent situation for the Muslim community. They desired to solve the economic problems but did not desire to break their ties with the Ottomans.

In time, the Muslim community also began to oppose paying the debt of the Ottoman Empire. For example, in 1926 Cyprus Legislative Council, which was composed of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in addition to British people, rejected the Appropriation Bill for 1927.[64] Cypriot elected members did not understand why they should pay this debt. They defended that the island had not been a part of the Ottoman Empire since 1878. Their opinion was both accurate and wrong because, theoretically, the island was still part of the Ottoman State from 1878 to 1914. On the other hand, they were reasonable because Great Britain annexed the island in 1914, and Cyprus has been governed by the British administration since 1878. According to elected members, they were not a part of the Ottoman Empire for a very long time, and their request was to eliminate this debt burden. Not only were the Christian members of the council against this debt, but this time also, Muslim members did not want to pay this money. It had been 48 years since the island was handed over, and with the Treaty of Lausanne, the new Turkish Republic gave up its rights on the island.[65] The tribute was no longer a tie with the "motherland."

On 30 March 1927, the governor of Cyprus informed the Colonial Secretary, and he said elected members prepared a memorial for the administration, and all of the members signed it. Governor mentioned about unanimity of the members, and he thought that this unanimity was reached with prolonged discussions.[66] In the memorial, the elected members stressed that the people of Cyprus were not able to bear the burden of the debt. People on the island had a rough time because of financial

64 TNA, CO67/220/3 1927.

65 Ilia Xypolia, "Imperial Bending of Rules: The British Empire, the Treaty of Lausanne, and Cypriot Immigration to Turkey" *Diplomacy & Statecraft,* vol.32, no.4 (2021), pp.674-675.

66 TNA, CO67/220/3, 9 30.03.1927.

troubles.[67] The members thought the rejection of the bill was their responsibility to the people whom they represented. In addition, their aim was not to obstruct the administration's policy, and they only did not want any additional financial troubles.[68] Moreover, in 1926 after they rejected the bill, they wrote to the governor of Cyprus to explain why they rejected the bill.[69] They stated their rejection was against the charge of Turkish debt share, not the other obligations of the bill. They did not want to be misunderstood; they wanted to alleviate the financial troubles of the people of Cyprus.[70]

Moreover, the act of the elected members probably discomforted the British government because they were still discussing the same issue in 1931.[71] In 1928 the Greek elected members submitted a memorial to the British government about this topic. This time their request was the repayment of the Share of Cyprus of the Turkish Debt Charge to the treasury of the island. According to the members, the British government signed an agreement with the Ottoman Empire in 1878 and accepted to pay £92,800. Nevertheless, the government seized this money in return for the Ottoman Loan of 1855, which was taken by the Ottoman Empire because of the Crimean War. The members claimed that Cyprus was not liable for the Ottoman Loan of 1855. Paying this loan with the Cypriots' taxes was unjust behavior for the island's people. In addition, the British government annexed the island in 1914, but Cyprus continued to pay tribute. The island was no longer part of the Ottoman Empire after 1914. The

67 In the period covered by the thesis, the economic situation of Cyprus had always been bad. For example, see: Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019),pp. 33-62.

68 TNA, CO67/220/3, 13, 14 21.03.1927.

69 TNA, C067/220/3, 37, 38 28.12.1926.

70 "4- As to the suggestion that we are actuated by a policy of obstruction and non-co-operation with the Government for a period over a year but Your Excellency will fully realise that co-operation does not mean passing over without defence most vital and important matters concerning this island such as the question of the Tribute which is unbearable charge on the Revenues of the island…" TNA, C067/220/3, 37 28.12.1926.

71 TNA, CO67/238/8, 3 ,4, 5, 6 1931.

members expressed this issue and stated that the government collected extra taxes from Cypriots to pay the tribute. They requested all these sums (£1,063,000), which had been collected unjustly and illegally by the British government until 1928.[72] Although the tribute was abolished in October 1927, the colonial administration continued to collect the tax as a name of pay for the defense of the empire.[73] In 1931 the officers were still discussing this problem and referring to the memorial of the Greek elected members in 1928. Unfortunately, the officers claimed that the only sources for supplying the Ottoman loan were Cyprus because Egypt commuted her share for a lump sum payment. The British administration did not want to disclaim her right from this money.[74]

The financial problems directly influenced the contentment of the elected members of the Cyprus Legislative Council. The people of Cyprus were suffering from economic difficulties, and they were not pleased with the administration of Great Britain. They desired to live in better conditions, but they were in need of a strong economy to improve their lifestyles.[75] Moreover, the economic problems and the discontentment against the administration had gradually transformed into national demands. The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century can be defined as the peak point of nationalism.[76] Many nations established their national states, and Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were

72 TNA, CO67/238/8, 3 ,4, 5, 6 1931.

73 Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), p.37.

74 TNA, CO67/238/8, 10, 11, 12 1931.

75 As examined in the sixth chapter, the newspapers also complained about this.

76 On the independence demands of communities in the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the processes of gaining their independence, see: Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: IB Tauris, 2004). For an example of the violence created by the ideas of ethnicity and nationalism shaped by the modern nation-state form in the Balkans, see: Mark Mazower, *The Balkans From the End of Byzantium to the Present Day* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002).

aware of the national ideology.[77] The misgovernment of the British administration influenced the national feelings among the Cypriots. However, in these times, Cypriots' demand was not to be independent but to unite with their motherland, Greece and Turkey. It can be said that their request to join the motherland might be related to the misgovernment of the British administration. In the minds of Cypriots, unification meant disburdening the financial troubles which the British administration created.[78] However, they could get rid of the British administration with independence, but they did not desire to be independent. They desired to belong to another state.

In addition, before the disturbance in 1931, the Greek member Th. Theodotou and Turkish member M. Necati Mısırlızade prepared a motion about the education of the Cypriots. They wanted better management of education in Cyprus and Cypriot officers for the management. Their solutions about the topic were the abolition of the offices of the Director and Assistant Director of Education and establishing an office of a Greek Director of Education for the management of the Greek schools and a Muslim Director of Education for the management of Turkish schools.[79] Apparently, the people of Cyprus did not feel satisfied with the British administration. They requested more places in higher positions and to manage their education system by themselves. They no longer wanted to be under the control of the British. Their desire for education was not baseless because they needed school education to educate boys and girls

77 For example, after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878, Cyprus was leased, and Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania gained their independence with the Treaty of Berlin. See: Charles Jelavich & Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1986).

78 However, the economic conditions in Greece and Turkey were not good as the islanders expected. See: Şevket Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey since 1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); George Alogoskoufis, "Historical Cycles of the Economy of Modern Greece From 1821 to the Present" *Athens University of Economics and Business, Working Paper* (2021), DOI:10.13140/RG.2.2.17360.64009. For details about Greece after the independence, see: Thomas W. Gallant, *Modern Greece: From the War of Independence to the Present* (UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

79 TNA, CO67/240/6, 17 8.04.1931.

as Greek and Turkish members of society. Education is the most critical issue for identity formation, and the Cypriot elective members were aware of it.[80]

Their desire for higher positions and education during the same year was not coincidental. They did not want to be under the British. The Greek Cypriots had been influenced by nationalism for a long time. On the other hand, since the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571, the Muslim community had been used to being the island's owner. They belonged to the administrative class and were superior to other communities. Nevertheless, their superiority was finished in 1914 because of the British annexation of the island. I believe their desires which were mentioned above, were not only about national feelings or national identity formation. These requests were also because of the nostalgia for their sovereignty before the British government.

From the British government's point of view, Cypriot elected members wasted the time of the council by introducing subjects outside the council's jurisdiction.[81] The British rulers desired to restrict the motion of the Cypriot members. The restriction in Zanzibar was exemplified for the Cyprus Legislative Council.[82] It can be deduced that both the governors and the governed people were not satisfied with each other. Cypriots requested to handle issues about their lives by themselves, such as

80 Education is significant to build a common culture which is the main element of the national identity. See: Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1983). Like print capitalism and the mass media, education is also a crucial element of the nation-building process. Also, for the recent analysis of the effect of education in different societies and national contexts, see: Marcel Coenders & Peer Scheepers, "The Effect of Education on Nationalism and Ethnic Exclusionism: An Internal Comparison" *Political Psychology* vol.24, no.2 (2003), pp.313-343. The article uses the survey data of 1995, which was gathered in 22 countries and examine the effect of education on nationalism in different societies. In addition, languages are crucial tools of education in the constructing process of the national identities. For the theory of Einar Haugen about the integration of languages into nationalist ideologies, see: Einar Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation" *American Anthropologist* vol.68, no.4 (1966), pp.922-935.

81 TNA, CO67/240/6, 3, 4, 5 23.09.1931.

82 TNA, CO67/240/6, 3, 4 23.09.1931.

education, but the British governors did not want to waste their time on these subjects, which were unimportant to them. There was a conflict between the British administration and the Cypriots. The islanders mainly did not identify themselves as close to the British government. Since the British government considered itself superior, it did not establish a close relationship with the people, and this encouraged separatist ideas. These separatist aspirations led to the conflict between the administration and the Cypriots.

Further, the Greek and Turkish Cypriot elective members were united for the separation from not only the British but also themselves. Their desire was to be independent of both the administration and the other community. The elective members made the same notice and united for their aim, but they made this to separate their education. They did not become aware that they could act together for their future. They could not imagine the identity of Cypriotness, but they imagined themselves as Greek or Turkish. As mentioned, both under the Ottoman and British administrations, they made a petition or sometimes visited the administrators together to claim their requests and complaints. Their identity formation had been developed according to the ideologies of their times, and it was national ideology. The misgovernment of the British governors and the economic difficulties contributed to the national feelings of the islanders. But why did these effects contribute to their irredentist national feelings?

Another example of the two communities' unification against the British administration is again from 1931. The Governor of Cyprus, Ronald Storrs, informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the members rejected the bill about the customs duties.[83] He said the bill would have been passed, but the Muslim members did not support, and Greek members rejected it by 11 votes to 9. The governor himself accepted the influence of the economic depression on the rejection of the bill. According to him, the elected members did not have any intention to assist the government and caused many problems that could be. He stressed that

83 TNA, CO67/239/3, 9, 10, 11, 12 7.05.1931.

balancing the revenue and expenditure of 1931 and 1932 would not be possible without some form of taxation. However, he added that the elected members were determined not to vote in support of the government. Also, the members stated their agreements in the local press; they would refuse a seat on the Executive Council if the government offered to any of them. The members tried to do everything they could to be against the new bill and did not pursue the same policy as the British government. The economic difficulties caused a bad relationship between the islanders and the administrators. The members tried to make visible the financial difficulties within the island.

Moreover, the governor referred to the report of the Budget Committee. In this report, the members explained the reason for their rejection and represented their requests. The committee was not composed of only Greek members but also a Turkish member M. Munir.[84] They requested changing a schedule of specific customs duties with the current schedule of ad valorem duties. They indicated in their report that the falling money prices caused the loss of Customs Revenue, and it was accentuated by the recently commenced importation of Japanese and Soviet goods at meager rates. They advised a change to guard against very low Soviet prices, less friction with importers, and prevent fraud.

> We most strongly recommend, in the interests of the finances of the Colony, that this question should take priority over any other Government initiative to protect the revenue and a Bill be introduced at the next session of the Legislative Council.[85]

In the proposal, the Budget Committee wrote that in the deliberations on the Colony's economic situation and the budget deficit, they unanimously decided that specific customs should replace the existing ad valorem duties as a first and urgent requirement to balance the budget. They listed the solutions in the proposal. The important thing is that two communities could unite for their common interests. All members of the

84 TNA, CO67/239/3, 13, 14, 1.04.1931.

85 TNA, CO67/239/3, 14, 1.04.1931.

Budget Committee were willing to balance the budget, and the common goal made them unite. Their first desire was to protect the revenue of the island. The aim of the recommendation was to guard the financial interest of Cyprus. They probably did not trust the British administrators about the interest of the island and tried to protect themselves and the islanders whom they represented against the colonial policy of Great Britain. However, the British administration did not attach importance to the desire of Cypriots and the tax increase, which the Cypriot members had previously rejected, was implemented.[86] Thus, the way for a riot was opened. The council members agreed to recommend a tax boycott, but especially the Greek Cypriot newspapers forced elected members to resign as a form of protest.[87]

On 21 October 1931, the riot within the island started with the contribution of the Greek elected members. Ten Greek members resigned from the Legislative Council on that day. They wrote a resignation letter to the administration and clarified their complaints and demands. They thought that in addition to the economic depression within the island, the administration restricted their liberty of the press, forming political associations and expressing political views freely. Cyprus was suffering from political depravity and corruption.[88] The member Kyrkiakides expressed his consideration about the financial situation as:

> Public funds are shamelessly wasted chiefly for the payment of salaries, the very sound of which creates an impression of an unprecedented economic scandal, and for the permanent appointment in Cyprus of English unemployed intellectuals constituting a scourge for the Estimates of my unfortunate country. Masses of poor Cypriot laborers who draw a maximum of two shillings a day are dismissed from the service of the government in order to save money to complete the very high emoluments secured to the new

86 Iliya John Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), p.157.

87 Ibid.

88 TNA, CO67/240/13, 11,12 21.10.1931.

> locusts which come over here from England….the depression of the general economic condition of the country has never been flourishing during British rule, has rendered more necessary now than ever before return to the Treasury of Cyprus of the sum of £600,000 representing the surplus Tribute balances retained in England. The members of the Legislative Council asked for the return of that money during their interview with Your Excellency at Government House when full sympathy was expressed by Your Excellency with their views. But the people and their representatives were, to their great amazement, later informed by the English Chancellor of Exchequer that those surplus, of which the English government had already robbed us, were much earlier than the aforesaid interview at Government House allocated to purpose entirely foreign to Cyprus. Was Your Excellency indeed ignorant of this fact then?...[89]

Kyrkiakides stated his opinions about the administration without any hesitation. He did not think the British administration could improve the situation of the people of Cyprus. Economic and financial troubles provoked national feelings and demand for unification with the motherlands. Kyrikiakides blamed the administration for the robbery. He and also other members did not believe the administration and the council. They interviewed the government but were later informed that it had already taken action. They blamed the administration for their poverty and restriction. Unfortunately, their solution was not to be independent of the Imperial Power but to be dependent on another state. It means their identity formation was shaped in accordance with imaginary nationalism. They accepted to be represented and identified by the motherland, which was never seen by some of them. As Benedict Anderson defends,

89 TNA CO67/240/13, 13,14 21.10.1931.

the nations are imagined because the members of the nation will never meet and know each other.[90]

Kyrkiakides complained about dismissing the Cypriot workers from the service of the government. Cypriots were dismissed from the government's service, but the public funds were wasted on the unemployed English intellectuals. He stressed the poverty of the islanders, which the British administration had never solved. The employment issue of the Cypriots to the higher posts was discussed among the British administrators before the disturbance.[91] The administration was considering the increase in the number of local people in higher positions. However, the opinion was not defended by all the officers. For instance, specifically, the Governor of Cyprus was against this idea. He defended that training the Cypriots for the position was not easy to work. There were people who knew the duty and employed someone unskilled just because he was a local person was not meaningful for the Governor of Cyprus.[92] It seems that the issue of the employment of local people was not an unimportant problem. After a few months, a disturbance occurred within the island, and one of the reasons for the riot was this issue.

However, before the resignation of the ten members, Nicodemos, who was elected member of the council as a Bishop of Kitium, resigned from the council and wrote a public manifesto to denounce British administration and call Greek Cypriots to join a united anti-colonial campaign on 17 October. Nicodemos had become the figurehead of the Greek Cypriot nationalists, addressing a large crowd in Limassol on 20 October.[93] These events also revealed the nationalist side of the uprising and kept the Turkish Cypriots away from the rebellion. When the 1931 uprising started

90 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, A brilliant exegesis on nationalism*, (UK: Verso, 2006), p.6.

91 TNA, CO67/240/2, 1931.

92 TNA, CO67/240/2, 7, 8, 9, 10 13.04.1931. The colonial point of view against the locals can be seen in this situation. The colonial administration considered the local people as unskilled and backward.

93 Iliya John Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), pp.157-158.

to happen, the Muslim community were not involved in the events; they just watched from afar. On 21 October, the speech of Nicodemos in Limassol reached Nicosia, and the members of the newly formed National Radicalist Union, which was composed of young Greek Cypriot nationalists, desired to union with Greece. Even though the district commissioner of Limassol did not consider the rally as essential and did not give details about it to the Government House, the Radicalists were affected and convened their own meeting at the Commercial Club in Ledra Street, Nicosia. In a short time, approximately 3,000 thousand Greek Cypriots gathered outside the club building with the help of the ringing of church bells. The public listened to the emotional resignation speeches of the Greek Cypriot deputies. Then the priest of Phaneromeni Church unfurled a Greek flag. When the crowd heard the news that Governor Storrs was leaving the island, they headed towards the Government House.[94] The crowd stoned the police force at the entrance of the Government House, and in the end, it was burnt.[95]

94 Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island A History of the British in Cyprus*, (London & New York: IB Tauris, 2010), p.127.

95 Iliya John Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), p.159. Also, see: G.S. Georghallides, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis* (Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1985); Ilia Xypolia, *British Imperialism and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus, 1923– 1939* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 140-43.



Figure 5.1: After the burning of Government House, Nicosia, *The Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1931.

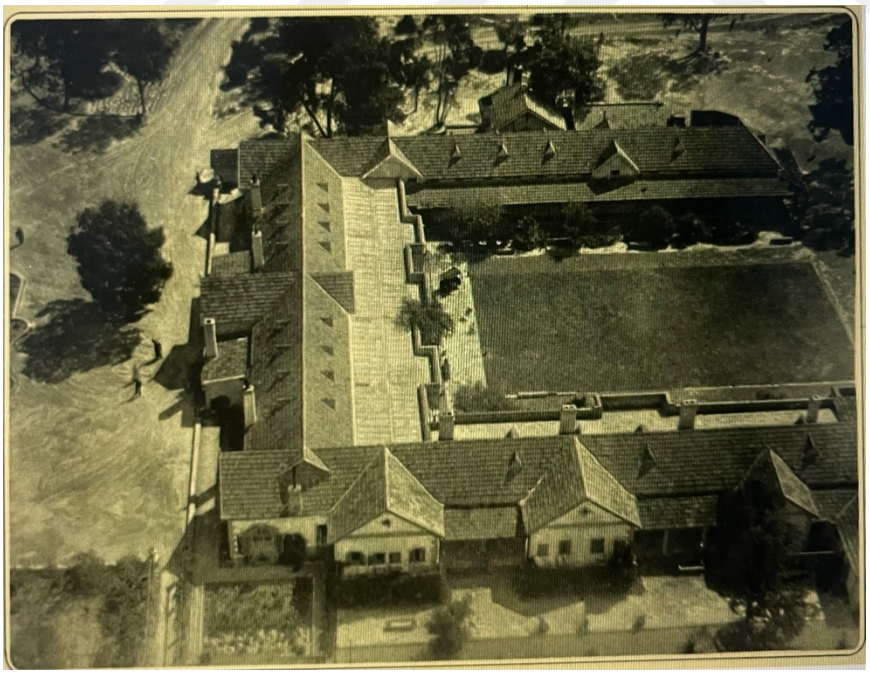

Figure 5.2: Before the burning of Government House, Nicosia, *The Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1931.

The rebellion was not limited to Nicosia and spread to other cities, Larnaca, Famagusta, Paphos and Kyrenia. Since the island did not involve sufficient force, the administration requested troops from Egypt. The naval reinforcements arrived on 23 October, and in addition to two destroyers going to Paphos and Famagusta, two cruisers went to Larnaca and Limassol. By 27 October, events in the towns had been suppressed, but unrest in the countryside was suppressed only in the first week of November. Constitution was suspended, and Legislative Council was abolished on 12 November. The colonial government used severe political repression.[96] The October events, known as *Oktovriana* in Greek, were mainly composed of young Greek Cypriots, but both communities suffered from the consequences. The Greek Cypriot politicians involved in the events were deported or sentenced to house arrest. The governor, with the extraordinary powers he received from the King, imposed many restrictions that were valid for both communities on the island.[97] For example, the flying of Greek and Turkish flag was prohibited, and the ringing of church bells was restricted.[98] Since the *Kemalist* group were also silenced by the political restrictions of the colonial government, *Evkafçılar* was pleased with the prohibitions. Thus, the October riots opened paved the way for an autocratic government that limited the political weight of the nationalist movement.[99]

96 Iliya John Marovich-Old, "Challenges to British Imperial Hegemony in the Mediterranean 1919-1940." (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2017), pp. 160-164.

97 For details, see: Alexis Rappas, *Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict* (London & New York: I.B: Tauris, 2014).

98 Ioannis Moutsis, " The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014), pp.175-179.

99 Ibid, p.184-186. *Evkafçılar* was also happy that the council was closed after the riot. This issue will be detailed in the next chapter.

§ 5.5 Conclusion

Inter-communal relations mean complex relationships between both people from different groups and within the same group. People who belonged to the same religious and ethnic community could be on opposite sides. Additionally, they could make an allegation against each other. Their relations should not be considered as a homogenous structure. Instead, it should be regarded as a heterogeneous and multilayered structure.

On the other side, the first inter-communal conflict happened during colonial rule. The British administration did not collaborate with the Church, and the Christian religious elite did not want to lose their authority over the Christian community. When the Church adapted to the nationalist ideology, it did not lose its social leadership and authority. Hence, the education after Archbishop Sophronios became a national education, and the Christian Cypriot community started to influence by nationalism. It was no accident that the events of 1912 coincided with the coming to power of the nationalist Archbishop.[100]

Further, their process of identity formation was affected by the attitude of the administrators and their relations with the outside of the island. Cypriots used nationalism as a tool to be freed from the misgovernment of the British rulers. When they met nationalism in various ways, they considered unification with motherlands could solve their problems, and their ambivalent situation prevented them from imagining an identity base on their own living place. As mentioned, Christian Greek and Muslim Turkish Cypriots could collaborate in the Legislative Council against the British colonial administration but could not collaborate to create a Cypriot nation. In the case of Cyprus, although the absence of different languages from Greece and Turkey was a factor, they could

100 The events of 1912 were not unique, and in 1921, on the 100-year anniversary of Greek independence, unrest broke out between the two communities. For details, see: A. Varnava, *British Cyprus and the Long Great War 1914-1925 Empire, Loyalties and Democratic Deficit* (London & New York: Routledge, 2020), pp.185-211.

construct the dialect they used as their own. However, they were so busy trying to belong somewhere that they did not think about being together and belonging to where they lived. Both communities were divided into nationalists and conservatives, and the nationalists came to power both in Christian and Muslim communities. Nevertheless, the nationalist elites of Cyprus were affected by different countries, and they did not identify themselves through the place in which they lived. Although the two communities joined the army on the same front in the First World War, the effects of nationalism on the island did not diminish. This led them not to revolt together against the colonial government but to a nationalist uprising in which they were separated from each other.

6

From the Cypriots' Point of View

"Let me tell you the real story of our island. Many people do not know how the island of Cyprus was formed. Once, the island was a part of Atlantis. Yes, the lost island which sunk under the sea." This was the theory of my grandmother about Cyprus. She thought that Cyprus was an unknown part of Atlantis. According to her, some scientists claim that the island had broken off from Anatolia, but the idea of scientists is not accurate.

Obviously, the idea does not have any scientific background, but it illustrates different aspects. My grandmother had been narrating this story at the beginning of the 21st century when many Turkish Cypriots pinned their hopes on the Annan Plan.[1] Further, at that time, many

1 The plan was hope for many Turkish Cypriots because it was seen as salvation for Turkish Cypriots who had been subjected to embargoes and isolated from the world for years. Also, since the border gates with Southern Cyprus were closed, Turkish Cypriots could not cross to the south at that time and could not obtain a Republic of Cyprus passport. The first border gate between the south and the north was opened in 2003 while negotiations for the Annan Plan were ongoing. The plan was named after UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General from 1996 to 2006. However, the actual name of the plan is *The Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem*. The plan was a proposal of the UN to resolve the Cyprus problem by creating a federation of two states

Turkish Cypriots requested a solution with Greek Cypriots and independence from Turkey. In accordance with the story of my grandmother, the island was not a part of Turkey at any time in ancient history but a part of Atlantis. It was a struggle to belong somewhere, and she was trying to establish a different identity story while trying to belong somewhere. Her point was independence from Turkey, but she did not realize that her story created another dependence.

When one starts to investigate the history of Cyprus, the first thing it should be realized is that the people of Cyprus have had a considerably complicated identity issue. Greek and Turkish Cypriots were trying to establish their identities based on the ethnicity of the different countries. They did not realize that they could establish their identities based on their island, which had been their homeland for centuries. The essential point on Cyprus history within the scope of this study is how the Cypriots encounter the uncertainty of their condition. By saying this, I have tried to highlight the Cypriots' difficulties in describing who they are. The Greek Cypriots, people who spoke Greek, were the descendants of the Roman Empire. The Orthodox Christian Cypriots have started to identify themselves as Greek only after 1821.[2] On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots, who had described themselves as a Muslim community for a long time, were the subject of the Ottoman Empire, which did not possess the island after 1878. Before nationalism, identifying themselves was not that complicated like that because the identities were in accordance with the religions, and the Ottoman *millet* system contributed to this identification. However, things started to change in the 19th century onward, and

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under the United Republic of Cyprus. It was supported by the majority of Turkish Cypriots in the 2004 referendum but rejected by the majority of Greek Cypriots. For details, see: Neophytos Loizides & John McGarry, "The 2002-04 Annan Plan in Cyprus: An Attempted UN-Mediated Constitutional Transition" *Occasional Paper Series* no.27 (2019), pp. 3-17; Chrysostomos Pericleous, *The Cyprus Referendum: A Divided Island and the Challenge of the Annan Plan* (London: IB Tauris, 2009); Ahmet Sözen & Kudret Özersay, 'The Annan Plan: State Succession or Continuity' *Middle Eastern Studies* vol.43, no.1 (2007), p.125-141.

2 Eleni Lytras, Charis Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future,* (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2011), p.11.

Cypriots were also affected by the changes. When we look at some sources, such as the newspapers produced by Cypriots themselves, the in-betweenness situation of the Cypriots immediately catches the eye.

In this part of the thesis, some Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers are elaborated to trace the situation of Cypriots. The aim is to find answers to some of the research questions through the newspapers.[3] The social lives of Cypriots and their relations with each other and the administrations can be investigated thanks to these sources. Further, how the islanders once defined themselves can be seen through the papers. Although the newspapers were not written objectively, they can give us a clue about the daily lives on the island.[4]

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3 The rudimentary newspapers started to appear in European countries during the 17th century. However, its circulation increased during the 19th century with the technological advances in mechanical typesetting, communications, and transport. Also, it spread the other parts of the world in the same century. See: Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/topic/newspaper access, 08.2022. On the other side, although the first official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire, *Takvim-i Vakayi*, was published in 1831, the first newspaper within the Ottoman lands was published in Egypt in 1828. For details see: Nesim Yazıcı, "Vakayi-i Mısriye Üzerine Birkaç Söz" *OTAM*, vol.2, no.2 (1991), pp.267-278; Erol A. F. Baykal, *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019).

4 Newspapers were used in various studies to provide information about the period. For example, see: Rolandos Katsiaounes, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996). I would like to emphasize the subjective aspects of the newspapers and how they were used in the identity construction. For such an approach, see: Altay Nevzat, "Nationalism Amongst the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave" (Ph.D. diss., Oulu University, 2005); Ioannis Moutsis, " The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014); P. Nikolaou, "National Identity Otherness and Bicommunal Relations Through the Cypriot Greek-Speaking Press Between 1878 and 1912" In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed.by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave macmillan, 2018), pp.47-73. However, these studies mainly examine either Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots' newspapers, and they are far from illustrating the perspective of both communities. The thesis would like to show two communities' perspectives and the ideas they were trying to spread through the newspapers.

The newspapers are not objective sources, but still, they are significant for this study. They are subjective, meaning we can reach some Cypriots' opinions thanks to the newspapers. The ideas of certain groups can be examined through these sources. The view of people from different parts of society is valuable because the scope of the thesis was not limited to a specific group of Cypriots. The aim is to reach different people from different kinds of society as the sources allow. The opinions and views on life of certain Cypriots, literate Cypriots, can be reached through the newspaper. Also, their ideas might be influential within Cyprus society. The literacy rate was not high in Cyprus as in the other part of the Ottoman Empire. For example, at the beginning of the 20th century, 60.6% of men and 86.2% of women were illiterate. In other words, approximately 75% of the whole population did not know how to write and read.[5] However, it did not diminish the importance of the press. During the 19th century, public spaces had become more critical, and people started to meet and discuss the daily politics in coffee houses even before the 19th century. Besides, the government was concerned about these discussions among the people and considered them a threat to the state.[6] The people of Cyprus did not fall behind this new habit, so they began meeting in public spaces such as coffeehouses. People from different business and religious groups were gathering in the coffeehouses and discussing daily affairs.[7]

5 Republic of Cyprus, Statistical Service, census of 1911 www.cystat.gov.cy access, 09.2021

6 Cengiz Kırlı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empire" In *Publics, Politics and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Seteney Shami (New York: SSRC Book, 2009), pp. 283-306. In 1840s, the Ottoman State started to listen to the people's daily conversations. The informers were stationed not only in public places but also in private houses and hotel rooms in Istanbul. They listened to and recorded the conversations between people about current events and then reported to the state. Also see: Cengiz Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" (1840-1844)* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009).

7 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), pp.17-21. For details about the coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire, see: Selma A. Özkoçak, "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul" *Journal of Urban History* vol.33, no.6 (2007), pp.965-986; Uğur Kömeçoğu, "The

Thus, illiterate islanders could get the information from the newspapers in the coffeehouses. Literate people in the coffeehouses were usually reading magazines or the newspapers to the rest. For example, during the First World War, the British administration distributed war-related announcements and posters to the villages. Illiterate men had been reached the campaign posters in public places, and literate men had explained what they were.[8]

What were the daily affairs of the Cypriots? What did they care about, and what did not? How did Christian and Muslim Cypriots define each other? How was the islanders' identity-building process? What was the Cypriots' point of view on Turkey and Greece? How were their relations with the British administration? Firstly, Greek and Turkish Cypriots' newspapers were chosen randomly to answer these questions. Then, five Greek and five Turkish Cypriot newspapers were translated; *Alethia*, *Elefterea*, *Neos Kypriakos Filaks*, *To Ethnos*, *Foni tis Kyprou*, *Hakikat, Mirat-ı Zaman, Birlik, Kıbrıs* and *Doğru Yol*. Also, secondary sources related to newspapers were used. In addition to these, the Greek newspaper *Kypros / Cyprus* was published in both Greek and English between 1878 and 1882. This newspaper is also examined for the thesis. However, I have examined neither all newspapers nor all issues. The issues were selected randomly, like the newspapers. The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the perspectives of some Cypriots. The subjectivity is significant for the thesis to reach the minds of ordinary islanders. Moreover, the press contributes to expanding ideas and changing the local society. This feature of the press is also essential to visualize the island's society.

Publicness and Sociabilities of the Ottoman Coffeehouse" *Javnost-The Public* vol.12 no.2 (2005), pp.5-22; Ali Çaksu, "Janissary Coffeehouses in Late Eighteenth Century Istanbul" In *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), pp.117-132.

8 Andrekos Varnava, "Recruitment and Volunteerism for the Cypriot Mule Corps, 1916-1919. Pushed or Pulled?" *Itinerario*, vol.38 (2014), p.93.

§ 6.1 Cypriot Press

Table 6.1: Numbers of newspapers in Cyprus[9]

	1892-1893		1904-1905		1919-1920		1931	
	Greek	**Turkish**	**Greek**	**Turkish**	**Greek**	**Turkish**	**Greek**	**Turkish**
Number of Newspapers issued	6	2	8	1	15	3	9	3
Number of issues	2990	652	4910	200	9450	2500	11450	2110

As table 6.1 represents, Turkish Cypriot newspapers and their number of issues were always less than Greek Cypriot newspapers, as was the population ratio among them. Turkish Cypriot newspapers were generally short-lived due to both the economic crisis and pressure from the Ottoman government.[10] For example, *Akbaba* newspaper, a satirical newspaper published between 1897 and 1898, was pressured to close by the Ottoman government due to its criticism against the Sultan.[11] The

9 Cyprus Blue Books 1892-1893, 1904-1905, 1919-1920 and 1931. The table shows both Greek and Turkish newspaper numbers in specific years to illustrate the changing numbers of newspaper issues over the years.

10 Economic difficulties during the First World War also affected the printing of Turkish newspapers. No Turkish newspaper was registered in Cyprus Blue Books from 1917 to 1919. See: Cyprus Blue Books 1917-1918, 1918-1919.

11 For example, in its 20 July 1898 issue, an open letter was written to the sultan and various criticisms were made: Hürriyet-i matbuat, adalet ve *şavirhum fi'l emr* (a verse from Koran, means consult with them) ferman-ı ilahiyesi mucibince Meclis-i Meşveret talep ve ricasında bulunan ahrarın bunları talepten başka ne kabahatleri vardır ki, canlı insanın yüreğini yarıp da ciğerini sökercesine ailesinden ayırarak…. Bir millet, padişahından hürriyet istemekle bu kadar zulme müstahak mı olur? Buna Allah'ın rıza-yı ilahiyesi

newspaper was closed on 2 September 1898, when its last issue was published. In addition, the owner of the newspaper Ahmet Tevfik was sentenced to death, but Ahmet Tevfik continued to his work as journalist and started to publish *Mirat-ı Zaman* on 3 March 1900.[12] The British administration did not apply the death penalty; in practice, the punishment only prevented him from going to the Ottoman lands. However, in those times, Cyprus was still an Ottoman island, but the Ottoman State could not implement everything that wanted on the island.[13]

Cypriots' press life started in 1878 during the British administration, but publishing the newspaper was not an easy process. The publishers were affected by both the economic difficulties and the oppression of the governments. As the example above, the Muslim community's newspapers suffered from the Ottoman government. However, the British administration also began to follow an oppressive attitude towards newspapers over the years. The colonial government began keeping a close eye on newspapers, enacting the first general press law in 1930. With this law, the press owners now had to obtain permission by convincing the colonial secretary that they were of "good character" and providing a £200 bond that created a financial challenge for existing newspapers and a barrier for new publications. A year after the press law was introduced, the 1931 events occurred. To re-established its authority, the British colonial government began to screen every newspaper in Cyprus before they went to press. Therefore, Cypriot newspapers were subjected to automatic censorship after 1931.[14]

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var mıdır? (What is the crime of the people who demand freedom of the press, justice and parliament which is in accordance with the Koranic verse *şavirhum fi'l emr*, other than demanding them?... Does a *millet* deserve such cruelty by demanding freedom from its Sultan? Is this God willing?) For the issue of the newspaper, see: S. Tamçelik & M.K. Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs'ta Mizah Gazetesi, Akbaba* (Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 2016), p.746.

12 Ibid., pp.144-146.

13 As mentioned in the previous chapter, Dervish Pasha was sentenced to imprisonment and his Pasha title was withdrawn. However, the British government did not implement the prison sentence but only withdrew the title.

14 Jonathan Stubbs & Bahar Taşeli, "Newspapers, Nationalism and Empire" *Media History* vol.20 no.3 (2014), pp.287-288.

The issues of the papers were not only distributed within the island but circulated abroad. In addition to Greece and the Ottoman Empire (later Turkey), newspapers were circulated to Egypt, Russia, and some parts of Europe.[15] The Cypriot intellectuals desired to show their existence and ideas to different countries. Since the future of the island was not certain, both communities had tried to provide support from abroad. The Greek Cypriot nationalist elites sent the papers to different countries to spread Hellenic ideas.[16] Like the Greek Cypriot elites, Turkish Cypriot papers were circulated to different areas such as Crete, Bulgaria, Egypt, and Chios.[17] The ambivalent situation they were in was effective in circulating papers abroad and seeking support. Similar to Mufti's petition about the conversion of the Muslim community, both communities desired to get rid of the ambivalent situation and become visible. The communities aimed to explain their situation abroad and stake a claim on the island. The Christian Cypriots would be able to get rid of their second-class subject status and become a first-class subjects in Cyprus with Hellenism. The Muslim Cypriots, on the other hand, would return to their former superior status with Turkish nationalism. Therefore, they were in need of support to reach their nationalistic goals. Nevertheless, while they were staking a claim on the island, they were struggling to unify with another country.

The newspapers were published weekly or fortnightly, and for the times when the literacy rate was low, the number of issues was not very few. As mentioned, the newspapers were read in the coffeehouses to the other people, so there was no need for everyone to have a newspaper. One newspaper was enough for so many people in the coffeehouse.[18]

15 Cyprus Blue Books.

16 Özcan Mert, *Osmanlı Belgelerine Göre Bir Kıbrıs Gazetesi: Zaman*, (Ciepo Syposium, 2002), p.62.

17 For example, according to Cyprus Blue Book 1904-1905, *Mirat-ı Zaman* was circulated to Cyprus, Crete, Bulgaria, Chios, Seleucia and Mersin.

18 Approximately 75% of the Cypriot population was illiterate in 1911, but in 1931 the illiterate rate decreased to approximately 55%. See: Republic of Cyprus, Statistical Service, Population Census, www.cystat.gov.cy access, 09.2021.

With the help of the press, the ideas were spread to the different parts of the island, even to the isolated villages.[19] The newspapers significantly reinforced national ideas among the people, but it does not mean that all papers were nationalistic. For example, during the 1920s, the first socialist newspaper *Pyrsos* was published, and *Neos Anthropos* followed *Pyrsos* in 1925.[20] As a result of the pressures of the British administration, *Pyrsos*' publication life ended in a short time. After *Pyrsos* was closed, *Neos Anthropos* was established as the newspaper of the Communist Party of Cyprus (CPC). The party wanted to attract more Turkish Cypriots and decided to work for systematic propaganda among the Turkish working masses in 1928. Although it was decided to print half of the newspaper in Turkish, they could not do this because there was no printing house in Limassol that could print it in Turkish.[21] Thus, nationalist papers were more influential in both communities.[22]

The first newspaper on the island*, Kypros / Cyprus,* was published as bilingual in Larnaca after the administration was transferred to Great Britain in 1878. The idea of publishing newspapers on the island was created by the wealthy Cypriots in Egypt.[23] A journalist and teacher in

19 Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), p.91.

20 Ibid, p.89.

21 Abdullah Korkmazhan, *Bir Tarafı Uçurum Bir Tarafı Ateş, Kıbrıslı Türk Toplumunda İlk Sol Hareketler ve İkinci Kuşak Kıbrıslı Türk Solcular 1919-1965*, (Nicosia: Baranga Publication, 2021), pp.18-19.

22 The first publication of the Turkish Cypriot workers, *İşçinin Yolu Şaşmaz*, was published in 1947. It was a journal, not a newspaper, and although it included workers' problems in general, it did not have ideological integrity. Nationalist writers dominated the journal, but it also included socialist-minded writers. The first leftist publication of Turkish Cypriots, *Emekçi*, was published in 1948, long after *Neos Anthropos*. For details, ibid, pp.31-43.

23 During the 19th century, Ottoman Romaic communities started to establish commercial bases throughout the empire. Cyprus was not excluded from these formations. In 1873, merchants who were Hellenized immigrants to, or Hellenized locals of Larnaca and Limassol, established "the Greek Brotherhood of the Cypriots of Egypt." Their aim was to spread Hellenism through the Levant. In Cyprus, the brotherhood financed schools, such

Alexandria, Theodoulos Constantinides, get permission from the British administration to publish a newspaper. The British High Commissioner had permitted but demanded that the newspaper be bilingual in Greek and English.[24] *Cyprus* did not have a long life, but Constantinides also established a more successful paper, *Neon Kition*.[25] It started to be published in 1879, but, in contrast to *Cyprus*, only its title was written with the Latin alphabet. The whole newspaper was in Greek, not in English.[26]

On the other hand, the Muslim community on the island started to press the newspaper in 1889, long after the Christian community. The first Muslim Cypriot newspaper, "*Saded*", was published on 11 July 1889.[27] From that time to nowadays, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots have pressed many different newspapers; some were short-lived, and some were long-lived. It can be said that the first newspapers of the Muslim Cypriots were not published because of intellectual reasons but were founded to be against the Christian Cypriot press.[28] However, this idea

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as the Pancyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia, to contribute to teaching the Greek curriculum. For details, see: Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915 The Inconsequential Possession*, (UK: Manchester Uni. Press, 2012).

24 Androniki (Niki) Sioki," Neighbours on Paper: A Contribution to the History of Multiscript Printing in Colonial Cyprus" *The Cyprus Review*, vol.31 no.2 (Fall, 2019), pp.211-213.

25 Rolandos Katsiaounes, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996), p.95.

26 CPIO, https://www.pressarchive.cy/s/el/find?q= access, 09.2021.

27 Gamze Polatoğlu, "Public Opinion and the Question of Turkish Cypriot Identity in TRNC" (MA Thesis, METU, 2010), p.16. Although no copy of it has survived to the present day, according to some correspondence between the British authorities and the Ottoman State, there was a Turkish newspaper called *Ümid* between 1879-1880. For details, see: S. Tamçelik & M.K. Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs'ta Mizah Gazetesi, Akbaba* (Ankara: Gazi Kitapevi, 2016), pp.130-132. For an example of the correspondences, see: Presidency Ottoman Archives, Y.PRK.HR. 4,22. 17.02.1880. On the other hand, like *Ümid*, we do not have a copy of *Saded*, but since it was registered in the Cyprus Blue Books, there is no doubt about its existence. See: Cyprus Blue Books 1889-1890.

28 Özcan Mert, *Osmanlı Belgelerine Göre Bir Kıbrıs Gazetesi: Zaman,* (Ciepo Syposium, 2002), pp.62-63. Mert defends that Turkish intellectuals in Cyprus realized the aims of Greek newspapers on the island, and as a reaction, they started publishing. However, the effort to show their existence should not be ignored. Since they felt abandoned, they tried to be visible and connected to the "motherland."

has looked from a limited perspective. Muslims, who belonged to the privileged class during the Ottoman period, did not want to lose their privileges in the new period. Understandably, they did not want to break their ties with the Ottoman Empire. The newspaper could provide news from the empire and make them feel connected to the Ottoman State. The first newspaper could be published to be against the Christian press, but it probably was not the only reason.

The press life of "*Saded*" was not long, and it was followed by "*Zaman*."[29] *Zaman* was the first surviving Muslim newspaper.[30] One of its purposes was to defend the benefit of the Muslim community. During the end of the 19th century, the Muslim community had not built Turkish nationalism yet, but they were uncomfortable with the signs of Greek nationalism. After changing the island's administration, Muslim intellectuals established the Ottoman Club (*Kıraathane-i Osmani*) and, in addition to the club, opened a press house and started to press "*Zaman*" in 1891.[31]

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29 Ibid. The owner of *Zaman*, Dervish Pasha, was examined in Chapter 4.

30 Androniki (Niki) Sioki,"Neighbours on Paper: A Contribution to the History of Multiscript Printing in Colonial Cyprus" *The Cyprus Review*, vol.31 no.2 (Fall, 2019), pp.213.

31 Pınar Kadıoğlu, "The Rise of Ethno- Nationalism in Cyprus Under the Britsh Rule" (MA Thesis, METU, 2010), pp.95-96. The meaning of *Kıraathane* is a public reading room, mostly coffeehouses, where newspapers were read. The Ottoman Club was a kind of political organization, but it did not mean that all members had the same ideas. The difference of such clubs from coffeehouses is that they appeal to a specific group, even if they have members with different ideas. For example, Cemalettin Ünlü described the Ottoman Club as a Muslim meeting place. It was not a political party but a meeting place for Muslim intellectuals who were worried about the island's future. See: C. Ünlü, *Kıbrıs'ta Basın Olayı (1878-1981),* (Ankara: Basın Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, 1981),pp.17-18. Unlike the Muslim Cypriots, Christian Cypriots started to open clubs at the end of the Ottoman administration. Since the clubs primarily served the conservative elites, it was not surprising that the first Christian Cypriot club was opened in Nicosia, where the Archbishop was. In 1879 four clubs unified to form *Kypriakos Syllogos* (Cypriot Association), and it became a center of social and political activities of Christian Cypriots. For details, see: Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism*, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), pp.138-140; Rolandos Katsiaounes, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996).

Naming the newspaper as *Zaman*, they might want to catch the time and contemporary habits that their Christian compatriots implemented.[32]

The British administration ruled the island at that time, but the Ottoman Empire did not move back from the administration. Actually, she was trying to control especially the Muslim community from the backroom. After one year of establishing the *Zaman*, the Ottoman administration started to allocate funds for the newspaper. Her aim was to support the Ottoman Club, which was established to unify the Muslim community that deviated from the right.[33] Some Muslim Cypriots desired to unify the Muslim community against the Christian community, who had already pressed the newspapers.[34] The Muslim community included intellectual people who were anxious about the Christian Cypriots' formations. In addition, the Ottoman administration was not unconcerned with the situation of the Muslim community. The administration agreed to send money monthly to support the *Zaman* to enter into rivalry with the Christian Cypriot press.[35] On the other side, the Christian community was not left on its own. The religious class was worried about the morality of the Christian community. They attributed the increase in crime rates to immorality, not to economic reasons. For this reason, they prepared a moral reform, and in 1907 the Sunday Observance Law was passed from the Legislative Council. According to the law, all shops, rooms, clubs, and societies remained closed before nine in the morning.[36] This law was passed to force Christian Cypriots to go to Church for Sunday Pray. The Christian community's motivation was the same as the Muslim community's, and both wanted to protect the religious values among their communities. In addition, the motivation was also the same with Cypriot Mufti, who sent

32 Zaman means "time" in Turkish.

33 BOA, DH.MKT, 1985, 11, 01 09.08.1892. ….tefrika ve dalalet dolmakta bulunan Kıbrıs ahali-i İslamiyesini nokta-i ittifaka cem ile…

34 Pınar Kadıoğlu, "The Rise of Ethno- Nationalism in Cyprus Under the Britsh Rule" (MA Thesis, METU, 2010), p.96.

35 BOA, DH.MKT, 2027, 16 07.08.1892.

36 Loizos Kapsalis, "Society, Religion and Moral Reform in early twentieth-century Cyprus." In *Cyprus Colonialism to the Present: Visions and Realities*, edited by A. Yiangou and A. Heraclidou (London & New York: Routledge, 2018), pp.25-37.

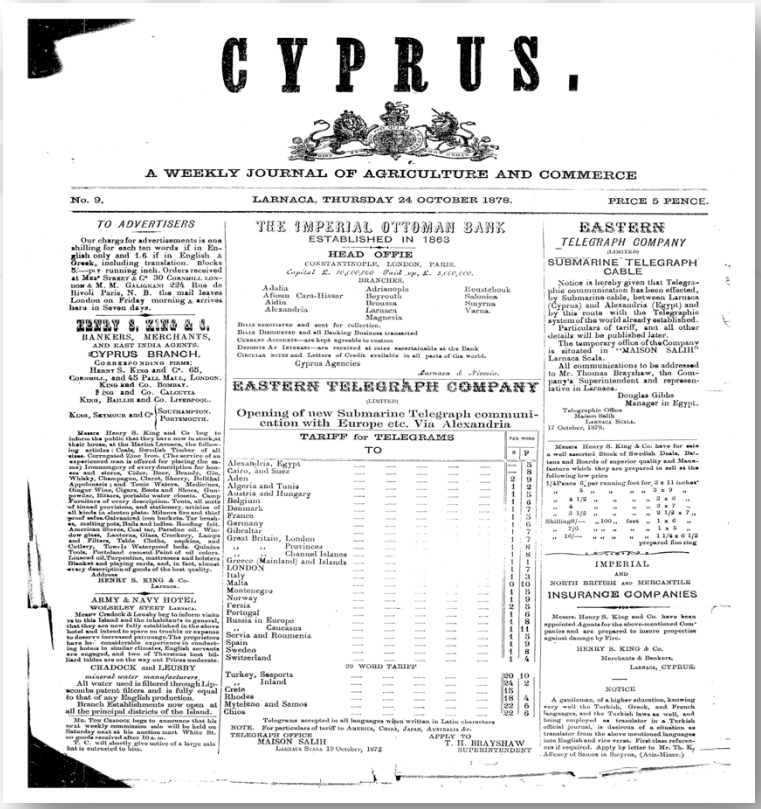
a petition to the Sultan to prevent Muslim Cypriots from converting to Christianity. The religious leaders of both communities feared that their people would lose their religion and morals, which made the communities easier to control.

On the other hand, the perspective of the *Zaman* had changed over the years. As for the year 1899, *Zaman* and the Ottoman administration were not an ally anymore. On the contrary, importing the newspaper to the Ottoman lands and pressing the some "detrimental" issues of *Zaman* within the Ottoman lands were banned in 1898.[37] This order is conflicting because the island was still part of the Ottoman Empire at that time. The British administration had ruled the island with permission of the Ottoman administration, according to the treaty between the two empires. The Ottomans could leave Cyprus outside whenever they wanted to or see it as their own part and fund the newspapers whenever they wanted. The Ottoman State could exclude or pretend Cyprus to be a part of herself, depending on the situation. This approach of the Ottomans toward Cyprus was increasing the ambivalent situation of the Cypriots. The islanders were in a constant state of uncertainty. Despite this prohibition, *Zaman* continued to publish, but also new newspapers started to be founded, such as *Mirat-ı Zaman, Kıbrıs,* and so on. However, because of the financial crises during the Great War, both Christian and Muslim communities experienced difficulties in printing newspapers.[38]

37 BOA, HR.TH. 219,4 03.11.1898. The prohibition continued in the further years too, see: BOA, DH.MKT, 2228, 65 02.08.1899; DH.MKT. 2445,52 13.12.1900.

38 Androniki (Niki) Sioki," Neighbours on Paper: A Contribution to the History of Multiscript Printing in Colonial Cyprus" *The Cyprus Review*, vol.31 no.2 (Fall, 2019), p.219. As mentioned, no Turkish newspaper was published from 1917 to 1919. However, the publishing of the Greek newspapers was not stopped. For example, thirteen Greek newspapers were registered in the Cyprus Blue Books 1917-1918.

Thus, the critical issue for this study is that during the end of the 19th century, both communities had started to organize some formations such as clubs and newspapers. At first glance, these formations look like nationalist and separatist establishments. They were nationalist organizations at some points, but especially the newspapers illustrated the Cypriots' daily problems, concerns, and interests. The aim is to examine these sources not only from a nationalist perspective but also from an inclusive point of view. These sources can show the Cypriots' daily concerns and habits and their perspectives on life and each other. Thus, as mentioned, islanders can be analyzed in many aspects with the help of newspapers.



CYPRUS.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE

No. 9. LARNACA, THURSDAY 24 OCTOBER 1878. PRICE 5 PENCE.

TO ADVERTISERS

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Figure 6.1: Cyprus newspaper.

§ 6.2 The First Newspaper: *Κυπρος / Cyprus*

Cyprus is the first newspaper on the island published by Theodoulos Constantinides.[39] As mentioned, he got permission and initiated the press on the island. Constantinides was a Cypriot but had been living in the Cairo Greek community as a teacher.[40] The newspaper was published as a weekly journal of agriculture and commerce in its earlier publications, but later it was published as an independent newspaper. As seen in the newspaper's picture, these were written at the top of *Cyprus*. It mostly made news about commercial and agricultural issues but also some news about socio-political issues.

The newspaper was vital because it was published both in Greek and English. After *Cyprus,* other Christian newspapers were not published in English completely. The other significant issue about *Cyprus* is while one is reading the English version of the newspaper, s/he can doubt whether it was published by Christian Cypriots or not because it was written in a holistic language. Other newspapers, both Muslims and Christians, mostly did not mention islanders as Cypriot; they mentioned either Greek, Turkish or Muslim. At this point, the English version of *Cyprus* differs from the others. It also mentioned islanders as Cypriots or natives at the top of the newspaper. It specified that all news connected with the island's interests could be published. Nevertheless, the language of the Greek version is not the same. In the first issue of the Greek version of *Cyprus / Κυπρος,* Constantinides wrote at the top of his editorial, "The pen of my journalism will be forever guided by a Greek heart. I neither can nor wish to hide this."[41] The Greek Cypriot newspapers mainly represented Greek nationalism in various shapes. Although the English version paints a different picture, it is understood that it is not so when you read the Greek version. The English version was published differently,

39 CPIO, https://www.pressarchive.cy/s/el/find?q=

40 Rolandos Katsiaounes, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996), p.95.

41 Ibid. p.96. translated Greek to English by Rolandos Katsiaounis.

probably because they did not want to attract the attention of the British administration. In 1878 when the government of the island was newly transferred, it made good news about the new administration:

> For perhaps the first time in the history of the world, the people of Cyprus are able to say we are free…. Now we are called upon to obey the laws and share the benefits of the Government of a great maritime power…. British Flag was hoisted on this island we felt that a new era had opened for us….[42]

However, the idea of the newspaper had changed over time. After three years of these comments about the new administration, the newspaper complained about the British government. It claimed nothing had been done on the significant issues, such as the irrigation system. Also, so many officers exist, but there is no work for them in Cyprus. The newspaper desired progress on the island but was disappointed with the British administration.[43] The newspaper gave much news from abroad, and its desire was for the island to become a developed country. For example, it criticized the speech of Earl Kimberly on Famagusta port. Kimberly did not consider it necessary to build a port in Famagusta, but the newspaper did not agree with him. In addition, the news claimed that the administrators did not meet with sympathy in the eyes of Cypriots.[44] The priority of the newspaper was the welfare of the island. In the beginning, it was optimistic about the new administration but later became to be disappointed. The fact that the newspaper was published in two languages caused them to print things they did not want to be understood in Greek. However, the archive does not include the English version of Cyprus belonging to 1881; at that time, the newspaper explicitly criticized the government. It might be the reason for its short publish life. It does not mean that other newspapers did not criticize the administration, but they were published in Greek, and it may take a long time for the British government to translate and control newspapers. The newspapers spread anti-

42 CPIO, *Cyprus*, 29.08.1878.

43 CPIO, *Cyprus*, 30.04.1881.

44 CPIO, *Cyprus*, 18.08.1882.

government and nationalist sentiments from bourgeois agitators and dissatisfied clergy members in urban to rural areas. Coffee houses became the centers of political and nationalist communication with the help of the newspapers.[45]

The other possible reason for the holistic language of the English version of *Cyprus* might be that they considered the Muslim community a minority and, therefore, might not include them when they use the term Cypriot or native.

§ 6.3 Remaining in-betweenness

Although the island was assigned to Great Britain in 1878, the Ottoman Empire was still the theoretical owner of the island. As chapter three illustrates, the communities requested to live as they used to. At the beginning, the Christian community might have been enthusiastic because they belonged to the same religion as the new administration. However, the British administration did not consider the Christian Greek community as similar to themselves. The time of the ancient Greek civilization was valuable for British imperial culture. They had identified themselves with Aristotle and Plato and seen ancient Greek philosophers virtually as their countrymen. However, Greek Cypriots were not seen as similar to ancient Greeks. In contrast, Greek Cypriots were defined as lost people, and their culture was lower than the culture in Nigeria or the Gold Coast.[46] Therefore, the underestimation of the Christian community of Cyprus continued during the new administration. On the other side, the Muslim community on the island felt like an Ottoman but should also be in good with the new administration. They were a minority on the island and had lost the administration that identified with them. As mentioned in the previous chapter, both communities on the island had the feature

45 Rolandos Katsiaounes, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996), p.94-97.

46 Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island A History of the British in Cyprus*, (London & New York: IB Tauris, 2010), pp. 39-41.

of both being majority and minority. However, passing the administration from the Ottoman government to the British government had created a new dimension. Especially the Muslim community had lost their majority feature, which means they were in need of new power to lean on. This situation contributed to the binary position of the Muslim community. On the one aspect, they had requested the former owner of the island, but on the other side, they had to be on good terms with the new administration.

At the beginning of the British administration, *Alethia* compared the Ottoman and British administrations, defending that the Christian community practiced their religious customs more easily during the Ottoman reign. However, in 1885, some British humiliated the ceremony of Christian Cypriots during Easter.[47] Some British in the English Club humiliated the Epitaph's procession, the Orthodox Christian religious ceremony held in the Limassol streets. *Alethia* also mentioned that the Ottoman administration not only made it easier for the Orthodox Christian community to practice their religious traditions but also had the courtesy to provide a guard for the procession.[48] Although they belonged to the same religion, the British administration did not hesitate to insult the Christian Cypriots, who were ignorant and backward according to them. The attitude of the new administration drew the reaction of the Christian Cypriot newspaper. However, during the 1890s Greek nationalism started to develop on the island. Growing national ideas among the Christian literate class can be traced in the newspapers. The newspapers started to demonize the reign of the Ottoman administration and defined the Muslim community as "other." For instance, in 1893, *Alethia* narrated the Ottoman period of Cyprus as the suffering period, and the British occupation ended their suffering in 1878.[49] Two years before, in 1891, the same newspaper made news about the tax policy of the British

47 CPIO, *Alethia,* 11.04.1885.

48 CPIO, *Alethia*, 11.04.1885. Also, see: P. Nikolaou, "National Identity Otherness and Bi-communal Relations Through the Cypriot Greek-Speaking Press Between 1878 and 1912" In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed.by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave macmillan, 2018), pp. 54-55.

49 CPIO, *Alethia*, 14.04.1893, ibid.

administration and compared the old and new administrations once again. It blamed the new government that, contrary to the Ottoman administration, the British administration collected taxes from people who could not pay and jailed them.[50] Nonetheless, the opinion of the newspaper had changed over time under the influence of national ideas and started to define the period of the Ottoman administration as a suffering period. The perspective of the newspaper had changed sharply because of the nationalist ideology.[51]

On the other side, the newspaper of the Muslim Cypriots did not change their attitude about the administrations sharply, but their position was also confusing. Even though the rulers of the island were British, the Muslim community did not avoid any opportunity to remind the actual owner of Cyprus. For example, according to the news in 1906, the year includes two celebrations. One of them was the enthronement anniversary of the Ottoman Sultan, and the other was the birthday of the Sultan.[52] This habit was not unique to that year, but it continued after renting the island as before. The newspaper *Kıbrıs* mentions the birthday

50 CPIO, *Alethia*, 23.01.1891, ibid.

51 This in-betweenness of Greek Cypriots brings to mind the Glendiots of Crete. Even after the Ottoman domination on the island ended, the Glendiots, who still stood against the authority, had their own unique identity, but being Glendiot and Cretan was not enough for them; they did not want to lose also Greek identity. They did not give up their Greek identity as well as their Glendiot identity. They were first Glendiot, then Cretan and lastly Greek. See: Michael Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village* (USA: Princeton Uni. Press, 1988). However, in Cyprus, this lineage could be different. For example, the Turkish Cypriot nationalist leader R.R. Denktaş argued that there was no such thing as a Cypriot. In 1995 he said: "There are neither Turkish Cypriots, nor Greek Cypriots, nor Cypriots … the only Cypriot living in Cyprus is the Cyprus donkey." See: Christoph Ramm, "Assessing Transnational Re-negotiation in the Post-1974 Turkish Cypriot Community: 'Cyprus Donkeys', 'Black Beards' and the 'EU Carrot'" *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* vol.6 no.4 (2006), p.527. Although the year 1995 is not within the scope of the thesis, and these words did not represent all Cypriots, it is a good example of one of the points reached by the identity construction process in Cyprus.

52 NA, *Mirat-ı Zaman*, 0010. 10.09.1906.

ceremony of the Sultan in the year 1893.[53] Moreover, the same issue explained in detail how the Muslim community had celebrated the birthday of the Sultan in other news, and in the end, it was written; "Long live the Sultan." When I read these articles, I have felt that the Muslim community might request to be accepted as a subject of the Sultan, same as before. Rebecca Bryant examines the relations between the Ottoman Sultan and the Cypriots as a paternal relationship.[54] By accepting the "father figure" of the Sultan, it could be said that the Muslim community had felt like an abandoned child by his father. They were in need of a sense of belonging. For this reason, they benefitted from every opportunity to show themselves and to be favored by their father, the Sultan. The situation of the Muslim community whose father abandoned them had turned into the ambivalent situation at the time.

On the other hand, Cypriots had a new administration, which can be evaluated as a new father. For instance, the newspaper *Kıbrıs* did not neglect to celebrate the British Queen's enthronement anniversary.[55] A festival was organized in the name of the Queen, in which Cypriots also participated. Nevertheless, the article is not about the festival but about the incident while the Muslim community was passing through the Greek neighborhood to participate in the festival. Other news about the anniversary celebration mainly mentions the formal ceremony, the governor's speech, the Queen's telegram, visiting the islanders to the governor, and so forth. The news about the Queen was not written with the same enthusiasm as the news about the Sultan.

The newspaper *Kıbrıs* did not represent the whole Muslim community. However, it can be evaluated that even after twenty-one years of renting the island, some Muslim Cypriots could not get used to the British administration. They could not form fatherly relations with the British

53 NA, *Kıbrıs,* 1893030601. 06.02.1893

54 Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), pp.25.

55 NA, *Kıbrıs*, 1897062801. 28.06.1897.

governor or the Queen.[56] These issues from the different dates give a clue about the perception of the Muslim islanders. Approximately twenty years after renting the island, they eagerly celebrated the Sultan's birthday and enthronement. On the other side, the reader cannot feel the same way when reading the news about the Queen.

6 March 1893 was the first publishing day of the *Kıbrıs*, and it was the same date as the Birthday of Abdulhamit II. *Kıbrıs* was the new version of the *Yeni Zaman.* Why they had closed *Yeni Zaman* and opened, *Kıbrıs* was explained in detail in the same issue. *Yeni Zaman* was established by the Young Turk supporters. They separated from *Zaman* and started to publish a new newspaper in 1892.[57] However, in the first issue of *Kıbrıs,* the journalists explained that they had changed their name because when they first left the *Zaman,* they hastily named the new one *Yeni Zaman.*[58] Later they realized that the newspapers in the other part of the Sultan's land were using the name of their homeland. For this reason, they have decided to change their name. Nevertheless, this was probably a pretext, not the real reason. They left the *Zaman* because they supported the Young Turks' opinions, but they changed their name one year later and stressed that they were loyal to the Sultan; their only wish was to serve the Sultan and the homeland.[59] They could serve the Sultan and the homeland in the name of *Yeni Zaman*, and the name of the newspaper is not essential for this aim. However, they were probably warned because

56 By the way, I do not mean patriarchal relations with the term "fatherly." I have used the term as a nonsexual, and the same term can be used for the relations between Cypriots and the Queen. The historical sources belonging to the time I examined were produced mainly by males, and Bryant has used the term between male Sultan and male Cypriots. So, unavoidably this relation was defined as "father and son."

57 Özcan Mert, *Osmanlı Belgelerine Göre Bir Kıbrıs Gazetesi: Zaman*, (Ciepo Symposium, 2002), p.64

58 Yeni Zaman means “new time” in English.

59 NA, *Kıbrıs*, 06.03.1893, Binaenaleyh (Kıbrıs) neşretmekten yegâne maksadımız refika-ı sairemiz ile bi’l ittifak hakikat Padişahımıza ve vatanımıza elden geldiği kadar hüsn-i hizmet edilmektir. Çünkü matbu mefhumumuzu ve vatan-ı muazzezemizi gerçekten kendi hayat ve menfaatimizden ziyade severiz.

they supported Young Turks, and they might not request to draw attention.[60]

Even though the British administration ruled the island, the Muslim community of the island was still identifying itself with the Ottoman Empire. They had changed the name of the newspaper because they were afraid of their father. On the other hand, they were aware of the developments within the Ottoman Empire. Some Muslim Cypriots were affected by the Young Turks, who can be seen as rebellious children. Cypriots who were abandoned both were trying to catch their father's attention and following the rebellious developments. Besides, even in 1931, some newspapers congratulated the anniversary of the Turkish Republic. More importantly, in *Hakikat,* the republic was celebrated as "our republic," not the republic of another country.[61]

The Ottoman Empire had collapsed, and the new republic was established, but the "fatherly" figure did not collapse, only transferred. As the Ottoman Sultan, Muslim Cypriots started to identify Mustafa Kemal as their father this time.

> On this occasion, we present the flood of our excitement and emotion of respect that springs from the deepest corner of our hearts to the great veteran President.[62]

Although the new republic did not claim any right over the island, the Turkish Cypriots had continued to identify themselves with the descendant of the Ottomans, the Turkish Republic. Great Britain annexed the island during the Great War, and from this time, the possibility of giving back the island to the Ottoman Empire was destroyed. This was not an

60 Both *Kıbrıs* and *Yeni Zaman* were the supporters of Young Turks. See: S. Tamçelik & M.K. Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs'ta Mizah Gazetesi, Akbaba* (Ankara: Gazi Kitapevi, 2016), p.98.

61 NA, *Hakikat*, 0001, 04.11.1931. 29 Teşrinievvel geçen perşembe günü Cumhuriyetimizin yıl dönümü idi..(last Thursday, 29 Teşrinievvel (one of the months of Julian Calendar), was the anniversary of our republic).

62 NA, *Hakikat*, 04.11.1931. …..Bu vesile ile, Reis-i Cumhurumuz büyük gazi hazretlerine kalbimizin en derin köşesinden kopan tufan-ı heyecan ve hissiyat-ı tazimkaranemizi arz eyleriz.

easy period for the Muslim community of Cyprus. What would they do now? Who were they, and where did they belong? They were neither British nor Greek but also not Turkish yet.[63] Under these circumstances, the social lives of the Muslim community were complicated. For instance, as mentioned, some Turkish Cypriots joined the Great War in the British Army with the Greek Cypriots against the Ottoman Empire. They served as Muleteers on the Macedonian Front and were not used for fighting but only for transport. Nevertheless, they contributed to the British Army against the Ottoman Empire, which they had felt belonged.

On the other side, according to *Doğru Yol,* in 1925, women in the town of Paphos presented a theatre play *Vatan yahut Silistre*. They sent the revenue of the play to Ankara, the society for the protection of children.[64] The women played Namık Kemal's theatre play, which was about patriotism, saving the homeland, and fighting for the homeland's sake.[65] Namık Kemal was exiled to the island approximately fifty years before the play because of the same play presented in Paphos. He had to be stayed in Cyprus from 1873 to 1877. According to his letters, he did not like the island and had several illnesses during his exile. He had complained about the soil structure and the island's flora.[66] He was exiled to Cyprus as a prisoner, so his complaints were not unexpected. On the other hand, Muslim Cypriots had probably internalized him, and the women presented his play even after a long time of his exile.

They probably did not choose the play randomly. This choice tells us about their complicated situation. Muslim Cypriots were living under the British administration, and the new republic did not claim any rights for Cyprus. Despite all these things, Muslim Cypriot women did not give up

63 Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), p.217.

64 NA, *Doğru Yol*, 1925030401, 04.02.1925. Baf hanımları Hamiye-i Etfal'e iane maksadıyla kendi aralarında temsil ettikleri Vatan – Silistre piyesinden on beş lira gibi istisgar olunmayacak bir meblağ temin etmişler ve hemen bir banka çeki ile doğrudan doğruya Ankara'da Hamiye-i Etfal cemiyetine göndermişlerdir….

65 Alev Sınar Çılgın, "Vatan Yahut Silistre'de Vatan Kavramı" *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no.9 (2005), p.139.

66 Bedri Aydoğan, "Namık Kemal'ın Magosa Sürgünlüğü" *Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no.12 (2003), pp. 15-20.

identifying themselves as a descendant of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Namık Kemal was not a random Ottoman man but the man who had a specific relationship with the island. He might not love the island, but the islanders affiliated themselves with Kemal. Also, they might consider Kemal as a connection bridge with the new Turkish Republic.

The other interesting thing is that in 1931, *Hakikat* blamed Greek Cypriots as traitors because they revolted against the British administration.[67] Besides, it stressed that the Muslim community of Cyprus has always been loyal to Great Britain:

> On this occasion, we, the Muslim community of Cyprus, request to repeat our infinite loyalty to the British Empire.[68]

As mentioned above, the same newspaper celebrated the anniversary of the Turkish Republic as "our" republic. Then after a few issues, the same writers expressed their loyalty to the British Queen and blamed Greek Cypriots because they betrayed the British Empire. These examples illustrated the ambivalent situation of the Muslim Cypriots, and it seems that even they did not know how they should identify themselves. Just after a few years of some Turkish Cypriot men joining the war against the Ottoman Empire, some Turkish Cypriot women played a theatre to help one of the institutions of Turkey. These examples are a sign of the in-betweenness situation of the Muslim community. They were in need of something to belong. They could not overcome the abandonment trauma and were still looking for a father even in 1931.

After the riot, the British administration abolished the Legislative Council composed of Greek, Turkish, and British deputies. However, according to *Hakikat,* abolishing the council was not a wrong decision, and in contrast, the government did the right thing.[69] The newspaper defended that the council created a conflict among the Turkish community

67 NA, *Hakikat*, 0005, 19.11.1931.

68 Bu vesile ile biz Kıbrıs Cemiyet-i İslamiyesinin Britanya imparatorluğuna ebedi .. sadakatini tekrar etmek isteriz.

69 NA, *Hakikat,* 0005, 19.11.1931.

and that the closing of the council would be the reason for peacefulness.[70] Thus, they did not oppose even abolishing the council; the only place Cypriots could represent themselves. *Hakikat* does not show us a common sense of the Muslim Cypriots, but it illustrates that some Muslim Cypriots were ready to do everything to be accepted by the administration because they needed belonging. The administration here is not only the British administration but also the administration of Turkey.

On the other hand, the Greek newspaper *Foni tis Kyprou* published the official announcement about the abolishment of the council, but it did not comment on this. Also, it made news about the case of the rebels and their punishment, who was arrested and released but again, it did not make any comments.[71] The newspaper probably was not pleased with the cases and arrests but was afraid of the administration and made no comment. After the events of 1931, most newspapers began to avoid criticizing the British colonial government. The oppression of the press after the 1931 rebellion and the economic crisis were among the reasons for this.[72]

Further, the Muslim community on the island was not pleased with the British administration in some respects. For example, the newspaper of *Doğru Yol* complained about the lamps within the Police yard.[73] The reason for the complaint was that the lamps were likened to the Christian

70 The reason for the uneasiness was the conflict between conservative and nationalist elites examined in chapter 5. *Hakikat,* the newspaper of the conservative elites, was uncomfortable as the nationalist elites had won in the last elections and therefore abolishing the Legislative Council was in its favor. The peacefulness mentioned is that the nationalist elites were eliminated, and the conservatives returned to their old forces. Since the conservatives sided with the British government, they hoped they would continue ruling the Muslim Community without opposition. See: Ioannis Moutsis,"The Turkish Cypriots (1918-1931): From a Religious Community to an Ethnic Minority"(Ph.D. diss., SOAS, 2014), pp.183-184.

71 CPIO, *Foni tis Kyprou,* 21.11.1931.

72 C. Ünlü, *Kıbrıs'ta Basın Olayı (1878-1981),* (Ankara: Basın Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, 1981),p.255. Ünlü gives an example from the Greek newspaper *Nea Isotis*. The paper, which made heavy criticisms of the British administration and the governor before the events of 1931, did not make these criticisms and mostly gave news from abroad after the 1931 events. Ibid, pp.254-255.

73 NA, *Doğru Yol*, 1925021801, 18.02.1925.

Cross. According to the newspaper, these lamps were not efficient in terms of giving light, and their shape annoyed the Muslim community. The newspaper desired to remove the lamps. It cannot be known if the Police department had chosen the lamps purposely in the cross shape, but the Muslim community was inclined to consider them in that way. This means they were wary of the British administration and had waited for the mistake of the rulers. The Muslim community did not trust both the British administration and the Christian Cypriots. As mentioned, the newspapers were not objective and did not represent the whole Muslim community, but we can reach some opinions among the Muslim Cypriots through the press. For example, the newspaper *Birlik* revealed its mistrust of the Greek Cypriots. After the Farmer Congress in 1925, the newspaper wrote a report to K. Rossides, a Greek member of the congress. Rossides insisted on the Greek-Turkish brotherhood. He thought that the brotherhood was for the profit of all Cypriot farmers and that it should be supported. However, *Birlik* made news for Rossides with the title "Mr Rossides May Read."[74] The report started with the Farmer Congress and the speech of Mr Rossides. Then it continued with the answer of the newspaper:

> As we said before, even if we think that Turkish-Greek friendship is beneficial for the country, the organizations that represent the Greek mass today continue the persecution policy of the Turks. Ultimately, no matter how sincere the words may be, we cannot call them anything but a person's precious ideas.[75]

After the Great War, the lives of the farmers worsened, and they attempted to organize the peasants at the beginning of the 1920s. The

74 NA *Birlik*, 1925012303, 23.01.1925.

75 NA *Birlik*, 1925012303, 23.01.1925. "Evvel ahir söylediğimiz gibi Türk Rum mukarenetini memleket için faideli görüyorsak bugün Rum kitlesini temsil eden teşkilat, müessesat ve bahusus matbuat Türklerin ızrar politikasında devam ederken ne kadar samimi olursa olsun bir kişinin sözlerine nihayet kıymettar fikirler demekten başka bir ehemmiyet atfetmekte mazuruz."

committee was established to submit the villagers' requests to the government. The priest of Kition headed the committee, and, Rossides and three Muslim Cypriots were among the members. In 1924, the first Farmer Congress was organized by Rossides with the participation of both Christian Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots. With the help of some Muslim religious leaders, Rossides gathered 150 Christian Cypriots and 65 Muslim Cypriots representatives around the island. The aim of the congress was to establish an Agricultural Bank and abolish the tithe tax. However, Rossides was not a farmer but a lawyer, and he was criticized for trying to attract peasants to win votes for the Farmer's Party. The party was composed of landowners, usurers and lawyers. Rossides' desire to defend farmers' rights might be for votes, but it was important that he believed the two communities could work together on the basis of their common economic and social interests.[76]

The newspaper's remark displays the Muslim Cypriots' mistrust toward the Christian Cypriots. The opinions of the Christian Cypriot community members are seen as valuable but insignificant. They did not think that more Christian Cypriots could exist like Mr Rossides. In addition, not only Rossides but also *Neos Anthropos* called both Christian and Muslim villagers to unite and protect their lands against the usurers in the same year, 1925.[77] However, *Birlik* did not trust Greek Cypriots. As will be mentioned later in this chapter, the rivalry between them had been pursued, and the Muslim community did not want to trust their opponents. On the other hand, it cannot be said that there was not any conflict between the two communities. The newspapers involve news about

76 For details about the Farmer's Party and the attempts of K. Rossides, see: Yiannos Katsourides, *Kıbrıs Komünist Partisi Tarihi Sömürgecilik, Sınıf ve Kıbrıs Solu*, (İstanbul: Kalkedeon, 2014), pp.124-133. However, Katsourides emphasizes that Rossides and other politicians who defended farmers' rights took their actions only to win votes in the election. Katsourides does not attach importance to bi-communal activities. However, whether to win votes or not, it is crucial that during the 1920s, two communities could put aside their ethnic identities and come together in line with their common interests.

77 Neos Anthropos, 01.06.1925, Abdullah Korkmazhan, *Bir Tarafı Uçurum Bir Tarafı Ateş, Kıbrıslı Türk Toplumunda İlk Sol Hareketler ve İkinci Kuşak Kıbrıslı Türk Solcular 1919-1965*, (Nicosia: Baranga Publication, 2021),p.11.

injuries or robberies between the communities. The conflicts existed among the communities, but these problems could arise even if no ethnic differences existed on the island. When the court registers are examined, it is seen that the crimes were not divided among the communities but the islanders. People belonging to different communities could unite for the same purpose. However, the newspapers were disposed to divide the communities. It could be the reason for the class who published the newspapers. They were not villagers but literate men from the cities and were aware of the new thoughts and developments outside the island. They were aware of nationalism, and the idea could affect their attitude towards the other community.

On the other side, the Christian Cypriot community was influenced by nationalism before the Muslim Cypriot community, but it did not quickly spread to the whole community. For example, in contrast to a general view, Greek Cypriots did not feel eager to join the Greek army from 1897 to 1922.[78] Greek Cypriots joined the British army during the Great War more eagerly than the Greek army. Further, some Greek Cypriot men were kidnapped by Greeks to force them to fight at war in Anatolia.[79] Some of them escaped, but some of them were forced to fight unwillingly. On the other hand, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots had volunteered during the Great War in the British army because the British administration paid them very well. Some Cypriots had a chance to gain their one-year income only in one month when they joined the British army. However, the Greek army did not support them as the British army did. In addition, the people who were recruited by the British army were mainly from the rural areas, not from the cities. It means the islanders in the villages did not care about nationalism, but they cared about their income. During the beginning of the 20th century, the Christian Cypriots who lived in urban areas started to be affected by nationalism. However, this influence had not spread all over the island yet.

78 Andrekos Varnava, "Greek Cypriot "Volunteers" in the Greek Army, 1914-1922; Querying Loyalties and Identity." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol.38 no.2 (Fall, 2020), pp.473-476.

79 Ibid.pp.487-493.

The report mentioned above was from 1925.[80] The date is very close to the end of the Greek-Turkish war in Anatolia, which the Greek Cypriots did not feel eager to join. However, some Turkish Cypriots did not trust the Greek community, and they could not imagine the Greek-Turkish brotherhood. On the other hand, the Muslim Cypriots who published the newspaper did not count the Muslim Cypriots who joined the British army with the Christian Cypriots during the Great War.[81] The Muslim Cypriot newspapers mainly published reports that were appropriate to the perception of the period, and nationalism was very influential at that moment. On the other side, the most crucial issue for the Cypriot peasants was supporting their families. They were listening to the reports in the coffeehouses and started to learn something about new opinions, but their concerns were still different. They did not want to give their lives only for the sake of Greece, and they might consider it for the amount of salary, not for the national sensibility.

However, it does not mean that no Greek Cypriots joined the Greek army. Some of them were recruited willingly to the army, but the number of Greek Cypriots who joined the Greek army was less than those joining the British army.[82] These situations again illustrate the heterogenous construction of the Cypriots. Both Greek and Turkish Cypriots were not homogenous communities. The islanders' attitudes might change not only in accordance with their living space and social class but also their personal features. There had been many variables for the reasons of their choosing. The socio-economic situation was the most crucial issue for their attitudes. When some of the islanders decided to join the British

80 NA, *Birlik*, 23.01.1925.

81 Joining the Great War in the British Army was not unique for the Cypriots. The British considered the colonies as human resources and used them in the war. For example, see: Michael Keren & Sholomit Keren, *We Are Coming, Unafraid: The Jewish Legions and the Promised Land in the First World War,* (USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010); Jacqueline Jenkinson "All in the Same Uniform? The Participation of Black Colonial Residents in the British Armed Forces in the First World War" *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* vol.40 no.2 (2012),pp. 207-230.

82 Andrekos Varnava, "Greek Cypriot "Volunteers" in the Greek Army, 1914-1922; Querying Loyalties and Identity." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol.38 no.2 (Fall, 2020).

army during the Great War, the economic condition within the island was not good. The condition was very effective in the decision of the Cypriots. The historical incidents cannot be evaluated from one side because more than one reason influences the incidents. In other words, it cannot be said that Christian Cypriots had strong national feelings during the beginning of the 20th century because they joined the Greek army, but also it cannot be said that they did not have national feelings because they joined the British army at the Great War. The situation has always been complicated, so we should not reach the final judgement. The Turkish or Greek community do not mean that they were one component within their communities. The communities are comprised of different components.

On the other hand, the Sheikh Said rebellion appeared in the Turkish Republic on similar days.[83] The *Doğru Yol* included the news about the rebellion, indicating its position to stand by the new republic.[84] The news mentioned the incident as how the administration of Turkey considered it, and it did not make criticism of the Turkish administration. The journalist in the *Doğru Yol* did not consider evaluating the incident from the rebels' perspective. Their attitude was confusing because they were living under a colonial administration, and they had to be able to feel exploited people. It does not mean the Sheikh Said rebellion appeared by exploited people or not. The contents of the rebellion are not significant for this research. The important thing is that people in Cyprus lived under

83 The Sheikh Said rebellion erupted in the province of Diyarbekir, Southeast Anatolia, on 13 February 1925. It was a Kurdish nationalist rebellion but also used Islamic rhetoric to attract more people. See: U. Üngör, "Young Turk social engineering: mass violence and the nation-state in eastern Turkey, 1913-1950" (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 2009), pp.231-262. For details about the rebellion, see: Robert Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion*, 1880-1925 (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1989); Hamit Bozarslan, "Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey: From Tacit Contract to Rebellion (1919-1925)," in *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, ed. Abbas Vali (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2003), pp.163-190. For a study of whether the rebellion was manipulated by the state to silence the political opposition, see: Hakan Özoğlu, "Exaggerating and exploiting the Sheikh Said Rebellion of 1925 for political gains" *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no.41 (2009), pp.181-210.

84 NA, *Doğru Yol*, 1925030401, 04.03.1925.

a colonial administration for several years and were exploited by the colonial administration in many ways. Nevertheless, they did not consider the incident from the aspect of people in Turkey, but they evaluated it like the government. This is probably because of their feeling of abandonment. The Muslim community of Cyprus identified themselves with Turkey, and they did not have tolerance for anybody who attacked the Turkish administration in Turkey.

The Muslim community was part of the administration during the Ottoman administration, but they were a minority within their lands. For this reason, they had to cooperate with the administration to share the power of the government. It does not mean the Muslim community had always cooperated with the administrators, but it means the cooperation was beneficial to strengthen their minority position. On the other hand, during the British administration, the community had lost its majority feature and became only a minority. They had to cooperate with the new administration to strengthen their position in this situation. In other words, the sense of being abandoned contributed to their pragmatist attitude. If the British administration served their benefit, some people within the Muslim community would support the administration. However, the heterogeneous feature of the Muslim community should not be forgotten. As mentioned, people in the same community could behave differently and support different powers.

On the other side, the Christian community was in a different situation because they were second-class subjects during the Ottoman administration and did not identify themselves with the government. The changing of the administration might not have affected them as much as the Muslim community. Although they had the same religion as the new administration, their sects were different, Greek Cypriots were Orthodox, but British administrators were Anglican.[85] The new administration

85 Anglicanism is a form of Christianity that incorporates features of both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. It is one of the main branches of the Protestant Reformation, a reform movement against the Catholic Church during the 16th century. For details about the history of the Anglican Church, see: Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*

might not be ideal for them, but probably better than the Muslim administration. However, as chapter three has illustrated, the Christian community mostly requested to live as they used to, and they did not care about the identity of administrations as long as their benefits were not destroyed. Also, the situation of the double minority had been changed by the new government favorably to their benefit. The Muslim community no longer belonged to the majority class but only the minority class. Therefore, the Christian community might not have felt as in-between as Muslims. However, the other significant issue was the attitude and view of the British administration toward the Christian Cypriots. As mentioned, Greek Cypriots were identified as lost people, not descendants of the ancient Greeks. Thus, the anti-government attitude of the Christian newspapers was not only about economic problems. The fact that the British administration looked down on the Greek Cypriots had an effect on this.

§ 6.4 Perspectives of the Communities

Because the first newspaper on the island was published during the British administration, it is not possible to compare the newspapers' attitudes during the previous administration. In the 1890s, the Christian newspaper *Alethia* was totally against all governments on the island except the government of Greece. It stressed that they were against every political model except annexation to Greece.[86] At that time, Cyprus was not annexed by Great Britain, but the future of the island was ambiguous. Therefore, the newspaper asked the Archbishop to ignite the national

(UK: Oxford University Press, 2003); Kenneth Carleton, *Bishops and Reform in the English Church 1520-1559* (UK: The Boydell Press, 2001).

86 CPIO, *Alethia*, 30.10.1896.

movement, emphasizing that they did not want hegemony, autonomy, or European Commission.

> His Holiness Archbishop, gather us, your spiritual sons, immediately hold rallies, meetings, and let us shout, Your Holiness, that in this critical situation, we will resist to the death any attempt to annexation to Europe, the whole world, except Greece, with all our might, by force or by weapon. Because we see this government as a bridge that carries our dream to our national future…[87]

The newspaper was written on behalf of the whole Christian community, but it was not possible. The newspaper illustrates only some parts of the community. Moreover, the newspapers were published by the intellectual Cypriots and were affected by nationalism earlier than the ordinary islanders. The attitude of *Alethia* seems like it requested to build the Greek nation on the island, and for this reason, it wanted help from the religious authority. The news also shows that the Archbishop did nothing about Greek nationalism. The newspaper tried to put the Archbishop at the head of the national movement. If the Archbishop had already made the paper's demands, *Alethia* would not have needed to make this news. Muslim newspapers also mostly supported the national movement, but the main meaning cannot be reached only by reading the documents. It is also considered who wrote the documents and why.[88] As

87 CPIO, *Alethia*, 30.10.1896.

88 The documents are not absolute truths and can be interpreted diversely from different perspectives. Selim Deringil explains this in detail in his article in which he examines the different interpretations of the archival documents describing five different cases regarding the Armenians. He shows that archival documents are not always effective in reaching definitive and indisputable judgments. Deringil explains that the archival documents do not show the absolute truth and that there might be different interpretations from different perspectives. See: Selim Deringil, "Belgenin Boğazına Sarılmak" in *Çöküş Döneminde Osmanlı Ermenileri Bilimsel Sorumluluk ve Demokrasi Sorunları, 23-25 Eylül 2005* (İstanbul: Bilgi Universitesi Yayınları, 2011), pp.9-14. Similar to the archival documents, the newspapers were also not definite sources that showed only the truth of their times. The papers were written by people with their own worldviews and ideas they desired to spread.

mentioned, the newspapers were published by the intellectual class of the island. They encountered nationalist ideologies before the ordinary islanders and did not represent the whole community. The importance is that they were affecting the community, and some clues about the socio-economic lives of the islanders can be reached through the papers. On the other hand, even the newspaper had not yet internalized nationalism in itself. For example, when *Alethia* made news about the candidates for the Legislative Council, it did not separate Cypriots as Greek and Turkish but as Muslim and Christian.[89] It seems that national identities did not yet replace with religious identities in 1896, but the newspaper wanted to replace them.

The minority position of the Muslim community had affected them in many ways. As mentioned, the Muslim Cypriots have been a minority since the Ottoman conquest of the island. During the Ottoman administration, they were part of the ruling class. They were practically a minority on the island, but they could enjoy being Muslim that the religion of the ruling class. However, they had lost their privilege during the British administration. Their minority position was consolidated. As mentioned, it cannot be possible to compare because the islanders did not have a press during the Ottoman administration. However, Muslim Cypriots' inferiority complex against the Christian community can be traced to the newspapers published during the British administration. The Muslim Cypriots mainly had compared themselves with the Christian Cypriots and looked for the reason for their backwardness. Also, they did not consider the Christian community as people who have shared the island for a long time but considered them a different and complex community. In addition, it can be evaluated that changing the administration was a complicated issue for them. They had felt that the British administration had supported the Greek community against them. For instance,

89 CPIO, *Alethia*, 30.10.1896. .. Last Friday, proposals for candidates for the Legislative Council were presented. In all regions, both Christian and Muslim candidates have been proposed, and a vote will soon take place on the selection of those to serve in the Legislative Council. In the Limassol-Paphos region, four Christian candidates and three Muslim candidates were proposed…

according to a newspaper report published in 1906, approximately thirty years after the changing of the administration, the Muslim neighbors did not include any police officers for security. However, the Greek neighbors had officers on every corner.[90] It can be indicated that the Muslim community did not feel safe, and their feeling of abandonment was pursued. The report began with the incident of theft. The thieves had entered the Muslim woman's house, but the policeman did not appear, although the woman awoke everyone. The news had been continued to compare the Christian and Muslim communities. The journalist thought that the Christian neighbors included many police officers and that the government had cared for them more than the Muslim community. On a different issue, the same newspaper mentioned the reason for the Christian Cypriots' development and the Muslim Cypriots' backwardness.[91] As mentioned, they mainly had compared themselves to the Christian community and complained about their deficiency. In another instance, the newspaper *Doğru Yol* mentioned the football match, which was played among Greek Cypriot teams.[92] The report continued with the complaint about the deficiency of the Turkish football teams unlike the Greek Cypriots' teams. It mentioned that Turkish Cypriots played like international players but did not establish their own national team. According to the *Doğru Yol*, this was a deficiency and lack of development.

On the other side, the situation of the Christian community was not different from the Muslim community. For example, in 1893, conflicts

90 NA, *Mirat-ı Zaman,* 0006, 03.09.1906. ..Müslüman mahallelerine gidilse insan bir zaptiyeye tesadüf edemez. Rumlardan bir kişinin burnu kanasa durdurmak için on zabıta bulunur, Müslümanların umumunu yataklarında boğazlasalar polis belki de üç gün sonra malumat alır..(When you go to Muslim neighborhood, you will not come across a police officer. Ten police officers exist to stop a Greek's nose bleeding. If they killed all the Muslims in their beds, the police would get information maybe three days later.)

91 NA, *Mirat-ı Zaman*, 0254, 0255 28.06.1909. For an example of the development of the Christian community: ..new style schools, essential industry and trade, excellent and powerful press.. (..yeni usuldeki mektepleri, en esaslı sanayi ve ticaret, mukemmel ve kuvvetli matbuat..)

92 NA, *Doğru Yol*, 1925021802, 18.02.1925

occurred between Christian and Muslim Cypriots in Limassol. The Christian newspaper reported that Turkish Cypriots from the other village invaded their village when they awaited the bridegroom and were found defenseless.[93] Therefore, like *Mirat-ı Zaman*, *Alethia* stressed that the Greek Cypriots did not feel safe; nobody protected them against the Turkish Cypriots. It can be deduced that both communities' newspapers exaggerated the events to encourage national feelings against each other.[94] Besides, not only the internal affairs influence both communities' circumstances, but the external events also impacted the Cypriots. For example, 1897 was an important year for the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Greece, and it was the year of the Ottoman-Greek War. After two main insurrections in Crete, 1841 and 1866, the uneasiness among the Christian Orthodox Greeks had not diminished. The large-scale insurgence broke out because of the declaration of the new governor, who was a Muslim. The resulting developments brought the Ottoman Empire, and Greece face to face, and the war broke out in 1897.[95] The islanders were aware of the external affairs and were affected by them. For example, it was not a coincidence that one of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers, *Kıbrıs,* complained about the insecure situation of the Muslim community in June 1897 a month after the Cretan War.[96] It mentioned that the government did not protect the Muslim community when they were insulted by the Christian community. Then continued, the Muslim community had lost their safety, and the government did not do anything against the

93 CPIO, *Neon Ethnos*, 01.12.1893, Also, see: P. Nikolaou, "National Identity Otherness and Bicommunal Relations Through the Cypriot Greek-Speaking Press Between 1878 and 1912" In *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context History, Identity and Politics*, ed.by T. Kyrtitsi & N. Christofis (Switzerland: Palgrave macmillan, 2018), pp.55-56.

94 *Alethia* wrote in the issue of 30.11.1893: "Where is security? Where is serenity? Where is calmness? We stand alone against the viciousness, being routed by nefarious criminals. We are destitute and poor, and we are threatened in every single step." Translated into English by P. Nikolaou, ibid,p.56.

95 M.U. Ekinci, "The Origins of the 1897 Ottoman-Greek War: A Diplomatic History" (MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2006), pp.16-75.

96 NA, *Kıbrıs*, 1897062801, 28.06.1897.

misbehavior of the Greeks, "what will our situation be?"[97] The report did not refer to the incidents in Crete, but the war and the situation of Muslims in Crete might be one of the reasons for the uneasiness among the Muslim community. The newspaper illustrated the Muslim community as defenseless. The journalist might request giving the island her theoretical owner, the Ottoman State, which had just defeated Greece. After the news above, the newspaper started to narrate the situation of the Ottoman State with the European powers and the situation of Thessaly. *Kıbrıs* had followed the affairs of the Ottoman Empire and the Cretan War.

In the newspapers, the two communities were like rivals, not a neighbor. However, their rivalry can be compared to the rivalry between siblings. The Muslim Cypriot community was like the favorite child of their parent, but the British administration changed their condition. They had desired to be favorite again and forge ahead from the other community, Christian Cypriots. Their competition was similar to a child who wants all the attention of her/his parents. For example, after the 1931 revolt on the island, some Turkish Cypriots were pleased to be punishing of the Greek community.[98] They became a well-behaved child who did not rise against the administration. The reports had never mentioned the reason for the 1931 incident. The important thing was the punishments of the Greek community and the loyalty of the Turkish community. As mentioned, *Hakikat* blamed Greek Cypriots as traitors because of their role in the rebellion. In addition to this, they did not even make a complaint about the closing of the parliament. However, they considered it a good

97 NA, *Kıbrıs*, 1897062801, 28.06.1897. Haşmetlü Kraliçe hazretlerinin şerefine olarak geçen Çarşamba günü icra olunan şenlikte seyr ve temaşa için Rum mahallelerinden geçen kadın erkek İslamlara tahkiramiz harf-ı endazlıkta bulunduğu ve hoca takımına taş ve araba içinde bulunanların üzerlerine yanmış kibrit atıldığı, dün iki zenci Müslümanla ahbabımızdan Tahsin efendinin mahdumu darp ve taş ile başı cerh edildiği görülüp işitilmiştir. (In the festivity held last Wednesday in honor of the Majestic Queen, men and women Muslims who were passing through the Greek neighborhoods to join the festivity, were insulted. Stones were thrown at hodjas and burnt matches to the people in the car. Yesterday, it was seen and heard that two black Muslims and one of our friends, Tahsin Efendi's son, were beaten with a stone.)

98 NA, *Hakikat*, 0003, 11.11.1931.

development for the Turkish community because the rivalry between conservative and national Turkish Cypriot elites would finish when the parliament was closed.[99] The changing of the administration might contribute to the competition between Muslim Cypriots and Christian Cypriots. The situation of the Christian community was probably not crucial for the Muslim community during the Ottoman era as in the British era because they belonged to the administrative class during the former reign. They did not have a reason to belittle their community. On the other hand, the British administration might be the reason for the underestimation of the Muslim community themselves towards the Christian community. The Muslim Cypriots no longer belonged to the ruling class and had become ordinary subjects. Although the new administration did not attach importance to the Greek Community, the Greek Cypriots probably became more important during the British administration in the eyes of some Muslim Cypriots.

On the other hand, the Christian community were disappointed because the British administration looked down on them. They were second-class subjects during the Ottoman administration, which did not change with the new administration. They might be equal to the Muslim Cypriots in the eyes of the British, but they were still underestimated. They desired to attract the attention of the British government. Although the British administrators did not care about the Muslim community, they were cooperating as a continuation of the Ottoman administration. Since the island was taken over temporally, the new administration could not totally underestimate the Muslim community at the beginning of British rule. Their cooperation had been pursued with some Turkish Cypriot elites. The ambiguity of the administration affected the perception of the islanders regarding the administrators and their positions.

Furthermore, the two communities did not always compete with each other but sometimes cooperated. The Legislative Council of Cyprus was gathered in 1931 for a new budget. However, the proposal was rejected by

99 NA, *Hakikat*, 0005, 19.11.1931

Greek elective members and one Turkish Cypriot's votes.[100] Mehmet Necati supported a political movement of Turkish nationalism and rejected cooperating with the British colonial administration.[101] Greek and Turkish Cypriots cooperated against British colonial management. Nevertheless, the anti-colonialist movement turned into the aim of unification with Greece (Enosis).[102] Although the Legislative council rejected the proposal about the taxes, the British governor, the head of the government, accepted the proposal. This acceptance created massive protests, especially among the Greek Cypriots. In the end, the colonial administration took strict measures and abolished the Legislative Council.[103] The Turkish Cypriot community did not participate in the massive protest because of the Enosis demand of the Greek Cypriot community, but it did not prevent them from the restrictions. They were punished as Greek Cypriots. The newspaper *Hakikat* was pleased about the council's closing, and the reports did not mention Mehmet Necati, who had rejected the proposal with Greek Cypriots.[104] The only important thing for *Hakikat* was that the Greek community became naughty children, and the Turkish community was well-behaved and loyal. This was the opportunity for the Muslim community to be in the government's graces like their parent.

100 Pınar Kadıoğlu, "The Rise of Etno-nationalism in Cyprus under the British Rule: 1878-1960" (MA Thesis, METU,2010), p.112.

101 Ibid.

102 Alexis Rappas, "The Labor Question in Colonial Cyprus, 1936-1941: Political Stakes in a Battle of Denominations." *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no.76 (Fall, 2009), p.195.

103 Pınar Kadıoğlu, "The Rise of Etno-nationalism in Cyprus under the British Rule: 1878-1960" (MA Thesis, METU,2010), p.113.

104 *Hakikat*, 11.11.1931 and 19.11.1931.

§ 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to examine the subjective sources. The newspapers illustrate the minds of some islanders, and they allow us to make some comments about their opinions. In the end, the chapter illustrates the opinions of some islanders who published the newspapers, and their opinions are important because they influenced the islanders in different parts of Cyprus. The newspapers were very influential in spreading national and anti-government sentiments throughout the island. However, it should not be forgotten that these views were the views of the literate elite class. In addition, the newspapers show the ambivalent situation of the Cypriots and their need to belong somewhere. The Muslim community did not celebrate only the birthday of the Ottoman Sultan but also the British Queen. They blamed Greek Cypriots as a traitor because they rebelled against the British administration, but they celebrated the anniversary of the Turkish Republic in the same month as "our republic." They were so caught up in the effort to belong to a place that they did not realize they were alienated from the place where they lived. They could build their identity based on their place, but their ambiguous position prevented them. Similar to the Muslim community, the Christian Cypriots could not totally belong where they lived. Continued underestimation of the Christian population alienated them from their island, and they desired to be part of something bigger. Belonging to the Hellenic world was very attractive to them because they could get rid of their second-class status and become a part of the larger world. Also, the ordinary Cypriots in the villages might not have irredentist national feelings, but the newspapers were an attempt by elite Cypriots to impose their ideas on the ordinary Cypriots. However, it cannot be considered that the ordinary Cypriots accepted everything the elite class tried to impose on them. They should had reasons to accept the ideas that came from the newspapers. The aim of this chapter is not to examine the newspapers as the sources that people could impose any of their ideas on the public. In contrast, the purpose is to show the ideas' of the particular class of the two communities. The elite Cypriots indeed desired to impose their

ideas. However, if the ordinary Cypriots are seen as merely the people who accepted the ideas unquestioningly, their historical agency would be ignored. Nevertheless, the thoughts that were constantly heard in coffeehouses started to feel normal over time and spread among the people, even though they were not wholly accepted. As time passed, nationalist ideas may have started to appeal to people who desired to feel like they belonged somewhere. While Cypriots were trying to get rid of being ambivalent and belonging somewhere, they fell into an ambivalence situation again because the place they wanted to belong and the place they lived in were not the same.

7

Conclusion

An orderly world is a world in which one knows how to go on' (or, what amounts to the same, one knows how to find out – and find out for sure – how to go on)[1]

Cypriots could not know how to go on after the island was assigned to the British. How they describe themselves and where they belong became problems during the British administration. Belonging somewhere includes complex meanings. Can people belong to multiple places or not is a difficult question to answer, at least for the Cypriots. However, the cause of the difficulty does not belong to more than one place but the uncertainty of belongingness.[2] While Cypriots were trying to belong to another place, they became alienated from where they lived and started to be hostile to the people they lived with. While building their national

1 Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, (UK: Polity Press, 1995),p.1

2 Ibid, p.118.

identities, their neighbors, whom they used to not care much about which religion or ethnicity they belonged to, turned into "others." Unlike Jewish people in Europe, Cypriots had an imaginary motherland that some had never seen, and they had desired to build their identity based on this imaginary motherland. On the other hand, in the beginning, ordinary Cypriots did not care much about their national identities. There were boundaries between Christian Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots, but it was unclear where the boundaries had begun and ended. As examined, the literate Cypriots used especially newspapers to reach the ordinary Cypriots and teach them their "real" identities. It can be said that the elite Cypriots used the papers to impose national identities on ordinary Cypriots. However, the effect needs to be handled from multiple angles. Elites were also affected by the society they lived in, so there was a mutual influence between ordinary people and educated people.[3] We also belittle the historical agency if we treat ordinary people as those directly affected by the newspapers. According to their situation, people adopt or do not adopt the influences from outside in line with their own interests. The languages of the newspapers were not inclusive but mostly exclusionary, and the news from Greece and Turkey was significant for them. The journalists tried to strengthen their bonds with the "motherlands." Especially the ambivalent situation of Muslim Cypriots, at least the literate class, can be seen when they were trying to remain loyal to the British administration while describing the new Turkish Republic as "our."

Both communities in Cyprus had the features of being minority and majority. However, when the administration of the island had passed to Great Britain in 1878, the Muslim community had lost its majority feature, and they became an entire minority. Their minority status was doubled. The Muslim community tried to be in good relations with the new government but also not to break their ties with the Ottoman Empire. However, Cyprus was not included even in the Turkish National Pact. This situation contributed to the binary position of the Muslim community. On

3 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: 1780-1950* (USA: Colombia University Press, 1983).

the one aspect, they had requested the former owner of the island, but on the other side, they had to be on good terms with the new administration to strengthen their position. In other words, the sense of being abandoned contributed to their pragmatist attitude. They were in an ambiguous situation. Where they belonged and how they described themselves are questions they had no answers to. When the British came to the island, the Muslim community was neither Greek, Turkish nor British.[4] They were in an ambivalent situation because they had lost the administration that identified with them. On the other side, the Christian Cypriots, second-class subjects during the Ottoman Empire, could not eliminate underestimation within the new administration. This brought out the desire to belong to something bigger, and being part of the Eastern Roman Empire became attractive to them. However, the Greek Cypriots were also abandoned by their "motherland" too. During the Great War, the British offered to cede Cyprus to the Kingdom of Greece, but the offer was rejected. Greek Cypriots had become alienated from their place of residence in an effort to belong to something bigger, even if they were abandoned by the place to which they tried to belong. The more they tried to belong somewhere else, the more ambivalent they became. Neither community fictionalized their own national heroes because they did not believe their roots belonged to the island. Further, the fact that the British were islanders, like the Cypriots, did not enable them to identify Cypriots with themselves. The British colonial administration always considered Cyprus from an orientalist point of view and belittled it. This perspective is also evident in the comical song quoted in the third chapter. E.V. Page defined Cypriots as people who do not even know how to drink water and can only learn this through the British. Further, in 1882, the British Commissioner was offended when a Greek Cypriot did not dismount as a sign of respect while passing by. Then the Commissioner threw a stone at Greek Cypriot man and struck him on the arm. The Commissioner did not stop there, he had the Greek Cypriot arrested and

4 Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs,* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005),p.217.

fined.[5] In addition, the British government was strongly against marriage with the natives in Cyprus.[6] For the British administration Cyprus was not like England and Cypriots were not similar with them. Cypriots were backward and ignorant natives. For the British, insularity meant freedom and opposition to foreign sovereignty, while for Cypriots this could not be said to be the case.[7]

The thesis explored the question of whether we can understand the identity formation process of Cypriots using Zygmunt Bauman's use of "ambivalent." It can be deduced that leasing the island was influential in the ambivalent situation of the Cypriots. While the Jewish people in Europe were trying to be assimilated by Europeans, the Cypriots tried to become Turkish or Greek by assimilating themselves. While they were living together under the Ottoman regime, they were Christian and Muslim subjects. They coexisted in relatively peaceful daily life. The non-Muslim subjects were allowed to practice their religion in the Ottoman State, but they were tolerated under Ottoman rule.[8] Only when one group is dominant it can tolerate the other. However, in Cyprus, both communities had minority and majority features, and as explained, both of them could perceive themselves as superior to other community. On the other hand, the boundaries between communities were fluent. For example, the boundaries became invisible while participating in the religious holiday of the other society and socializing or trading with each other during the holiday. However, when it came to marrying people from the "other"

5 Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019),p.48.

6 Alexis Rappas, "Greeks under European colonial rule: national allegiance and imperial loyalty" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* vol.34, no.2 (2010), p.208.

7 Jan Rüger "Insularity and Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century" in T*he Victorian Empire and Britains's Maritime World, 1837-1901: The Sea and Global History* ed. by Miles Taylor (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013),p.157.

8 Rebecca Bryant, "Everyday Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Space" In *Post Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*, ed. by R. Bryant (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), p.11.

society, the boundaries became clear.[9] Moreover, societies need the "other" and the "enemy" to define themselves. They need the "other" as an "enemy" to set their boundaries. In other words, "there is nothing so disorienting as the loss of a good friend, except, perhaps, the loss of a good enemy."[10] Losing the enemy could be equated with losing yourself because people often define what they are or what they are not through the enemy. This situation can be observed through the inter-communal conflict in 1912. The 1912 events begin with the students, who started to define themselves as "Greek" under the nationalist education system, singing nationalist songs while passing through the village of their "enemies," the "others." The two societies, which had become abandoned and ambivalent, started to define their neighbors as enemies in order to define their own identities.

Further, I requested to examine tolerance in the aspect of consciousness. We see that people living together tolerate each other without realizing it due to the nature of coexistence. People had to be tolerant of their neighbors because they knew that it would make their own lives more difficult if they did not. Also, the Ottoman land system and multiple ownership contributed to sharing everyday life. When it came to common interests, religious or national identity lost importance. Nonetheless, with the arrival of the British administration on the island, the balance between the communities was disturbed. The Muslim community became only a minority, and even if the Christian Cypriots became the majority on the island, they continued to be underestimated. While not much had changed for Cypriots living in the countryside, this change had left the elite Cypriots in an ambivalent situation. Unlike Maltese or Corsican people, Cypriots could not construct their identity based on where they lived. The fact that they did not have their own language was an essential effect

9 Ibid. Also, see: Christos P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece,1878–1954*, (UK: Lexington Books, 2019); J. Asmussen, "Intermarriage and Interethnic Love Stories From Cyprus" *Halk Bilimi Dergisi* vol.57 (2011).

10 David Barash, *Beloved Enemies: Our Need For Opponents*, (New York: Prometheus Book, 1994), p.9.

on the identity-building process, but as explained, they could construct their accent as a different kind of Greek and Turkish. The abandonment and ambivalency pushed them to desire belonging to something bigger. They even did not construct Cypriot bandits as their own national heroes. Like Leonard Zelig, Christian and Muslim Cypriots could not find their identities and tried to assimilate themselves as Greek and Turkish so they could belong to something more significant than the island of Cyprus.

The dissertation dealt with a long period of seventy years, so there might be deficiencies. However, in order to have a broader perspective in terms of identity construction, I started the last period of the Ottoman Empire and finished the thesis in one of the significant rebellions that took place in the British period. The thesis does not claim that the Cypriots have always been in an ambivalent situation; this process developed mainly after the island was leased to the British.

There are some points which, in conclusion, I want to emphasize: the state of abandonment is not actually about the Ottoman Empire / Turkey and Greece, but rather the local people's identification with them through the Ottomans / Turkey and Greece. It is crucial how the local subject defined her/himself in the conditions in which s/he lives. Here, the influence of the local was more significant than the center. Moreover, we also need to define the center. Where the center is might actually change depending on how people define themselves. On the one hand, although the Cypriots did not see the place they lived as a center and always tried to belong to another place, on the other hand, they did not come to this situation independently of the place they lived in. In other words, where they lived was their center and significantly impacted their self-definition. Perhaps they would not have sought other lands to define themselves had it not been for the ambivalent situation they were in. Conversely, it would be wrong to say that all Cypriots have irredentist ideas. We can deduce this from the Christian and Muslim Cypriots who joined the British army in the First World War and the Christian Cypriots who

did not want to join the Greek army in Anatolia.[11] While examining the two communities, we cannot talk about a homogeneous structure. It can be said that ordinary people were not that interested in Greek or Turkish nationalism during the period the thesis examined. In fact, the class that remained in-betweenness and became ambivalent was the elite educated class of both communities. For example, the mufti's ambivalent situation and his effort to remind himself and Cyprus to the Ottoman administration with complaints about the conversion of the Muslim community on the island in different years are described in chapter four. Zygmunt Bauman also narrates the upper class of the Jewish community. The ones who became ambivalent in Europe were from the upper class not the lower class. For example, he describes how Jews in the East were underestimated and seen ignorant by those in the West because they could not resemble Europeans.[12]

Thus, by emphasizing historical agencies, the thesis desires to show in what kind of processes the agencies that changed over time reached the 1931 nationalist revolt. Did Turkish-speaking Muslims have to be Turks and Greek-speaking Christians to be Greek? It is necessary to step out of the teleological framework. The thesis actually wants to change the question asked; it does not question how the identity formation process in Cyprus is, but why it has developed the way it is. The thesis wishes to pave the way for this question to be asked in future studies.

11 For details, see: Andrekos Varnava, "Greek Cypriot "Volunteers" in the Greek Army, 1914-1922; Querying Loyalties and Identity." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol.38 no.2 (Fall, 2020); A. Varnava, *British Cyprus and the Long Great War 1914-1925 Empire, Loyalties and Democratic Deficit* (London & New York: Routledge, 2020).

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