AN OTTOMAN HISTORIAN'S BURDEN:

ZİVER'S *HISTORY OF CYPRUS*

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2017

AN OTTOMAN HISTORIAN'S BURDEN:

ZİVER'S *HISTORY OF CYPRUS*

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

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Boğaziçi University

2017

An Ottoman Historian's Burden: Ziver's *History of Cyprus*

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
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ABSTRACT

An Ottoman Historian's Burden:

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This thesis is an attempt to analyse the development of late Ottoman historiography in a three-layered contextualisation with regard to its own historiographical legacy, its organic dialogue with European intellectual productions and, lastly, its relation to the legitimisation and representation of the Ottoman state. Accordingly, it problematizes Ziver's *History of Cyprus* based upon a critical perspective which is discussed at length in the first chapter. In order to serve as a foundation, the second chapter rests upon a sizable number of Ottoman historical accounts from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and delineates the early modern Ottoman approach(es) to the conquest of Cyprus in an analytical framework which seeks to retain their plurality. After introducing Ziver and his work, the third chapter focuses on a comparison between Ziver's narrative and earlier historical accounts and explicates the former's detachment from the legacy regarding Ottoman modernisation and changing state-society relations. In the fourth chapter, in an attempt to contextualise Ziver's polemical attitude against Western historians about the history of Cyprus, the complex relationship between the late Ottoman and European historiographies is debated. Finally, Ziver's discourse of civilisation and progress based on his reconfiguration of the Ottoman past and its representation and legitimisation of the Ottoman state against the British colonial rule on the island, will be discussed.

ÖZET

Bir Osmanlı Tarihçisinin Yükü:

Ziver'in *Kıbrıs Tarihi*

Okumakta olduğunuz bu tez, geç dönem Osmanlı tarihyazıcılığının gelişimini erken dönem tarihyazımı mirası, Avrupa ile artan karşılıklı entellektüel etkileşim ve Osmanlı devletinin meşrulaştırılması ve politik temsilinden oluşan üç ayaklı bir bağlam içerisinde yorumlama girişimidir. Ziver'e ait *Kıbrıs Tarihi* isimli eserin temel kaynağını oluşturduğu tezin birinci bölümünde, tarihyazımıyla ilgilenen literatürün genel ve Kıbrıs özelinde bir eleştirisi yer almaktadır. Ziver'in metniyle bir karşılaştırmaya temel oluşturması açısından ikinci bölümde 16.-18. yüzyıllar arasında üretilmiş tarih eserlerinin Kıbrıs'ın fethine olan bakış(lar)ı analitik ve çoğulculuğa izin veren bir tarzda incelenmiştir. Ziver ve eserini tarihsel bağlamlarına yerleştiren üçüncü bölüm, erken dönem eserler karşısında ortaya çıkan entellektüel kopuşu Osmanlı modernleşmesi ve dönüşen devlet-toplum ilişkileri bağlamında tartışmaktadır. Dördüncü bölümde, Ziver ve genel olarak son dönem Osmanlı tarihçileri için olmazsa olmaz bir referans noktası haline gelen Avrupa tarihyazımı ve buna karşı yükselen Osmanlı itirazı ele alınmıştır. Son bölümde ise, Osmanlı Devleti'ni hedef alan kolonyal müdahale ve söylem karşısında Osmanlı tarihçiliğinin geçmişi yeniden yorumlayarak ürettiği ilerleme/medeniyet söylemi ve daha önemlisi bu söylemin 1878'de geçici bir süreliğine İngiliz kolonyalizmine 'kaptırılan' Kıbrıs'taki Osmanlı vatandaşı Rumlar karşısında Osmanlı hakimiyetini nasıl aklamaya çalıştığı tartışılmıştır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The first person that I shall name under this title is, of course, the late Vangelis Kechriotis whose intellectual criticism and energetic character will always remain inspirational to me. It was mostly due to him that I, back then as an undergraduate student, was convinced to continue my studies at graduate level at Boğaziçi University. His seminar classes on the history of the Orthodox Greek populations of the Ottoman Empire proved to be my first experience in historical criticism and of sophisticated discussions in a collective and international atmosphere. Most of all, I am indebted to him for presenting me with a living experience of overcoming historical enmities between Greek and Turkish nations and a great enthusiasm for life to the extent of questioning me passionately on the latest developments on the Cyprus Question while in his last days of physical weariness. His untimely death, however, has not stopped me from engaging in discussions with him based on his works and this thesis is, after all, a small attempt on my behalf to continue my dialogue with my *canım Hocam.*

I owe a lot to Meltem Toksöz who has driven my attention to the field of Ottoman historiography and guided me accordingly. In her class on late Ottoman historians, I found the opportunity to engage with sophisticated and original perspectives and new historical materials and more importantly, a great tranquillity in seeking, in my view, the most precious aim of the discipline of history: the relationship between the mode of recalling the past (the whole human experience!) and modernity. Needless to say, she has been greatly important in shaping the agenda of this thesis, and

it is owing to her particular suggestion that an analysis has been carried out into what distinguished the potentially different orientations in late Ottoman historiography from the earlier traditions and from contemporary European discourses. I will undoubtedly miss her sincerity and warmth in approaching her students.

Another professor from Boğaziçi University who I would like to mention is Noemi Levy Aksu who has encouraged me to think critically about Ottoman law and state-society relations, and to contextualise them in relation to, at first, seemingly irrelevant phenomenon, such as history-writing. Her touching smile which is capable of appeasing all manners of arguments in class and recently, her unyielding stance together with a genuine commitment to Turkey regardless of increasing authoritarian measures, have been of great value not only to myself, but to all of my friends at the university.

I have to mention a number of professors from whom I have taken many insights and whose classes I have truly enjoyed starting from my undergraduate education. Here I express my gratitude to Aylin Dilaver Vartanyan, Ayşe Özil, Chryssi Sidiropoulou, Derin Terzioğlu, Edhem Eldem, Kyriaki Konstantinidou, Merih Erol, Seda Altuğ, Selçuk Esenbel and Yücel Terzibaşoğlu. I also thank Michalis N. Michael, who was unfortunately unable to attend my thesis jury because of a technical impossibility, but devouted his time to me both before and during my thesis period. Plus, I am indebted to Antonis Hadjikyriakou who has read this work and provided me with valuable feedback.

Last but not least, I want to mention a senior and independent man of letters, Harid Fedai. From my first meeting with him, I have been amazed by his generous

support and joyful but sharp speeches full of his personal memories which carry a value in enabling a grasp not only of knowledge of the past, but a sense of it too. His character, identified with a love of Cyprus and an accompanying intellectual commitment to the history of the island despite all the hardships and constraints during the infamous years marred by the bi-communal strife, is truly a model for me. Needless to say, writing this thesis would have been a lot more arduous, if not impossible, without his transliteration of primary historical materials on the history of Cyprus.

Besides my professors, I should also name my beloved ones who saved me from the loneliness that a thesis can easily drive one to: Nesli Ruken Han, Ali Yağız Şen, Can Görtan, Fahri Koray Sakarya, Nazım Can Serbest, Noyan Coşkun, Nuray Sakarya, Sinan Şanlıer in İstanbul; Barış Güveniş, Burak Kazımoğlu, Hasan Ergüler and Mehmet Kızar in Cyprus; Olga Ntaflou, Juliana Lizer and Tünay Mertekçi in Athens. I should also mention that Helen Mackreath has made a great contribution to this thesis by her proofreading. I would like to express my gratitude to Hüseyin Çınar Öztürk and Denitsa Nenova whose friendship and hospitality in Athens has provided me with a great comfort in writing this thesis and, whose roof I am now finalising it under.

Finally, of course, I am indebted to my family who, out of sheer love and devotion, have dedicated a lot from their lives to my education and lent me great moral and material support during my life up until today.

To My Dear Professor,

The Late Vangelis Kechriotis...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 A critical overview of Ottoman Historiography

This thesis constitutes a small discursive attempt at analysing the late Ottoman history-writing and its relation to Ottoman modernisation by looking at the development of Ottoman historical production(s) on Cyprus in a comparative perspective from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. This relationship and inter-textual comparison, I dare to argue, should be constituted as indispensable elements in any study on late Ottoman historiography, despite the dominant trend in relevant literature that deals with the Ottoman historians and their works in isolation to each other. What is more tragic is a further isolation from the other areas onto which Ottoman modernity has constructed itself, as if a re-ordering of the past by the late Ottoman history writing was either non-existent or merely floating in the air and could be thought of as separate from contemporary transformations. Thus, a contextualisation of the issue at hand in an organic connection with the other attempts of modernisation regarding law, education and state-society relations, in other words returning the historian back within the very historical context he lived and produced, remains an urgent task.

It goes without saying, of course, that such an attempt at Ottoman history-writing must pay regard to both the interests and the perspectives produced in other fields of Ottoman intellectual history. This perspective has the potential to raise new interests and consequently, ask new questions, some of which will be raised here as

well: How can we clarify the relationship between the era of modernisation and Ottoman historians? What was their approach, as representatives of the new era, to the historical narratives handed over to them from earlier centuries? Can we talk about a need to redesign the older works, and if so, how deep does this need penetrate and on what grounds? How were they affected by the changing state-society relations or representation of the state while producing their works? How did they conceptualise justice in the midst of the contemporary legal transformations? How did they represent the Ottoman entity at an international level and, how did they react to Western historiography? What was the ideal state, the ideal society or even the ideal Ottoman self in the eyes of the Ottoman historians? Above all, while reflecting on all these issues, what were the main motivations of the Ottoman historians in reconfiguring the past according to Ottoman modernisation?

Apart from an isolationist attitude, Ottoman historians, until very lately, have also been rather neglected in modern scholarship and a comprehensive framework is yet-to-be-achieved. Late Ottoman historiography constitutes no exemption. This oversight has been derived from a biased unwillingness that deems Ottoman historiography either substandard because it falls short in catching up with methodological and objective underpinnings of modern historical writing, or solely imitative because it rests upon arguably mere translations from European historiography. As an illustration, Ercüment Kuran, in his article on the Ottoman historiography of the Tanzimat Period, establishes a division between ‘old-fashioned’

works and new ones that are developing "into a completely modern style" [1] as a result of being inspired by European methods. The most explicit spokesman of this account which was more or less dominated the Republican period in Turkey until the 1990's, is Mükrimin Halil Yinanç who has studied, in the most satirical sense of the word, Ottoman historians from a Eurocentric and positivist perspective, only to conclude that they are a bunch of "ordinary, restricted, descriptive, liars, charlatans and imposters…"[2] The problem, in such an analysis, is not the content of the judgment, but its effect as an obstacle to understanding these historians and their texts from an analytical perspective.

Up until now, such teleological expectations and Euro-centric interpretations have been rejected to a great extent at other segments of Ottoman intellectual history by critical studies which envisage Ottoman modernity as existing in an organic relationship with its past and in a formative resistance against European discourses beyond shallow reactions. To mention a few of these, Selim Deringil has exemplified how the Ottoman imperial ideology was reformulated in the nineteenth century during which even the most conservative and seemingly unchanged sphere of Islamic practices and public rituals were transformed into a modern state policy in pursuit of legitimation both at home and abroad.[3] Cengiz Kırlı on the other hand, has paid attention to the discovery of public opinion by the Ottoman state through a surveillance mechanism, and how the coffeehouse, back then a place full of mischiefs and therefore deemed to be in need of

[1] Ercüment Kuran, "Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis & Holt P. M. (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 422.
[2] Such adjectives are articulated throughout the whole article. The ones translated and cited above are respectively: *basit, mahdut, tasviri, palavracı, şarlatan* and *sahtekar*. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, "Tanzimat'tan Meşrutiyet'e Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik," in *Tanzimat: Yüzüncü Yıldönümü Münasebetile* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 573-95.
[3] Selim Deringil, *The Well Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1908* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009).

silencing, was now increasingly found productive by the state to obtain information.[4] Ferdan Ergut, in a similar way, has laid emphasis on public order as a negotiation between the modernising state and larger segments of society and for that reason, reflected on the new infrastructural power which also implied an increasing social impact and thus internal pressure on Ottoman modernisation.[5] These works and the like have largely displaced the older literature which, without taking into consideration the intellectual complexity and social depth of the Ottoman reforms, fails to capture even the very existence of change itself.[6]

With a growing emphasis on the sophistication, polyphony and dynamism of Ottoman intellectual life, old anachronistic characterisations, borrowed from European historiography without any scrutiny, were dismissed as unproductive and even as a barrier "to appreciating Ottoman consciousness in its own terms."[7] In a parallel reasoning, Andrew Arsan rejects the diffusionist approach which presupposes that modern European ideas were directly or inadvertently consumed by the rest of the world. Focusing on the usage of French sources in a single speech by an Ottoman man of religion, namely Shaykh Ahmad Tabbarah, Arsan shows that these sources are often internalised only after a process of revisioning which points to "a constant, if often

[4] Cengiz Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" (1840-1844)* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2009).
[5] Ferdan Ergut, *Modern Devlet ve Polis: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Toplumsal Denetimin Diyalektiği* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004).
[6] An open expression of this sort can be found in the colossal and authoritative work of L. S. Stavrianos who proclaims that "The Ottoman Empire, by contrast [to the Dynamic West], remained unaffected and unchanging. As a result, it was incapable of either defending itself or providing its subjects with the prerequisites of modern life.' Leften Stavros Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453* (New-York: Rinehart & Company Inc., 1958), 840.
[7] Cemal Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Suleymanic Era," in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (İstanbul: The ISIS Press, 1993), 48.

covert, two-way traffic"[8] that permeates the mind of Tabbarah. Non-Western discourses, as Ussama Makdisi sums up, "are not clones of the original; they draw on indigenous histories."[9] Thus, *other* narratives are increasingly deserving of being the subjects of analytical historical understanding. Yet, the question very recently raised by Meltem Toksöz in an effort to further utilise this paradigm-shift, still remains open-ended: "How much of this was true for historians?" A comment following this question, that stresses how limited our knowledge on "what distinguished them from their own earlier history traditions and contemporary European discursive apparata…,"[10] has been highly instructive in formulating this thesis, which is, after all, a simple attempt towards understanding these inter-textual differences in an effort to answer the very same question.

Reaping the fruits of this trend to the full extent of Ottoman history writing still awaits us. This gap, in terms of an analytical and comprehensive perspective on Ottoman historians and what they aspired to in light of the questions listed above, seems even a little bizarre in Turkey, in a context in which the ideological and political power of history writing is highly apparent as it keeps changing at an unprecedented level under the AKP administration. This is quite suggestive of another hindrance of intellectual studies on Ottoman history, namely, as I dare to call it, 'Ottomania,' which has developed in as overt reaction to the above-mentioned Euro-centric or orientalist perspectives and has become increasingly dominant in Turkey in the last decades. Resting on an essentialist way of defence, this growing phenomenon glorifies Ottoman

[8] Andrew Arsan, "Under the Influence? Translations and Transgressions in Late Ottoman Imperial Thought," *Modern Intellectual History* 10, no. 2 (August 2013): 380.
[9] Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 795.
[10] Meltem Toksöz, "The World of Mehmed Murad: Writing Histoires Universelles in Ottoman Turkish," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012): 345.

history in ideologically serving terms, most notably magnificence, peace or tolerance which in turn renders it untouchable by any critical analysis.

Notably, the most politically-loaded and public element of 'Ottomania' consists of conquests, mainly the conquest of Constantinople, which has been celebrated with increasing exuberance year on year.[11] As such it is not surprising to observe that modern Turkish historiography has failed to create what this thesis accounts for: a critical perspective on the Ottoman narratives of the conquest of Cyprus. It must be borne in mind that Cyprus is, after all, more sensitive than other parts of the Empire since its history, for many in Turkey, is marked by two conquests,[12] and the so-called Cyprus Question, once distinguished by Nuri Çevikel as the most negative impact on studies on the Ottoman history of Cyprus,[13] resonated with nationalist tones up until the present day. Furthermore, the historical production over the island, whether in the northern part of Cyprus or in Turkey, is deeply entrenched in the official line and is still far from achieving a comprehensive relationship with other relative historical accounts, as thoroughly argued by Michalis Michael.[14] A short glance at studies on Ottoman

[11] The most recent and the largest celebration was the 563'rd Anniversary of the Conquest of Constantinople which took place on May 29, 2016. According to the mainstream Turkish media, the greatest 3-D screen on earth was set up to revive the memory of the conquest in the presence of hundreds of thousands of people. The President, the Prime Minister and his cabinet were also present.

[12] With regard to the Turkish government of 1974 which decided to undertake a military campaign on Cyprus in the wake of a pro-Greek coup d'etat against the Greek Cypriot political leadership on the island, we can mention that both the minor and major partners of the government utilised a conquest paradigm in order to garner internal support, in particular just before the elections of 1975. Respectively, the Islamic partner Milli Selamet Partisi (National Salvation Party) deliberately defined the military campaign as a *fetih* (conquest) while the centre-left secular Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi's (Republican People's Party) leader was known as Fatih (Conquerer).

[13] Nuri Çevikel, "Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı Tarih Yazımcılığı (1571-1878) Üzerine Bir Araştırma," in *XIII. Congress of Turkish History, 4-8 October 1999,* 3. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2002), 1346.

[14] Michalis Michael, "Introduction: The Unchanging "Turkish Rule", the fair "Ottoman Administration," and the Ottoman Period in the History of Cyprus," in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, ed.Michalis N. Michael, Matthias Kappler & Eftihios Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrowitz, 2009), 9-24.

fetihnames[15] (books of conquest) written on the conquest of Cyprus, is quite informative in this respect since this 'scholarly interest' only started in the 1960's and needless to say, grew stronger until 1974.[16] To illustrate this, a study on 'Turkish Cypriot historiography,' which was written in 1970 and remained one of its kind in this field throughout the coming decades, was produced in the name of national service in the form of a guidebook for researchers to follow the nationalist line. Its author, Özcan Mert, was telling the truth, that is to say from his perspective, as he clarified the reason for producing in this particular field both for himself and for fellow writers: "To generations of today and of the future, and to our Cypriot kin whose hearts are always beating and burning to join the Motherland, our national service will be constituted of studies on these topics."[17] Needless to say, 'Turkish Cypriot historiography,' comprising mostly of Ottoman *fetihnames*, testifies to the Turkishness of Cyprus from such an approach[18] which is grievously infected with anachronisms by projecting a modern national identity onto these texts. Up until the present day, the historical accounts of Turkish/Turkish Cypriot authors remain biased. Although, non-official accounts have

[15] Fetihname is a genre of narratives for the conquest of specific castles or countries unlike the more general gazaname, ghazatname or zafername. My translation from Agah Sırrı Levend, *Gazavat-nameler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavat-namesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), 1.
[16] We have two critical editions on Zireki's *Tarih-i Feth-i Kıbrıs* in 1961 and 1965, finally in 1974 a critical edition and an analysis on Şerifi's *Fetihname-i Kıbrıs.* Y. Eribe Ilgaz, "Zireki Tarih-i Feth-i Kıbrıs: İkinci Kısım" (Unpublished master's thesis, İstanbul University, 1961); Münevver Durmuşoğlu, "Zireki: Tarih-i Kıbrıs" (Unpublished master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1965); H. Hilmi Gül, "Şerifi: Fetihname-i Kıbrıs" (Unpublished master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1974); Özcan Mert, "Şerifi'nin Fetihname-i Kıbrıs'ı," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4-5 (1974): 49-78.
[17] The original sentence reads as: "Günümüzün ve yarının nesli ile yürekleri daima Anavatan'a katılmak için çarpan ve yanan Kıbrıslı soydaşlarımıza milli hizmetimizi bu konularda yapılacak olan çalışmalar teşkil edecektir." Özcan Mert, "Kıbrıs Türk Tarihçiliği" *Türk Kültürü* 8, no. 92 (1970): 505
"…Kıbrıs Türk Tarihçiliği, geçmişin gerçeklerini teşkil eden Kıbrıs'ın Türklüğünü, Kıbrıs'da teşekkül eden Türk sanat ve medeniyetini inkar edilmesine mahal bırakmıyacak bir şekilde zamanımıza aksettirmiştir. Bugün Kıbrıs'ın Türklüğünü inkar etmek gafletinde bulunan her düşünce, Kıbrıs Türk Tarihçiliğinin ortaya koyduğu bu gerçekler karşısında daima hüsrana uğramaya mahkumdur." Ibid., 512.

also started to proliferate since the late 1980's,[19] it is also known that these are also not safe from grave ideological or methodological ambiguities as well as academic or linguistic inabilities as clarified by Çevikel.[20]

Nonetheless, we also have an already productive group of historians[21] working on the late Ottoman period under the influence of post-colonial literature in opening up new areas of study and formulating new questions. Yet, they leave a lot to be desired with regards to our understanding of Ottoman historical productions, despite the fact that the literature that inspires them, has created its own critical account on Indian history-writing. For instance, in his well-known study, *The Nation and Its Fragments*[22] that investigates Indian modernity and its foundation(s), Partha Chaterrjee focuses on Indian history-writing first and foremost, even before prominent issues such as the woman question, the peasant question or religion, probably to remind us that every other subject is, after all, represented in contemporary time through the prism of historical knowledge. By dealing with the historical development of Indian historiography from its puranic form of the early-modern period into its modern form, he is quite successful in delineating a critical understanding of the issue against Eurocentric visions, while at the same time avoiding being an essentialist. His, alongside Guha's, conceptualisation of history-writing as "an exhortation to launch the struggle for power because, in this mode of recalling the past, the power to represent oneself is nothing other than political power

[19] For a brief and critical introduction on the issue: Ahmet An, "Kıbrıs'ta Tarih Çalışmaları" *Tarih ve Toplum* 174 (June 1998): 41-47.
[20] Çevikel, 1348-1358.
[21] One can hardly fail to mention: Selim Deringil, Thomas Kuehn, Ussama Makdisi…
[22] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993).

itself"[23] is without any question, a universal call. Yet, while there is a substantial number of qualified studies on the construction of modernity in the Ottoman period regarding legal, social, diplomatic, economic and even religious grounds, we are nowhere near to achieving a sophisticated approach to Ottoman historical production in the same vein. This becomes more frustrating if we consider the interest in both quantitative and qualitative terms, which the Ottomans showed towards historical texts and which we, as moderns, do not.

As far as the present discussion is concerned, and with an awareness of the trends that dismiss Ottoman intellectual productions as worthless imitations or invaluable sanctities, this thesis dares to argue and understand late Ottoman historiography *on its own terms* and more importantly to do so, by not falling into any of the essentialisms mentioned above, but through a critical lens. Such a goal necessitates the most important duty of a historical study, which is, after all, the study of change: to accept the very transforming historicity of late Ottoman history writing and position it against the earlier historical legacy of the Ottoman Empire. In arguing for the presence of a historiographical differentiation between the late and earlier periods, my focus will be on inter-textual silences and manipulations. Even if they are hard to detect and even harder to analyse, such subjective materials are highly important markers since, as I will try to expose in the coming chapters, they are potential precursors of a differentiation between the historiographical accounts of modern and early-modern periods.

[23] Chatterjee, 76.

1.2 The Intellectual groundwork

A formidable work that has assisted me in tackling such highly subjective material, even if focusing mainly on earlier periods, is Cemal Kafadar's *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. In his study, Kafadar re-evaluates the most controversial issues of Ottoman history, sush as the foundation or the ethnic composition of the Ottoman state and in a way, produces a trenchant critique of the orthodox accounts belonging to various nationalist perspectives. In conjunction with this, he turns his attention to the historical works written by the early Ottomans themselves, and presents us with the existence of an inter-textual antagonism as the Ottoman state was being transformed from a relatively egalitarian ghazi-dervish milieu into a centralised entity under the authority of Mehmed II.[24]

In a similar manner, and following the logic of Kafadar in a self-proclaimed manner,[25] Gabriel Piterberg creates a detailed analysis on how the seventeenth-century Ottoman historical texts could differ over the same event: The dethronement of Osman II and his death at 1622, namely *Haile-i Osmaniye*. Beginning with Tuği's text, which is termed as the 'urtext'[26] (denoting the origin of the following accounts), he traces the footsteps of the birth of a kul-centric perspective, and then its subsequent rejection by Peçevi's pro-Osman account and lastly, a moderation of them by Katib Çelebi. Needless to say, both of these works have shown the plurality of Ottoman historiography, which, as Piterberg warns, bears the risk of being lost or at best over-simplified by a crudely

[24] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 17.
[25] Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley; California: University of California Press, 2003), 116.
[26] Ibid., 67.

linear understanding.[27] In this thesis, acting in the same vein over a much longer timescale, I will be utilising a large amount of Ottoman texts by thematic comparisons as an open-platform in an effort to capture the editorial authority of late Ottoman historians both within their own generation and in their predecessors. By doing so, I will also avoid a conventional narrative that creates a teleological hierarchy as if modern Ottoman texts, by coming into contact with European historiography, are necessarily more scientific or trust-worthy than *pre-modern* ones. In his effort to contextualise Cevdet Paşa's influential historical work in a different light than earlier studies,[28] Christoph K. Neumann explicitly condemns such a periodization based on scientification as "meaningless" and "teleological in the last analysis." [29] Instead, he calls on us to be more sensitive towards the critical approach of Ottoman historians, both to the older and contemporary texts.

An internal perspective into the Ottoman context through setting late Ottoman historiography against earlier narratives, however, should never be done through an exclusivist approach which leaves the European context and influence out of the picture. We hardly need to mention that in the late nineteenth century, Western Europe had become in every sphere of life in the Ottoman Empire, the main point of

[27] Ibid., 30.

[28] For instance, Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, as another illustration of his Euro-centric view, introduces Cevdet Paşa as being as invaluable as the great historians of West, and adds that he carries a progressive notion in reviving the social world and mind of Ottoman authors. Yet, because of his spiritual and mystic side as well as his articulations of satirical opinions (according to Yinanç) in explaining historical events, he nevertheless has to be seen as an Eastern historian. Yinanç, 576.

[29] "*Tarih-i Cevdet'*i tarihyazıcılığının bilimselleşmesi sürecinin bir evresi olarak algılamanın anlamı yoktur. Bunun yerine bu çalışmada, Osmanlı tarihçilerinin hem eski hem çağdaş metinlere bilinçli bir eleştirel yaklaşım içerisinde oldukları, perspektifleri ve paradigmalarını değişime uğrattıkları ve onlar bunu yaparken tabii ki "çağdaş olmayanların çağdaşlığı" görüngülerinin ortaya çıktıkları varsayılmaktadır. Bu yüzden burada Osmanlı tarihyazıcılığının 19. yüzyılda sürekli bir bilimselleşme süreci içerisinde olduğunu savunan (son tahlilde teleolojik) varsayımdan hareket edilmeyecektir." Christoph K. Neumann, *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000), 3.

reference. Ottoman historians were part of this general phenomenon, as they developed a strong interest in Western historical narratives and to a lesser extent, sources. Of course, this contact with the Western intellectual world cannot be regarded as a truly modern phenomenon since the latest scholarship has shed more light on such previously ignored relations in the early modern period. Giancarlo Casale, has argued that, in spite of the common prejudice in lumping the Ottomans together with the Arabic intellectual tradition because of the Islamic link, the Ottoman palace in its urgent need to have access to reliable maps on the Mediterranean during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, stayed "decidedly unfamiliar with the relevant Arabic geographical corpus."[30] Instead, this Ottoman interest would turn to the West even from the beginning, and under the reign of Mehmed II who provided a substantial patronage for this cause, the major pre-Columbian advance of European cartography was "mirrored almost exactly in the Ottoman Empire."[31]

The genre of historiography did not constitute an exception in this regard. *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*,[32] the first major Ottoman work about the European Exploration, was produced circa. 1580 and according to Casale, as part of a general plan by the Grand Vizier Koja Sinan Pasha to convince the Ottoman Sultan Murad III to act against the Portuguese invasions in the Indian Ocean.[33] It can also be argued that, with figures such Katip Çelebi and Hezarfen Hüseyin, this occupation with the Western World had gained a momentum in the seventeenth century regarding respectively, the detailed knowledge

[30] Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 17.
[31] Ibid., 20.
[32] This work is written by Mehmed Suudi Efendi (d. 1591). For further information on the work, as well as a complete English translation: Thomas D. Goodrich, "Sixteenth Century Ottoman Americana, or, A study of *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1968).
[33] Casale, 160.

production over the history and geography of Europe through translations and the new works by the former,[34] and the formative role of Western sources and the social circle of European travellers and converts in the making of history by the latter.[35]

Though in comparison to the earlier centuries, the contact with Western links assumed an unprecedented degree among Ottoman historians, particularly after the 1850's when so many of them, thanks to their education in modern institutions founded after European models, gained the language skills to follow and utilise Western accounts. Illustrations of this growing influence can easily be found in the activities of the *Encümen-i Daniş* (Academy of Sciences) which was a state-sponsored academy opened on July 18, 1851 in the presence of Sultan Abdulaziz.[36] This foundation encouraged, though with highly limited success,[37] historical translations from Western accounts and included the famous Austrian Ottomanist Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall as a member of its cadre as well as other prominent Western Orientalists. Its most enduring success was to commission the above-mentioned exemplary historical work to Cevdet Pasha who started this work from 1774, remarkably following the earlier work of Ottoman history by Hammer who limits his book exactly to that year.[38] This intellectual respect for Hammer as a European intellectual can further be illustrated

[34] Cengiz Orhonlu, "Geographical Knowledge Amongst the Ottomans and The Balkans in the Eighteenth Century According to Bartınlı İbrahim Hamdi's Atlas," in *A Historical Geography of the* Balkans, ed. Francis W. Carter (London; New York: Academic Press, 1977), 273-274 Regarding the field of geography, Orhonlu also states that "Almost all the works written in the eighteenth century were derived from the West." 275.
[35] Cumhur Bekar, "A New Perception of Rome, Byzantium and Constantinople in Hezarfen Hüseyin's Universal History" (Unpublished master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2011), 32. Bekar also argues that Köprülü Household established "the first free standing library in Ottoman history," which included a great number of Western works that were captured during the campaign of Hungary. Ibid., 34.
[36] Abdullah Uçman, "Encümen-i Daniş," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 11, (1995), 177.
[37] Kuran notes that, with one exception, the translation projects for the historical works were never materialised. Kuran, 424.
[38] İlber Ortaylı, "Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 15, (1997), 491.

by Hayrullah Efendi. Known as the first Ottoman historian who studied the history of the Ottoman Empire in a comparative perspective with the rest of the world,[39] he also drew a lot from Hammer, amongst other European sources and set the frame for the next generation of Ottoman historians who would do exactly the same regarding the content of their works. From then on, specific chapters on European countries or recurring analogies with them would start to dominate Ottoman history writing.

In addition to this content-based influence from European historiography, which has been snowballing up until the present day, it must also be noted that the Ottoman historiography underwent a profound change regarding the intellectual perspective that orders the content. This intellectual transformation can be conceptualised on two grounds: spatial and temporal. First of all, as mentioned above, Ottoman historians were literally living in a world where the main point of reference or the 'other' was constituted by the West. This is in a sharp contrast to "Ottoman early modern semantic apparatus which involved a self-positioning against its own golden past and not anywhere else either spatially or temporally."[40] In this regard, it is quite illustrating that Ottoman historian Mustafa Naima (1655-1716) did not even feel the need to name the Ottoman state while writing its history, simply because in his view there was no other state in the world to be reckoned with.[41]

It must also be noted that an Islamic kind of universalism also existed and dominated intellectual productions as well as the ruling state's mentality. Yet, it was a world to be taken over by the Ottomans and needless to say, this was no longer feasible.

[39] İlber Ortaylı, *Tarih Yazıcılık Üzerine* (Ankara: Cedit Neşriyat, 2011), 87.
[40] Toksöz, 349.
[41] Christoph K. Neumann, "Devletin Adı Yok," *Cogito* 19 (1999): 279.

Instead, Ottoman historians were driven, not only due to their new intellectual equipment but also by the rising European interventions and following the occupations against the Ottoman Empire during the long nineteenth century, to assert a self-positioning in world civilisation vis-à-vis European hegemony in an effort to place the empire on a more or less equal footing. Leaving aside the European influence for a moment, this attempt at carving up a space for survival constituted a unique attempt and clearly goes beyond any imitation or inversion. According to Meltem Toksöz, it would end up in "a modern global consciousness" which became one of the most determinant epistemologies among historians in producing their works as a path which could attest to "a different kind political modernity."[42]

Secondly, the interaction between the Ottoman and the European historiographies involved temporality as well. In a recent study, Hakan K. Karateke focuses precisely on the development of a new temporal conceptualisation thanks to the creative abilities of the late Ottoman historians whose periodisation models derived from Western accounts as a result of "a larger intellectual commitment than a mere replication of a European model."[43] This would conjoin the new global consciousness or "the new universalism"[44] with the idea of progress along linear understandings of time. Furthermore, this linearity, in a similar fashion to its utilisation in European counterparts, was literally embedded in a historical line onto which only civilised actors could advance, thus acquiring civilisational tones that would create remarkable consequences in the writing of history that I will deal with in the following chapters. Of

[42] Toksöz, 362.
[43] Hakan T. Karateke, "The Challenge of Periodisation. New Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Historiography," in *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, eds. H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 130.
[44] Ibid., 25.

course, such progressive linearity constitutes a significant change from the earlier chronicles in which again "time is linear and flowing to the present" but mostly as a culmination of "the past as a sequence of historic exploits confronting infidels and other enemies."[45] To sum up, it is certain that both implicit internalisation of European epistemology of progressive historical time and world civilisation and more often than not, explicit rejections against European discourses in late Ottoman historical accounts stand for the fact that Ottoman historiography, no matter how idiosyncratic it is, has formed an organic bond with Western historiography as never before. Thus, the inclusion of Western historiography into the argument and a comparative approach between the two is inevitable for this thesis to delve into the late modern Ottoman historiography.

In addition to late Ottoman historiography's above-mentioned dynamic relation with Ottoman modernisation and its reflection on the historical approach towards the earlier or contemporary Ottoman and European historiographies, there is another level which must be emphasised in understanding the transformation that captivated late Ottoman historians: the political context. It must be borne in mind that, until the nineteenth century, historical texts were either directly commissioned by the court or written in the hope of certain rewards from the sultan or the top court-affiliates. Since the majority of historians were "writing at and for the court,"[46] alternative perspectives apart from the imperial ideology remained improbable. With regard to the very late period, it is understandably argued that a proliferation among the cadres of historians

[45] Gottfried Hagen and Ethan L. Menchinger, "Ottoman Historical Thought," in *A Companion to Global Historical Thought,* eds. Prasenjit Duara, Viren Murthy and Andrew Sartori (Wiley; Blackwell, 2014), 96.
[46] Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke, "Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* Vol. 4, ed. Daniel Woolf (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011-2012), 559.

and their works, arose thanks to the new print culture and manifested itself especially in the newspapers. Micheal Ursinus, for instance, refers to Ottoman historians of that era as "innovative" writers who were all connected to journalism in one way or another and thus, were likely to leave a considerable influence on people.[47] In a comparison to earlier periods, there is no room for doubt that Ottoman historians found a greater opportunity to make their voice heard by a growing readership, achieved a greater authority on deciding what to write and how to do it, and ascertained some financial relief from their published works, if any at all.

However, it may be an overstatement to present this development as the rise of "independent histories" or "the democratisation of historical writing."[48] Considering the mounting extent of criticism imbedded in the literature of decline between the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century,[49] one can even argue exactly the opposite in terms of a growing control mechanism and ideological indoctrination by the state in the following centuries. Baki Tezcan, in this regard, claims that "only in the eighteenth century" did the Ottoman state establish a monopoly by the institution of *vakanüvis* (official chronicler), which replaced the more pluralist historiographies of the preceding centuries.[50] Apart from minor reservations, it can be argued that the courtly-character of the state domination only adopted a new face starting from the middle of the nineteenth

[47] Michael Ursinus, "From Süleyman Paşa to Mehmet Fuat Köprülü: Roman and Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, no. 10 (1986): 307.
[48] Kafadar and Karateke, 564.
[49] Throughout the article, Howard presents the critical voices in this body of literature as "courageous dissents", often alarming of "a social and political cataclysm" and underlining "the necessity of action by the sultan, frequently addressing the ruler himself in a highly personal manner." Douglas A. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 22, no. 1 (1988): 53, 55, 63.
[50] Baki Tezcan, "The Politics of Early Modern Ottoman Historiography," in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, eds. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 180.

century with the foundation of new institutions, new educational policies, production of history textbooks, state-sponsored translations from European languages and last but not least, "the institutionalisation of censorship mechanism"[51] especially under Abdulhamid II's "watchful eye and firm grip on publications of all sorts."[52] Thus, this traditional link that binds historians with the omnipotence of the state, has left utterly no space for the rise of a generation of independent intellectuals in the proper meaning of the term and has survived to a great extent until the very demise of the empire. After all, it is exactly this longevity and depth of the matter that has driven Johann Strauss to Greek-Orthodox narratives in his attempt to avoid "the bureaucrat's perspective."[53] There are significant studies[54] that show the existence of alternative voices produced by various members of Muslim societies of the Ottoman Empire, but nevertheless they remained under-studied and, until now, only a drop in the ocean.

Naturally, the majority of historical texts produced by late Ottoman history writing were embedded in the purview of the state both because of the fact that historians were still mostly bureaucrats of the modern state mechanism, and that all historical works were produced under heavy censorship.[55] To varying degrees, they

[51] Fatmagül Demirel, "Sultan II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Basın Sansürü," in *Devr-i Hamid: Sultan II. Abdülhamid* Vol. 2, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 109.
[52] Johann Strauss, "Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute: Printing and Publishing in a Multi-ethnic Society," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elizabeth Özdalga (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 230.
[53] Johann Strauss, "Ottoman Rule Experienced and Remembered: Remarks on Some Local Greek Chronicles of the Turkokratia," in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, eds. Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 193.
[54] To illustrate: Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica*, no. 69 (1989): 121-150 or Dana Sajdi, "A Room of His Own: The 'History' of the Barber of Damascus," *The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (Fall 2003): 19-35. Sajdi's study was later published as a book: Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteen Century Ottoman Levant*. (Stanford; California: Stanford University Press, 2013).
[55] Betül Başaran Alpugan. "Geç Dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Tarih Yazıcılığı ve Tarih Kitapları," in *Osmanlı. Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 8, ed. Güler Eren (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2001), 263.

represented the Hamidian indoctrination of Ottoman society through the legitimisation of the state and thus, these historical representations can only be understood within the context of the contemporary Ottoman imperial policies within which they were shaped. I would venture to add that Ottoman historiographical transformation and its relationship with European history writing are combined and culminate in this political level. It is on this level that the Ottoman historiography finds its meaning in the empire and attempted to *touch the world through binding the past to the present*, that is to say, utilise Ottoman history to precipitate the contemporary Ottoman imperial goals over a certain matter. For this thesis, this particular matter would be Cyprus which was taken from the Ottoman Empire by the British Empire in 1878, yet was still seen as an Ottoman island in a token reference to its Ottoman past.

1.3 The course of the thesis

To draw this section to a close, I will outline the contents of this thesis on the Ottoman historical production on Cyprus chapter by chapter in line with the above-mentioned three inter-related contexts: late Ottoman history writing's relation to its earlier historical legacy, the contemporary European historiography, and the political atmosphere of the period.

To begin with, a set of Ottoman narratives regarding Cyprus will be chronologically studied through a textual comparison. The main text of this thesis,

Ziver's *Kıbrıs Tarihi*[56] which was published in 1896/1897, will be analysed in relation to the texts produced in the earlier centuries. In doing so, I will deal in particular with the paradox underlying the differing accounts about the death of Venetian Commander Marc Antonio Bragadino (1523-1571) who organised a long, bitter, though ultimately unsuccessful, defence against the Ottomans during the siege of Famagusta Castle in 1570-1571. To start with, I will mainly rely on a *fetihname* from 1571, namely *Fethiyye-yi Cezire-i Kıbrıs*[57] written by Piri Efendi who was most probably present in the campaign itself. In order to maximise the representability of this *fetihname* and to arrive at a generalisation as broad as possible for the early modern Ottoman historiography regarding the fate of Marc Antonio Bragadino, I will briefly illustrate my point using various and even more authoritative texts from the same era: *Künhü'l-ahbar*[58] of Mustafa Ali (1541-1600), *Tarih-i Selaniki*[59] of Mustafa Selaniki Efendi (d. 1600), and *Şehname-i Selim Han*[60] of Seyyid Lokman (d. after 1601). Moreover, to follow up the same theme in the successive centuries and, thus to attest to the enduring longevity of the account until the nineteenth century, I will utilise, again briefly, the works of

[56] Ziver Bey, *Kıbrıs Tarihi,* ed. Harid Fedai (Ankara: Yıldızlar Matbaası, 1999) I have also used the original publication to crosscheck the Fedai's edition. Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi* (Lefkoşa, Kıbrıs: Zaman Matbaası, 1312).

[57] Piri Efendi, *Fethiyye-i Cezire-i Kıbrıs*, ed. Harid Fedai (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997) I have also used the original manuscript to crosscheck the Fedai's edition. Piri Reis, *Feth-i Cezire-i Kıbrıs*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Revan, 1294.
A copy of this fetihname, which is found in Vienna, was studied by Nuri Çevikel in comparison to Piri's edition. Its *müstensih* (copyist) is Imam Ahmed whose place of duty was Arab Ahmed Paşa Camii in Nicosia while he finished his work in January 1747. Nuri Çevikel, "Piri'nin *Fethiyye-i Cezire-iKıbrıs*'ının Viyana Nüshası," *Belleten* 253 (December 2004): 6.
It should also be noted here that Hammer erroneously introduces this copy and its author as *Tarih-i Feth-i Kıbrıs and* Imam Ahmedi respectively. Hammer, *Historie…* Vol. 5, v.

[58] Mustafa Ali, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali ve Künhü'l-ahbarında II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet devirleri,* Vol. 3, ed. Faris Çerçi (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000).

[59] Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. Mehmed İpşirli (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1989).

[60] Seyyid Lokman, *Şehname-i Selim Han,* Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. A. 3595.

Tuhfetü'l Kibar[61] by Katip Çelebi (1609-1657) and *Tarih-i Peçevi*[62] of İbrahim Peçevi (1572-pre. 1649) from the seventeenth century and *Kıbrıs Tarihçesi*[63] which was a re-written of Pisi's account by Arif Dede around 1755 in Cyprus.

In the third chapter, my focus will be on the textual authority of the late Ottoman historian Ziver who is very capable of silencing the earlier accounts about Cyprus. Ziver's narrative seems to break off from the legacy about Bragadino through a silence on the nature of his death which was narrated proudly in earlier narratives. I would claim that Ziver's detachment from this subject, as well as his other silences, is a reflection of Ottoman modernity and changing state-society relations in the late Ottoman Empire, which contributed to a transformation in Ottoman historiography. Last but not least, I will also use other Ottoman historians of the nineteenth century whose texts were read and cited by Ziver, such as Hayrullah Efendi's *Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye Tarihi*[64] (1853-1865), Mustafa Nuri Paşa's *Netayicü'l-vukuat*[65] (1873-1881) among others. The inclusion of these texts aims to contribute to the present discussion by providing a glimpse into the dynamic inter-related textual world of late Ottoman historians. Understanding areas of commonality and divergence between Ziver's narrative and his sources would attest respectively to the extent of his representation of Ottoman historians to enable us to attain a general understanding, and of his uniqueness as an

[61] Katip Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibar fi Esfari'l-bihar*, The Grand National Assembly of Turkey Library, Manuscript Catalogue, CS-301.
[62] İbrahim Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1866).
[63] The transliteration of this work is included in the above-mentioned Fedai's edition of Piri Efendi's work. Arif Dede, "Kıbrıs Tarihçesi," in *Fethiyye-i Cezire-i Kıbrıs*, ed. Harid Fedai (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997).
[64] Hayrullah Efendi, *Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye Tarihi* (İstanbul: Tabhane-i Amire, 1853-1865).
[65] Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayicü'l-vukuat: Kurumlarıyla Osmanlı Tarihi I-IV*, ed. Yılmaz Kurt (Ankara: Birleşik, 2008).

individual writer who stands for the plurality, albeit limited, of late Ottoman history writing.

Ziver's attitude towards Bragadino goes beyond the omission of the conditions in which Bragadino's death took place. After this initial silence, a polemic against Western historiography comes into the picture and dominates the text until the very end. Apparently, in Western historiography, there is another Bragadino narrative, which irritated Ziver and drove him to write against it. Ultimately, I would claim that Ziver's account can only be fully understood in relation to Western historiography. In the fourth chapter, in an effort to see the other side of this polemical dialogue, I will refer to the most popular Western account which dedicates one-fourth of its pages to Bragadino, namely François Alexis Rio's *The Four Martyrs*[66] which was originally published in 1856 in French and then translated into several European languages throughout the nineteenth century. Written in a style of martyrology that is basically an epic and biblical representation of a Christian's death, in this case Bragadino who is "the true servant of Christ"[67] at the hands of certain 'heretics' or 'barbarians,' Rio deliberately casts aside the Ottoman Empire from the history of Europe. This, at a time when Ottoman Empire was deliberately trying to consolidate a legitimate place in the European political system as a tactic to survive since the 1856 Paris Conference, would certainly find a reaction among most, if not all, of Ottoman intellectuals as was the case

[66] As far as I can detect, this book, resting upon the popular tradition of Christian martyrology, has been published dozens of time in many countries up until today. The original work and the immediate translations are as follows:
François Alexis Rio. *Les Quatre Martyrs* (Paris: Ambroise Bray, 1856).
François Alexis Rio, *The Four Martyrs* (London: Burns and Lambert, 1856).
François Alexis Rio, *Die Vier Martyrer* (Innsbruck: Aufschlager, 1857).
François Alexis Rio, *Philip Howard Graf und Marc Antonio Bragadino* (Fribourg-en-Brisgau: Herder, 1857).
François Alexis Rio, *The Siege of Famagosta; or, the Soldier Martyr* (London: Burns & Lambert, 1858).
[67] Rio, The Four… 174.

for Ziver. Plus, since it was a book that was read and highly utilised by Ziver in his narrative on Cyprus, I will refer to *Iles de la Grece*[68] (1853) by M. Louis Lacroix (1817-1881) who, in turn, relied on Hammer's colossal work.[69] In this way, I will try to shed more light on how Ziver responded to the European texts regarding Ottoman history. The determining motivations underlying his response, which consists of both internalisation and rejection, will only be fully understood in the last chapter.

Last but not least, such a historiographical discussion between the European and Ottoman sides over the history of Cyprus in the late nineteenth century would have a major shortcoming without mentioning the clash of different imperial claims over the island in the same period. Needless to say, Ottoman history writing, just like its European counterpart, was part and parcel of its own state's imperial claims and attempts to strengthen that claim by a reconfiguration of the island's past to the contemporary necessities of the modern international struggle. In the fifth chapter, I will deal with the very practical outcome of Ziver's subjectivity in departing from the earlier Ottoman narratives and Western accounts: Ottoman modernity and its self-legitimisation to rule in the Middle East at the height of Western colonial interventions of the late nineteenth century. If one-half of this self-legitimisation was saved by a silence and a polemical stance over Bragadino, the rest of it is derived from 'the world civilizational role' which was assigned to the Ottoman Empire by Ziver through an emphasis on the Ottoman canal projects (Suez Canal and Don-Volga Canal) during the sixteenth century. I will explain how these canal projects were taken from earlier Ottoman narratives by

[68] M. Louis Lacroix, *Iles De La Grece* (Paris: Firmin Didot Freres et Editeurs, 1853).
[69] Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman,* trans. J.-J. Hellert (Paris: Bellizard, Barthes, Dufour et Lowell, 1835-1843).

Ziver and turned into civilizational undertakings which would deem Ottoman rule as something to be desired and for the benefit of the Orthodox population of the island. In addition, an Ottoman purity which was saved by Ziver's scapegoating against the local and Jewish notables or 'the Druzes and the scum' who were all portrayed as stains on the reforming and civilised centre, should also be interpreted in this regard.

As argued by Vangelis Kechriotis[70] in his last published article, Ottomanists under the influence of post-colonial perspective have largely focused on the relationship between Ottoman modernity and its Arab/Muslim Orient while contributing little regarding the changing Ottoman discourse towards Christian/Greek subject populations.[71] Therefore he asks the following question: "Could the debate on Ottoman colonialism and its cultural component, Ottoman orientalism, be meaningful for studies related to power structures involving both religious groups?"[72] An attempt to provide an answer to Kechriotis, forms the pinnacle of this thesis.

[70] After reflecting on Selim Deringil's and Ussama Makdisi's works, Kechriotis asks "One wonders, whether these stagnant groups could be anything other than the Arabs, or even than the Muslims in general, to begin with?" Vangelis Kechriotis, "Post Colonial Criticism Encounters Late Ottoman Studies," *Historein* 13 (2013): 41.
[71] Here, I have to mention that, in the Turkish version of the article, this sentence was translated in a wrong way that creates misunderstandings. For comparison: "İnsan, bu atıl grupların dönüşümüne, Araplardan veya genel olarak Müslümanlardan farklı bir gruptan başlanıp başlanmayacağını merak etmektedir." Vangelis Kechriotis, "Post Kolonyal Eleştrilerin Gözüyle Geç Dönem Osmanlı Çalışmaları," *Toplumsal Tarih* 262 (October 2015): 33-34.
[72] Kechriotis, "Post colonial...": 43.

CHAPTER 2

CYPRUS IN EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN HISTORY WRITING

The second and third chapters will revolve around a discussion of a selective emplotment of late Ottoman historiography and its contribution to a textual authority which has the potential to silence early modern Ottoman historians. A major question is to what extent we see a reconfiguration of the Ottoman past according to the contemporary necessities of the state in the late nineteenth century, and more importantly, why? The following two chapters constitute a single attempt to discuss that question and provide the exact grounds of this historiographical transformation together with the logic behind it, through analysing earlier narratives (from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries) and late modern Ottoman historical narratives on Cyprus in a comparative perspective.

Reading Ziver's *Kıbrıs Tarihi* (1896/1897), it is apparent that an unforgettable event happened, just after the successful take-over of Famagusta Castle, which was the final episode of the Ottoman conquest of the Venetian-held Cyprus in 1571. At that moment, something went wrong according to Ziver, who deems it undesirable enough to undermine it in his narrative, even if until a century ago it had been considered desirable to the Ottoman historians who had proudly dedicated long pages to the same event. Taking into account that a historical account cannot avoid being a constructive

emplotment which is only made possible by the manipulation of earlier accounts,[73] and again, that Ottoman historiography could embrace "incessant competition among different, at times antithetical, story lines and versions,"[74] I will be looking at Ottoman narratives specifically about the death of the Venetian Commander of Famagusta, Marc Antonio Bragadino (1523-1571) (fig. 9). In doing so, first of all, my emphasis will be on how this theme was narrated in the early modern period. Yet, to avoid the limited perspective of a description, we have to look at how this specific narrative was utilised by Ottoman historians and for which specific purposes. Needless to say, this becomes possible only by moving away from the dominant descriptive understanding of the *fetihnames*,[75] and instead by approaching such a source "less as an informant and more as an interlocutor."[76] With such a critical reading, my emphasis in the second chapter will be especially on *Fethiyye-yi Cezire-i Kıbrıs* (1571) of Piri Efendi to explicate how he approaches the event and how he uses it to legitimise the Ottoman rule over the people of Cyprus and in so doing, with what sort of political representation. The examination of subsequent Ottoman texts will then follow, as it was mentioned in the introduction, to strengthen my argument and to augment the representative character of this thesis for the overall Ottoman historiography from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. In the third chapter, I will turn my attention with a parallel reasoning to the

[73] Hayden White, "The Historical Text as an Artifact,' in *History and Theory: Contemporary Readings*, eds. Brian Fay, Philip Pomper, and Richard T. Vann. (Malden; Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 17.
[74] Piterberg, 30.
[75] In his study on *fetihnames* of Cyprus, Çevikel relates the sources exclusively with regard to their descriptive and informatory capabilities. He states that "ghazavatnames of Cyprus, their new versions which might be found or texts alike which might be discovered for the first time, will not contribute to the history of the Ottoman period in Cyprus in an extraordinary fashion. Along with archival materials which are already present, the value of historical information that would be provided by them can not be underrated. Yet, the fact remains that there is nothing to exaggerate extremely." Nuri Çevikel, "Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı Tarih Yazımcılığı (1571-1878) Üzerine Bir Araştırma," in *XIII. Congress of Turkish History, 4-8 October 1999,* 3. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2002), 1346.
[76] Piterberg, 6.

narration of the same theme in the course of the nineteenth century. This time, my primary focus will be on Ziver's *History of Cyprus*, yet again, in order to deal with a group of other contemporary Ottoman narratives that Ziver had read or utilised. In this way, I will analyse the textual authority of Ziver who achieved, just as a considerable number of Ottoman historians did, quite a successful manipulation and re-ordering of the earlier and contemporary Ottoman narratives.

2.1 Historical context of the conquest of Cyprus

To start with, a brief historical context around the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus is necessary and will be instructive in approaching the aforementioned texts. There is no doubt that, starting from the mid-fourteenth until the end of the sixteenth century, the Mediterranean Sea stood for "an offensive frontier"[77] for the Ottoman Empire which was aspiring to have complete hegemony over the Eastern part of the sea, only to turn its face to the Western part subsequently. This aspiration, which was solidified with the conquests of Syria (1516), Egypt (1517), Rhodes (1522), the central Aegean islands (by two operations in 1539 and 1566) and further gains along the North African coast, could thus only take its final form with the conquest of Cyprus, which was embedded in

[77] Molly Greene, "The Ottoman in the Mediterranean," in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, eds. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 104.

Ottoman naval strategy long before[78] the actual campaign carried out during the reign of Sultan Selim II (1566-1574).

Furthermore, the practical outcomes of a conquest are plenty since the island lies strategically across the sea routes that connect Istanbul on the one hand, and the southern coast of Anatolia, Syria and especially Egypt on the other. Such a conquest was most probably undertaken with economic incentives to secure the vital flow of grain from the Nile Valley to the capital[79] and to protect the trade routes around Cyprus from Latin corsair attacks.[80] More symbolically, yet not less importantly, the safety of the pilgrimage routes, which were seen as one of the essential responsibilities of a Caliph, was another incentive.[81] It must also be noted that the partial conquest of the island by Islamic Arab armies during the reign of Uthman (644-656) provided another argument which was raised as a question[82] to the supreme religious authority Shaykh al-Islam Ebu's-suud (1490-1574) who in turn, issued a *fetva* (judicial ruling) which nullified the on-going contact with the Venetians and thus, sanctified the conquest.

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[78] Halil İnalcık states that the Ottoman desire to conquer the islands dates back to 1486 when the Venetians barred the Ottoman navy from using the port of Famagusta. Halil İnalcık, "Kıbrıs Fethinin Tarihi Manası," in *Kıbrıs ve Türkler* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1964), 22

[79] Greene, 107.

[80] Here it must be noted that the relevant Venetian policy in the sixteenth century was to avoid engaging in piracy to protect her trade with the Ottoman Empire and to avert any provocation that would cost the Republic its jewel colony, Cyprus. Nevertheless, they failed to stop the Latin corsairs from using Cyprus both as a re-supply line for their future assaults and as a market to sell their booties.
Svatopluk Soucek, "Naval Aspects of the Ottoman Conquests of Rhodes, Cyprus and Crete," *Studia Islamica*, no. 98/99 (2004): 225-226.

[81] Such economic or symbolic reasons are often mentioned in contemporary Ottoman narratives. To illustrate: Piri Efendi explains: "Mısra giden tüccarı ve hüccac-ı magrifet medarı…" Piri Efendi, 5.

[82] Fetva starts as "Sabıkan bir vilayet-i dar'ül-İslam olub bade'z-zaman küffar-ı hakisar müstevli olub medaris ve mescidin harab…" For the complete account, look at Peçevi, 486.

After the Venetian Senate turned down the demand to surrender the island of Cyprus to the Ottoman Sultan,[83] the Ottoman army under the leadership of Lala Mustafa Paşa had landed unopposed on July 1570 and overran nearly the entire island in only two months, despite the fierce Venetian defence of the capital Nicosia. The swiftness of the Ottoman operation, which is also true of the previous ones in Orthodox-populated areas, can be explained not only by the Ottoman might or the Venetian retreat to the castles, but also by "recognising the Greek loathing of the Latin."[84] Both in economic and religious terms, islanders had been under the oppression of heavy taxation and corvee labour on the one hand, and of Latin contempt for "the Greek heresy."[85] As a result, most of them chose not to side with their lords, as the Venetians had already expected,[86] and some who were "able to contribute and march"[87] according to Piri Efendi, even participated in the Ottoman war effort as Lala Mustafa Paşa called them to do so during the reorganisation of the army after the conquest of Nicosia.

In September, the Ottoman army turned its attention to the only remaining Venetian-held city on the south-east edge of the island: Famagusta. At that moment, the course of events changed and the Ottoman campaign came to a standstill since the siege of Famagusta Castle turned out to be much more detrimental and longer than the Ottomans had expected. The fact that the port city had one of the greatest and best-

[83] Barnaby Rogerson, *The Last Crusaders: The Hundred-Year Battle for the Center of the World* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2010), 377.
[84] Daniel Goffman, 153.
[85] Here Goffman openly declares that the Venetians "fashioned a cruel colonial administration that pitilessly taxed (at least one-third of production) and corveed (for as many as three days each week) Cyprus' Greek Orthodox serfs." Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 155.
[86] George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. 3 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 958.
[87] "Ve andan sonra hazret-i namdar-ı saadet-i menus, Mir-i Miran-ı Vilayet-i Kıbrıs olan Muzaffer Paşa-yı nik-tedbir vezir-i serdar-ı la-nazir işaretiyle cezire-i mezbure riayasının işe yarar ve revişe kadir zimmilerinden sürüp bazı dilaverleri ve kalaya yazılan bölük halkı ile.... asker-i bi-payan cem olundu." Piri Efendi, 38.

fortified castles[88] of the Eastern Mediterranean, or in other words "a model of the state of the art,"[89] proved to be a prominent factor against the naval supremacy and outnumbering size of the Ottoman forces. To illustrate, Piri Efendi, who also took part in the campaign, defines the castle as "one with no counterpart in the Ottoman domains, and maybe one of its kind and unparalleled in the whole world."[90] Plus, it was specifically organised against the firepower of the Ottomans which had been effectively used in previous sieges to the knowledge of the Venetians.[91] Piri's conviction that "the conquest of this city would be more difficult than the one of Belgrade or Rhodes"[92] simply reflects the general attitude of the Ottoman army since the leader of the Ottoman expedition, Lala Mustafa Paşa, who had most probably envisaged the necessity for a long siege,[93] postponed the final attack regarding the advancing autumn. There is no room to doubt that the Venetian defence proved to be extremely successful and hindered the Ottoman advances for nearly a year.

At last in early August 1571, despite the heavy price which the Ottoman army paid which in some accounts amounted to eighty thousand,[94] the city could only be taken when the Venetian Commander Marc Antonio Bragadino gave in by proposing a

[88] A brief historical and architectural knowledge on the Famagusta Castle can be found in the following work: David Nicolle, *Crusaders Castles in Cyprus, Greece and the Aegean 1191-1571* (Oxford: Osprey, 2007), 9-10

[89] Coucek, 239.

[90] "Divarlarinun arzi bina zıra'i ile sekiz zıra ve handegin umkı on dört ve arzı yetmiş altı zıra ki, memalik-i Osmaniye'de akranı, belki ruy-ı zeminde bunun emsali tertib üzre yapılmış divar-ı üstüvardan kimse nişan ve haber verir degildür. Bi-nazir-i devran ve bi-adil-i cihandur." Piri Efendi, 43. Similar narrations can also be found in the works of contemporary Ottoman chroniclers. To illustrate: "Magusa dimekle maruf hısn-ı etin ki etraf u cevanibin derya-yı zehhar-ı muhit ü kemal-i istihkam u metanet ü hasanetde acube-i kıla-ı ruzgar ve mecmua-i sanayi-ı bilad u emsardur." Mehmed Zaim, *Cami'üt-tevarih*, ed. Ayşe Nur Sır (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007), 405.

[91] Goffman, 155.

[92] "Ve bunlardan gayrı kenar-ı deryada iskele olan Magusa nam kala ki taife-i Efrencin kamdim hisarı ve köhne şehri olup ekseriya mekanı tüccar-ı nam-dar ve karargah-ı küffar-ı hisardür; lakin fethi Belgrad ve Rotos'dan asab ve düşvardur." Piri Efendi, 24.

[93] "Capturing fortresses became harder and harder over the course of the century." Greene, 110.

[94] Hill, 1029.

surrender on the conditions of protection and safe voyage for all Latin and Orthodox town dwellers[95] to Crete, upon deciding for themselves whether to stay or to leave. The conditions around the negotiations and the terms bring to mind a very similar agreement that was held in 1522 between the Ottoman forces under Sultan Suleiman I and Knights of Hospitaller under Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam during the siege of Rhodes.[96] The agreement was achieved with the very same terms and materialised accordingly.

Yet, rather than being established on mutual trust or enforcement, as was the case for the bilateral agreements of modern times,[97] from a contemporary Ottoman perspective, such agreements constituted little more than a favour shown to the infidels by the supreme Ottoman authorities and they were valid only as long as they proved to be advantageous for the Muslims.[98] Basically, we can contextualise them as imperial

[95] It can be assumed that there were plenty of Venetian citizens inside the town since "a specifically Latin suburb" existed outside the city walls in addition to the old town, and this shows us the extent of the Venetian settlement. Nicolle, 43.

[96] Nicolas Vatin, *Rodos Şövalyeleri ve Osmanlılar*, trans. Tülin Altınova (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), 344.

[97] Actually, the Ottoman Empire was an active participant in the European legal sphere starting in 1525 with the appeal of Francis I to Süleyman I. Ottomans even stipulated the Treaty of Sitva-Torok in 1606 "as a settlement on equal terms" and had to leave "the ignominious language of previous treaties which had been phrased as concessions granted to inferior princes." Stavrianos, 161.

This trend was later strengthened with the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) which signified a long preparation and a real negotiation and bargaining process, and more importantly the development of newly emerging foreign affairs bureaucracy. Nuri Yurdusev, "Karlofça Antlaşması ve Diplomasi Tarihi," *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı* 4 (2006), 1-16.

Yet, it can be argued that such bilateral agreements and international law rose to prominence in the Ottoman Empire since 1856 when the state was legally recognized as part of the system of Europe. Thanks to a recent doctoral dissertation, it can be asserted that this legality was deemed critical by the Ottoman state although the subject is still under-studied. During the British occupation of Egypt, the Ottoman Empire sought an unexpectedly successful legal contest to protect its sovereignty against further European interferences.

Aimee M. Genell, "Empire by Law: Ottoman Sovereignty and the British Occupation of Egypt, 1882-1923" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2013).

[98] Nuri Çevikel, "Osmanlı Türkleri'nin Kıbrıs'ı Fethinin (1570-1571) Meşruiyeti Meselesi," *Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1997), 357-399.

The overall reason underlying this article is to refute Hammer's judgment that the Ottoman expedition to Cyprus is illegitimate because of the Venetian-Ottoman agreement up to that time. Çevikel mounts his argument partly by explaining the unilateral character of Ottoman legal mentality, which can be regarded as different from the bilateral modern international law. Çevikel tries to strengthen his argument to a further extent by maintaining a distrust towards international agreements in the West

contracts or oaths declaring specific privileges and responsibilities.[99] This historical difference in legal terms, in spite of the fact that it is often ignored or anachronistically misunderstood, is too obvious in Ottoman texts and critical to understanding the following events. According to all contemporary Ottoman sources which gave no credit to mutuality, it is not that the Venetian terms were accepted by Lala Mustafa Paşa, but rather that "the Venetian requests were permitted and authorised by him."[100] Simply, the negotiations for the surrender of Famagusta were finalised only when the Venetians "asked for mercy" and subsequently, paved the way for an agreement with Lala's 'consent' and the keys of the city were presented to the Ottoman side.[101] Accordingly, the Venetian requests for safety are not presented as part of any negotiations for surrender, but rather as if they were asked after the surrender. And these were promised thanks to the Ottoman commander Lala Mustafa Paşa who had already accepted Bragadino's submission and acted "to hold the present promises in-between and comply with the treaty after the pledge for safety was given."[102]

However, in the meantime, *breaking news* arrived at the Ottoman camp regarding the Muslim captives whose presence in the city's prisons was previously

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whether they were signed in the sixteenth or the nineteenth centuries. Moreover, he underlines that progressive and serious developments in the respective field were actually materialised six centuries earlier, read as the very first time before the West by the Karahanid Turks.

[99] This Ottoman perspective has its probably the best manifestation in the interpretation of capitulations. *Ahdnames* were continued to be translated as capitulations, meaning grants or dispensations from the supreme Ottoman authority, even though the balance of power was shifted to the other side in the nineteenth century and the Ottoman interests were endangered by these contracts. Sandor Papp, "Ahdname" *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts of File Publishing, 2009), 21-22.

[100] "… küffar-ı nekbet-measirün serdarları… müteallikatı ile Venedik'e gitmek ihtiyar etti; diyar-ı nekbet-asarlarına gitmek içün kifayet mikdarı gemi verilmek rica eyledi… icazete ruhsat verildi." Piri Efendi, 71.

[101] For example, Mustafa Ali stated that: 'Serdar-ı kişver-sitan canibinden istiman itdiler. Anlar dahi cevaz suretini gösterüb bakıyyeti's-suyuf olan yedi bin mikdarı ademle Firengistan'a gitmelerine nev'az rıza verdiler. Bu ahd üzre kalanın miftahları geldi." Mustafa Ali, 73.

[102] The Ottoman author here narrates as if there was no such agreement before the surrender and presents it as a matter of personal decision upon legality. "Egerçi mabeynde vaki olan uhudı sıyaneten ve bade'l-aman arada vaki olan misak-ı kadimi riayeten" Piri Efendi, 71.

referred by Piri Efendi as one of the defining features of the battle of Famagusta.[103] Apparently, Paşa found out that the Muslim captives had been slaughtered at night upon the orders of Bragadino[104] and therefore, he simply took back his promise. He "decided to pay Bragadino back with caution and intelligence as the joy of faith and Islamic fervour, which were already present in his exalted morality and character, manifested themselves."[105] Though unbeknownst to the Venetians, now that the agreement became void from an Ottoman perspective because of the actions of Bragadino, Famagusta was to be treated as a city conquered by force. According to the sharia, if a city is subdued by force (*anwatan, qahran, kuvvet-i kahire ile*), residents were granted no rights as they and their goods respectively became liable for slavery and plundering.[106] As will be clarified below, this shari regulation constituted the most fundamental and established principle in the Ottoman approach against the city. Nonetheless, it was employed in a rather selective way in Famagusta and checked by state interests, parallel similar to what had happened after the conquest of Istanbul in which Mehmed II, by emphasising his executive power over the shari degrees,[107] put an end to the plundering on the very first day to protect the city and made it the capital of his empire.

[103] "...içinde zindan-ı cehim-nişanı, ki kalb-i bahilan gibi tire ve sevda-yı pür-tamaan gibi hire olup mahbusan-ı Müslimanıyle tolu ve girifteran-ı derd ü ana ile memludur." Ibid., 43.
[104] "Kalada evvelden mahbus ve kefere elinde meyus olan taife-i Müslimin ve zümre-i muvahhidinden kırk elli mikdarı nüfusu hufyeten hem-dem-i katl eyleyüp, vücud-u hun-aludların kaladan attığı mesmu-ı hazret-i ser-asker-i Dara-salabat ve malum serdar-ı İskender-mehabet oldukta;" Ibid., 71.
[105] "nihad-ı latiflerinde mevcud olan halavet-ı iman ve zat-ı şeriflerinde mukarrer olan gayret-i İslam tereşşuh edüp tedbir-i isabet-pezir ve tedarik-i rey-i münir ile ele getürüp haklarından gelinmek hatırası hatır-ı şeriflerinde musammem ve mukarrer oldı." Ibid., 71-72.
[106] Halil İnalcık, "The Policy of Mehmed II Toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings in the City," *Dumbarton Oaks Paper* 23/24, (1969/1970), 232.
[107] İnalcık, 233/248.

2.2 An analytical reading of *fetihnames*

During the final episode of the Venetian evacuation when thousands of people were waiting with their belongings in Ottoman ships to be transferred to a safe place, Bragadino and his entourage approached the Ottoman camp in order to wish farewell. Again this brings to mind what happened in Rhodes in 1522. There, Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, before the departure of his troops, met with the Ottoman Sultan as part of a highly esteemed ceremony which might even have involved the exchange of gifts.[108] However in this case, a very different end was awaiting Bragadino, who might well have thought that he would be similarly welcomed as an honourable guest in the Ottoman camp and later, as a reputable hero in Venice. Highly insufferable and controversial for a modern audience, Piri Efendi allocates long pages in a joyous manner to narrate what happened after Bragadino came into Lala's presence "in a grandiloquent style…by his heresy-marker cap and customary brigandage music."[109]

Lala Mustafa Paşa, who had gathered his divan members and troops in order, "appeared in the first place, to question the Venetian commander in a manner full of reprehension and wit:"[110]

> Ye, Filthy Pig-headed, Faulty! You are taking all the weaponry and having your splendour with all these ships and then leaving. Even if for all of this, there is a need to hold something for ransom, we avoid such a practice. To kill the helpless and to hold an escapee is contrary to the customs of the Sultan's all-felicitous Islam. After the surrender of you, brigand, is accepted, the people inside the castle, which was taken by force, belonged to His Excellency. However, you

[108] Hammer, Histoire..., Vol. 5, no. 25, 40.
[109] "…zib ü ziynet-i atıla ve ferr ü şevket-i batılası… üzerine sayeban-ı dalalet-şiarın hicab edüp ve adet-i melufesi üzre nay-ı şekavet-disarın çaldırıp…" Piri Efendi, 72.
[110] "Evvela hazret-i paşa-yı kam-kardan-ı hıtab-ı itab-amiz ve kelimat-ı nükte-engiz, bu vechile sadr oldı ki:" Ibid., 73

> secretly slaughtered the Muslim captives by the brigands' dark swords at night. What was the reason for doing such an unfortunate wrong?[111]

While Bragadino stood bewildered and was struggling to provide an answer, Paşa acted on his Islamic fervour and cut the commander's ears just "like two filthy pieces" and later imprisoned him for a period of time. At the same time, his entourage was quickly encircled and "cut into pieces."[112] Here Piri, with the intention of legitimising these and the following, refers again to the slaughter of the Muslims and specifically mentions that "The Commander-in-Chief and The Protector of Justice's[113]" decision to break his promise was based on a *fetva* given by a mufti in charge on the island. Plus, he underlines Bragadino's arrogance and irrelevance which drove him to assail, in front of other people, the Ottoman mediators who had most probably come with an invitation to surrender before and during the siege.[114] Another collective punishment was imposed upon the approximately two thousand people on board who

[111] "Ey pelid-i anid, ru-siyah!... Bu kadar yat ve yarak ve bunca gemiler ile tumturakı yüklenüp gideyorsın; Bunlara rehin lazım iken itimad olunacak bir nesne alıkoymadık. Egerçi zebunı öldürmek ve kaçanı komak hilaf-i adet-i selatin-i İslam-i saadet-encamdır; lakin istiman-ı şekavet-irtisamın [or şekavet-nizamın in another edition] kabul olunup kuvvet-i kahire ile feth olunan kalanın içinde mevcud olanlar, hazret-i nusret-penahın iken, hufyeten gece ile mahbusan-ı ehl-i İslamı suyuf-ı zalam-ı şekavet-encam ile helak eyledün. Bu mertebe su-i idbar [or su-i edeb in another edition] irtikab etmege bais ne idi." Ibid., 73.

[112] "deyü sual ettiklerinde, asla kelam-ı müfid ile nutka kadir ve cevaba malik olmayup, sükut ihtiyar etdükde, hem-an-dem leheb-i gazab-ı gayret-i İslam iştigale gelüp, kalkup bir rivayette, dest-i mübarekleri ile ol kelb-i kebir ve hınzır bi-dinün iki kulagın lokmateyn-i habiseteyn kesüp yabana atup, gaziyan-ı canisitane, "koman" deyü işaret-i alileri oldukda... guzat-i mücahidin yer yerin hücum kılup, tarfetü'l-ayn içinde süvar ü piyade hazır olan bi-dinleri alat-ı harbıle rıze rıze ve pare pare edüp naş-ı habaset-i nakş-ı hun-alud ile sahra vü vadi toldurdılar." Ibid., 73.

[113] Here the meaning of the word *adalet* (justice) can also be thought of and translated as "moderation to uphold the agreement." Elsewhere, it is rightly reminded that "the key term *adalet*, is insufficiently translated as 'justice' because it means both the moderation of personal temper and the administrative principle of balancing the different social classes in a permanent equilibrium." The latter meaning of the term will be analysed below. Hagen and Menchinger, 98.

[114] "Egerçi serdar-ı madelet-penah canibinden nakz-ı ahid vaki olmak ihtimali yogıdı, lakin lain-i bed-endişün şekavet-i ezeli ve habaset-i cibiliyyesini bi-takrib sebkat edüp bade'l-eman mahbusan-ı ehl-i İslamı hem-dem-i katil etmegile anlarun hakkından gelinip etdügi kabayih mukabelesinde ceza vü sezasın vermek caiz olduğuna....cezire-i mezkurede müft-i vakt olan, fetva-yı şerif-i saadet-unvan verüp la-siyyema Kapudan-ı merdud-ı bi-derman niçe zaman kemal-ı udvan ve nihayet-i tugyanından efrad-ı insandan bi-hadd nüfus helak edüp her bar musaliha içün varup gelen elçiyane itale-i lisan edtügünden gayrı, zaman-ı maglubiyyette meclis-i aharda dahi bi'l-muvacehe kelimat-i na-merbutasın aşaga komayub hezeyan ve perişan söyleyüp kibr ü enaniyyet ve inad-ı husunet üzre cevab vermiş idi." Piri, 74.

were made to leave their goods on the ships, to wear sackcloth instead of their costumes, and finally to serve in the Ottoman galleys as oarsmen.[115] Alongside this, delicate boys, lovely girls, and untouched women were all taken together with their leftovers back to the castle for the sultan and imprisoned there.[116]

After a few days, Bragadino was taken out of prison and, as mentioned above, was forced to endure Lala Mustafa Paşa's pay back:

> That scavenger dog was forcedly made a saddler to the Lala's horse and made to walk before the infantrymen. And he desperately said 'There are calamities upon me' and walked…They put a sack on this anxiety-ridden large dog. His satin cloak and silk clothes got dirty. As he deserved, they made him carry the soil out of the fosse and to breathe like a dog... Then [Lala Mustafa Paşa] fully decided to embitter this weak and sick creature… He came close to sea… He gave an oar to that cursed demon that would be hanged, made him pull until the dock. He took the oar from the hand of the cursed nonbeliever and hanged him to the ship's main mast from his feet. He swung hanging for a while and his eyes darkened. Then they pulled him down and brought him to the place of execution inside the castle. The life-hunter executioner flayed him with many torments. As they rubbed salt on his wounds, his clamour went up to the sky. Later, the vile soul of the cursed ill-timed went to the hell pit. So, they filled his skin with straw to shape it like a man and placed it over a great ox. As he had been doing, they put his nest-of-calamity cap on and played his flute from behind. In this way, they displayed the vile corpse everywhere and after the call to prayer, they hanged it at the place of execution. And again, they put the cap on it. He [Lala Mustafa Paşa] took back his promise as a lesson to the other inauspicious infidels and ordered a crier to explain that "such is the penalty that awaits one who has broken his promise and oppressed the Muslims extraordinarily.[117]

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[115] "Bu yana on kıta gemiler ki iki bine karib arafit-i kasavet-karın ve eskal ü ahmalden nefise-i rengin ve akmişe-i firavan ve emtia-i bi-payan ve hizane-i nukud, sikke-i Efrenciyye-i na-madud ve nukre-i yadigar sim u zer-i cevahir-endud ile memlu olup... kumaş yerine eginlerine came-i palas giyürüp, bend-i giran ile mukayyed bölük bölük biri birinden tefrik kılup, otuzar kırkar her gemiye kürek çekmek için tevzi etdiler." Ibid., 74.

[116] "Nazenin puserlerin ve meh-cebin duhterlerin ve yüzin gün görmemiş cevarisin ve bi'l-cümle eskal ve ahmalden olanca esbab-ı yadigarların padişah-ı alem-penah için gerü kalaya koyup memhur ve mukaffel zabt ve baz etdiler." Ibid., 75.

[117] "Ol seg-i murdar-harun zecren "elehu serrac" ve ergaşiye-i serdar-ı madelet-asarı eline verüp, piyade önlerince sürdüler. Ol dahi naçar "Es'a leküm hamile'l-gavaşi" deyüp yürüdü...ol kelb-i kebir-i pür-vesvasun arkasına çuval verdiler. Kaba-yı atlas ve libas-ı dibacini alude-i hak edüp, her koldan bir arka yüki tobrakı taşra çıkardup it gibi solutdılar... deyüp derya canibine revan oldı... Ol ber-dar olacak lain-i şeamet-asarun küregi eline verüp beraber-i kala olan iskeleye dek kürek çekdirdi... melun-ı bi-dinün elinden küregin alup, gemi sereninden ayagından ser-nigun asdı. Bir zaman ruzigardan aveng-var dönüp

Admittedly, even reading such sentences is traumatic but still, attention should be paid not to the execution per se, but to the exposure of it. It particular, it is precisely because of such exposure, which naturally included a large amount of bodily torture, that early-modern states used these kinds of punishments in varying degrees and frequencies.[118] Lacking modern technologies of legitimisation to reach out their subject populations in other ways, the exposure of brutal strength was used heavily in the early modern period by states, not only by the Ottoman but the European monarchies as well,[119] to underline the presence and superiority of the state in front of the public. Simply, such practices can be seen as part of the Ottoman administration and order.[120]

The most important and spectacular of these practices, decapitation, was used quite frequently in the Ottoman Empire until the nineteenth century. It was also imposed upon Bragadino whose corpse was cut into pieces afterwards and sent to be displayed on the fortifications of Famagusta. Furthermore, this practice could also be employed by the Ottomans during the war to serve specific purposes. As we learn from Mustafa Ali,

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gözlerine kara su indi. Andan indirüp kala içinde siyaset-gaha getürüp cellad-ı can-şikar enva-ı azabıla derisin yüzdi ve cirahatı üzre nemek paşide olmagıla feryad asumane uruc etdi. Badehu ol lain-i bergeşte-ruzigarun can-ı habisi çah-ı cehennemde karar eyledi. Andan postına ot dıkup şekl-i ademde bir sevr-i azime bindirüp, adet-i sabıkası üzre sayeban-ı nekbet-aşiyanını üstünde tutdurup ve ardınca borusın çaldurup, naş-ı habisin teşhir etdürüp, guşe be guşe seyr etdirdi. Ve bad-ezan, dar-ı siyasetde ölüsin berdar etdirdi. Ve yine kezalik, sayebanını tertib edüp bala-yı dara muallak asa kodı. Ve sair küffar-ı nekbet-asara ibret olmagıçün, nakz-ı ahd eyleyüp, Müslümanlara fevka'l-hadd cefa kılanun siyaseti budur, deyu münadiye nida etdirdi." Ibid., 81-82-83.

[118] Ergut, 88.

[119] Exactly regarding this point, George Finlay states that "Hammer mentions some contemporary acts of cruelty and treachery quite as infamous, on the part of Christians; viz, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's and the desolation of Novgorod by Ivan the Terrible..." George Finlay, *The History of Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Domination* (Edinburgh; London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1856), 95.

[120] Matei Cazacu, "Rezilane Ölüm: Kelle Uçurma ve Başların İstabul'da sergilenmesi (15.-19. Yüzyıl)," in *Osmanlılar ve Ölüm*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları 2011), 299-358.

the Venetian commander of Nicosia, namely Nicolo Dandalo,[121] was already decapitated before the siege of Famagusta and his head was sent by Lala Mustafa Paşa to Kyrenia. Seized with fear, the notables of the castle of the aforesaid town asked for mercy and sent the keys of the castle accordingly.[122]

From another fetihname-author, namely, Zireki who was escorting the Ottoman military during the campaign, we learn that the very same head was put into a silver cap and sent to the "ill-fated" Bragadino himself.[123] Indeed, it is an irony of fate. Bragadino's reply, though, was particularly different from the other Venetian commanders and as it is argued, it even contained insults against Lala Mustafa Paşa.[124] We even know that this specific corporal punishment remained in practice in Cyprus well into the nineteenth century: a band of rebels,[125] and a consular agent[126] who received the wrath of a band of Ottoman soldiers, were decapitated in Cyprus respectively in 1804 and 1833. Normally, the heads were sent to be displayed in Istanbul as a ritual, which had taken place, for the first time, just after the Ottomans conquered the city and severed the head of the legendary Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX

[121] Paolo Paruta, *The History Of Venice and The Wars of Cyprus*, trans. Henry Earl of Monmouth (London: Abel Roper and Henry Herringman, 1658) Part II, Book 1, 50.
[122] "Pes Lefkoşa ki alındı. Rüusasının ruus-ı maktuası serdar tarafından Girine Kalasına gönderildi. Ehl-i kala miftahlarını gönderdiler. Kala evbaşları ki çıkdıkça Girine zabt olundı." Mustafa Ali, 71.
[123] "Badehu serdar-ı merdarları başın kesüp bir sahan-ı simin içine koyup baht-ı makus ol Magusa Kapudanı'na gönderdiler." Zireki, ibid., 49. It must also be noted that, apart from the works of Ilgaz and Durmuşoğlu, Nuri Çevikel has presented a copy of this *fetihname*, which is located in Vienna, in comparison to the former editions. Nuri Çevikel, "Kıbrıs Fetihnameleri ve Zirek'in 'Tarih-i Kıbrıs'ı," in *XIII. Congress of Turkish History, 9-13 October 2002"* Vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2002), 1137-1152.
[124] "Varan elçiye hayli ihanet ve name-i Paşa'ya hakaret eylemiş." Ibid., 49.
[125] From a letter written by the Ottoman general Ahmed Paşa during his suppression of the 1804 revolt: "eşkiyadan ön dert nefer maktulunun ser-i maktuları bu defa tatarım kulları ile der-i devlet karara takdim olunduğu." Michalis N. Michael, "Local Authorities and Conflict in an Ottoman Island at the Begining of the Nineteenth Century," *The Historical Review* 2 (2011): 71.
[126] From a local report written by the Orthodox subjects: "mersum üzerine defaten on el kurşun endaht kılınmış ve cesedi parelenüp badehu başı kesilmiş." Michalis N. Michael, "Revolts, Demands and Challange to the Legitimacy of the Ottoman Power: The Three Revolts of 1833 in Cyprus," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 29 (2012): 140-141.

Palaiologos. Even the practical details of the decapitation, that the heads were flayed and filled with straw,[127] bear resemblance to the case of Bragadino. Furthermore, it may even be said that the practice of cutting ears, the very first corporal punishment executed by Lala to Bragadino, constituted a widespread practice among Ottoman troops. Last but not least, arguably the most insulting phase of the decapitation involves getting rid of the body: unless the body and the remaining parts were sold, they were thrown away to the sea.[128] It is known that, the skin and the bones of Bragadino, at least, were purchased and taken back to Venice and are now enshrined in the Church of Saints John and Paul in which a monument (fig. 10) in his name is also present.[129] A fresco on the monument (fig. 11) displays the scene of flaying and reinforces the memory of this exemplary punishment.

Indeed, it can easily be said that Piri Efendi played a large role by producing such an account about Bragadino in reproducing and legitimising the mentality at work. Lala Mustafa Paşa's intention for example "is to give such a punishment to that filthy pig-head that would be a lesson for the whole world and the news would spread from province to province."[130] Needless to say, Piri's work is part of this intention as it is known that *fetihnames* were sent to the capital and neighbouring countries to pronounce or put it more sincerely, advertise the Ottoman achievements to both friend and foe.[131] In his work *Solakzade Tarihi,* Ottoman chronicler Solakzade specifically mentions that

[127] Cazacu, 309. See also page 305.
[128] Ibid., 306.
[129] Hammer, Histoire..., Vol. 6, No. 36, 415.
[130] "Alemiyane ibret olmagiçün, ol pelid-i anide bir siyaset ede ki şöhre-i her diyar-i vilayet olaydı." Piri Efendi, 81.
[131] Hasan Aksoy, "Fetihname." In *İslam Ansikpoledisi*, Vol. 12 (1995), 470-472. Here, it is also mentioned that the *fetihnames* were sometimes sent together with the heads. Though, I couldn't verify if that practice was shared by the Ottomans as it was apparently the case for certain Islamic dynasties during the Middle Ages.

after the conquest of Cyprus, "*fetihnames* were sent all around in order to announce the events during the conquest and to proclaim the victories."[132] Throughout the text, he defines the punishments against Venetians as "lessons" or "warnings to be heeded."

What is more interesting here is that such bodily tortures and exemplary punishments pertain to a formative catalyst between the Ottoman state and the townsfolk, rather than being destructive as generally and apprehensibly imagined. It can be deduced from the text that the first relations between these two sides, which were definitely to the detriment of the islanders, were based upon the punishments inflicted on Bragadino himself and other Venetians. When Bragadino was taken out of his prison and made to carry the soil out of the fosse at the very beginning of his long way to death, the Ottoman general mounted his horse and acted in an effort to "let everybody learn how he would pay this deviant Western Christian captain back."[133] To this end, the townsfolk had already been summoned to clear out the fosse, and this encounter was consciously planned by the Ottoman commander both to expose the incident to them and also to lift their spirit since they were working half-heartedly.[134]

Furthermore, such exposures could be utilised by early modern states to bargain with the subject populations as Charles Tilly assesses.[135] We can see this negotiation in Piri Efendi's text in quite an obvious way. The exemplary punishments and the violent

[132] "Her tarafa fetihnameler gönderüb ahval-i fetihi ilam ve ihbar zafer-i asarı ifham eylediler." Solakzade, *Solakzade Tarihi* (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1298), 593.
[133] "Mir-i Efrenc-i dalalet-şiarun hakkından gelinmek niyyetiyle rahş-ı have-reftare süvar olup, ahval-i mevzuat ve esrar-u meknunata herkes arif ve vakıf olmagiçün..." Piri Efendi, 81.
[134] "İttifak ol zaman handek-i amika dökülen tobrakı her koldan ihrac etmek ferman olunmagıla, sıgar ü kibar mihen-i bi-karar ile hizmet-i mezkure imtisal etmek üzre iken paşa-yı azam "azume şanuhu", hazretleri ferr ü şevketile anda hazır oldı." Ibid., 81.
[135] Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States AD 990-1990* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990) 101; Cengiz Kırlı. 'Kahvehaneler ve Hafiyeler: 19. Yüzyıl ortalarında Osmanlı'da Sosyal Kontrol'. in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu,* eds. Halil İnalcık ve Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu. (İstanbul; Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınlar, 2008), 614.

engagements that are theoretically legitimate in a city which are conquered by force, were carried out in a highly selective way only towards the Catholics who were generally labelled as *Frenks* and associated with *Dar'ül Harb* (Adobe of War) unlike the local and already subjugated Orthodox Christians living in Ottoman domains. According to Piri, upon the orders of the Ottoman commander not a single member from the Orthodox populations of Greek and Albanian origin was harmed.[136] In return, they, bewildered by being exposed to such punishments as warnings, had no choice but to submit themselves to Ottoman rule. The same Ottoman mentality can also be seen in a pre-expedition official correspondence in which the governor of İçel (a coastal region along the opposite of the island) was ordered to inform the islanders that their means of existence and holdings would be guaranteed within the framework of the *istimalet* (gaining goodwill) and *himayet* (protection) policy unless they corporate with the Venetians and reject paying taxes.[137]

To legitimise the Ottoman rule to a further extent, Piri states that they were incorporated into the *zimmi* (protected subjects according to sharia) with an imposition of *haraç* (capitation tax paid by Christians) upon them for the country to get prosperous.[138] This imposition and the observance of tax duty was the basis and most important aspect of popular loyalty in the eyes of the Ottoman state, according to the

[136] "Bu evza-i pür ibret ve halet-i muteberden yerinde kalan kefere-i nekbet asara külli dehşet hasıl olup, mahbus olan Frenklerden gayrı kalada olan Arnavud ve taife-yi Rumiyan dayire-i hayrette mütehayyir olup, biz-zaruri inkiyad ettiler. Tavayif-i mezkureden bir ferde zarar vaki olmayıp..." Piri, 76.
[137] "Vardukda, bu babda tamam tedaruk üzre olup sabıka gönderilen istimalet hükmi mucebince cezirenin reayasına girü kendü canibünden mektublar gönderüb her birine yeni istimalet virüp şöyle ki... inşallah fethi müyesser oldukda her birisi mutasarrıf oldukları timarları ve evleri ve sayir emlakı ile muaf u müsellem olup bir nesneleri ellerinden alınmayup ve kimesneye dahl ü taarruz itdürilmeyüp ancak ziraat itdükleri yirlerden şerle öşrin virürler... asıl düşmene muavenet ü muzaheret idenlere asla himayet olunmayub..." Date: 18 Zilkade 977 (April 24, 1570). *12 Numaralı Mühimme defteri* (978-979/1570-1572), Vol. I (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1993), 17.
[138] "...memalik-i mahmiyye mamur ve abadan olsun deyü harac vaz ettiler." Piri, 76.

main concept of social justice that governs the state-society relations, namely *daire-i adliyye*.[139] Thus, in the understanding of early modern Ottoman state, executing Bragadino was both a way and a part of administering social justice, which was based on the interdependence between the ruled and the ruler. Piri Efendi internalised such a mentality in his account, and as would be illustrated below by looking at other contemporary narratives, he was by no means an exception: Early Ottoman historiography, through taking a role in the exposure of such punishments, becomes part and parcel of this system.

First of all, the other texts that were produced during and after the conquest of Cyprus comprised of a very similar narrative about the military campaign and were written in parallel terminology to Piri's. Most probably the first Ottoman *fetihname* that was written in Cyprus just after the conquest of Nicosia in 1570,[140] Şerifi's highly elaborate work of *Fetihname-i Kıbrıs*[141] narrates the end of the "black-headed infidel" Venetian defenders in Nicosia accordingly.[142] An official report exclusively on the same battle for the city, though bearing a more general name, *Kıbrus Fethu Mektubudur* (The Letter on the Conquest of Cyprus),[143] mentions how "the infidel soldiers, lords and captains" of the Venetians were exterminated house to house after they had already been

[139] Linda Darling. *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalisation* (London: Routledge, 2013), 5.
[140] Özcan Mert, *Şerifi'nin Fetihname-i Kıbrıs'ı*…,. 63-64.
[141] Sadık Yazar, "Fetihname-i Kıbrıs'ın Müellifi "Şerifi" Kimdir?," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 18, (2007): 186.
[142] "Devlet-i padişah-i islam nümayan Lefkoşa nam hisarı hakk ile yeksan olup, guzat-ı hun efşan elinde her tig, tig-i sürh u kara başlu melunlar sürhser toprak başlarına zir ü zeber oldılar." Numan Külekçi and Turgut Karabey, "Fetihname-i Kıbrıs," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2 (1995): 96-97.
[143] Muhittin Eliaçık, "Lefkoşa Kalesinin Fethini İlk Elden Anlatan Mühim Bir Mektup," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 26 (Spring 2009): 26. The same source is also transliterated before by Akif Erdoğdu and can be found accordingly. M. Akif Erdoğdu, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar* (Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 393-397.

defeated and left the fortifications. According to the author who wrote personally to the Sultan Selim II himself, it was as if "the all-illuminating daylight sweeps away the darkness of night."[144]

Another *fetihname* written by Zîreki a few years later[145] reproduced a similar narrative about the whole campaign in the most compatible perspective and wording on the exemplary punishment of Bragadino. According to Zireki, like Şerifi and Piri, who was also present at the campaign "the agreement and promise in-between were found graceless and outrageous"[146] as a result of Bragadino's fault. Lala Mustafa Paşa, as a result of the slaughter of the Muslim captives, had already decided to take his revenge, yet acted towards Bragadino and his companions in a benign and good natured way in accordance with a well-known Turkish proverb: Soft words can drive the snake from its hole.[147] Accordingly, Bragadino arrived at the Ottoman camp outside the castle and "immediately afterwards, his ears, that do not comprehend the right word of God, were cut" and the captain was sent to prison wounded.[148] Then, "the cursed infamous was brought to the place of execution, and his skin, which was a hotbed of mischief and

[144] "ol taife-i fesad-pişe ve gürüh-u mekr ü kabahat-endişe ceng ü cidal ve harb ü kıtale takat getürmeyüp... mucebince tahammül ü sükuna kararı kalmayup heman ol saat yüz döndürüp mareke-gahdan bar-ı sepid-ruz-ı pür-nur-ı şeb-i deycurı sürdügi gibi kaçurup şehirleri ve evleri içine tahsin eyledüklerinde...melain-i makarr-mekinden sekiz bin mikarı bi-din ve begleri ve kapudanları kılıçdan geçüp ol esnada bakıyyetü's-süyuf olanları dahi evlerinden ve tamlarından tüfenk ve darb-zen ile hayli ceng idüp..." Eliaçık, 35.

[145] A copy of it, which is now located in Paris, was written on January 1578 while another copy in Vienna was written in 1574. Nuri Çevikel, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı..., 1340, 1345: Özcan Mert, Kıbrıs Türk..., 508.

[146] "arada olan ahd u yemin sevgend-i galiz ve mübin tezekkür olunup..." Zireki, 38b.

[147] "küffar beglerine ve cehennem seglerine hayli mülayemet mülatafat ve inbisat ve istikanet gösterüp iyi söz ile yılan ininden çıkar haberi mukarrer olup..." Ibid., 38a-38b.

[148] "filhal olan hakk kelamın dinlemiyen azan-ı bi-izanların kesdürüp... begleri ol cerahatle mahbus-u bela ve mihnet olup..." Ibid., 38b.

trickery, was peeled off blatantly in front of the people. Afterwards, his carcas was cut into pieces."[149]

2.3 The conquest of Cyprus in contemporary Ottoman chronicles

Besides the specific *fetihnames,* narratives about Cyprus can also be found in long passages within more general historical works produced by well-known Ottoman intellectuals. By looking at a few examples of these works which were more widely-read and disseminated, and thus possibly more representative of early modern Ottoman historiography, we can grasp that the recurrently illustrated Ottoman approach was not confined to the texts produced on or about Cyprus, but part of a more general intellectual climate ingrained in the Ottoman capital and bureaucratic cadres.

Probably the best figure to begin with is Mustafa Ali (1541-1600) who was both one of the most significant intellectuals of his era, a bureaucrat serving under the patronage of Lala Mustafa Paşa,[150] and more importantly for this thesis, a historian who claimed to produce a righteous account on the conquest of Cyprus by utilising his patron's testimony.[151] Plus, his work *Künhü'l-ahbar* (Essence of Things), defined by the senior historian Cornell Fleischer as "the single most comprehensive source for Ottoman history in the sixteenth century" and "a literary monument respected and utilised by his

[149] "Nam-ı melun-u bednam beyne'l-enam meydan-ı siyasete getirtilüp sellahan bimuhaba... enban-ı fitne ve fesad olan cildinden münselih edüp postun çıkardılar ve cife-i murdarın pare pare edüp..." Ibid., 40b-41a.
[150] Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), 4 and 40.
[151] "Ve bu hakir kendülerden sual idüb yazdıgım bu akval-i pür-mealdür." Mustafa Ali, 78.

historiographical successors,"[152] includes a rather extraordinary narrative concerning the island. What is 'rather extraordinary' here is his propensity to save his erstwhile patron against gossip. Apparently, these amount to direct and enduring accusations that slander Lala Mustafa Paşa for taking back his promise.[153] In an effort to refute these arguments, Mustafa Ali constructs a polemic against "such baseless bigotry and animosity".[154] To this end, he presents Lala Mustafa Paşa's testimony as his source, unlike "the slanderers who never bothered themselves to find out the truth."[155] Last but not least, he appeals to a different kind of emplotment which includes digressions from the chronology of the events that happened in Cyprus. Such digressions were also emphasised by Gabriel Piterberg who was in turn, inspired by Hayden White who conceptualises chronology as a narrative code.[156] Piterberg underlines such differences that break consecutive time to attest and clarify the conflictual and pluralist side of the early Ottoman historiography, as well as to compare and analyse varying Ottoman narratives.

It must be noted here that, this latest pluralist understanding of Ottoman history-writing is accompanied by a parallel approach regarding the Ottoman state itself. The classical account which was based on a monolithic and ideal structure is increasingly replaced by a new conceptualisation of the state that involves a porous process of organisation in which different households or cliques vie for control.[157] Kafadar also acts upon the same logic while underlining the antagonism between the descendants of the early coloniser dervishes and the emerging scholar-bureaucrats, to analyse its

[152] Fleischer, 8.
[153] "Bilmeyenler Paşa-yı nadire-dana, nakz-ı ahd eyledi deyu bühtan itdiler." Mustafa Ali, 78
[154] "Taassub u garazla buldukların söylediler. Hala ki, vakı hal bu minvalle mazbutü'l-makaldir." Ibid., 78.
[155] "Ve bir kaziyyenin asl u faslına vukuf tahsil itmedin." Ibid., 78.
[156] Piterberg, 65.
[157] Piterberg, 158-163.

influence on the production of differing Ottoman historical narratives.[158] In the same vein, the digressions uniquely employed by Mustafa Ali, produce different meanings for what happened after the conquest of Famagusta, and they inform us of the existence of a voice within the Ottoman court against the actions of Lala Mustafa Paşa in Cyprus.

It is known that on the eve of the Cyprus expedition, the Ottoman court was a hotbed of a fierce rivalry between the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and Lala Mustafa Paşa, each representing a multitude of actors that were tied to one another through a complex set of relations and interests. The expedition to Cyprus had also raised a great controversy and was vehemently objected by Sokollu who was in favour of an offensive towards the Indian Ocean against the Portuguese expansion.[159] However, Selim II was persuaded by his old mentor Lala Mustafa Paşa who acted as the leader of the "war party" in the Imperial Divan.[160] In the end, the expedition was undertaken against Sokollu's warnings that such a move could lead to a war not only against a Venetian army but also against a Christian League. It can be argued that this opposition against Lala Mustafa Paşa was justified since their warnings proved to be validated when the following year, the empire suffered its worst naval defeat at the Battle of Lepanto (1572) by a joint Christian fleet gathered while the Ottoman army was occupied by Bragadino during the siege of Famagusta. Here it must be noted that, in addition to Bragadino's defence, it is in particular the news of his unfortunate end that gave rise to a great anger and zeal which played a formidable role in the formation of this Christian

[158] Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds...*, 17.
[159] Casale, 137.
[160] Goffman, 156.

League. This relationship was well-known among contemporary Ottomans too.[161] In a way, Mustafa Ali came to the rescue of Lala Mustafa Paşa using further narrative tactics following his attempt to cast aside the adversary reactions with a polemic and Lala's testimony.

The first chronological digression occurs after the take-over of the castle. Immediately after he narrates how the Venetian captain and his entourage came to the presence of Lala Mustafa Paşa to say farewell and kiss his hand, Mustafa Ali includes a passage which starts with the words "but before the castle was taken"[162] and takes us back in time. Here we read that the Ottoman commander had repeatedly sent letters to Bragadino to surrender the castle. It can easily be argued that such an invitation, particularly when stressed at such a point in the narrative, is a positive reflection of Lala. The practice was well-respected both as "a precept of the Holy Law"[163] and as an Ottoman tradition, since it had frequently been used before in the Balkans with considerable success. But according to Mustafa Ali, this time the answer was far from positive since Bragadino went beyond merely rejecting the offer, and actually offended Lala Mustafa Paşa with a threat: "I would enslave you and make you walk before me. I would make you carry the soil that you used to fill up the fosse." [164] Now, this threat

[161] "Meğer bu esnada Magusa Beyi olan bed-tebarın mar-ı sıfat derisi soyulduğu haberi mesmu-ı küffar-ı ateş makarr olup bu hiddet ü hararetle Venedik melunu olan müşrik ve münasebeti ile feryad ü nefir edip diyar-u biland-ı küffar ehl-i sairden nefir-i amm edip etraf u cevanibden muavenet ve selatib-i bi-din-i melainden müzaheret için meded ü zikr istedikte..." Zireki, ed. Y. Eribe Ilgaz, 2a-2b.
[162] "Yigirmi pare sefayine koyılub veda itmek tarikiyle Magusa Hakimi olan anid ve ümerasından niçe pelid el öpmeğe geldiler. Lakin mukaddema dahi kala feth olunmadın, serdar-ı devlet-bar bi'd-defaat mezbura mektub gödermişidi. Sayir kıla u cezire zatb olundı. "Senün bu vechile inadın netice virmez" deyü bildirmiş idi. Erkenden istiman idüp çekilmesi caiz idü gibi işar kılmışidi" Mustafa Ali, 76.
[163] İnalcık, *The Policy of...*, 231.
[164] "Fe-emma kelb-i anid magrur ü bi-perva pelid olmagin "Kalai sana virmek değül bir kaç günden sonra tonanmamız geldikde askerüni kırmak ve seni esir idüb önümce yayak getürmek ve kala hendekine toldurdugın topragu arkanla yine sana taşıtmak mukarrerdir." deyu vafir mühmelat yazub göndermişidi." Ibid., 76.

cannot escape being so familiar since it is the same as the above-mentioned punishment which was inflicted upon Bragadino himself.

Simply, Mustafa Ali, demonises the Venetian captain by attributing this humiliating idea to Bragadino himself and in this way, legitimises Lala's punishment. After all, who should feel remorse for someone who has been merely hoisted by his own petard? Moreover, an emphasis underlines that the safety of the Muslim prisoners had been written and registered in the agreement as a condition, together with a verbal promise regarding the matter by Bragadino himself.[165] Thus, his statements that the prisoners "were in different place, and not all of them were in the presence of mine but separated among various masters"; and "each, on the night of leaving the castle, killed his prisoners"[166] are found meaningless here. This too is highlighted as a means to strengthen the legitimacy of Lala against the Ottoman reaction at the Porte for breaking the agreement.

After the first digression that takes us back to the negotiations that had been conducted before the castle was taken, Mustafa Ali presents the events by adhering to their chronology. In a similar way to the *fetihnames*, he narrates the cancellation of the agreement, the first corporal punishment inflicted on Bragadino and his entourage in the presence of Ottoman commander, and the enslavement of the townsfolk who were waiting on board to be carried off to Crete.[167] The wounded Bragadino had been

[165] "Kendüye virilen ahid-namede... zikr olınan elli nefer meşahir-i üsera, serdara teslim olınmak ol varakada mukayyed u mestur oldıgından maada kendüsi dahi haberleşdikçe edasına taahhüdi mukarrer ü meşur iken..." Ibid., 76.
[166] "Esirler cevanibde, cümlesi bende değil, beglerimiz yanında perakende idi. Kaladan çıkıldığı gice, her kişi esirin katl eylemiş deyu fasid eda eyledi." Ibid., 77.
[167] "Her biri mehuz ve merbut olduğu gibi otag öninde sayiri katl olınub başbug olan bi-aklın iki kulağı kesdürildi ve habs ile zabt olınub yanlarınca bile gelen küffar ve gemilerde gitmeye müntehi olan füccar ki ceman dört bin nefere karib kilab-ı bi-itibar idi. Ayaglarna agır kadanalar uruldu ve miriye zabt olundı.

imprisoned and was later taken out of prison to carry the soil out of the fosse like an animal, in the same way he had threatened for Lala Mustafa Paşa with. Yet, immediately afterwards, a second rupture appears in the course of events and consecutive time is again broken when the Ottoman party arrives at the Bragadino's palace after the *ezan* (Muslim call to prayer). There, they see a high pole and handcuffs in a square. They surmise that this square had once been used as a place of execution for the Muslims whose hands and legs were tied by the handcuffs next to the pole and were then executed accordingly.[168] With this knowledge, Lala Mustafa Paşa decided that Bragadino should be flayed "as a necessity of religion and state" at the very same place. His skin was later filled with straw and hanged to the pole. On the other hand, his corpse was cut into four pieces. These were sent to be displayed on the fortifications.[169]

Needless to say, the second chronological digression, which takes us back to the time when Bragadino had been executing Muslim captives in such a way, serves the purpose of demonising Bragadino to an even greater extent. Parallel to the first digression discussed in the previous paragraph, this too legitimises Lala's punishment of Bragadino whose perverted plans for Muslims are presented as going beyond the level

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Ve forsa kürekçi namı ile gemilere tevzi kılındı... Bu takdirce kendü dava-yı batılın mucebince atımız önünce yürimek lazım oldı buyurub melunın eline gaşiye virdiler. Kalaya varınca önlerince yüritdiler. Anlar Cuma namazını eda idince kendinün dava-yı fasidi üzre handek tazili hidmeti ile vafir toprak taşıtdılar..." Ibid., 78.

[168] "Ve bade'edai'ş-şalat ol hinzire mesken ü meva olan Beg Sarayı nam revak ve çardak-ı valaya ki geldiler. Divanhane mukabilindeki meydanda kelepçelerle bir mualla sütun görüb "Bu direk ne içündür. Ve bu kelepçeler nedür" deyu sual kıldılar. Meger ki Magusa Begi olub ol an turab tazilinde damen-der-miyan olan hınzır-ı dalalet-nişanın siyaset-gahı imiş. Üsera-i Müsliminden birine gazab itdükde ol diregi kucakladırlar imiş. Ve ellerini ve ayaklarını ol kelepçelerle muhkem hend idtirib cidden hareket ve cünbüşe kudreti kalmadıkdan sonra istedükleri gibi siyasetin itdürürler imiş. Paşa-yı zi-şan ki bu hususı bildi." Ibid., 78-79.

[169] "Melun-ı mezburın Müslümanlar için vaz itdügi siyaset-gahda derisi yüzülmek vacibat-ı din ü devletden idügini mukarrer idüb siyasetini ferman kıldı. Fe-la cerem mücrim-i dalalet-şiyem niçe bi-günaha itdigü cezalarla mugtenem kılınub ol kelepçelerle dest ü pay-ı bend olındu. Badehu derisi yüzildi. Ve saman toldırılub ol direk torısına vaz olındı. Ve cesed-i na-paki dört pare kılunub kala bedenlerine asdırıldı." Ibid., 79.

of imagination and materialising in a conscious and cruel way. Overall, Bragadino is presented as a true enemy of Islam, with whom an agreement should have been avoided despite the reactions of the Sokollu faction who were in favour of peace with the Venetians.

In the last sentences of his long passage on Bragadino's death, Mustafa Ali provides some extra punishments that had been imposed alongside the aforementioned ones. As in Piri's account, Bragadino had been hanged to a ship's main mast, and his wounds were subjected to the blazing heat of Cyprus. Yet, he was also immersed in water over and over, and again this practice was also presented as one of his own which had been enforced against Muslims before the Ottoman conquest led by Lala Mustafa Paşa. A rather sarcastic interpretation of the whole process comes at the end: here Mustafa Ali states that Bragadino was punished by all the four classical elements, except fire which belongs to God.[170] Clearly, in the face of criticism against Lala Mustafa Paşa's actions on Cyprus, the main way for Mustafa Ali to legitimise the Cyprus Expedition and to save his patron is to embrace the punishment in question to an even greater extent.

If we are to look at another contemporary historian who is not necessarily supportive of Lala Mustafa Paşa, Selaniki proves to be an alternative. Having spent his life in various bureaucratic positions and military campaigns just like Mustafa Ali and

[170] "Bu zikr olınan ezalardan maada tazili turabdan evvelce gemilerden birinde Cunda ucuna baglatdırıldı. Ve bi'd-defeat bogılmayacak mikdarı gark u gavş ve tenezzülatla ikab olundı ki müslümanlara bir cefası dahi ol cihetden olmagın ol yüzden dahi mücazat mukarrer oldı. Ve bi'l-cümle hake nakl itdürildi. Ve suya bogdurıldı ve hayatı hevaya münkalib oldıktan gayri cunda ucunda inüb çıkdıkça zahm-ı derun u birünisi dahi hevalandı. Anasar-ı erbaadan ancak nar ile tazib olunması kaldı." Ibid., 79.

the *fetihname* writers,[171] Selaniki (d. 1600) produced a work after his name, *Tarih-i Selaniki* which covers the period between 1563 and 1600. It is argued that he shared an immediate concern in upholding justice in his critical writings which became a common trait at the end of the sixteenth century among the Ottoman intellectuals.[172] Probably in relation to this concern, he starts his account of the conquest of Cyprus by stating its justness explicitly. It was contrary "to the on-going peace" that the "cursed and infidel" Venetians had seized the horses and other valuable commodities on their way from Egypt in the presence of Selim who was still a prince at that time. Although the horses were later returned, the decision for an expedition to capture the island had already taken shape in his "honourable conscience."[173] In general, he lacks the abovementioned digressions and does not create an account based around the actions of Lala Mustafa Paşa. But, nor is he critical either. Regarding Bragadino, he briefly mentions the exemplary character of the punishment and demonises the Venetian Commander. Parallel to Mustafa Ali, the specific corporal punishment inflicted upon Bragadino is again referred to be of his own imagination which he had previously used to execute Muslims: "He was flayed from top to toe in public since he had contravened the agreement and caused suffering to Muslims in the same vein."[174]

[171] Ebubekir Ceylan, "Selaniki Mustafa Efendi," in *Tarih Okumaları: Kendi Metinleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı, 2005), 29.
[172] Fleischer, 102.
[173] "Cezire-i Kıbrıs fethinde Padişah-ı zemin ü zeman hazret-i Sultan Selim Han – hullidet hilafetuhu- şehzadeliği halinde diyar-i Mısrıyye'den murad idindükleri tuhaf ve sükker ve pirinç ve at içün gönderdükleri ademler furtına ile deryadan halas müyesser oldukda melain-i bi-din sulh üzre iken atları vesair metaı zabt idüp "Şahzadenün idiğü ne malum" diyüp badehu niçe ihanetden sona virmegle vicdan-ı şerifelerinde mukarrer olmış idi." Selaniki, 77.
[174] "Ve begleri olan nam melun nakz-ı ahd eyleyüp üsera-ı Müslimin hakkında eyledüği eza vü ceza mücazatıyçün evvela gözleri önünde ser-ta-pa derisi yüzüldü." Ibid., 80.

2.4 An official and visual reproduction of the conquest of Cyprus

The last work from the sixteenth century that I want to touch upon due to its official character, unlike the above-mentioned ones, is *Şehname-i Selim Han* which was completed in 1581 probably after twelve years[175] of hard work by Seyyid Lokman (d. 1601) and his team. *Şehname*-writing started as an early type of Ottoman court historiography in the middle of the fifteenth century[176] and until it fell from grace around 1600,[177] depicted mainly the exploits of the reigning sultans in a high literary form and elaborate Persian language.[178] It is generally acknowledged that the influence of the *şehnames* is ambiguous because of the limited number and audience of the works. There were only around fifteen commissioned works in total and perhaps more importantly, they were kept within the inner confines of the palace. Yet, what is important for the purpose of this thesis is the high ideological representation of the historical works produced at court. It is argued that *şehnamecis* and their works are respectively "the sultan's spokesmen" and "symbols of Ottoman imperial culture in book form."[179] Indeed, during its production, Seyyid Lokman's work was monitored more than once by the sultan himself and the leading figures of the period and approved accordingly.[180]

In line with the latest understanding of the Ottoman state as a plural entity, it is argued that both the paintings and the manuscript "are as much about the members of

[175] Christine Woodhead, "Reading Ottoman Şehnames: Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 104/105, (2007): 75.
[176] Halil İnalcık, "Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History,* (İstanbul: The ISIS Press, 1995), 11.
[177] Woodhead, 69.
[178] Halil İnalcık and Bülent Arı, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Tarihçiliği," in *Türkiye'de Tarih Yazımı*, eds. Vahdettin Engin and Ahmet Şimşek, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2011), 124.
[179] Woodhead, 68 and 73.
[180] Filiz Çağman, "Şehname-i Selim Han ve Minyatürleri," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 5, (1972-1973), 414.

the Ottoman court as they are about the Sultan."[181] In the same vein, Seyyid Lokman's appointment to the position of court historian was supported by Ebu's-suud Efendi, an ally of Sokollu; he was encouraged to commence such a work on the reign of Selim II by a protégé of Sokollu; and lastly, it was Sokollu himself who received the first drafts favourably and sent them to the Sultan. Emine Fetvacı, in her award-winning article written specifically about this work, namely *The Production of the Şehname-i Selim Han*, compares the first draft, which could be referred to as a project of Sokollu, and the final version (1581) which was edited when Sokollu had already fallen from grace and assassinated in 1579. The comparison shows that the same bureaucratic rivalry, that was influential in Mustafa Ali's account, was also quite telling in this case. Apparently, the editing process "was closely correlated with the shifting power dynamics of the court"[182] and the anti-Sokollu faction, growing stronger as time passed, could have the privilege of de-emphasising the role of Sokollu and instead, maximising their own. Bearing in mind that Lala Mustafa Paşa was a leading member of this faction and still an influential vizier during the reign of Murad III (1574-1595), the Cyprus campaign, quite naturally, received increased coverage in four paintings together with their relevant texts in the final version of the work.

The first two paintings cover the landing of the Ottoman army (fig. 12) and the siege of Famagusta (fig. 13) behind flames and dead Venetians. The third (fig. 14), which contains much more action, presents Lala Mustafa Paşa in front of his tent as the single seated figure who looks fully in control, in contrast to the Venetians who are

[181] Emine Fetvacı, The Office of Ottoman Court Historian, in *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond*, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout. (Philedelphia: University of Pennyslvania, 2007), 16.
[182] Emine Fetvacı, "The Production of Şehname-i Selim Han," *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 284.

either already decapitated or still waiting for the same punishment in shock. We also see the Venetian commander kneeling before Lala in total submission. Fetvacı mentions that "this gruesome image… can be read as a justification for why the Cyprus campaign had to be undertaken"[183] as a retaliation against the Venetians who had killed Muslim pilgrims. Thus, contrary to the intention of Sokollu and his party, any deal with the Venetians was to be avoided and refuted accordingly. The same vengeful mentality was at work to the utmost extent in the fourth painting (fig. 15) which is centred on Bragadino himself. In this way, Seyyid Lokman shares an attitude similar to the historians above, by highlighting the exemplary punishment as the culmination of his narrative about Cyprus. In fact, some small details of the painting that risk going unnoticed, are drawn exactly in the same way as written in the textual sources.

For example, the pole that was mentioned by Mustafa Ali through a chronological digression and presented as evidence of Bragadino's treacherous cruelty against Muslims, is found right in the middle of the image. And Bragadino's flayed skin which was hanged to the pole, was depicted with his cap on top just like Piri emphasises in his *fetihname*. According to Emine Fetvacı, the main idea behind the depiction of this cap is to mark Bragadino, as this was also demonstrated by Baki Tezcan who pointed out that Western Christians were usually identified by their caps in Ottoman manuscripts.[184] Yet, it can also be argued that Seyyid Lokman's depiction of this item is more than a marker of identity. As we know from Piri Efendi's account cited above, "they put his nest-of-calamity cap on (the skin filled with straw) and played his flute

[183] Emine Fetvacı, "Others and Other Geographies in Şehname-i Selim Han," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies,* XL (2012): 95.
[184] Ibid., 96 and 98.

from behind. In this way, they displayed the vile corpse everywhere and after the call to prayer, they hanged it at the place of execution. And again, they put the cap on it."[185] Thus, the object played a great role in the exemplary style of the punishment as the main element of mocking him before everybody. It is specifically for this end that it was also utilised in the narrative of Piri Efendi who was after all there and contrary to the case in Seyyid Lokman's paintings, in no urgent need of using any marker to identify the Venetian commander in a written text. It can easily be argued that Seyyid Lokman employed the cap in the same fashion, as a marker of humiliation. Plus, it is also quite telling how Seyyid Lokman as a *şehnameci* was well-informed either by direct testimonies or contemporary narratives about the events he depicted. Even the colour which was used for this item is the same as in contemporary Venetian sources.[186] The art historian Emine Fetvacı helps us to understand the image as follows:

> It depicts two janissaries tugging at a rope to pull the flayed skin of Bragadino up a flag pole. The pole is placed at the centre of the page, with a group of Ottoman officers around, watching the scene. The skin that is being raised up the pole simply looks like a naked body – except for a brown cloth around his genitals and a red hat on his head. On the ground lies a mutilated body with no hands or feet, and the head appearing like a skull with some pink flesh on it… though we do not at first notice his clothes, they are actually present. They just happened to be bundled up in the white kerchief that the soldier to the left of the image is carrying… a reminder that the flaying is a deliberately executed sentence, not a hasty decision.[187]

Besides the painting, the scene was also narrated in the manuscript of the work. Seyyid Lokman "found a parallel in the heroic lore of hunting, and described Bragadino's flaying as the skin being pulled from the body like that of a tiger (keşidend

[185] Piri, 83.
[186] Paolo Paruta mentions "the red umbrella" which was previously worn by Bragadino on his way to Lala Mustafa Paşa's pavilion. After the Venetian commander's death, we read that it was put on his stuffed skin. Paruta, *The Wars of Cyprus...*, Book II, 126.
[187] Fetvacı, 96-97-98.

cerm az teneş cun pelenk)."[188] Needless to say, the great hero here is Lala Mustafa Paşa who is the embodiment of "Ottoman dispensing of justice"[189] which is, after all, the main concern reflected in this particular *şehname* similar to the above-mentioned works.

To recapitulate, by looking at these historical works, we grasp the prevalent and official line of Ottoman historiography regarding the case of Bragadino in a comprehensive way. Regardless of their differences, it is clear by now that by focusing on the punishment, they all reproduced the exemplary character of it under a positive light. Moreover, it has already been mentioned with regard to Piri's text that the punishment, again as a warning for the islanders to obey, constituted both a basis for the construction of Ottoman rule on the island and an element of the *daire-i adliye* concept. The frequency of such punishments which definitely have a role in the administration of the Ottoman Empire, was also underlined. The fact that the relevant early modern mentality reflected itself in the Ottoman historiography in the sixteenth century, has probably no firmer proof than the case of Bragadino. I shall now look at the journey of this narrative in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries as briefly as possible, before coming to my final analysis with regard to the nineteenth century in the third chapter.

[188] Ibid., 99.
[189] Ibid., 82 and 100.

2.5 The perpetuity of the Ottoman paradigm on Cyprus during the 17th and 18th centuries

To outline from the beginning, the prevalent narrative of the sixteenth century about Bragadino and more generally the conquest of Cyprus, stayed more or less the same for two centuries. For example Ibrahim Peçevi (1574-1650), who is one of the most well-known historians of the Ottoman Empire, has written a parallel account on the subject in his work *Tarih-i Peçevi* (1641-1650). In line with the general features in his writing[190] which are unfortunately absent in other Ottoman chroniclers, he openly declares his sources on Cyprus and sums up the account. Even though he was related to Sokollu through his maternal side,[191] and quite critical of Mustafa Ali on other topics,[192] with regard to Cyprus he reproduced the account of Mustafa Ali who, as highlighted by Peçevi, had written by transmitting the position of Lala Mustafa Paşa.[193] The specific passage on the unfortunate end of Bragadino remains similar too.[194]

Katib Çelebi (1609-1657) who predominantly produced in the fields of history, geography and biography; and won a great appreciation both among his contemporaries

[190] Fatme Samime İnceoğlu, "İbrahim Peçevi," in *Tarih Okumaları...*, 37 and 38.
[191] Piterberg, 46.
[192] Fleischer, 54 and 144.
[193] "Merhum Ali Efendi bu fetihte mevcut olup ve Mustafa Paşa lisanından dahi naklen tarihinde irad eddiği mazmuni budur." Peçevi, 491.
[194] "Ve on melunlarının otak önünde başların kesdirdi. Ve gemilerde olan küffarı dahi çıkardı, ayaklarına mahkum kadanalar urdurdu. Donanma-yı hümayun gemilerine tevzi ettirdi. Ve baş olan melun ki muhatabı idi, iki kulakların katt eddirdi, ve gönderip cunda ucuna bagladıp bir kaç defa deryada guta ettirdi. Zira bazı ehl-i İslam giriftarlarına böyle azab ettirmiş. Ondan önüne getirdilerçun kaleye gitmeli oldu. Yapugun tahmil edip önünce götürttü. Ve kendiler Cuma namazın kılınca meluna hendek toprağın taşıttılar çun namazdan ferağ olup beyler sarayına geldi. Meydanda bir direk dikilmiş ve bir iki kelepçe yanına konulmuş tururdu. Bu neçindir diye kendünden sual etti. Müslüman esirlerine onunla azab ettiklerine itiraf edecek kendisine dahi ol dürlü kuşaddurup ve ol kelepçeleri ile ayağına urdurub andan sonra derisin yüzdürdü ve saman doldurup ol direğin ucuna asdırdı. Ve cesed-i murdarın dört çeyrek edip kapulara gönderdi." Peçevi, 491.

and followers, is known to be the embodiment of "positive and free thinking"[195] in the seventeenth century Ottoman world. He was also considered "a turning point in Ottoman intellectual history"[196] thanks to his introduction of European geographical knowledge and more importantly, his approach towards geography as "the natural ancillary of history."[197] Yet, in his historical work, namely *Tuhfetü'l-kibar fi Esfari'l-bihar* (1656), he produces an account greatly similar to that of Peçevi. He starts by legitimising the campaign through a complete citation of Ebu's-suud's fetva and finishes with the punishments of the Venetians. His short passage[198] at the end has been best translated into English by Eftihios Gavriel:[199]

> The chief of the around four thousand infidels that came out from the fortress, the infidel named Pragadi, who was a cursed obstinate person, killed the Muslim captives and did not want to give the pledge determined for the ships and because of this he was tortured and flayed. The four thousand infidels were distributed as oarsmen to the galleys. The army chief left and came to the capital by land where he was (much)[200] honoured.[201]

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[195] Katib Çelebi, "The Expedition on the Conquest of Cyprus in the Work of Katib Çelebi," ed. Eftihios Gavriel in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, eds. Michalis N. Michael, Matthias Kappler and Eftihios Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 26.

[196] Gottfried Hagen, "Katib Çelebi," in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Cemal Kafadar, Hakan Karateke and Cornell Fleischer, 3. (https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/katibcelebi_en.pdf) accessed 11-6-2016.

[197] Orhonlu, Geographical Knowledge..., 274.

[198] "Taşra çıkan dört bin denlü kafirin serdarı Bragadi, nam kafir ber muanid melun olup üsera-i müsellemin katl edüp ve tayin olunan kadırgalar içün rehin vermede tereddüd ve maraza etmekle envai hakaret ve siyaset olunup derisi yüzüldü. Ve dört bin kafir kadırgalara küreğe tevzi olundu. Serdar-ı Kamgar göçüp karadan der-i devlete gelüp mezid-i iltifat oldu." Katib Çelebi, 69a.

[199] There is a latest English translation of Katib Çelebi's work: Svatopluk Soucek, *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks* (Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishers, 2012). Yet due to İdris Bostan's harsh criticism for the translation, I simply omit it. Instead, I prefer to use Eftihios Gavriel's specific translation for Çelebi's account on the conquest of Cyprus. Gavriel has too probably been driven to undertake this effort as he felt annoyed because of the various incomplete and unsatisfactory translations of Katib Çelebi's work.
İdris Bostan, "Tuhfetü'l-Kibar'ın Başına Gelenler," *Toplumsal Tarih* 224 (August 2012): 92-94.

[200] Here, it is important to note that Katib Çelebi mentions, immediately after the subsequent punishments, that Lala Mustafa Paşa was indeed much honoured by the Sultan. The original manuscript that I use to crosscheck Gavriel's translation of the printed edition by Ibrahim Muteferrika in 1729, reads as: "Serdar-ı Kamgar göçüp karadan der-i devlete gelüp mezid-i iltifat oldu." The phrase, "mezid-i iltifat" has been used quite frequently in such cases and mezid comes from the verb (zeyd= increase) and means much. In

Moving beyond the seventeenth century, it can easily be argued that the dominant narrative found its way into the eighteenth century too. Arif Dede's *Kıbrıs Tarihçesi* (1755) is the utmost illustration in this regard. Arif Dede (d. 1765) was, in his own words, a Mevlevi şeyh[202] and presented his work to Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (1689-1758) who was at the time living in exile in Cyprus after his dismissal from his post as Sadrazam.[203] At the beginning of the work, Arif Dede narrates how he set forth to write his own account upon an order from Ali Paşa who, upon his arrival in Famagusta, had shown an interest on the conquest of the island, yet felt annoyed while reading an earlier account, namely the most familiar *Fethiyye-yi Cezire-i Kıbrıs* of Piri Efendi. Following Paşa's decision to that end, the duty to rewrite and correct the latter work which is arguably erred by its author's mistakes of grammar and expression, was given to Arif Dede who acted accordingly.[204]

It must be noted that Piri Efendi was also criticised by Arif Dede since his history utilises many long rhymes, irrelevant and endless stories; and is marred with an excess of words that cannot be understood "no matter how much one scrutinises

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the 1729 edition, it is written as "karin iltifat" which is a bit less known and might be translated as 'closely honoured'. But, Gavriel has chosen not to translate it into English.

[201] Eftihios Gavriel, 36.

[202] "Li-muharririhi, bende-i dergah-i kutb-ı manevi, Arif-i naçiz-i şeyh-i mevlevi, avn-ı Rabbani ve tevfik-i samedani ile bast-ı makale agaz edüp..." Arif Dede, *Kıbrıs Tarihçesi*, 2a.

[203] Harid Fedai definitely asserts that Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa had come to Cyprus in exile and left the island in the following year, despite Arif Dede's introducing his patron as if he had arrived as an official, "memuren." Ibid., XVII.

[204] "Ali Paşa hazretleri memuren cezire-i Kıbrısda Magosa nam mahalle teşriflerinde cezire-i mezkure ne vechile feth u teshir olundıgı [malum-ı] asafanesi olmagçün Piri Efendi merhumun esna-y fetihde zuhura gelen vekayi-i tahrir ve inşa eylediği tarih manzur-u alileri oldukda, nasihun sehv ü hatasından naşi ekser imla ü ibaratı sakim olmagla, müceddeden tahrir ve sakametin tashih eylemek üzere bu hakire tasrih buyurmalarıyla emirlerine imtisal ve tahrir edüp huzur-ı samilerine irsal olundu." Ibid., 2a and 2b.

them."[205] It is generally known that during that period an elegant and refined preciosity according to which "meaning being often abandoned for the sake of a fine sounding rhyme,"[206] captured even the Ottoman chroniclers like Mustafa Ali and Naima who are well-known for using a simple style in their accounts. To the same point, Arif Dede mentions his effort as a simplification that would replace Piri's expressions with recent ones.[207] This can be interpreted with regard to a general simplification of language in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century, which is emphasised by Şerif Mardin both as a precursor of the nineteenth century Ottoman movement for the simplification of Turkish language, and also as a criticism of relevant scholarship that tends to focus on European influences and, as a corollary, ignores the pre-nineteenth century developments.[208] Yet, we have to approach the issue cautiously. As Edhem Eldem argues with regard to the internal dynamics of the Ottoman Empire, the eighteenth century was still not a period of breakaway originating from a serious destabilisation in which a criticism of the system in actual terms would lead to preparations for a substantial transformation.[209] The external dynamics on the other hand, basically the developments in Western Europe and Russia, were hard to avoid for the Ottomans, but difficult to grasp as well. Thus, they couldn't prompt the Ottomans towards a serious

[205] "Müverrih-i merkum yani Piri Efendi merhum, telif ü inşa eyledigi tarih-i mezkurda nice müselsel lügat ve haric-ez-saded bi-nihaye hikayat ile teksir-i makalat edüp, her ne kadar mütalaa olunsa tarafeynde vaki olan gır ü dar ve ahval-i ceng ü peykar sadedlerini der-hatır eylemek emr-i muhal idigü aşikar olmagın..." Ibid., 2b.
[206] Şerif Mardin, "Some Notes on an Early Phase in the Modernisation of Communications in Turkey," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3 (April 1961): 250.
[207] "ber-vech-i ihtisar intihabına şuru olunup tarih-i mezburda tahrir olunan elfaz u tabirat bi'l-külliye terk ve hatıra hutur eden taze ibarat derc olunup manend-i gül-i sad-ı berg-i güşade tahrir ü inşaya agaz ve tatvil-i kelamdan ihtiraz olundı."Arif Dede, 2b.
[208] Mardin, 255.
[209] Edhem Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim," *Cogito* 19 (2006): 194.

attempt at transformation to the extent of rejecting many traditional features of Ottoman administration. This would start on a thorough basis only with the Tanzimat.[210]

Although he was writing in the eighteenth century, Arif Dede was abided by the earlier account of the sixteenth century to a great extent, regarding the above-mentioned official interpretation of the events, the Islamic discourse, and the structure of the narrative. In a similar way, he retains Piri's narration of Marc Antonio Bragadino from his meeting with Lala Mustafa Paşa[211] to his death.[212] Moreover, Arif Dede provides us with the corporal punishment inflicted upon Bragadino together with a sarcastic exaggeration this time: after Bragadino was flayed, the skin which was filled with straw, just like the earlier narratives, was also clothed and made to dance grandiosely.[213] All in all, we can say that he acted without any need to resort to a great change, either specifically in his narrative about Bragadino or more generally, in the way he wrote history. Both of these needs will be the case for Ziver in the nineteenth century. In the third chapter, I willl be examining how the Ottoman approach on this issue was reproduced in the nineteenth century.

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[210] Ibid., 197.

[211] "Ey kafir-i bi-din ve'y hain-i şekavet-ayin! Kalada mahbus olan üsera-yu İslamı- katl ü idam etmenize sebeb ne idi? Deyü buyurduklarında, ol pelid-i anid bir nesneyi müfid cevaba kadir olamayub sükut etmegin, gayret-i islamiyye ile ateş-gazab serdar-ı şecaat-girdar, şerare nisar olup, yerinden kahramane sıçrayup." Arif Dede, 114.

[212] "Mesfur kapudan-ı lain, gaşiyedarlık hizmetine tayin olunup hendeke varıncaya dek piyade yürüttüler. Badehu, havar, arkasına çuval vaz olunup, hendekten taşra katı vafir ihraç ettirdiler ve leb-i deryada amade olan çekdiriye, Serdar-ı Ekrem hazretleri süvar olup kapudan-ı lain-i beduhte kala kurbanda iskeleye dek kürek çektirerek gelüp lenger-endaz olduklarında, geminin serenine ayağından sernigun astırılıp alemi çeşmine tar ve can-ı habisinden bi-zar eylediler. Badehu iskele kapısından derun-u kalaye girilip serdar-ı Alişan hazretlerinin fermanları üzre cellad-ı bi-aman meydanı siyasette ol-kelbi mağrurun derisin yüzüp cerahat-ı can-hıraşı üzerine nemek-paş oldukta, hezar feryad figan ile mürd ü helak olup, can-ı na-paki vasıl-ı dereke-i niran oldu." Ibid., 117.

[213] "Andan sonra derisine saman depüp ve camelerin geydirüp bir kebir ü mehib hora ile tedbirüp..." Ibid., 117.

CHAPTER 3

A PARADIGM SHIFT:

CYPRUS IN 19TH CENTURY OTTOMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

As a direct continuation of the second chapter on early modern Ottoman history writing, this chapter touches on how Ottoman historical narrative(s) on Bragadino and the conquest of Cyprus was articulated during the nineteenth century. To put it bluntly at the outset, even though early modern historians were not lacking in different discursive strategies in their own right as exemplified above, the whole story was redesigned to an extent that was unprecedented before the second half of the nineteenth century. With an emphasis on the aforementioned work of Ziver's *Kıbrıs Tarihi*, I want to analyse the socio-political context that gave rise to a discursive break on the subject, and to establish a dynamic relation between Ottoman modernisation on the one hand, and Ottoman historiography. I would even dare to add that this relationship is in no way a passive emulation by Ottoman historians who, as a result of the fact that most of them held important positions in the state and were connected to journalism that enabled them to shape public opinion, should be contextualised as active agents who affected Ottoman modernisation as much as they were affected by it. In addition, by relating the main work to other contemporary Ottoman texts that Ziver had read and utilised, I will try to attain two inter-related aims: to establish the intellectual context of which Ziver was part and to demonstrate how and why Ziver appealed to a reordering of these texts on the one hand; and on the other, to achieve a comprehensive generalisation through integrating more authoritative and widely-read texts, as I have tried to do in the second

chapter. Needless to say, this generalisation again will not be a single act to oversimplify and stress only the commonalities between late modern Ottoman historians, but a complex one that aims to touch upon the differences between them and thus, lays bare the pluralist side of the group portrait.

3.1 A biographical introduction to Ziver: A late Ottoman historian and his world

To start with, a bibliography of Ziver[214] especially with regard to his education and bureaucratic career, is certain to put flesh on the bones in order to better understand both his intellectual development and historiographical approach in the critical issues that will be dealt with below. Ziver was born on the island of Midilli (Lesbos in Greek) in 1869/1870 (according to the Hegira calendar, 1286) as was recorded in an entry[215] in the register books of Ottoman state officials known in Ottoman as *sicill-i ahval defterleri*[216] (For examples of Ottoman state documents, see Figures 1-7 in Appendix A). Approximate information about his date of birth was also given when he became famous enough to find a place in a work involving a list of famous Ottoman men of letters,

[214] The first study on Ziver, albeit only two pages, was conducted by Harid Fedai, who also prepared *Kıbrıs Tarihi's* critical edition which is used in this thesis. His study was firstly published in a local periodical and was later included in collected works of Fedai. "Ziver Bey'in Kimliği" and in *Kıbrıs Türk Kültürü Makaleler – 1,* (Lefkoşa: Özyay Matbaacılık Ltd., 2005). Before, it was published in *Yeni Kıbrıs* (Eylül 1989).

[215] "Ziver Efendi: Mehmed Niyazi Efendi'nin mahdumudur. Bin iki yüz seksan altı (1286) sene-i hicrisinde Midilli'de dünyaya gelmiştir." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.

[216] These registers started to be recorded from 1879 onwards by a specific commission under the authority of the Interior Ministry and can be interpreted as part of the general standardisation of Ottoman bureaucracy during the Aldulhamid II's reign. Gülden Sarıyıldız, "Sicil-i Ahval Defterleri," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 37, (2009), 135.

namely *Nevsal-i Asır.*[217] Here, the author Hüseyin Vassaf Efendi presents further knowledge about Ziver's background. Accordingly, Ziver was born into a leading family of Midilli, namely, *Kulaksızzadeler*[218] who apparently situated themselves in the significant juncture between the Ottoman political and economic establishments. The family's name appears in many documents which testify to their hold over taxation of olive oil,[219] trans-Aegean commercial activities[220] and highly important economic investments in terms of industrial facilities established through materials imported from Europe.[221] This economic capital was also reflected in the political sphere in which we encounter certain members of *Kulaksızzade* family holding important bureaucratic positions in Midilli.[222] For example, Ziver's father Mehmed Niyazi Efendi (b. 1842/1843), who was also born in Midilli and had a certain command of five languages (Turkish, Arabic, Iranian, Greek and French) similar to his son,[223] served as a *nahiye müdiri* (administrator) of certain sub-districts in Midilli, such as in Herse and Gera (Eressos and Geras respectively in Greek) and subsequently, as *kaimakam* (governor) in a number of districts such as Molivo (Methymna in Greek) or Kerpe (Arkasa in Greek).[224]

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[217] Hüseyin Vassaf Efendi, *Nevsal-i Asır* (Der-saadet: Cemal Efendi Matbaası, 1314) I am indebted to Harid Fedai for bringing this work to my knowledge.
[218] "Midilli ceziresi eşrafından Kulaksızzadeler'e mensub sahib-i terceme bundan otuz sene akdem dünyaya gelmiş..." Ibid., 196.
[219] BOA, İ.DH 95/4771, 1260 Z 21.
[220] BOA, İ.MVL 567/25511, 1283 L 28; BOA, MKT.MHM 567/87, 1283 Za 11.
[221] BOA, MVL 798/62, 1283 B 02; BOA, MKT.MHM 567/87, 1283 Za 11.
[222] BOA, DH.SAİDd 71/381, 1253 Z 29; BOA, HAT 518/25300, 1248 Z 29.
[223] "Mehmed Niyazi Efendi: Hoca Halim Ağanın Oğlu. 1258 sene-i hicriyesinde "sene-i maliyye, 1258" Midilli ceziresinde tevellüd ettiği nüfus-u tezkire-i osmaniyesinde muharrerdir. Cezire-i mezkure mekteb-i iptidai ve rüşdiyesinde tahsil-i iptidaiyeden sonra Çınarlı medresesinde Arabi ve Farisi talim ederek icazetname ahz eylemiştir. Türkçe kitabet ve Rumca ve Fransızca tekellüm ve kıraat eder." BOA, DH. SAİDd 66/487, 1258 Z 29.
[224] "Liva-i mezkurde Herse nahiyesi müdirliğine… Yere nahiyesi müdirliğine… Cezair-i Bahr-ı Sefid vilayeti dahilinde Yunda Kazası Kaimakamlığına tayin buyurulmuştur… Molivo Kazası kaimakamlığı… Kerpe kaimakamlığı… ikinci sınıftan Kars-ı Zulkadiriye kaimakamlığı…" Ibid.

Ziver first finished his primary and secondary school education in Midilli and then, in line with his 'aristocratic' lineage, or at least thanks to that, he was able to enroll in *Mektebi Sultani*[225] (in other words, Lycee de Galatasaray) which was officially opened on September 1, 1868 along the principles of Islahat Reforms to educate the young cadres of the state that would be able to materialise the new laws and supervise the modernisation of the empire.[226] Having being established thanks to French involvement or, in other words, intervention,[227] the school was modelled on the French system of education. As was expressed in its directory, the curriculum consisted of both natural sciences (maths, physics, chemistry, etc.) and social sciences (history and geography classes on both Ottoman and universal levels, law, rhetoric, etc.) in a modern framework as well as the French language.[228] Plus, a utilitarian approach was also evident in line with contemporary understandings of modern education, and there were courses on accounting, writing and commercial activities, industry, and craftsmanship[229] as well as health[230] and body discipline (sports).[231]

It must also be noted that Galatasaray Lycee was the embodiment of "the concern to unify the Ottoman policy"[232] based upon the principle of equal opportunity for different religious communities of the empire. As Mehmet Alkan rightly assesses, it

[225] "Midilli Sıbyan ve Rüşdiye Mektebleri'nden ve muahharen Mekteb-i Sultani'de müretteb dersleri tahsil ederek fünun ve edebiyat şehadetnamesi almıştır." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.
[226] Vahdettin Engin, *Mekteb-i Sultani* (İstanbul: Galatasaraylılar Derneği, 2003), 24.
[227] It must be stressed that the opening of the lycee was also facilitated by a French diplomatic note to urge the Ottoman state to improve the conditions of education for non-Muslim subjects of the empire. Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1964), 47.
[228] Engin, 29-30.
[229] Ibid., 65-66.
[230] Ibid., 68.
[231] Ibid., 30.
[232] Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *History of the Ottoman State, Society and Civilisation* vol. 2 (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2001), 465.

materialised "at a transition process from communities to nation,"[233] at least in the eyes of the Tanzimat bureaucrats, and thus became a testing ground for Ottomanism which rose as a state ideology mainly during the Tanzimat period (1839-1876) and aspired towards a common Ottoman citizenship and nationhood irrespective of religious and ethnic affiliations for Muslim, Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish communities. A brief glance at the reactions that the opening of the school triggered at the Ottoman public(s) is illuminating for analysing Ziver's intellectual development, and for putting the terminology he used in his historical narrative within its broader public context.

The Ottoman state's unifying and modernising intervention in the sphere(s) of education which had been traditionally organised as inter-communal spaces along religious lines, gave rise to negative reactions from communal leaderships that felt threatened. The religious representatives of the Orthodox Greeks, Catholics and Jews clamoured in unison against the Galatasaray Lycee and urged their respective communities not to send their children to this 'infidel' entity.[234] These reactions were all countered and gradually overcome by the Ottoman state but more importantly, they found an echo in the Ottoman press and public opinion which started to assume *a civilisational tone.* To illustrate the fact, this citation from an Ottoman newspaper on the issue is highly revealing:

> Look at these two religious leaders [the Pope and the Greek Patriarch], two institutions of Christian nations who argue to possess civilisation yet want to prevent the opening of such a school which was established to spread knowledge

[233] Mehmet Alkan, "İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim," in *Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiyesi*, ed. Kemal Karpat (İstanbul: Bilgi İletişim Grubu, 2005), 79.
[234] Ibid., 97.

> and science. Now on which side is the bigotry? In Islam or Christianity? A conscientious person shall declare it! With no doubt, it is in Christianity.[235]

Needless to say, such public discussions with civilisational tones would dominate the public opinion about the school in later periods, particularly with regard to varying success rates among the student groups coming from different communities. An article, which was published in a French journal on October 15, 1874 by the ex-director of the lycee De Salve himself, put the 'Turks' as less intelligent and industrious than Bulgarians, Armenians and Greeks. Not surprisingly, this view created some polemics in the Ottoman press similar to the one above.[236] This rather too straightforward comment on the students might be true to a certain extent since in 1885 a new decision was issued by the state regarding the Turkish students to award them with 'Turkish graduate licenses' rather than proper diplomas which would normally necessitate a similar success in the French courses as well.[237] Accordingly, the numbers of graduates from that group, who had been mostly unable to graduate because of failing in French classes, would increase rapidly in the coming years. Ziver, whose name appears on the graduate list of 1888,[238] completed his education thanks to this new decision, which shows us that his ability in French should not be overexaggerated even though he managed to publish one of his French translations in his high school years.

[235] "İşte medeniyet sahibi olma iddiasında bulunan Hristiyan milletlerin iki şubesi, yani ruhani liderleri, ilim ve fennin yayılması maksadıyla yapılan bir mektebin açılmasına engel olmak istiyorlar. Şimdi taassup hangi tarafta kaldı? İslam'da mı, yoksa Hristiyan'da mı? Artık insaf sahibi olan söylesin. Şüphe yok ki Hristiyan'da kaldı." Engin, 44.
[236] Ibid., 85-86-87.
[237] The exact name of this document is 'Türkçe Ehliyetname'. Ibid., 122.
[238] Ibid., 128.

The preface of this translation, which was written under the name of 'a pupil of Mekteb-i Sultani Mehmed Ziver,'[239] explicates how he reproduces the above-mentioned terms like conscience or bigotry with such civilisational tones and more importantly, how he defines 'time' and 'the world', and as well as his stance towards them:

> Our history of past centuries will be embarrassed by the unprecedented knowledge of the achievements of this renewing time.
>
> Builders of the prosperity of civilisation since five or six centuries, Westerners represent models of morality, virtues and education; in short, collection of virtue and knowledge or, in other words, realities and secrets of the unique industry that they successfully invented and contrived; and these are all evident and manifest in meticulous surveys of the masters of the awakening of our age. This is a felicity whose merit till now could not be seen as worthy of a mere rank. Yet it will be seen in a while.
>
> Nevertheless, as a friend of progress, I would be exulted to see in the nation the awakening's advancement and knowledge of virtue….[240]

To put it simply, according to Ziver, 'time' assumes both a progressive element and a universal level in the hands of Westerners who brought forward a civilisational transformation with unprecedented industrial achievements. Yet, progress awaits the Ottoman nation for whom Ziver as a friend of progress, dedicates this wok. It can easily be argued that the zeal towards progress and its dissemination to the public, which emerges in his historical productions along similar lines as we will see below, dominated his intellectual production. More importantly, it is this zeal that certainly drove him to be more productive on various issues like history, literature, agricultural

[239] Mekteb-i Sultani şakirdanından Mehmed Ziver, *Tecrübe-i Kalem yahud Anibal* (Der-saadet: Mehmed Bey Matbaası, 1313).

[240] "Şu zaman-ı teceddüd-ü karanenin bedayi irfanından asar-ı salife-i tarihiyemiz şerm-sar olacakdır. Beş altı asırdan beri mamuriyet-i medeniyetin banileri olan garbilerde görülen emsal-i ahlakın, kemalat ve maarifin, hasılı icad ve ihtiraana muvaffak oldukları sanayi-i bedinin derc-i kemal ve hikmet-i – ve tabir-i digerle- hakayık ve serairi, asrımız erbab-ı intibahının nazar-ı imanlarında ruşen ve aşıkyar olmuştur. Bu bir saadet ki rütbe kadar ulviyeti henüz bilinemediyse bir zaman sonra bilinecektir. Mamafih milletin feyz-i intibahıyla kemal-i ifranını görüp mübahi olacak muhib-i terakkilerden bulunduğum cihetle..." Ibid., 2.

production or public/private health which will be illustrated below, and thus, constituted him as an active agent of Ottoman modernisation. I would also like to point out that, as a man of letters with a strong interest in poetry, he finished his preface quoted above with one of his poems on the moral supremacy of modern knowledge.[241]

A few years later, he published another book which consisted of words of wisdom he loved to read in the French and Greek languages[242] thanks to his education and background respectively. The main reason underlying this publication and his editorial approach to the selection was amply described: "These words are good: rather than wording, cadenced style and pomp, they are devoted to new ideas."[243] Furthermore, the very first page of the book which contains a list of the works that he intends to write and publish only "for now and if time permits,"[244] is a declaration of how diversified and comprehensive Ziver's intellectual enthusiasm was. The list includes works of history, literary criticism, theatre, autobiography and essay.[245] From another perspective, it also stands for his strong self-esteem too.

After his graduation in 1888, Ziver started to serve under the Ministry of Education which was supervising a tremendous development in terms of opening large numbers of schools and training facilities.[246] According to Selim Deringil, "in the

[241] "Asrımızda bedayi irfan, Bahş-ı gayret veya himmetdir, Parladı Bak! Terakk-i vicdan, Barak-allah! Nur-u hikmetdir, Bu Terakki seza-i hikmetdir, Her cihetten nişan-ı refettir." Ibid., 3.
[242] "Bu kitabın muhteviyatı: Fransız ve Rum lisanlarında seve seve okuduğum bazı neşidelerin tercümesinden ibarettir." Mehmed Ziver, *Güzel Sözler* (Der-saadet: Cemal Efendi Matbaası, 1306), 3.
[243] "Bu sözler güzeldir: Şürüt-u elfazdan, insicam ve ihtişamdan ziyade bedayi fikriyeye hasr edilmiş." Ibid., 3.
[244] "Zaman müsaade ederse tab ve neşrini arzu eylediğim bazı asarım şimdilik şunlardır." Ibid., 1.
[245] The list reads as: "Muasırin Üdeba-yı Osmaniyye, Ahmed Yahud Bir Anda İki Facia, Mütalaat-ı Edebiyye, Ayn'ül Hayat, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed, Sultan Selim-i Salis, Bizde Romancılık, Sekiz Senede Bir Netice: Mekteb-i Sultani, İstanbul'da 10 Sene Seyahat, Lisan Bahsi, Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı Osmaniyye'ye Bir Nazar" Ibid., 1.
[246] Alkan, 181 and 194.

second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire came into its own as an 'educator state' to create its citizens."[247] Needless to say, his profession was totally in line with his progressive mentality and more importantly, with spreading it to the nation. In this regard, Ziver, who had a long career in this 'educator state' at different positions and localities, found and directly contacted an audience far greater than his books could ever reach because of their relatively high cost and thus, limited availability.[248]

He entered the ranks of the education bureaucracy when he was appointed to his first position of the directorate of Gümülcine High School on December 12, 1888, which involved teaching French and geography.[249] His next position was the directorate of Selanik High School with an extra duty to give *hikmet-i tabiyye* (physical science) classes on March 23, 1890.[250] On June 16, 1891 he moved to the same position in Rhodes High School.[251] Then, on December 26, 1892, he was promoted to the position of regional director of education of the administrative district of *Cezair-i Bahr-ı Sefid Vilayeti*[252] (The District of Mediterranean Islands) which covered the Aegean Islands and adjacent coastal areas, including his birthplace Midilli.[253] It is further reported that

[247] Deringil, 93.
[248] Strauss, Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute…, 233.
[249] "Bin üç yüz altı senesi (1306) rebi'ül-ahirin on yedisinde 29 teşrin-i sani 1304 yigirmi beş yaşında iken altı yüz guruş müdüriyet ve altı yüz guruş Fransızca muallimliği ve üç yüz guruş coğrafya muallimliğine mahsus olmak üzere ceman bin beş yüz guruş maaşla Gümülcine Mekteb-i İdadisi müdüriyetine bi't-tayin..." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.
[250] "bin üç yüz yedi senesi şehr-i şabanının ikisinde (16 Mart 1306) infikak ile tarih-i mezkurda dört yüz guruş maaş mahsus olup hikmet-i tabii muallimliğine bi'l-ilave bin guruş maaşla Selanik İdadi müdüriyetine..." Ibid.
[251] "The director of education was responsible for the application of the decisions and orders of the Ministry of Public Education." Selçuk Akşın Somel, *The Modernisation of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamisation, Autocracy and Discipline* (London; Boston; Köln: Brill 2001), 11.
[252] "bin üçyüz sekiz senesi (1308) zilkadesinin dokuzunda (4 Haziran 1307) bin guruş maaşla Rodos İdadi Müdüriyeti'ne iki yüz guruş maaşla fenn-i terbiye muallimliğinin ilavesiyle tahvil-i memuriyet eylemiştir." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.
[253] "Mumaileyh, 1310 senesi cemaziy'el-ahirinin altısında (11 Teşrin-i sani 1308) bin guruş maaşla Cezair-i Bahr-ı Sefid Maarif Vilayeti Müdiriyeti'ne nakl edilmiştir." Ibid.

during his tenure at the centre of the district, namely Rhodes, he taught history, geography, *ilm-i servet* (the science of wealth), Arabic, Iranian, Turkish, *kitabet* (the science of literary composition) and lastly, French.[254]

From an intellectual perspective, his time on the island proved to be the most productive period in Ziver's life. It must also be taken into consideration that Rhodes, as a vanguard in terms of the provincial world of Ottoman Turkish press,[255] might have produced a great contribution in this regard. First of all, he published his ideas on Ottoman literature in which he highlighted a modernising zeal. His criticism was found to be of great importance and was presented accordingly by Hüseyin Vassaf.[256] Ziver's work, which starts with a discussion on "Ottoman literature's propensity to progress,"[257] recasts the Ottoman poets (amongst whom we can also count Ziver) as *mürebbi-i efkar* (tutour of ideas) before the novelists and reserves the duty of enriching the public opinion to them in the absence of a well-developed class of novelists unlike the case in Europe.[258] Such an emphasis, of course, constitutes another declaration of his reformist identity and role. Furthermore, it highly relates to Jale Parla's comment on the

[254] "Mumaileyh Rodos Mekteb-i İdadi ve Cezair-i Bahrı Sefid Maarif Müdürliklerinde bulunduğu sırada yani 1 Kanun-u sani 307 tarihinden 22 teşrin-i sani 308 tarihine kadar 133'er guruş maaşlarla mekteb-i mezbur tarih ve coğrafya 1 teşrin-i sani 307'den 1 teşrin-i evvel 308 tarihine kadar kezalik 133 guruş maaşla ilm-i servet 11 Şubat 308 tarihine kadar 100 guruş maaşla Arabi ve yetmiş beş guruş maaşla Farisi ve 2 teşrin-i sani 1308'den 20 Nisan 309 tarihine kadar 133 guruş maaşla Türkçe ve 1 teşrin-i sani 308'den 24 teşrin-i sani 309 tarihine kadar 133 guruş maaşla kitabet muallimlikleri ve 23 teşrin-i sani 308'den 1 Mart 310 tarihine kadar 400 guruş maaşla Fransızca muallimliğinde bulunduğu..."
[255] Strauss, 229.
[256] "Rodos Maarif Müdürü iken tab ettirdiği Mütalaat-ı Edebiyye'si intikad ve tenkid nokta-i nazarınca pek mühimdir." Vassaf, 196.
[257] "Mülkümüzde edebiyat-ı Osmaniyye'nin terakkiye meyelanı cenab-ı Şinasi'nin bir avuç toprak olup türab-ı rahmete karışdığı günlerden itibar edilür." Ziver, *Mütalaat-ı Edebiyye* (Rodos: Vilayet Matbaası, 1311), 3.
[258] "Bizde şuara, hissiyat-ı kalbiyelerine tabiyet edilecek olunsa halk arasında – romancılardan akdem mürebbi-i efkardan onlar tanılmış olur. Hikmet-i hayat, maarifet'ül cemiyet demekle dahi tarifi ve tavsifi kabil olamayan romancılığın Avrupa'ya nisbetle mülkümüzde pek az terakki etmesinden efkar-i umumiyenin gencine-i adab ve avarif bileceği asarı vücuda getürmek romancılardan gayrı bir sınıf halka yani üdebaya hasr edildi." Ibid., 33.

authoritarian relationship between the Ottoman modernisation and men of letters: "In every Tanzimat author, there lies a hidden tutour of ideas and every sentence is for the progress of an overly indulged child."[259]

Another work comprising his articles on health, which were dictated to the students of Rhodes High School,[260] exemplified how Ziver transferred to his own students the courses, as well as the relevant scientific and utilitarian approaches that he had learned at Galatarasay. Quite informative is the preface where Ziver in his humble way, presents 'social utility' as the main motivation of this publication which can be read as a book of *hıfzı's sıhha* (preservation of health), a name that is found in the curriculum of Galatasaray as a course.[261] It must also be noted that Ziver's work is merely a drop in the ocean within the corpus of the Ottoman *hıfzı's-sıhha* literature which grew considerably, since public health had assumed a rising importance as a medical science in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman State, again after the French model, had been investing a systematic effort in this matter since the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839), but particularly during the Hamidian era (1876-1909).[262]

Regarding the content of the work, Ziver summarises the modern understanding of health which can be classified into two as private health and public health; [263] lists

[259] Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 19. The exact sentence is: "Her Tanzimat yazarının içinde bir "mürebii-i efkar" gizlidir; her satır "nazende-i tıfl" ın terakkisi içindir."
[260] "Rodos Mekteb-i İdadisi Şarkirdanına imla suretiyle yazdırılmış makalat-ı sıhhiyeden müteşekkildir." Ziver, *Kıraat Kitabı* (Rodos: Bahr-ı Sefid Matbaası, 1312), 1 The content of the work was actually written in September 19, 1891 when Ziver newly arrived in Rhodes. Ibid., 4.
[261] "On iki makaladen oluşan şu risaleciği matbu olarak çıkarmayacaktım. Düşündüm ki bundan bir hıfzı's sıhha kitabına cedir-i mübahis olmadığı halde bile bir nebze istifade edilmek ümidi vardır." Ibid., 4.
[262] Gülden Sarıyıldız. Osmanlılar'da Hıfzıssıhha. In *İslam Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 17, (1988), 319-321.
[263] "Bu ilm evvela iki büyük kısma ayrılır ki birine ilm'i hıfzı's-sıhhat-ı umumumiye diğerine hususiye denir." Ziver, *Kıraat Kitabı…,* 5.

what must be done with regard to public domains like promenades, inns, roads…;[264] highlights how prominent and worthy *hıfzı's-sıhha* is since it does not only show what reasons and which ways the preservation of health and well-being rests upon but also provides a scientific treatment.[265] Lastly, before the publication of the work, Ziver had to apply to the Ministry of Public Education[266] as every Ottoman writer had to do according to the *Matbaa Nizamnamesi*[267] (Printing Regulation) of 1857 which was meaningfully issued only a year later than the Reform Edict of 1856. I would argue that even this proximity between the two dates indicates that the Ottoman censorship was related to a new "governing mentality"[268] rather than to Abdülhamid II's paranoid and absolutist character, as traditionally argued. In other words, Ottoman control over the printing presses served not only as a repressive mind-set, but also a modern political setting as Şükrü Hanioğlu rightly puts it.[269]

Thus it is not surprising to learn that Ziver's work on public health was viewed in positive terms by the Ottoman state which was investing a lot in the same sector and this can also be seen a state-led encouragement for the growing literature on the issue. In contrast, in the very same document, Ziver's other proposal of translating a French

[264] "Umumi kısmı selamet-i umumiye ile beraber cevelangahına tarh-ı esas, meydan ve menazil ve hattı yolların tanzimi, emraz-ı sariye ve cildiyenin menni ve izalesi ve bataklıkların tathiri ve kanalların usulen hafri hususatını bile dahildir." Ibid., 5.
[265] "Hıfzı's-sıhha öyle bir ilm-i celil'il-kadirdir ki yalnız sıhhat ve afiyeti muhafaza ne gibi esbab ve vesaite tevakkuf ettiğini göstermeyüb, belki sıhhat-ı ikmal ve mülkü vücuda düşman merz istila ettikde fenn-i tedavi ile birlikte anı müdafaa eder." Ibid., 5.
[266] "Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesine, makalat-ı sıhhıyeden müteşekkil kıraat kitabı ile Fransızca'dan mütercem Abey namındaki iki adet eser-i naçizanemin tab ve neşri hususuna alel ulsul ruhsat ita buyurulmasını istirham eylerim. Ol babda emr-ü ferman hazret-i men leh'ül-emrindir." BOA, MF.MKT 167/52, 1310 L 20.
[267] Fatmagül Demirel, *Sansür* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2007), 89.
[268] Abdullah Saydam, "Emniyet-i Memleket - Hürriyet-i Matbuat İkilemi," in *Devr-i Hamid: Sultan II. Abdülhamid* Vol. 1, (ed.) Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 50
[269] Şükrü Hanioğlu, introduction to *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, by Fatmagül Demirel (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2007), 11.

novel called Abey, was not authorised on the grounds that "it is made up of dreams and superstitions."[270] Simply, it was of no use in the eyes of the Ottoman state and not necessarily an obscene piece of literature which had to be censored for political reasons.

Ziver's two other publications in the same year are historical works on Rhodes and Cyprus, the latter being the main text of this thesis. *Rodos Tarihi* (*History of Rhodes*) in which Ziver modestly claims it to be an honour to write in Rhodes and for this honourable country's community,[271] tells us a lot about his intellectual orientation towards producing history for the public. His intellectual commitment to the public is truly a seal of his modern vision which was shared by most of the Ottoman historians, including even the so-called conservative Cevdet Paşa[272] and represents maybe the most important break from the Ottoman historiographical legacy of earlier centuries when history was being produced for the court. Yet, writing for the public or any persona, even if they signified different historical mentalities, should not be considered, at least here, as mutually exclusive since Ziver also offered this work to the Governor of Rhodes.[273] In addition, he did it in such a pompous language that one cannot fail to remember the way Piri and Arif Dede expressed their gratitude for their patrons in the earlier centuries.

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[270] "Cezire-i Bahr-ı Sefid Vilayetinin işbu arzuhalinde tab ve neşrine ruhsat taleb olunan iki kıta risaleden (Makalat-ı Sıhhıyeden Müteşekkil Kıraat Kitabı) nam birinin led'el muayene tabında ber-vechi beis olmadığı cihetle ruhsat-ı mukteziyenin itasına ve (Abey) nam romanın münderecatı hayalat ve hurafattan ibaret olub tabı caiz olmadığından reddine karar verilmiş olmagla…" BOA, MF.MKT 167/52, 1310 L 20.
[271] "'Rodos Tarihi'ni Rodos'da iken yazub vücüda getürmeyi bir şeref add eder, bu şerefli memleketin ahalisine karşı velev naçiz olsun, bir böyle hidmetim..." Ziver, *Rodos Tarihi* (Rodos: Vilayet Matbaası, 1312), iii.
[272] İlber Ortaylı, *Tarih Yazıcılık Üzerine…*, 90.
[273] "Eazım-ı Vüzera-i Saltanat-i Seniyyeden Cezire-i Bahr-ı Sefid Valiliğine Rekvak-tıraz İzz-ü İclal Devletlü Akif Paşa Hazretlerine takdimen naçizanemdir." Ziver, *Rodos Tarihi*, ii.

Essentially, the book comprises the history of the island before the Ottoman conquest and in doing so, rests upon Ottoman historical works from the sixteenth century to the contemporary date; state almanacs; geographical works and last but not least, a large number of French historical works that are unfortunately hard to spot because of the unclear and even misleading way Ziver chooses to list them.[274] Even if he does not mention any author, it can be argued that his main source is, in all likelihood, M. Louis Lacroix's *Iles de la Grece*[275] (1853) because the titles in Ziver's list of sources also appear as titles in the text of the latter;[276] the painting of the Colossus of Rhodes (fig. 16) in Ziver's book on the history of Rhodes is also present in the latter's work which was published four decades earlier; [277] and the way in which Ziver organises his periodisation of the history of Rhodes (according to the tenures of the masters of Knights Hospitaller) is the same as Lacroix's.[278] Plus, involving the above-mentioned painting as well as writings in different languages and alphabets, the book illustrates the

[274] Under the title of 'Mehazlarım' (My sources) : "Süleymanname, Rodos'da Mevkib-i Humayun Ruznamesi, Yadigar, Evrak-ı Perişan, Müdafaa, Tarih-i Umumi, Ehl-i Salib Tarihi, Rehber-i Derya, Esfar-ı Bahriyye-i Osmaniyye, Münşeat-ı Feridun Bey, Hayrullah Efendi Tarihi, Tarihü't-tevarih, Kamus'ül-alam, Endülüs Tarihi, Netayic'ül-vukuat, Coğrafya-yı Umumi, Salnameler vesaire, L'lle de Rhodes Histoire de l'ordre de Malte, Histoire et description de tous les peuples, Mon. Des Grands Maitres, Les arts au Moyen. Age, L'art ancient, Mon. De Rhodes, Les religions de l'antiquite, Description de l'Archipel, Description de l'Orient, Histoire des colonies Grecques Creta, Chyprus, Rhodus, Archives des Missions." Ibid., iiiii.

[275] M. Louis Lacroix, *Iles De La Grece* (Paris: Firmin Didot Freres et Editeurs, 1853).

[276] "Histoire et description de tous les peuples" which Ziver mentioned under the title of "My sources" is actually the name of the series on the world history that also included Lacroix's work on Greece. Before the preface, the name of the work was given as follow: "L'Universe, Histoire et Description de tous les peuples. Iles De La Grece."

[277] In Ziver's and Lacroix's works, the painting appears respectively at the rear cover and among a number of paintings between the pages 152-153.

[278] That is to say, in both works, the particular period was divided into reigns of consecutive masters starting from Foulques de Villaret to Phillippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam.

fact that the Ottoman Turkish press achieved a Western understanding and technique during the Hamidian period.[279]

If we turn back to his career, we see that he was later appointed to Trabzon to assume the same position on March 27, 1896.[280] Here, Ziver worked in Trabzon High School as a teacher of *ilm-i servet* (the science of wealth) and *malumat-ı fenniye* (knowledge of science).[281] Moreover, Ziver was awarded a silver medal of agriculture thanks to his effort to improve the conditions of agriculture.[282] According to the relevant document, Ziver had published a memorandum[283] on growing olive trees with a specific emphasis on "the implementation of scientific necessities" (*mukteziyat-ı fenniyeye tatbiken*).[284] It is also during this time that his biography[285] and then photograph[286] (fig. 17) appeared in almanacks on Ottoman personalities. Furthermore, during his service at

[279] Fahriye Gündoğdu, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Türk Basımcılığı," in *Devr-i Hamid: Sultan II. Abdülhamid* Vol. 2, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 104.
[280] "(15 Mart 1312) 1800 guruş maaşla Trabzon Vilayeti Maarif müdüriyetine tayin edildiği..." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.
[281] "7 Nisan 313'den vukuu-inkikakı olan 18 Mart 315 tarihine kadar Trabzon Mekteb-i İdadisinin 225 guruş maaşlı malumat-ı fenniye ve 150 guruş maaşlı ilm-i servet muallimliklerinde bulunduğu..." Ibid.
[282] "Trabzon Vilayeti Maarif Müdürü Ziver... terfi-i ziraat hususunda müşahid olan ikdam ve meabirine mükafeten birer kıta gümüş ziraat madalyası itasıyla taltifleri hakkında Orman ve Maadin ve Ziraat Nezaret-i Celilesinin tezkiresi arz ve takdim kılınmagla ol babda..." BOA, İTAL 143/8, 1316 S 25.
[283] Ziver, *Dahil-i Vilayette Zeytin Eşcarı Yetiştirmeğe Mahsus Layihadır* (Trabzon: Trabzon Vilayet Matbaası, 1313).
[284] "Fi'l-hakika eshab-ı tecrübeden vukuu bulan neşriyatından müsteban olunmuştur ki ziraatın terakkiyat-ı haziresi alat ve edevatın tekemmül ve taadüdüne münhasır görünmekde ise de esasen tedkikat-ı icra olununca bunun aletden ziyade emr-i ziraatın dairesi tevsi edildiği yani yalnız buğday arpa yetişdirmek hacata kafi görülmeyüb tezyid-i hasılat için mukteziyat-ı fenniyeye tatbiken hububat-ı mütenevvinin birer mikdar zirai tercih ve iltizam olunageldiği cihetle çıfıtçının sebzeden, ağacdan, bahçivanın da harmanda o kadar eyü anlaması lazım gelmiştir." Ibid., 2.
[285] "Mir-i muma ileyhin en son memuriyeti olan İşkodra Maarif Müdürlüğünden arıza-i vücudiyesine mebni istifa etmekle ahiren bi'l irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişahi tarafından Trabzon Vilayeti Maarif Müdüriyeti'ne tayin kılınmıştır." Vassaf, 197.
[286] Hüseyin Vassaf, *Musavver Nevsal-i Asır 1314* (İstanbul: Asır Matbaası, 1315) This work is a revised edition of the above-mentioned almanac that was published a year ago, with a particular emphasis on having excellent photographs that were ignored at the expense of content last year. This is explained on page 3: "Kütüphane-i acizanem namına olmak üzere geçen sene neşrine muvaffak olduğum (Musavver Nevsal-i Asır) ın mezahir olduğu rağbet fevk'al-ade bu seneye mahsus olan nüshasının dahi eydi intişare-i vazına cesaret bahş oldu. Geçen sene neşir edilen nüshanın cedir ve ehemmiyeti münderecatına hasr-ı ihtimam edilmiş olduğu halde resimlerin nefasetine dikkat olunmamış idi."

Edirne where he was appointed on February 26, 1899,[287] he was deemed worthy of a *şir-i hürşid* (Lion of the Sun) order of the third rank and an ofis d'akademi order,[288] respectively by "the state of Iran and government of France". Remarkably, Ziver was allowed to accept these "two external orders" only after his request for permission[289] was authorised by the Ottoman state[290] which aspired to retain control over such "symbols of independence"[291] between sovereign states.

During the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire also joined this modern system of merit-based distinction by a systematisation and bureaucratisation process that rested upon an inspiration, if not direct imitation,[292] of the Western style of symbolism, in order to reward those who demonstrate usefulness in line with a meritocratic understanding. In this regard, the Mecidi order, that bears the name of great reformist Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861), was decreed on August 29, 1852 following a decision that had annulled the earlier medals and decorations. Holding a Mecidi order of fifth rank if not higher, since the beginning of his career,[293] Ziver's bureaucratic and intellectual careers, which cannot be viewed as separate not least because of the fact that

[287] "mucebince sene-i mezkure (1316) şevvalinin 15'inde (14 Şubat 1314) 2250 guruş maaş ve becayiş suretiyle Edirne Vilayeti Maarif Müdiriyetine nakl edilmiştir." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.
[288] Most probably, it is the decoration of officier d'academy which is an academic reward of second rank (silver) and given by an association called Ordre des Palmes academiques.
[289] "Çakerlerine ita olunan iki ecnebi nişanı hakkında iktiza eden irade-i seniyye-i mülkdarinin istihsali hususuna delalet ve celile-i cenab-ı nezaretpenahilerinin sezavar buyurulması baabında emr-ü ferman hazret-i men leh'ül emrindir." BOA, MF.MKT 526/67, 1318 Ca 23.
[290] Following Ziver's request and it is asserted in the same document: "İran Devleti tarafından zat-ı şeriflerine ita olunan üçüncü rütbe şir-i hurşid ve Fransa Hükümeti tarafından verilan ofis-akademi nişanlarının kabul ve led'el-icab talimatı hususuna bi'l-istizan müsaade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişah-i şayan buyurulmuş olduğu..." BOA, MF.MKT 526/67, 1318 Ca 23.
[291] Kemal Hakan Tekin, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gelenekten Yeniliğe Geçişin Anlamlı Bir Sembolü: Mecidi Nişanları," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 28 (Autumn II 2004), 394.
[292] Edhem Eldem, "Savaş ve Simgeler," in *I. Dünya Savaşı'nda İttifak Cephesinde Savaş ve Propaganda*, (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Foundation, 2014), 69.
[293] In *Güzel Sözler* which was written in 1888/1889 (1306 in Hegira calendar), it can be understood from the characters (m 5) Ziver uses before his name. These denote that he had a mecidiye of fifth rank. Ziver, *Güzel Sözler…*, 4. I am indebted to my professor Edhem Eldem who explained me how to 'depicher' these characters.

his intellectual interests followed the locations of his positions, should thus be considered in this merit-based and modern productive value system. In addition, we have an intelligence report that illustrates an arguably secular habit of Ziver and shows us that besides this success story, Ziver's relationship with the Ottoman state was ultimately one of control (over him). During his tenure at Edirne, a sealed envelope sent to the Ministry of Public Education from the Deputy Governor and General of the Second Army himself, stated that even though the Director of Education Ziver Bey has an addiction to alcohol, his rumoured affection for boys could not be substantiated after an investigation."[294]

It was later ordered that Ziver should move from Edirne to Yanya (Ioannina) on March 3, 1902 "because on the one hand, his ability does not match Edirne's significance and delicacy and on the other, he has a knowledge of Greek."[295] In Yanya, he undertook another commitment to agriculture again with regard to olive cultivation, as a token of his understanding of social and economic utility together with his family's economic interests. Here, Ziver wrote a memorandum called *Zeytincilik*[296] (Olive Cultivation) in which he specifically[297] reflected on the geography of the province[298]

[294] "Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesine, Edirne Maarif Müdürü Ziver Bey'in işrete ibtilası varsa da, gulamperestliği hakkındaki şayianın vicdana kanaat bahşedebilecek raddede olmadığı bi't-tahkik anlaşılmış olmagla..." BOA, MF.MKT 515/4, 1318 Ra 17.
[295] "Mumaileyhin kifayeti, vilayetin ehemmiyeti ve nezaketi ile mütenasib olmamasıyla diğer mahale nakli lazım gelmiş ve Rum lisanına vukufu bulunmuş olduğundan Yanya Maarif müdüriyetine nakli hakkında Yanya Maarif Nezaret-i Celilesinin memuriyet-i mülkiye komisyonundan havalesi buyurulan tezkiresi üzerine mumaileyhin tebdil-i mevki-i memuriyeti icabı hali ve maslahatı müstenid olduğu suret-i işardan mani-i istihdam bir ilişki olmadığı terceme-i halinin tedkikinden müsteban olduğundan ber-mucib işar-ı tasdik memuriyetine dair memurun Mülkiye Komisyonu'ndan verilen karar üzerine ve bila-istizan şeref-sadır olan irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilafet-penahi Mucebince 1319 senesi şevvalinin 26'sında (23 Kanun-u sani 1317) ve 2000 guruş maaş ve becayiş suretiyle mezkur Yanya Maarif müdüriyetine nakl buyurulmuştur." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.
[296] Ziver, *Zeytincilik* (Üsküp: Kosova Vilayeti Matbaası, 1321).
[297] "Yanya vilayetinde zeytun işçarının imar ve teksiri üzere arz ve takdim kılınan layiha suretidir." Ibid., 1.

and consequently highlighted the best fields for olive cultivation, following European examples.[299] Later, this document was mentioned in a bureaucratic correspondence as an article about how to upgrade olive trees scientifically and transform them into beneficial assets.[300] This work was later translated into Greek.[301]

On April 6, 1902 he finished a report (see Appendix A) on the cases of administrative malfunction in the whole Rumeli region based on his first-person experiences in Selanik, Edirne and Yanya as a reaction to the rising misfit through which the Ottoman government may come under external interventions within the context of a reform programme similar to the case in Six Vilayets inhabited by Armenian populations in varying extents.[302] It is mentioned that as a result of the foundation of Bulgaria under foreign pressure and granting wide capitulations to Romanian, Serbian, Montenegrin and Greek governments and emirates which are all subordinate to the Great Powers, Rumeli has become a troubled region for the state. What is more critical is that Western powers were referred by Ziver not only with regard to the creation of this trouble, but also to the very solution of if. Before presenting his

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[298] "Memalik-i Osmaniyeden Halep ile sath-ı bahirden 520 – ki Yanya'nın irtifaidir- ve nihayet 600'e karib mahal-i mürtefide yetişebilmekte ve bu mesafede (6) sahilden 15-20 saat baid tahmin kılınmaktadır. Sahillerde birden bire 1200 metreye kadar irtifa kesb eden mevaki bu nazariyeden haricdir." Ibid., 5-6.
[299] "Fransa'nın Pirene ile Alp dağlarında 420'den 800 ve Cezair'deki Atlas Dağlarından 1000 ve İspanya'da 1370 metreye kadar yetiştiği müsbettir. Vilayetimiz için Peçovo kasabası istisna edilmek şartıyla Preveze'den İskrapar'a kazasına kadar havalide bila-tereddüd zeytun eşcarı yetişir." Ibid., 6.
[300] "Zeytun ağaçlarının fennen terbiyesi ve yabani kısımlarının kabil-i istifade bir hale ifrağı hakkında zeytincilik namıyla telif ettiği risaleden..." BOA, DH.İD.. 79/14, 1330 Ra 13.
[301] BOA, MF.MKT 858/29, 1323 Ra 22.
[302] "Rumeli Vilayet-i şahanesinde şu aralık ser-zede-i zuhur olmaga başlayan uygunsuzluklara idareten ve cidden ehemmiyet verilmekte ve her guna idaresizliğin esbab-ı indifa ugrunda meham-şinasane tedabir-i müessire kılınmak derece-i vücubda olduğuna ve çünkü vilayet-i sittece taahhüt ettirilmiş ıslahat kabilinden bu taraflarda da aynı mikyasda yapılacak tensikat bilahare birer vesile-i müdahalat hükmüne geçmek yüzünden maazallah-ı teala hükümet-i osmaniyye'nin bir kayd-ı muziç altına alınmak beliyatı baid ve gayr-ı mezcum olduğuna nazaran vaktiyle Selanik'de ve iki üç sene de Edirne'de devren ve tahkiken meşhud-u basıra-i kemteranem olan bazı ahval-ı müessefe..." DH.MKT. 2600/44, 1320 R 17.

critique and recommendations on certain issues in a list of ten points, he contextualises the Ottoman rule and reforms in Rumeli by a comparison to Western colonialism.

He, first of all, underlines the necessity of organising the administrative methods and regulations in a new way and according to the fact that the subject population in this region involves various communities who have different characters and abilities.[303] It is further maintained that Europeans brought to the people in their colonies in Africa, America or elsewhere tranquillity, peace, civilisation and in this way, they attained a great amount wealth and power. Without any rejection or at least criticism, Ziver deems this colonial picture to be "an almost absolute truth."[304] Thus, it can easily be said that he internalises a pure colonialist discourse and reiterates it in association to the Ottoman reforms in Balkans. Such a reproduction is illustrative of his historical writing on Cyprus too and should be further remembered in the fifth chapter.

In comparison to Western colonialism, Ziver explains that the Ottoman Empire, following the age of decline, failed to generate prosperity under a proper administration and could neither control nor enlighten its subject population who lack the needs of progress.[305] On the other hand, it is argued that the Balkan nations grew more assertive

[303] "Arz-ı izahdan azade bulunduğu üzere hükümet-i hakimeye tabii ahali meyanında mizac ve kabiliyeti – ister alimen ve isterse cehlen- farklı olan cemaatlere karşı tatbik olunan usul ve nizamatın mamulünbihinden daha başka olmak lazım geldiği..." Ibid.

[304] "ve el-yevm Avrupalılar Afrika'da, Amerika'da ve sairede zabt ve istimlak eyleyüb koloni yani müstamere namıyla yad ettikleri bilad ve aktar cemaatine vüs ve iktidarları dairesinde tekalif tarh etmiş ve bunu da ol takarrür memurlar maarifetiyle istifa eyleyerek halkı daima huzur ve rahata ve temeddün ve saadete sevk eylemiş oldukları ve mutlaka bu suretle kesb-i yesar ve kudret ettikleri sübute mukarin hakaikden iken..." Ibid.

[305] "...iken hükümet-i Osmaniyyece galibat ve muzafferiyatın inkıtaını müteakib azim bir devr-i inhitata girilerek taht'el-tabiiyetindeki memalik ile tebaanın nasılsa zabt-u rabtına ve tahdid ve tenvirine asla dikkat olunamamış veya dikkat bulunamamış olmagla payitahtdan her canibe bir iki yüz kilometre mesafedeki vilayetler heman yeni istimar ve istimlak olunmuş bilad gibi elan şayan-pesend bir idareden ve sekenenin de terakkiyat-ı lazimeden mahrum kalması memurinin hulusi-i niyetle ifa-i vazife etmemesi gibi ez-cümle Rumeli Vilayeti Şahane'sinin muhtaç olduğu esaslı idarenin layıkıyla nazar-ı itibare alınamamasına münbais ahval-i musefedir." Ibid.

in their education campaigns thanks to the capitulations. It must also be noted that Ziver is completely aware of the link between history-writing on the one hand, and the establishment of nation-states and the ensuing competition over Macedonia on the other.[306] To counter these troubles, Ziver then presents his list of recommendations which are mostly referred through European administrative experiences.

First and foremost, Ziver differentiates European provinces "where all kinds of peoples are more intelligent than the ones in Anatolia; in constant exchange with Europe and closely acquainted with the great developments and their outcomes in general, like the previous war."[307] He proposes detailed surveys to be undertaken in Selanik and Edirne on the general conditions and merit of civil servants. [308] In doing so, the demographic condition of various communities must be taken into consideration since demographics are not only about the population as the Ottomans still and insufficiently perceive. It has a second and more important association with political influence, which Europeans are already aware.[309] Accordingly, he introduces the Bulgarian claims of

[306] "Balkan hükümetleri yeni zuhur etmekle kendülerine bir tarih yazmak ve vaktiyle nereden zuhur ve teşaub edüb nerelere kadar varub ayak basdıklarını ve eslafları tarafından ne gibi asar bırakıldığını tedkik etmek her kavmin tabii olduğu kavaid-i fıtriyyeden madud olduğu için Makedonya'da ber-devam olan istirkabata dahi bir şey denememek lazım gelir. Çünki Sırb, Bulgar ve Yunan kavmleri evailde Makedonya'yı münavebeten cevelan ederek birer iz bırakdıkları gibi aynı anasırdan ibaret olmak üzere dahi teba-i osmaniyye meyanındaki alaik ve münasebetleri kabil-i inkar değildir. O sebeble bunların her biri bu münasebat-ı kavmiyeden istifade etmeği göze aldırmış ve idare-i Osmaniyye ise amal-i marufeye pek ziyade müsaid oldukdan başka imtiyazat-i ahire ile Sırb ve Bulgar cemaatleri bir mertebe daha şımarmaya cüret etmeye yol bulmuşlardır." Ibid.

[307] "Birincisi: Rumeli Vilayeti Şahane'sinde her sınıf cemaat ve ahali Anatoli'ya nisbetle daha ziyade fatin olduğuna ve Avrupa ile sıkça ihtilattan maada muharebe-i zaile gibi evvel ve ahir zuhur eden vukuat-i azimeye ve neyatic malumesine yakından kesb-i ıtla ile..." Ibid.

[308] "Binaen-aleyh bir sene mütemadiyen ve ihtimamen iştigal olunmak ve ol emirde Edirne ile Selanik vilayetlerinden işe başlanmak üzere Der-saadetce memuriyet-i mülkiye komisyonundan daha başka bir heyet-i muktedirden mürekkeb komisyon teşkili ile bu iki vilayetin teferruata varıncaya kadar muamelat-ı umumiyyesini tedkik etmek ve küçük büyük memurin resmiyesinin hüvviyet ve liyakatlarını teşhis eylemek iktiza eder." Ibid.

[309] "Muamelat-ı umumiyyeden tedkike şayan olan ve amal-ı siyasiyyece dahi haiz-i ehemmiyet görilan aksam meyanında en ziyade cemaat-ı muhtelife nüfusunun nazar-ı itibara alınmasıdır. Çünkü Avrupalılar

annexing Bulgarian-inhabited Ottoman territories and the foundation of new Bulgarian villages at strategic places.[310] Finally, he criticises the absence of a counter Ottoman colonisation according to which new Muslim villages would be established in relation to population density.[311]

Moreover, to ensure the development of the above-mentioned provinces, Ziver stresses the need to prepare agricultural maps and organise the implementation and progress of agriculture accordingly.[312] In this way, the Muslim societies would be able to compete with the economically encouraged Christian communities and to follow the path of education and civilisation by leaving behind their poverty and inertia.[313]

Another important critique regards the practice of appointing military leaders to posts in the civil administration. Ziver underlines that it is most appropriate for military leaders to be only involved in military affairs, particularly because their administrative knowledge is limited in every aspect compared to their European counterparts.[314] In the

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nüfüsu hem nüfusda ve hem nüfuzda aradıkları halde Osmanlılar şimdilik yalnız nüfusda aramakla hukuk-u hakimelerini idame edebilirler." Ibid.

[310] "Kaldı ki Rumelinin İpek ve Prizren gibi sancaklarında tahrir-i nüfus henüz layıkıyla icra olunmadığı halde Bulgaristan'ın Der-saadet kapukethüdası Koşof cenabları Rumeli vilayet-i şahanesindeki Bulgarların bir milyon nüfusa balig olduğunu ve bunların imarete civar mahallerde temekkün olmalarıyla inde'l-hace ilhaklarında pek müşkilat bulunmadığını ilan ve işaadan bir an hali kalmıyor. Ve mutlaka komite dahilindeki ümera-i askeriyyenin tertib ve gösterdikleri lüzume mebni olmak üzere dahi bazen sevahilde ve bazen geçitlerde ve mühim noktalarda çiftlik ve arazi-i mubayaa ile içlerinde ellişer altmışar hane Bulgar iskanıyla müteaddid yeni köyler teşkil olunur." Ibid.

[311] "Şimdiye kadar mesela nerede nüfus-ı müslime ziyade veya az olduğuna göre hiç bir karye teşkil edilmemiş ve köylerin hın-ı teşkilinde ne bir kaide tahtında tarhına ve ne sükkan-ı cemaatinin ahval-i medeniyye ve sıhhıyesine ihtimam olunmamıştır." Ibid.

[312] "Bu iki vilayetin zirai haritası mevcud olsa ve layıkıyla tedkik olunsa havi oldukları arazinin ziraate salihini ve kuvve-i namiyelerindeki kıymetleri itibarıyla her biri bir Bulgaristan derecesinde varidat teminine müsaid ve kafildir. Envai ziraatin tatbik ve terakkiyatı uğrunda..." Ibid.

[313] "İşte bu ihtimali menabi-i maişetten mahrum bırakılan teba-i şahane ve ezcümle ahali-i müslim teşvikata mazhar olan cemaat gayr-ı müslimeye bittabi rekabet edememekle beraber Maarif ve medeniyetden de bir tesliye beklemeyub bir sefalet ve atalet-i sarfeye puyan olub gitmekdedir." Ibid.

[314] "Memurin-i mülkiyeye aid vezaif için ümera-i askeriyyenin istihdamıdır. İdare-i örfiye ilanı gibi mecburiyet görülmedikçe o makamlarda asker istihdamı katiyen caiz değildir. Bir askerin askerlikten başka bir şeyle iştigal etmemesi en müstahsen ve makul usul-u idare madud ve eğerçi Avrupa'da

last part of his report, he touches on the arbitrary selection and upbringing of civil servants and, not surprisingly, complains about his lack of advance or awards in his career after serving fifteen years at the directorate of education. He reiterates his will to be promoted and transferred to the civil administration.[315]

On May 21, 1902, only a short time after finishing his report, which he had written at İzmir Hotel in the Sirkeci neighbourhood of Istanbul, he was dismissed from his position on the grounds of "staying away from his place of duty for a long period and spending time here and there."[316] Yet, following an official petition in which he mainly refers to his impoverishment,[317] he was re-appointed to the same position of the regional director of education of Yanya on January 17, 1904.[318]

Ziver was then appointed to Kosovo on January 30, 1905.[319] Apparently, he knew this decision in advance and tried to cancel it by inserting the influence of the Governor of Yanya, though with no success.[320] It seems that Ziver was never fond of his

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başvekillere kadar askerden intihabat icra olunmakda ise de o askeri zevatın malumatı Avrupa'ya göre mubassat olub ümera-yı Osmaniyyenin malumat-ı mülkiyesi ise her vechile mahduddur." Ibid.

[315] "Her şube-i idare için muktedir ve namuskar ve sadakat-şiar memur yetişdirilmesidir. Devlet ise memursuz yaşayamadığı gibi iyi idare ademlerine malik olamamasıyla hiç yaşayamaması da ihtimal haricinde değildir. Haşa bir münasebetli misali olamaz isem de fakir on beş sene den beri Maarif müdüriyetinde müstehdam memurinden madud olub meslek-i kemteranemde henüz bir mükafat ve terakki görememek sebeb-i meyusanesiyle dört beş senedir cihet-i mülkiyece istihdamımı istida ve istirham eylerim." Ibid.

[316] "uzun müddet mahal-i memuriyetine gitmeyerek şurada burada vakit geçirmesi gayr-ı caiz bulunmasına mebni artık Yanya Maarif müdiriyetinde beka-i memuriyetine karar verilmiş olduğundan bila-istizan şeref-sadır olan irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilafet-penahi mucebince 1320 senesi saferinin 13'ünde 29 Kanun-u sani 318 tarihinde azl edilmiştir." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.

[317] "Yanya vilayeti maarif müdüriyetine tayin olunup azimetinde tehir etmesi sebebiyle infisal ederek açıkda ve hal-i zaruret kaldığından ve mazuriyetinden bahisle ikdarı hakkında bazı ifade ve istidayı havi Ziver Bey tarafından ita olunan arzuhal leffen cevab..." BOA, BEO. 2183/163658, 1321 B 11.

[318] "1321 senesi şevvalinin 29'unda (5 Kanun-u sani 319) 2000 guruş maaşla Yanya Vilayeti Maarif Müdüriyetine tayin kılınmıştır." BOA, DH.SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29.

[319] BOA, MF.MKT 828/59, 1322 Za 22.

[320] "Maarif Nezareti Celilesine, Vilayet-i Maarif Müdürü Ziver Beyin Kosova Maarif Müdürliğine tahvil edilmek üzere olduğunu istihbar ettiğini ifade ediyor. Kosova'ya tahvil-i memuriyetine kendüsü razı olmadığı gibi buraca meşhur olunan hüsn-ü hıdmeti ve gayreti cihetiyle münasib olmayacağına nazaran

last place of duty and was finally replaced on February 5, 1907[321] after he had submitted his letter of resignation[322] together with a health report (written in Greek by a doctor in Ayazmend, Bergama) which necessitates spa treatment for his rheumatism and asserts that any return to his place of duty (Skopje) would prove detrimental.[323] Following his resignation, it can easily be argued that Ziver continued his intellectual activities. It is highly likely that, after the Young Turk Revolution (July 1908), he was involved in the opposition, at least in the eyes of, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress) which grew increasingly assertive after a coup d'etat, namely the *Bab-ı Ali Baskını* (Raid on the Sublime Porte), on January 23, 1913. Right after the assassination of the CUP-appointed Grand Vizier Mahmud Şevket Paşa, which was perfectly instrumentalised by the committee to suppress the opposition, Ziver was exiled in Sinop like many other intellectuals of the period.[324]

After the WWI, he was released by the general amnesty and finally, achieved his goal of securing a position within the civil administration. He was promoted to the

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nezaret-i celilelerince ibkasına müsade't-ül celileleri bilhassa istirham olunur. 26 Kanun-u evvel 320, Yanya Valisi Birinci Ferik Osman" BOA, MF.MKT. 823/70, 1322 Za 2.

[321] BOA, MF.MKT 976/5.

[322] "Selanik'de huzur-u sami-i cenab-ı müfettiş-i efhamiye, Maruz çakerledir, Leffen arz ve takdim kılınan rapor muhteviyatından müstefham buyurulacağı veche üzere esbab-ı sıhhi-i çakeranem bir müddet için Üsküb'e avdete gayr-i musaid bulunduğundan afv-u hıdmet ve memuriyete müsade-i celile-i efhamiyanelerinin şayan buyurulmasını niyaz ve istirham ederim. Ol babda emr-ü ferman hazret-ü men-leh'ül-emrindir." BOA, MF.MKT 975/60, 1324 Z 20.

[323] "Πιστοποιητικόν, Ο υποφαινόμενος ίατρος διαμένων Αγιασματί προσηληθώς όπως εξετάσω τον Ζιβερ Βέην(μπέη) διευθυντήν τας παιδείας εις τον νομόν Σκοπείων και αποφανθώ επί της καταστάσεως του πιστοποιώ ότι ο ρηθείς ο Ζιβέρ βίως πάσχει υπό(από) ρομαντισμω χρονίων , επί του παρόντος επιδεινωθέντω.Δια ταύτα αποφαίνομαι ότι είναι ανάγκη να ρητελίση κατά την αρμόζουσαν εποχής από Μαϊου μέχρις Αυγούστου λουτροθεραπείαν εις το ειθισμένον μέρος των λουτρών.Εξ'ου κατ' αίτησιν του δίδεται το παρόν πιστοποιητικόν. Εν Αγιασματίω τη 22 Δεκεμβρίου 1906. Ο δημαρχιακός Ιατρός." Ibid. I have to express my appreciation to Eleni Giakouvaki for helping me to read this text.

[324] "Kosova maarif müdür-ü esbakı Ziver Bey'in tarafından verilan arzuhalde mukaddema Sinob'a nefy ve ahiren vukuu bulan afv-ı umumi üzerine avdet etmiş olduğuna..." The exact date when Ziver was sent to Sinob is June 18, 1913. DH.EM.MH.. 195/66, 1337 Za 18.

governorship of Üsküdar on August 1, 1919[325] and later of Hüdavendigar on August 3, 1920.[326] At last, he was removed from that office on November 21, 1920.[327] We have no information regarding his death except a leaflet (fig. 8) that covers a list of books which, in all likelihood, involved the books in his possession that were put into public auction after his death. My contention derives from a number of reasons: The explanatory statement on the first page mentions Ziver's name together with his character as a man of letters and poet;[328] in accordance with Ziver's identity as a historian, the list includes a great number of historical works.[329] Though it goes far beyond the limits of this thesis, I want to mention that this leaflet may also serve as a source of crucial importance to survey a personal library that an Ottoman intellectual draws on.

3.2 A historical contextualisation of Ziver's *Kıbrıs Tarihi:* From history of Cyprus to history for Cyprus

Ziver's *Kıbrıs Tarihi*[330] (History of Cyprus) signified the first Ottoman attempt to cover the history of this specific locality from ancient times until the contemporary British

[325] BOA, İ..DUİT 43/16, 1337 Za 04.
[326] BOA, İ..DUİT 42/17, 1338 Za 18.
[327] BOA, İ..DUİT 42/19, 1339 Ra 09.
[328] The explanation on the first page of this little notebook reads accordingly: "İstanbul payelilerden olub geçende irtihal-i dar-ı beka eden nevadir-i şuara ve üdeba-yı asırdan Ziver Bey Efendi'nin ikafına muvaffak olduğu kitab-ı şerifeden başka bu kere bab-ı vala-yı fetva-penahide kariben yevm-i füruhtu ilan olunacak kitab-ı şerifenin defteridir." The source is located at National Library, in Ankara.
[329] On page 5 "Münşeat-i Asım, Münşeat-i Mahir Bey, Münşeat-i Akif Paşa, Tarih-i Muradi, Tarih-i Enbiya, Tarih-i Subhi, Tarih-i Raşid, Tarih-i Vasıf, Tarih-i Şanizade, Tarih-i Ahbar'ül-düvel" and on page 6, "Tarih-i Asım, Tarih-i Cevdet Paşa, Tarih-i Osmani, Tarih-i Endülüs, Tarih-i Peçevi, Selanikli Tarihi, Tarih-i Takvim, Tarih-i Asr-ı Selim Han, Tarih-i İskender, Tarih-i Kadime-i Felasife, Tarih-i Amasya, Tarih-i Afgan, Fütuh-u Mısır, Tarih-i Timurlenk, Amerika Tarihi, Tarih-i Umumi, Tarih-i Taberi, Müneccim Başı Tarihi, Tarih-i Mısırin, Süleyman-name, Tarih-i Umumi, Tarih-i Ali, Feridun Bey Mecmuası, Tarih-i Yunanistan-ı Kadim, Tarih-i Katerina, Tarih-i Panayort, Tarih-i Naima, Tarih-i Uzza, Feridun Mecmuası"And on page 7 "Kamus, Tarih-i Napolyon, Tarih-i İtalya"
[330] The first study on *Kıbrıs Tarihi*, albeit in a few pages, was conducted by again, Harid Fedai. "İlklerden Bir kitap: Ziver Bey'in Kıbrıs Tarihi" in *Kıbrıs Türk Kültürü Makaleler – 1*, (Lefkoşa: Özyay Matbaacılık

rule. The work can be seen within the rising genre of Ottoman local histories that were different from the few preceding works which were "previously restricted to the lives of a locality's famous men."[331] Importantly, they were mostly devoted to critical localities like Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Yemen and San'a, Trabzon and Bosnia-Herzegovina where the Ottoman rule or sovereignty was contested in one way or another by different actors. This genre, of course, seems to stand in sharp contrast to the earlier historiographical legacy which as mentioned above, drove Johann Strauss in his search to find a provincial or non-official voice to the local chronicles in Greek[332] since the likes of these were in large part absent in Ottoman Turkish. Yet, even in the second half of the nineteenth century when such a growing body of historical works appeared thanks to the provincial printing facilities, an intellectual differentiation between local and official voices as desired by Strauss, still seemed ambiguous.

A quick glance at the selection of localities can tell us much about the underlying mentality and motivation behind the appearance of this genre that, in an absolute identification with the Ottoman state, focused on a rejection of rival claims over these territories. *Kıbrıs Tarihi* must be regarded accordingly. In the last sentence of the preface, Ziver expresses the primary motivations for the work as "fatherland and nation" by declaring his trust for "those who love the fatherland and nation" who will

Ltd., 2005). The same study was already published by *Türk Bankası Kültür Sanat Dergisi* 11 (November 1992). Besides, in his book which was published for the first time in January 1988, Nizayi Kızılyürek refers to *Kıbrıs Tarihi* as "the most remarkable local production in Turkish" until the outbreak of the WWI. Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Paşalar Papazlar* (Lefkoşa, Khora Yayınları, 2011), 37.

[331] Kuran, "Ottoman Historiography…", 425.

[332] Strauss, "Ottoman Rule Experienced…", 193.

correct his mistakes.[333] Openly, these two causes became the main criteria to explain for why and by whom Ottoman history is being written at the end of the nineteenth century. Essentially, Ziver, who had the bureaucratic career mentioned above and regrettably acknowledged that he had never been to Cyprus,[334] cannot be seen as a local voice, at least in the sense of being independent from the state. The details of the publication of his work further illustrate this issue.

Ziver's work was initially published in a local newspaper called *Zaman* (Time) in Cyprus in the form of instalments a la feuilleton.[335] Known to Ottomans as *tefrika*, this style of publication was highly popular in the empire since it contributed both to the sales and circulation of the papers.[336] Here it is important to note that Rhodes was not preferred as a place of printing even if it would have been a lot easier and more practical since Ziver was living there and it was known to be a thriving centre of Ottoman Turkish provincial press as mentioned above. This indicates that the choice to print it in Cyprus was a deliberate one to inform, first and foremost, the public living there. It must also be noted here that the aforesaid newspaper, "upon its duty to serve Islamic education,"[337] acted with the intention of involving young Muslim students in Lefkoşa

[333] "Kim bilir, esma-ı kadimesinde ne kadar yanlışım olmuş ve bazı nekatı tarife ne mertebe sehvler etmişimdir. Vakıa, böyle noksanları vatanını, milletini sevenler tashih ve itmam edeceğinden emin isem de..." Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi,* 4.
[334] "Bir ikinci kusurum da "Alem bir kitaptır, seyahat onu mütalaa etmektir" sözünden gafil bulunup, Kıbrıs'ı görmeden tarihini yazmaktır." Ibid., 4.
[335] Özcan Mert, "Osmanlı Belgelerine Göre Bir Kıbrıs Gazetesi Zaman," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi 4* (2003): 73.
[336] Strauss, "Kütüp ve Resail…", 232.
[337] "Zaman esasen, maarif-i İslamiyeye hizmete kendini mükellef tutacağından her sene Lefkoşa müslüman mekteplerinin imtihanlarını müteakip şahadetname alacaklardan, üçüncü dereceye kadar çıkacaklardan meccanen birer abone kaydeyleyeceği gibi, arasıra müslüman çocuklardan küçük küçük meseleler tertib ve halledenlerin üçüncüsüne kadar, isimleri takdir edilerek ilan ile beraber, evlad-ı islamın, usul-ü tedris ve ders ve dersinin teşkilatını makaleleri ile söyleyenlerin yazılarıyla sahifelerini süslemekten usanmayacaktır…" Cemalettin Ünlü, *Kıbrıs'ta Basın Olayı (1878-1981)* (Ankara: Basım Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, 1981), 18.

as subscribers and writers. Both *Zaman* newspaper, whose first issue was dated December 25, 1891 and remained in publication until September 2, 1900,[338] and its publishing house which would later print *Kıbrıs Tarihi* in book form, were founded by a local Ottoman association (*Osmanlı Kıraathanesi*) to counter the activities and discourses of a Greek nationalist rival organisation called Cypriot Association (Kypriakos Syllogos).[339] *Kıraathane,* literally 'public reading room', was an important aspect of public opinion at that time and accordingly introduced by Johann Strauss as a place where books, journals and magazines were placed on display.[340]

It can easily be assumed that *Zaman*'s struggle against the campaign for the unification of the island with Greece (Enosis) and to maintain a defensive public opinion and movement among Muslim subjects of the island was reflected on the level of history writing. The impetus to print and circulate Ziver's work as the first of its kind was most probably derived from the need to fill the gap and to counter the Greek nationalist history-writing. Moreover, we know that Cyprus is not the only place such an impetus proved to be productive in history writing.[341] The historical showdown over the island can further be illustrated with an Ottoman manual consisting of foreign works that were deemed inappropriate to be read and sold within the borders of Ottoman Empire. Besides a large number of historical works in Greek,[342] a certain book called Cyprus[343]

[338] Ahmet An, *Dinsel Toplumdan Ulusal Topluma Geçiş Süreci ve Kıbrıs Türk Liderliğinin Oluşması (1900-1942)* (Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür Yayınları, 1997), 37.
[339] Mert, 63.
[340] Strauss, 233.
[341] History of Trabzon (Trabzon Tarihi) which was published by Şakir Şevket in 1877, was written as a reaction to another historical work by Savvas İonnidies, a native of the city. Kafadar and Karateke, 569.
[342] For the books in Greek, look at the pages between 59-77. "Memalik-i Mahrusa-i şahaneye duhul ve intişarı memnu bulunan kütüb ve resail-i muzırranın esamisini mübeyyin cedvelidir." (İstanbul: Matba-i Amire, 1318).
[343] The information about the book covers the name, the author and the printing place respectively: Kypros, G. Frankoulis and Athens. Ibid., 77.

didn't escape the attention of Ottoman censorship which was apparently sensitive toward the island. This is of course hardly surprising and constitutes a single manifestation of a larger monitoring mechanism that was especially concerned about historical books, geographical productions and last but not least, maps.[344] Ziver himself is particularly assertive in this regard. Despite being a matter of secondary importance in a work on Cyprus, he clarifies that Armenia in maps and geographical books is associated with the Armenian Kingdom of Cicilia and is not the country that spreads from Tbilisi to Mosul and Diyarbakır "as envisioned."[345]

The objectives of the *Zaman* newspaper was in line with Bab-ı Ali during the period in question since its owner, namely Tüccarbaşı Hacı Ahmet Derviş Efendi, awarded both perpetual financial assistance and more importantly, the honorary title of *Paşa* "for his services in support of the interests of state and fatherland, and of the happiness of children of the fatherland," plus "for his loyal publications."[346] It must be also noted here that the title was given in the same year while Ziver's work was being printed in instalments.

Nevertheless, the Ottoman censorship maintained a close grip, if not a closer one, on Ottoman Turkish productions regarding Cyprus as well. Özcan Mert, in his study on the aforesaid newspaper, claims that Ziver's narrative on the internal plots in

[344] Alkan, 192.
[345] "Ekser coğrafya kitaplarıyla haritalarda mezkur olan Ermenistan kıt'asından maksat, sergerde Levon'un Bizans imparatoru Justinyen'in ahlafı devrinde ve hicri beş yüz kırk senesine doğru Adana havalisinde teşkil ettiği imaret olup, yoksa tasavvur edildiği gibi Tiflis'ten Musul ve Diyar-ı Bekir'e kadar olan memalik değildir." Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi…*, 63.
[346] "Zaman Gazetesi sahibi Tüccarbaşı… Hacı Ahmet Derviş Efendi bendeleri en kadim menafi-i devlet ve memleket ve saadet hal-i ebna-yı vatan uğruna malen, bedenen hizmet ve gayrete meluf ve meftun olduğu gibi cezirede en evvel mezkur gazeteyi tesis ederek rıza-yı ali-i hazret-i padişahiye muvafik neşriyat-ı sadıkanede…" Mehmet Demiryürek, "Türk Basını ve İstanbul Hükümetleri I," *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkilap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* 25-26 (March-November 2000): 123.

the Kingdom of Cyprus (1192-1489) which include dethronement or imprisonment of the kings, gave rise to concerns in Istanbul. As a result, Derviş Efendi was put on notice through local Muslim authorities as Istanbul demanded. He came to reason and pledged accordingly.[347] However, Ziver's work was continued to be published in the newspaper and later took the form of a book which still included the *inappropriate* content, even if it is known that instalments of *tefrika* works could be published as a book only upon a re-investigation.[348] Yet, Mert's claim can be strengthened by other similar examples of historical works that were censored for the same reason[349] or the usage of supposedly *forbidden words*[350] like *ihtilal*[351](disorder) or *istibdad*[352] (absolutism) that Ziver himself used in the work. One can even argue that such undesirable elements might be tolerated by the Ottoman state regarding the political utility of this publication.

All in all, the state assistance and control over the publication highlighted to a further extent that the *History of Cyprus* was written from the perspective of Istanbul. Here it must also be stressed that official and local perspectives in history writing as well as in other fields of intellectual production were not necessarily meant to be mutually exclusive. It is known that in this period, the Muslim notables of the island now under British administration, yet in direct and substantial relation with Istanbul, stressed the Ottoman identity of Cyprus and themselves.[353] Now let us focus on what

[347] Mert, 73-74.
[348] Demirel, 93.
[349] Fatmagül Demirel gives the example of Selim Sabit Efendi's *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani* which was censored because of its narration of the dethronement of sultans. Demirel, 100.
[350] François Georgeon, "Yasak Kelimeler: XX. Yüzyılın Başındaki Osmanlı Sansürüyle İlgili Bir Belge Üzerine," in *Mete Tunçay'a Armağan*, eds. Murat Koraltürk, Tanıl Bora and Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 192.
[351] Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi*, 92.
[352] Ibid., 91.
[353] Altay Nevzat, "Nationalism Amongst the Turks of Cyprus: the First Wave," (Unpublishd doctoral dissertation, Oulu University, 2005), 104.

kind of historical narrative emerged as a corollary of that, and how it related to the earlier Ottoman narratives about the execution of Bragadino discussed in the second chapter.

3.3 The new paradigm on the conquest of Cyprus in Ziver's *Kıbrıs Tarihi*

In Ziver's text, we read no details regarding the corporal punishment inflicted on Bragadino. I would suggest that the total omission of the conditions of Bragadino's death in Ziver's account can only be understood together with the modernisation of Ottoman state-society relations and public ordering. My suggestion here is also parallel to the way the early modern Ottoman historians, for example, Piri Efendi as analysed in the second chapter, reflected on the same topic with regard to *daire-i adliyye* (circle of justice) which was the main Ottoman concept of social order at that time. It has recently been argued that state-society relations were already in crisis during the reign of the Mahmud II[354] who, more than any of his predecessors, tried to gain a public appearance in the eyes of Ottoman subjects through travels in imperial lands and public exposure of his portrayals.[355] It was an era in which the ruling mentality of the Ottoman state evolved from being above the public to being with and within the public. In this regard, The Declaration of Gülhane Edict in 1839, whether a home-grown or externally imposed phenomenon, marked a new level of Ottoman modernisation and paved the way for a new Ottoman governing mentality in which the rights[356] and duties[357] of

[354] Deringil, *Well Protected Domain*s...., 8
[355] Kırlı, 31
[356] From Gülhane Hattı-ı Hümayunu: "emniyeti can ve mahfuziyet-i ırz u nâmus…"

Ottoman subjects were articulated as formulas for a better administration regardless of ethnic and religious markers. The Islahat Edict in 1856 underlined the rights of the Ottoman subjects, now citizens, on a formal legal level by outlawing the execution of corporal punishment and torture[358] which were after a short time integrated into the *1858 Ceza Kanunnamesi* as official crimes.[359]

As the Ottoman realm was introduced to modern penal law, rituals of executions have changed with "the disappearance of the spectacle and the elimination of the pain"[360] in a pattern similar to Western Europe. The practices of the earlier centuries, which consisted of corporal and exemplary punishments, began to be found barbarous and contrary to 'civilisation'. Even though the Ottomans would never completely leave such practices behind, they would at least develop a discursive sensitivity to disguise them. After all, in order to understand Ziver's break from earlier Ottoman historians, we do not need a properly functioning modern system of justice but this Ottoman sensitivity which exists in particular in the absence of justice. A similar interpretation was already laid down regarding the Tanzimat concept of law by Milan Petrov: "The beauty of this discursive device, of course, is that it is unaffected by the actual continuity of the practice of torture…"[361]

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[357] From Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu: As a condition unto which Tanzimat's success is depended: "Halkın kabiliyyet ve istidadlarına nazaran… beş on sene zarfında…"

[358] From Islahat Fermanı: "hiçbir guna mücazaat-ı cismaniye ve eziyet ve işkenceye müşabih kaffe-ı muamele dahi kamilen lağv ve iptal kılınması ve bunun hilafında vuku bulacak hareket şediden men ve zecr olunacağından maada bunun icrasını emreden memurin ile bi'l-fiil icra eyleyen kesanın dahi ceza kanunnamesi iktizasınca tekdir ve tedip olunması…"

[359] Taner Akçam. *Siyasi Kültürümüzde Zulüm ve İşkence* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1995), 177.

[360] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 11.

[361] Milan Petrov, "Everyday Forms of Compliance: Subaltern Commentaries on Ottoman Reform 1864-1868," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46, no. 4 (October 2004): 743.

If we position this change of political and legal consciousness in Ottoman historiography, we can clearly see a new phenomenon: what is perceived as an act of justice in Piri Efendi's account is no longer bearable in Ziver's account, since it has now become an act of injustice. Ziver however, quickly reconfigured the Ottoman past to the changing needs of Ottoman modernity. As corporal punishments gave way to prison sentences in the newly emerging bureaucratic and centralised legal system[362] which guaranteed an investigation and a trial before the execution of punishment along Gülhane[363] and Islahat[364] promises, Ziver had to make another manipulation in addition to his silence over corporal punishment.

In Piri Efendi's account, for example, Lala Mustafa Paşa questions Bragadino about the murder of Muslim prisoners upon his *Islamic sensitivity*, then loses his temper after Bragadino could not provide an answer and subsequently cuts off the Venetian commander's ears, which was deemed to be a heroic act by Piri. In Ziver's account, however, the very same Ottoman commander asks again the same question yet this time, in the name of *conscience*. He wants to know how on earth Bragadino *did not have pity* for the Egyptian *defterdar* (an official keeper of financial registers) and his people while executing them "totally in such a horrible way?"[365] At this point, Bragadino, in contrast to his inability to answer and his preference for silence as was the case in Piri's account,

[362] Özgür Sevgi Göral, "19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Suç, Toplumsal Kontrol ve Hapishaneler Üzerine Çalışmak," in *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18.-20 Yüzyıllar,* eds. Noemi Levy Aksu and Alexandre Toumarkine (İstanbul: Türkiye Eknomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2007).
[363] From Tanzimat Fermanı: "tetkik görülüp hükm olunmadıkça hiç kimse hakkında hafi ve celi idam ve tesmim muamelesi icrası caiz olmamak…"
[364] From Islahat Fermanı: "hukuk-u insaniyye-i hukuk-u adalet ile tevfik etmek için mazanne-ı sui olanların veyahut tedibat-ı cezaiyyeye müstahak bulunanların hapis ve tevfikine mahsus olan kaffe-i mahbes ve mahalli sairede usul-u hapsiyenin mümkün mertebe müddet-i kalile zarfında ıslahına mübaşeret olunması…"
[365] "Mustafa Paşa Mısır Defterdarı ile halkının gaddarane itlafına neden acınmadığı ve Magusa kalesinde bulunan üsera-yı müslimenin kamilen idamına nasıl vicdan ile emir verildiğini sual ettiğinde;" Ziver, 90.

[366] and unlike his attempts to shift the blame to other Venetian masters as it was the case in Mustafa Ali's account, accepts his crime in the most direct and murderous way possible: "They were my prisoners, I killed them all."[367] As a result of this answer, both Bragadino and his entourage were sent to prison upon the orders of the Ottoman Commander without any corporal or collective punishment in contrast to the earlier narratives.[368]

It must be noted that the issue at hand is not only an overt secularisation and, to a lesser extent, neutralisation of the earlier Islamic and pejorative discourse which was based on the conceptual pair of *Dar-ül Harb/Dar-ül Islam* (Adobe of War/ Adobe of Islam) in terms of incessant fighting. In addition, the new terminology was related to the reforming zeal and goals as best illustrated by the term, 'conscience'. It must be remembered here the manner in which how the term conscience was utilised in civilisational controversies in the Ottoman Turkish press about Ziver's school Galatarasay Lycee or by Ziver himself with regard to the ideas of 'progress' and 'new knowledge of our age' in one of his poems given above. In this regard, it is quite critical that, while in Piri's text Lala has his 'exemplary plans' (from the point of view of a sixteenth century author) already in place before he meets and questions Bragadino, according to the Ziver's text he had no such plans until Bragadino confesses his crime and is charged for his murderous acts. This, of course, draws a further parallel between the present case and a modern proper trial. Ziver, in his utmost desire to balance the past with Ottoman modernity, goes so far as to establish a modern Ottoman court in the

[366] "deyü sual ettiklerinde, asla kelam-ı müfid ile nutka kadir ve cevaba malik olmayup, sükut ihtiyar etdükde..." Piri, 73.
[367] "Esimlerim idi, cümlesini katl eyledim" cevabını alması..." Ibid., 90.
[368] "Bragadino ile rüfekası ba-emr-ü serdar zenciri esarete vurularak zindana attırılmıştır." Ibid., 90.

sixteenth century, which was functioning too perfectly to be real even in the nineteenth century.

In addition, Ziver's work assumes a further detachment from earlier narratives with regard to the collective punishment of enslavement by ignoring the issue completely. After the castle of Nicosia was taken, Selaniki for example, deliberately and proudly mentions that "captives and booties which the soldiers of Islam collected in this ghaza amounted to an extent that had never been heard of and seen in the course of history."[369] As mentioned in the second chapter according to the *fetihname* of Piri Efendi, the same kind of collective punishment was carried out after the conquest of Famagusta as well, and the people, who were already waiting on board to have a safe passage to Crete, were all enslaved to serve as oarsmen while the 'delicate ones' were reserved for the Sultan.[370] Piri's account on this point can be checked with state documents[371] as well as European narratives. To illustrate, the contemporary chaplain of the Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople, namely Stephen Gerlach noted the enslavement of the Venetians in his diary without any pity because of their relentless rule against the people of Cyprus.[372] Moreover, Halil İnalcık mentioned the fact that in 1571, the exact year of the conquest of Famagusta, the Ottoman navy was dependent on

[369] "Hasıl-ı kelam leşker-i islam bu gazada bir vechile mal-i ganaim ve üseraya malik oldular ki hiç bir tarihde görülmiş ve işidilmiş değildi." Selaniki, *Tarih-i Selaniki* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amira, 1864), 103.
[370] Piri, 74.
[371] "Yeniçeri Ağası'na hüküm ki mektub gönderüb binası ferman olunan mavnalara Tersane-i Amire'mde mübaşeret olunmak üzre olub Kıbrıs esirlerinden..." İbrahim Etem Çakır, *10 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin (s. 179-356) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi* (Unpublished master's thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2006), 112.
[372] Gerlach notes exactly that: "the Venetians kept their subjects in Cyprus (like the Genoese theirs in Chios) worse than slaves…After the Turks came, the poor people are freed of their burden and are equally free, but their masters, who had tortured them, were caught and sold in Turkey." Stavrianos, 114.

the sheer number of oarsmen (30,000 – 40,000) among whom the presence of slaves is undoubted.[373]

In more general terms, the practice of enslavement was approved by sharia and customary law, and seen as a vital basis for the system of servitude that dominated the military and administrative establishments of the Ottoman state.[374] To ensure the flow of slaves into the system, the Black Sea slave trade was not only expanded but also institutionalised in the hand of the Ottomans.[375] Yet, the very same process that rests upon the transformation of state-society relations had also contributed to a new understanding of bureaucracy. Essentially, the Gülhane Edict can also be read as the apogee of a number of earlier attempts to leave behind the system of servitude and its two lasting elements which are *müsadere* (confiscation) and *siyaseten katl* (execution at the Sultan's will).[376]

More importantly for the present discussion, the Islahat Edict annulled the classical *zimmi* status of the Christian subjects by declaring them equal before the law and as a corollary of that, the enslavement of Christians whether as a consequence of rebellion or war could no longer be sustained in legal terms.[377] Starting from the 1840's, the Ottoman state issued a number of regulations to limit the slave trade amidst rising British pressures to do so.[378] Thanks to such efforts, Ottoman identity was deemed civilised in English statesmen's discourses and in European public opinion. A similar

[373] Halil İnalcık, "Servile Labour in the Ottoman Empire," in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, eds. A. Ascher, T. Halasi-Kun and B. K. Kiraly, (Brooklyn, New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1979), 36-50-51.
[374] Hakan Erdem, *Osmanlı'da Köleliğin Sonu 1800-1909* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 33.
[375] Charles King, *The Black Sea: A History* (Oxford, NewYork: Oxford University Press, 2004), 116.
[376] Erdem, 63.
[377] Ibid., 65.
[378] Ibid., 91.

judgment existed in the eyes of a significant number of Ottomans statesmen themselves, which shows us the extent of internalisation on the issue of slavery. All in all, the above-mentioned collective punishment which was narrated proudly in the earlier accounts in terms of the enslavement of townsfolk was also completely rescinded in Ziver's text since slavery had also become an uncivilised and barbaric matter to frown upon, in the same manner as corporal punishment. It goes without saying that the Ottomans did not completely succeed in this field either since slavery was never abolished as a legal status or institution.[379]

In conclusion, the issue of Bragadino and the townsfolk of Famagusta became a test of conscience and civilisation according to Ziver. With a clear break from the earlier legacy of Ottoman historiography, he provided the Ottoman state with much necessary relief.

3.4 Ziver's representability vis-à-vis the Late Ottoman Historiography

To bring this chapter to an end, I will refer to two authoritative texts with regard to the issue. Hayrullah Efendi's *Tarih-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye* and Mustafa Nuri Paşa's *Netayic'ül-vukuat*, both listed as sources[380] in *History of Rhodes* by Ziver himself, provide us a glance to see on the one hand, the relationship between Ziver and his sources and on the other, how far Ziver's paradigm is representative of the Ottoman history writing of the period in general terms.

[379] Ibid., 123.
[380] Ziver, *Rodos Tarihi*, iiiii.

Hayrullah Efendi's work is known to be the first of its kind to comprehensively relate the history of the Ottoman Empire to universal history through adopting a comparative perspective and using sources in foreign languages.[381] This is self-acknowledged and repeatedly mentioned by the phrase of "according to the new method."[382] Hayrullah Efendi assumes a more interpretative perspective and openly criticises the earlier generations because of merely repeating magnanimous events like circumcision festivals or hunting feasts.[383] His account of the conquest of Cyprus exclusively deals with the siege and conquest of Famagusta. According to this text, which is very similar to that of Ziver, the castle is handed over to the Ottomans after the Venetian submission. Despite the Ottomans deciding to provide safe voyage to Crete,[384] "the Venetian lord of Cyprus whose name is Bragadino appeared at the Ottoman camp with his red dress and then acted according to his national bigotry (taassub-u milliye) in an inappropriate manner. Beyond this, before they left the city, he murdered the Muslim prisoners. As retaliation, the Westerners were taken out of the ships and were all beheaded at the place of punishment. Their leader was also punished as he deserved."[385]

Hayrullah Efendi, writing from 1854 to 1864 when the Islahat Reforms were newly introduced, mentions both the corporal and the collective character of the

[381] Ortaylı, 87.
[382] In Ottoman, the phare is "usul-u cedid üzre." Ömer Faruk Akün, "Hayrullah Efendi Tarihi," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 17 (1998), 76.
[383] Akün, ibid, 77.
[384] "Pek mamur ve müstahkem bir şehir iken içinde bulunanlar sademat-ı top kale kupa tahammül edemediklerinden vira ile şehri virmeğe söz verip kendülerinin dahi donanma-yı hümayundan bir fırka ile Girit adasına geçürülmesine karar verildi ise de..." Hayrullah Efendi, *Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye Tarihi* Vol. 12, (İstanbul: Tabhane-i Amire, 1853-1865), 40.
[385] "Kıbrıs'ın sahibi olan Bragadino nam Venedikli Bey kırmızı elbise ile kaleden çıkıp orduya geldi ise de taassub-u milliyesini terk edemeyerek bazı yolsuz etvarda bulunduğundan başka kendüsünde esir bulunan müslümanları kaleden çıkıp gidecekleri vakit katl eylediğiçün gemilere konmuş olan Frenkler derhal çıkarılıp kısas olmak üzere cümlesinin meydan-ı siyasette kelleleri galtan oldu. Reislerinin dahi seza olduğu cezası verildi." Ibid., 40.

punishment. Again in contrast to Ziver, we see no questioning and as a corollary of that, no confession from Bragadino regarding his crime. However, there is no room to claim that he favours what happened because, in parallel to Ziver, he omits the gruesome details. Moreover, as a token of his outspoken critical stance toward Ottoman history and a complete break from early modern Ottoman historians, he openly suggests that "nonetheless, if Commander Mustafa Paşa had not killed them like this, it would have been better."[386] One can even argue that this phrase carries in itself the more friendly spirit towards the West during the heyday of the Tanzimat (1839-1876). Not surprisingly, Ziver chose not to cite this sentence, as he was writing in the 1890's when the Hamidian censorship had notably increased;[387] and European-Ottoman relations were certainly more polarised than the post-Crimean War period of rapprochement which was the case for Hayrullah Efendi. Notwithstanding the differences between the two texts, it can be argued that Hayrullah Efendi shares Ziver's attitude (given his omission over the conditions of Bragadino's death, with only a brief reference to the punishment), or to be more chronologically correct, it should be the other way around. I venture to add that the new Ottoman narrative over the issue was first of all established by Hayrullah Efendi who, as the Vice-President of the Ottoman Academy of Sciences, *Encümen-i Daniş*, opened the way for the following generations of Ottoman historians.

The second work that I consider is Mustafa Nuri Efendi's *Netayic'ül-vukuat*. Its author, who had a long and successful career in which he was honoured with the rank of vizier and served in his last years as the Minister of Pious Foundations, wrote his book

[386] "Her ne ise Serdar Mustafa Paşa bunları öyle katl etmemiş olsaydı daha güzel olur idi." Ibid., 40.
[387] Georgeon, 200.

while serving as Minister of *Defter-i Hakani* on land registry cadastre.[388] He is known to detach himself from the tradition of state chroniclers and to lean towards a new historical perspective that rests upon cause and effect relationship together with a specific focus on institutions.[389] Regarding the conquest of Famagusta, he writes how the Venetian-held city was surrounded by both land and sea, and the besieged ones had to surrender. They were given twenty ships for their transfer to Europe. Though, when the General of the castle met Grand Commander Mustafa Paşa, he was asked with regard to the circumstances of Muslim captives.[390] In return, he answered "They are all my prisoners, and I killed them all."[391] As this action contradicts the conditions of their submission, the aforesaid general was executed as retribution."[392]

In this text as well, the conditions in which Bragadino was punished and killed were totally suppressed. Plus, as an obvious parallel between Mustafa Nuri's and Ziver's texts, the very conscienceless answer which was attributed to Bragadino exists in both texts in an identical form. One can surely argue that the phrase must have been found quite useful by Mustafa Nuri to legalise and justify the execution of Bragadino and was later taken by Ziver himself to serve the same end. In a similar way to Ziver, the collective enslavement of the townsfolk is ignored by Mustafa Nuri. The last issue

[388] Yılmaz Kurt, "Mustafa Nuri," in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, (eds.) Cemal Kafadar, Hakan Karateke and Cornell Fleischer https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/mustafanuri.pdf (accessed, 11-7-2016), 1.
[389] Kurt, 2.
[390] "Berren ve bahren emr-i muhasara teşdid olunmağın mahsurin istimana mecbur olduklarından Avrupa'ya naklleri için yirmi kıta sefine tahsis olunmuş iken kala Generali, Serdar-ı ekrem Mustafa Paşa'ya mülaki oldukda, Magosa Kalası'nda bulunan üsera-yı Müsliman keyfiyyeti sual olunub:" Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayicü'l Vukuat: Kurumlarıyla Osmanlı Tarihi I-IV*, ed. Yılmaz Kurt (Ankara: Birleşik, 2008), 125.
[391] Ibid., 125-126.
[392] "Bu ise mugayir-i şerait-i istiman bulunduğuna mebni serdar-ı ekram dahi mücazeten general-i mezburu idam eyledi." Ibid., 126.

was found to be 'a historical mistake' and suppressed by most of the following historians, except at least one author, namely Yağlıkçızade Ahmed Rıfat who goes to the extent of claiming exactly the opposite by stating that the Venetians were transferred to Italy as "was recorded in historical texts."[393]

To generalise this common ground between these three late Ottoman historians, a short but quite specific work that I encountered while writing this thesis, must be mentioned. In his eight pages long article written in 1992, *How Cyprus Came Under Turkish Rule: A Conquest and The Historians,*[394] Johann Strauss particularly focuses on how the conquest of Cyprus was referred to by Ottoman historians. Here, he very briefly touches on the issue of Bragadino as well. Even if he does not mention Ziver's work and argues that "old Ottoman chroniclers, with the exception of Peçevi, do not give a very detailed account of the execution of Bragadin (his name is very rarely mentioned),"[395] which is not quite correct as I illustrated in the second chapter of this thesis, he does call attention to a discursive change in the nineteenth century. More importantly, by referring to a number of texts which were published after Ziver's *History of Cyprus,* and thus do not directly concern this thesis, he helps us to attribute this transformation to a larger number, if not all, of Ottoman historians.

Yet, Ziver's account of the death of Bragadino goes beyond the decision to merely not employ it in his narrative. After his initial silence, Ziver engages in a polemic against an 'other' who seemingly has another kind of narrative over the matter.

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[393] "Bade'l-feth derununda bulunan 4000 kadar cenkci Venedik askerinin İtalya sevahiline gönderildiği tevarihte mukayyeddir." Yağlıkçızade Ahmed Rıfat, *Lugat-ı Tarihiyye ve Coğrafiyye* vol. 5 (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1300), 268.
[394] Johann Stauss, "How Cyprus Came Under Turkish Rule: A Conquest and The Historians," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 82 (1992): 325-334.
[395] Ibid., 332.

The other is, of course, Europe and in this case, the body of Western historians. All in all, Ziver, who undertook the duty of writing a history of Ottoman Cyprus in comparison to the history of Europe and through European sources, embodies a certain phenomenon that encapsulates the total experience of Ottoman modernisation: that Europe is not only a reference to efforts aiming to solve a problem, but also the source of the problem itself.[396] As was mentioned in the introduction, in order to understand Ottoman historiographical transformation to a much deeper and more comprehensive extent, we have to take into consideration the Western historians that drove their Ottoman colleagues to write against them. In the next chapter, the focus will be on the other side of this polemical dialogue through looking at the Bragadino narrative(s) in well-known and authoritative Western historical works.

[396] Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl ve...", 191.

CHAPTER 4

THE RIVAL TWINS

OTTOMAN AND WESTERN HISTORIOGRAPHIES

This chapter focuses on how and more importantly, why the narrative of Bragadino assumed such importance in European historiography as it did similarly in the Ottoman narratives from the sixteenth century onwards. I will try to expose and analyse the Western narrative(s) over the issue and how it gave rise to a concern on behalf of Ottoman historians who were otherwise more than ready to suppress it altogether according to the needs of Ottoman modernisation as discussed above. In doing so, the very dialogical relation between European and Ottoman historiographies can be illustrated in contrast to dominant literature that casts away the latter as a mere imitation or even a simple translation of the former. Needless to say, such an emphasis would shed light on the creative and formative aspects of late Ottoman history writing in this dialogue.

4.1 Ziver's intermediary on Cyprus: Louis Lacroix

Louis Lacroix's book on the Greek islands, namely, *Iles de la Grece* can serve as a perfect starting point for our present discussion since it was read and used by Ziver himself while writing his work on the history of Cyprus. Even though it is not mentioned, Ziver's narration on the pre-Ottoman period of the island, more often than

not, bears great similarity to that of Lacroix,[397] and Ziver's endnotes[398] (fig. 18) and calendar[399] (fig. 19) in Greek, which might give the wrong impression that he used Greek sources, are taken directly from the latter's work. Moreover, Lacroix's narrative is most representative of such historical texts as it largely relies on Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's work that received wide reception among both European and Ottoman historians.

First of all, a brief glance at Lacroix's biography is necessary to contextualise the work. Louis Lacroix (1817 - 1881) was one of the most well-known French historians and served as professor of history at the Faculty of Arts in Nancy between 1853 and 1870, and later as professor of modern history at the University of France in Paris from 1871 to 1880.[400] His name also appears on the list of the founding members[401] of the French School of Athens which was established in 1846 as the first foreign institute in Greece. More to our interest, it is self-acknowledged that the school lies at the intersection of French military and academic motivations in the country,

[397] To provide a comparison between the two texts, I will cite from Lacroix and Ziver respectively. Lacroix, 2: "Le nom primitive de l'ile de Chypre etait celui de Kittim ou Chetim. Tous les pays de l'antiquite porterent d'abord le nom de la premiere famille ou tribu qui les occupa. C'etait en imposant son nom au sol que l'homme signifiait qu'il en avait pris possession, et l'ile de Chypre recut le sien de ses premiers habitants, "Chetim, fils de Javan, fils de Japhet, dit Josephe, s'etablit dans l'ile qu'on nomme maintenant Chypre, a laquelle il donna son nom; d'ou vient que les Hebreux nomment Chetim toutes les iles et tous les lieux maritimes."
Ziver, 4, E.N.1: "Kitim, cezireyi ilk iskan eden kavim veya reisine işarettir. Müverrih Josef'e göre Kitim yahut Şitim (Chetim) ahfad-ı Yafes'ten Yava'nın mahdumu olup adayı ev evvel gelip iskan etmiştir. (Bundan dolayıdır ki İbraniler alelekser adalara ve sevahile kitim derler.)
[398] The endnotes in Ziver's text are on page 30 (1.Βασιλεία των Κυπρίων, 2. Γεργίνοι, 3. Προμαλάγγες) and on page 31 (1. Την μοιχευθείσαν κειρομένην πορεύεσθαι, 2. Τον αυτάν άποκτείναντα άφατον ρίπτεσται, 3. Μη άποκτείναι βουν άροτήρα). They can be found on page 40 in the text of Lacroix and are all taken from there, albeit misspellings.
[399] This calendar can be found respectively in Ziver's work on page 35 and in Lacroix's work on page 44.
[400] "Louis Lacroix," *Bibliotheque Nationale de France*, http://data.bnf.fr/12258887/louis_lacroix/ (accessed: November 19, 2016).
[401] His name is written under the title "1846-1867/Directorship of A. Daveluy" in the year 1846 among six other founding members. http://www.efa.gr/index.php/en/membres-scientifiques/anciens-membres (accessed: November 19, 2016).

which was quite influential both in the Greek War of Independence and the following period. It is worth mentioning that the French Minister for Public Instruction de Salvandy, who facilitated its establishment, was a devoted philhellene.[402]

In his aforementioned book, Lacroix covers the history and geography of all the islands inhabited by the Greek speaking Orthodox populations in an elaborate way. Although he does not follow any alphabetical or geographical order, he starts with Cyprus and devotes long pages to the Ottoman conquest. Here we read that the Venetian defence of Famagusta greatly lost strength both in terms of numbers and morale due to the scarcity of ammunition in the face of increasing Ottoman assaults and lack of food that 'reduced' the besieged population to eating dogs and cats.[403] In the end, the Venetians were forced to lay down their arms and ask for an agreement which was signed on the condition of safe voyage and protection for the Venetian soldiers and townsfolk, whether they decided to go to Candia or stay in Famagusta. This bears a great resemblance to Piri's narration of the issue. However, here it is deliberately mentioned that the agreement process was undertaken only after a prisoner exchange,[404] which as we already know, would prove to be the most critical point of what happened afterwards. As the Venetian Commander Bragadino arrived at the Ottoman camp, Lala

[402]For a more general information provided by the official website of the institute: http://www.efa.gr/index.php/en/ecole-francaise-athenes/histoire/1846-1870 (accessed: November 19, 2016).

[403] "Mais l'explosion des mines, le feu de l'artillerie des Turcs, le carnage des assauts avaient singulièrement diminué le nombre des braves défenseursde Famagouste. La disette de vivres et de munitions où ils étaient réduits devait bientôt leur faire tomber les armes des mains. On ne trouvait plus dans la ville ni vin, ni légumes, ni viande d'aucune espèce. On était réduit à manger tes chevaux, les ânes, les chiens et les chats..." Lacroix, 77.

[404] "Le 1er août 1571, après avoir échangé des otages de part et d'autre, la capitulation fut signée avec les conditions suivantes la garnison devait sortir avec ses armes, ses bagages, cinq pièces de canon, les trois chevaux de ses principaux chefs, et être transportée immédiatement à Candie. Les habitants étaient libres de quitter la ville et d'emporter tout ce qui leur appartenait. Ceux qui y resteraient ne devaient être molestés ni dans leurs biens ni dans leurs personnes..." Ibid., 77.

Mustafa Paşa demanded from him a ransom for the safe return of the Ottoman ships that would carry the Venetian people and their holdings to Crete. After rejecting this claim, he is accused with curses by Lala for murdering the Muslim hostages despite their inviolability according to the agreement.[405] Up until to this point, the narrative is quite parallel to Piri's and remains so in the following part, namely: '*The Perfidy of Mustafa and Execution of Bragadino and His Companions*.'

Afterwards, Lacroix mentions that Lala Mustafa Paşa ordered a collective punishment on Bragadino's entourage and an exemplary one on Bragadino himself by cutting his ears and nose. After ten days of imprisonment, Bragadino was taken out on a Friday and had to endure further torment. They tied him to a ship's main mast and immersed him in the water. At this point Lacroix, or to be more precise Hammer himself since the part on Bragadino is completely taken from the latter's work,[406] openly mentions that this specific punishment was actually how Bragadino had already punished Muslim prisoners, according to an Ottoman historian.[407] Here, we must remember that the claim for this particular way of punishment is also present in Mustafa Ali's text, as was noted in the second chapter. Then, according to Lacroix again, the

[405] "le séraskier leur demanda quelles sûretés ils pouvaient donner pour garantir le libre retour des vaisseaux chargés de transporter la garnison à Candie; et sur la réponse de Bragadino que la capitulation n'avait rien stipulé à cet égard, il exigea qu'on lui laissât en otage le jeune Antoine Quirini. Bragadino se récria vivement, et avec plus d'indignation que ne lui permettait sa position. Dédaignant alors de dissimuler,le séraskier se répandit en imprécations contre le commandant et tous les Vénitiens, et les accusa d'avoir fait égorger cinquante pèlerins musulmans, malgré leur inviolabilité, garantie par la capitulation." Ibid., 78.

[406] Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman…*, v. 6, 412-415.

[407] "Mustapha passa des injures aux faits, fit garrotter Baglioni, Martinengo, Quirini et Bragadino, et ordonna de les traîner ainsi hors de sa tente; les trois premiers furent à l'instant massacres. Bragadino, témoin de leur mort, était réservé à de plus longs tourments; on se contenta pour ce moment de lui couper le nez et les oreilles. Ce ne fut que dix jours après, un vendredi, que fut consommé son affreux supplice; placé sur un siége, une couronne à ses pieds, il fut hissé sur la vergue de la galère du bey de Rhodes, puis plongé dans l'eau, parce que, d'après l'historien ottoman, il aurait traité de la sorte des prisonniers turcs...' Lacroix, 78.

soldiers took him back to the castle and put two baskets on his back and employed him in cleaning the fosse. Finally, they brought him to the main square and they tied him to the pole which had been, again according to the text, previously used by Bragadino himself to punish Muslims. There, he was flayed and the Ottoman commander through referring to the torments of Muslim hostages, defined this punishment as a legitimate and even a necessary practice.[408] This part must be derived again from Ottoman historians since the same reference by Lala is present in early modern Ottoman narratives as illustrated above for example in Piri's text.

Contrary to the dominant scholarship that focuses exclusively on the European effects on Ottoman narratives, yet in parallel to the understanding of this thesis, these references to Ottoman historians show us the two-dimensional character of the relation between Ottoman and European historiographies. It is not only the Ottoman historians who read and react to their European colleagues. Albeit in a far more limited extent, the same relationship exists the other way around. Even though the utilisation of and reaction to Ottoman narratives by European historiography in the nineteenth century is largely unknown, it is a fact that cannot be ignored at least in the case of Lacroix and Hammer. To illustrate, Hammer protests against the reasons elaborated by Ottoman historians (we can read as the early modern Ottoman historians) to justify the actions of Lala Mustafa Paşa. Even though Bragadino's 'excessive words' might provoke Lala's fury, Hammer asserts, as a corollary of that, the only victim should have been Bragadino himself, rather than all his entourage and townsfolk who had been after all promised

[408] "...on lui suspendit ensuite au cou deux paniers pleins de terre, qu'il dut porter sur les deux bastions pour aider à leur reconstruction chaque fois qu'i! passait devant le séraskier, il était torcédese prosterner. Enfin, conduit sur la place devant le palais de la Seigneurie, il fut attaché au poteau sur lequel les prisonniers turcs subissaient d'ordinaire la peine de la flagellation puis couché à terre et écorche vif, « attendu, dit le général ottoman, que celui qui a fait couler le sang musulman doit verser le sien." Ibid., 78.

safety according to the agreement. Furthermore, Hammer also rejects Ottoman historians' claims that highlight Bragadino's unreasonable reply as the main reason for the following punishment. To him, Bragadino's punishment cannot be reduced to an act or instance of anger since it was undertaken twelve days after his imprisonment. More importantly, this "savage torture" was "carefully decided and portrayed at length."[409]

On the other hand, Lacroix does not choose to cite Hammer's above-mentioned part against Ottoman historian. Basically, another reference that is subsequently attributed to Lala, differentiates the whole narrative by highlighting a Christian identity and martyrdom in search of God. Lala and his executioner shouted at Bragadino during his worst torments and asked: "Where is your Christ? Why doesn't he come to rescue you?" Bragadino replied by reciting the eleventh verse of 'Miserere,'[410] the Latin incipit of Psalm 51 which illustrates a dying soul's yearning to God in a spirit of humility. It is written that Lala, not satisfied with 'ignominious and horrible torture', acted in 'a savage ferocity' and ordered the body of the deceased to be cut into pieces and exposed on the bastions. Lastly, the skin was filled with hay, put on a cow and displayed derisively on a tour of the camp and the city.[411] Needless to say, such references with

[409] "On ne saurait admettre les raisons alleguees par les historiens ottomans our justifier la conduite feroce de Moustafa; car si des paroles d'une fermete intempestive allumerent la fureur du serasker, rien ne peut excuser la violation de la clause qui garantissait a la garnison la vie sauve et une libre retraite. D'ailleurs, s'il faut rellement imputer la colere de Moustafa aux reponses de Bragadino, ce dernier en aurait du etre la premiere et la seule victime. Mais les faits dementent ces suppositions: ce ne fut au'apres douze jours tourmens que se consomma le supplice atroce de Bragadino, et la capitulation fut indignement violee sur tous les point. Ainsi cette conduite infame n'etait pas la suite d'une fureur momentanee, mais elle avait ete longuement premeditee." Hammer, 145.

[410] " Le séraskier et le bourreau, s'adressant à l'héroïque patient, lui criaient à la fois Où donc est ton Christ? que ne vient-il à ton secours? Sans iaisser échapper aucune piainte, Bragadino récita le Miserere au milieu de ses affreuses tortures, et en prononçant le onzième verset, Accordez moi, Seigneur, un coeur pur, sa grande âme exhala son dernier soupir." Lacroix, 78.

[411] "Non content du supplice ignominieux et horrible qu'il avait fait subir à Bragadino, le séraskier ordonna, dans sa sauvage férocité, que le corps du héros fût éearteté ses quatre membres exposés sur les quatre grandes batteries, et que sa peau fût remplie de foin, pour être promenée dérisoirement sur une vache, dans le camp et dans la ville." Ibid., 78.

regard to savageness, torture and conscience might sound familiar though unacceptable for Ziver to be attributed to 'an Ottoman self' who was, in a similar way to the Ottoman state itself, undergoing a great transformation. But before coming to Ziver's and generally Ottoman historians' reaction, and in order to understand this reaction in a more comprehensive manner, I would prefer to exemplify the Western narrative(s) over the issue by at least incorporating the historical antecedents and the most popular ones respectively into our present discussion.

4.2 Venetian roots of the European paradigm

The original text on the history of the Ottoman conquest of the island in Europe was laid down by Paulo Paruta (1540-1598) who was born into a patrician family in Venice. After his education at the University of Padua, he held important positions including the post of official chronicler of the Republic of Venice.[412] In fact, his first publication was a "funeral oration for those who died gloriously in the victorious battle against the Turks."[413] The text, which bears the name *L'istoira della Guerra di Cipro* (The History of the War of Cyprus) was written contemporaneously but, could only be published by his son after Paruta's death.[414] Ever since, it has found great acceptance among European historians including Hammer and republished in Italian[415] as well as in other languages. Here, for the sake of convenience, I will mainly rely upon its English

[412] Oxford Reference, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100308854 (accessed: November 20, 2016).
[413] Paolo Paruta, *Historia Venetiana*, ed. Apostolo Zeno (Venice: 1718), xi. I am indebted to Giulia Casartelli who translated this sentence for me.
[414] A detailed and chronological biography of Paolo Paruta is present at the beginning of this work. Ibid, i-xxxvii.
[415] The above mentioned edition of Paolo Paruta, *Storia della Guerra di Cipro* (Siena: 1827).

edition[416] published in 1658. This edition begins with Paruta's more general work, namely *the History of Venice* that covers the first half of the sixteenth century. The second part of the book presents the Ottoman-Venetian War on Cyprus under the title of *Wars of Cyprus* "wherein the famous Sieges of Nicosia and Famagosta and Battle of Lepanto are contained."[417] This exact sentence appears deliberately on the cover page and most probably, this was also a sale strategy that gives us an idea about the popularity of the issue.

The work, as it can easily be understood from its name, offers a very detailed account of the siege of Famagusta specifically through a Venetian perspective and focuses on the heroic deeds of the besieged forces who sought an agreement for surrender "onely [*sic*] to preserve the city from sacking, and the citizens from being slain."[418] Here, Paruta reminds the reader of similar agreements in many occasions in Rhodes and Hungary and comes to the conclusion that "though the Turks were Barbarians, yet they love and honour warlike worth, even in their enemies."[419] What actually happens afterwards is exactly the same as in the texts of Lacroix and Hammer with regard to the conditions of the agreement and its violation. Again, the collective punishment on Bragadino's entourage and the enslavement of the townsfolk who were previously embarked on the ships are mentioned next to the initial corporal punishment

[416] Paolo Paruta, "The History Of Venice and The Wars of Cyprus," in *The History Of Venice and The Wars of Cyprus*, trans. Henry Earl of Monmouth (London: Abel Roper and Henry Herringman, 1658)
[417] Ibid., cover page.
[418] Paruta, *The Wars of Cyprus*, Book II, 124.
[419] Ibid., 124.

of Bragadino.[420] The last phase of the corporal punishment is turned into a martyrdom narrative "for which his memory ought never to be forgotten."[421] Paruta narrates:

> But it is sad thing to tell, what, and how many cruell Martyrdoms these barbarous men made Bragadino suffer: After many revilings, and scorns, he was brought to the Piazza of Famagosta, and being tied to the Pillory, he was flead alive; Mustafa standing upon a little hill in the Palace to feed his eyes with this strange and most cruel spectacle… Mustafa, not having yet satisfied his anger, gave order, that 'Bragadino's skin should be stuff with straw, and putting it upon a cow, with the red umbrella, for his greater scorn, with which he went into the Camp, and made it to be led all about the City, and at last made it be hung upon the main Mast of a Gally, to the end that this infamous trophy might be seen by all the people on the shore as he past by.[422]

In short, Paruta's account shares the same sequence of events even though it is not based on or engaging with Ottoman chronicles like the narratives of Lacroix and Hammer. A similar narrative can be further illustrated by another Venetian work, namely *The History of War of Cyprus*[423] which was originally produced by Antonio Maria Graziani and translated to English in 1687.

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[420] Ibid., 125-126.
[421] Ibid., 126.
[422] Ibid., 126.
[423] Antonio Maria Graziani, *The History of the War of Cyprus* (London: J. Rawlins, 1687).
In the third book, Graziani writes: "Having cut off his Nose and his Ears, they threw him with Irons on his Legs into a hole, whence the Executioners drew him on the following days, to make him carry Earth in a Basket. They made him bow down with this heavy Burthen [*sic*], and kiss the ground every time he past before Mustapha, who was setting Men at work to repair the Fortifications of Famagusta. He was afterwards put on Board the Fleet, where he suffer'd several other Indignities. They tyed him to one of the Yards of the Gally, to make the Deformity of his Voyage more publick [*sic*]. He was drawn into the Market place, and being hung up by the Heels, was flead [*sic*] alive. The Cruelty of this Torment, drew not from him so much as a Sigh, or the least word that savour'd of Meanness and Dejection; and this Hero surrendered his Soul to God, reproaching his Enemies with their Perfidiousness and Barbarity. His Skin seasoned with Vinegar and Salt, Mustapha caused to be stuffed with Hay, and fastned [sic] on the Top of his Cabin for a Spectacle to the Coasts of Aegypt [sic] and Syria…." Ibid., 212.

4.3 The most popular Western narrative on Bragadino

Last but not least, the most popular European narrative which has been frequently published since 1856 to today in various languages, is Alexis Rio's *The Four Martyrs* which is devoted to honouring in four subsequent chapters Philip Howard (the Martyr of Truth), Ansaldo Ceba (the Martyr of Charity), Helena Cornaro (the Martyr of Humility), and finally Marco Antonio Bragadino (the Soldier Martyr). It is again necessary for us to focus on the historical context and ideological preferences of its author as a key to understanding the text itself.

Born into a strictly Catholic peasant family, Alexis François Rio (1797-1874) was a fervent supporter of the Royalist cause in France and even participated in a Royalist uprising in 1814-1815 against Bonaparte's French Republic. Not surprisingly, Rio gained a reputation for his fascination with Catholic Revival in France and established political links with French royalist top bureaucracy in the reign of Charles X (1824-1830). Through such links, he secured himself a bureaucratic career in the department of Foreign Relations and used his official trips to meet spokesmen of contemporary Catholicism all over Europe. In line with his ideology and career, Rio's historical production mostly focused on Catholic Christian art from the Middle Ages to evoke the glorious and exemplary past of Catholicism.[424] Even if his account of Bragadino as well as the other three figures, seems odd among his studies on art history,

[424] Biographical information is taken from *The Dictionary of Art Historians.* https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/rioa.htm (accessed: December 27, 2016).

it came into being again thanks to such a Christian glory which is, in Rio's view, already present in the embodiment of Bragadino who "may most fitly be styled as a martyr."[425]

Rio forms his text about Bragadino with a particular emphasis on the Counter Reformation and invites the readers to acquaint themselves with Marc Antonio Bragadino accordingly. He defines the heavy presence of reaction[426] in Venice in that period "as one of the most instructive scenes in modern history"[427] and contextualises Bragadino as a child of this "cleansing process"[428] which gave prime importance to the chivalric romances of the Middle Ages, religious indoctrination and public education against mischief of powerful bourgeois families, like the Medicis.[429] In a similar way, a further link is underlined between Catholic regeneration and Bragadino whose grandfather had been the tutor of an important Venetian professor, who was "one of the ablest leaders of the reaction."[430] More to the point, the process is also alternatively defined as "the new crusade" which "received its consummating glory" through the historical works of the above-mentioned author Paul Paruta "whose renown is far below his merit."[431] Rio, following Paruta's wake in reinvigorating the memory of the reaction and its soldiers, states his interest in writing about Bragadino quite openly in the preface: "to reconstruct that stately figure, unduly lessened to the eyes of posterity by distance of place and lapse of years."[432]

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[425] Rio, *The Four Martyrs*, 170.
[426] "And yet, that re-action which had been slowly gathering strength in men's minds, until it burst forth in Venice about this time…" Ibid., 153.
[427] Ibid., 153.
[428] Ibid., 153.
[429] "In Tuscany, it was well nigh impossible, for the grim and craven tyranny of the Medici allowed only those branches of human knowledge to be studied which they deemed inoffensive." Ibid., 151.
[430] Ibid., 175.
[431] Ibid., 170.
[432] Ibid., viii.

As we come to the depiction of Bragadino's death, it is done according to the Christian tradition of neomartyrology which became highly popular in the sixteenth century for documenting Christian deaths at the hands of the Ottomans.[433] In this tradition, the existence of corporal punishment over a deceased body was deemed the main criterion for that body to be worthy enough of documentation. Needless to say, the greater the intensity of the corporal punishment, the greater the value of the documentation since protagonists were especially likened to Jesus to move the hearts of the readers. To illustrate, Rio attributes a Christly strength and fidelity to Bragadino who "was no novice in the school of suffering, and endured the insults and torments with heavenly sweetness and resignation. Not a murmur or a reproach escaped his lips — they moved, indeed, without ceasing, but it was in prayer."[434] The author also places "God alone as the witness and comforter of his sufferings."[435] Moreover, there is a new element that bears a great resemblance to how Christ is ignominiously led to crucifixion according to the Bible. In his last hours, Bragadino is followed by a crowd who consistently spits on him, yells at him, and insults him "with words of blasphemy and obscenity."[436] In the final scene, he utters his very last sentences as follows: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"[437] These merciful words are exactly the same which Jesus Christ is said to have uttered during the crucifixion according to Luke 24:34.

[433] Tijana Krstic. *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Chang in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press; 2011), 121-142.
[434] Rio, 208.
[435] Ibid., 209.
[436] Ibid., 209.
[437] Ibid., ibid. 211.

4.4 The Ottoman reaction

If we come to Ziver's reaction against such narratives produced, or in other words reproduced, in Europe, we, first of all, have to remember his silence over the conditions of Bragadino's death as explained in the third chapter. Here I want to mention that I consciously omit Rio's indeed very detailed narration of the corporal punishment inflicted upon Bragadino since there is no need to rewrite it in the main text over and over again.[438] The conditions narrated by Rio are highly parallel, if not exactly the same, to the ones narrated by early modern Ottoman historians as well as their European colleagues. There is no room for doubt that it is only at this juncture that we understand how strategic the silence of Ziver is. He, so to speak, manages to kill two birds with one stone. His silence contributes not only to a reconfiguration of the Ottoman past to serve the needs of Ottoman modernity but also to a defensive mechanism against such European discourses that portray the Ottoman Empire as an oriental barbaric state without any conscience for human life or any respect for bilateral treaties. Here it must be noted that Rio credits the heroes of reaction for rejecting the ensuing peace and diplomatic efforts of the Venetian state against the 'barbarian,' 'infidel,' 'torturer' and so on 'Turks'. This, at a time when the Ottoman Empire was desperately holding on to

[438] The phases of the execution are cited chronologically: "(207) Mustapha then cut off Bragadino's right ear, and ordered a janissary to cut off the other… he was thrown down on the ground, trampled (208) upon, dragged through the dust, and the savage Mustafa spat in his face… (209) he was tied to a plank… hoisted to the yardarm of one of the galleys… This torture, which dislocated his limbs, was continued for half an hour… (210) Bragadino was stripped naked, and informed that he was to be flayed alive. (211) Mustapha ordered the operation to be continued to the end upon the lifeless remains, and then cut the body into four parts, one of which was exposed in each of the principal quarters of the town. He then had the martyr's skin stuffed with straw, and clothed in the costume (212) of a Venetian magistrate; and the insulted remains were mounted on a cow and led through the streets, overshadowed by the red umbrella Bragadino had been wont to use as the symbol of his authority." Rio, 207-212.

its legitimate place in the 'Public Law and System (Concert) of Europe'[439] promised by great powers in 1856 through the Treaty of Paris, would certainly find a reaction among most, if not all, of Ottoman intellectuals as was the case for Ziver.

It can certainly be argued that such an East-West dichotomy is also present with regard to the geographical identity of Cyprus. Rio, for instance, combines his staunchly Christian account with reference to Ancient Greek history and more than once recasts Bragadino as a "Christian Leonidas" who is "ready to defend this city even to death"[440] amidst the Ottoman invitations for him to surrender and negotiate. Leonidas I is the legendary warrior king of the Greek city-state Sparta who fought until the end in the famous battle of Thermopylae to block a Persian/Eastern army from stepping on Greek/Western land. There is no room for doubt that with such a reference and more generally in Rio's manner of telling, Cyprus becomes necessarily a Western domain that must be protected at all costs against "hordes of barbarians"[441] who, "upon Mustafa's signal," "rushed headlong to the assault with a roar like that of famished beasts of prey."[442]

Furthermore, this dichotomy is also related to the rising Greek nationalism, the existence of the Greek national state and its prospects which were more often than not embraced by philhellene European intelligentsia among whom we can count Louis Lacroix. The very title of his book (*The Islands of Greece*) and the fact that Cyprus is

[439] Article VII of the above-mentioned treaty reads: "Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the Public Law and System (*Concert*) of Europe." *The Great European Treatises of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Sir C.B. Augustus Oakes and R.B.M.A. Mowat (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 177.
[440] Rio, 197.
[441] Ibid., 208.
[442] Ibid., 188.

listed at the top of the Greek islands might easily provoke Ziver who after all produced his work for and thanks to an anti-Enosis Ottoman association. Being fully aware that writing on the history of the island involves a reckoning against such civilisational and direct political claims against the Ottomans, Ziver's mentality was also embedded in an East-West dichotomy from an opposite perspective. Not surprisingly, in the first sentences of his short introduction to *The History of Cyprus*, he declares the island as an Eastern domain, in Ottoman *memalik-i şarkiyye*.[443]

In more general terms, Ziver assumes an authority over European historians who according to him, lack credibility in their claims about Ottoman history because of their "exaggerated narratives,"[444] and their "inclination to bigotry and ignorance."[445] He furthermore presents Westerners simply as 'narrators.'[446] Here, it is important to mention that his criticism confronts Hammer's history too, contrarily to what was put forward by Kafadar and Karateke that, among its kind, "Hammer's history was embraced without any hesitation"[447] by the Ottomans. Bearing in mind the dialogical, in this case, one can also read as controversial, character of the relation between Ottoman and European historiographies, we can no longer consider Hammer as taken for granted. Actually, an Ottoman(ist) hesitation about Hammer existed even beyond Ziver's narrative and comes to the forefront even in the Ottoman edition of Hammer's colossal work. In the part on Bragadino which is discussed above, an Ottoman reader finds an end note that is specifically written down by the translator

[443] Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi*, 3.
[444] "pek mübalaa ile nakl ve hikayet" Ibid., 90.
[445] "sevk-i taassub ve cehaletten" Ibid., 92.
[446] "Frengler rivayet ederler." Ibid., 91.
[447] Kafadar and Karateke, 565.

Mehmed Ata who happens to share exactly the same attitude as Ziver: "These details must be illusions narrated from Greek or Venetian historians."[448]

Here, it must also be stressed that the terms *taassub* (bigotry) and *cehalet* (ignorance) chosen by Ziver, were often used in controversies with civilisational tones as we have already seen in arguments around the Galatasaray Lycee. As mentioned above, Hayrullah Efendi attributes the same attitudes to Bragadino and he even attaches a national association to the term bigotry as "*taassubu-u milliye"* (national bigotry). After undermining the objectivity of European claims on the fate of Bragadino, Ziver chooses to attack at a very strategic target, namely the Inquisition which represents the West's own engagement with corporal punishment:

> Europeans, with utmost exaggeration, convey and narrate that before the slain was supposedly flayed - just like how he himself had done to Muslim pilgrims- his nose and ears were cut and then he was killed by torture. However, if this event is compared with the dreadful persecution of Arabs at the hands of the Inquisition, it would be understood that the Ottomans are probably more benevolent.[449]

Ziver's citation reminds us of what was once put forward by Carter Findley that counter-discourses to European hegemony gained strength "from the contradictions," at least from an Ottoman perspective, "of European alteritism"[450] (the construction of oneself as the other). In this regard, it seems that the history of Inquisition is a popular topic among Ottoman readership since a book with the same name existed and was

[448] "Bu tafsilat Rum ve Venedik müverrihlerinden menkul hayalat olmalıdır." Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Devlet-i Osmaniyye Tarihi*, trans. Mehmed Ata Vol.6 (İstanbul: Nefaset Matbaası, 1332), 261.
[449] "Frengler güya maktülün cesedi yüzdürülmeden akdem – kendi hüccac-ı Müslimine nasıl yapmış ise- evvela burun ile kulakları kestirilip bade-hu işkence ile öldürüldüğünü pek mübalaa ile nakl ve hikayet eylerle ise de bu vaka Engizisyon Cemiyeti'nin Arablar hakkında irtikab ettiği mezalim-i müdhişe ile mukayase edilir ise Osmanlıların herhalde daha merhametli oldukları tebeyyün etmiş olur." Ibid., 90.
[450] Carter Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist in Europe: Ahmed Mithat Meets Madame Gülnar, 1889," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (1998): 17.

apparently published more than once.[451] More importantly, it is specifically stressed in its introduction that such an immense atrocity had never been undertaken by another nation or even ever been articulated in any other language.[452] A plain reference to Western historiography and the same polemic on the Inquisition exists also in Hayrullah Efendi's text[453] from where Ziver most likely derived it. It can even be said that such an effort of 'answering back to Europeans' on behalf of Ottoman historians, was actually an 'official custom' of the Ottoman Turkish press, particularly with regard to 'undesirable' violence.[454] Exactly, in the same manner, Ziver invites the readers to compare the corporal punishments of the Ottoman Empire to those of the Papacy and in doing so, favouring the former. By utilising a defensive silence and an aggressive polemic, his aim is to prove the benevolence of the Ottoman state either in full scale, or if 'the rumours' about Bragadino's death were taken for granted, on a scale that exceeds European benevolence.

This benevolence on behalf of the Ottomans which was acquired through a reconfiguration of the past by a direct break from the early-modern narratives according to the modern necessities of the period, would prove to be critical. In the fifth chapter of the thesis, I will review Ziver's work with a particular emphasis on the colonial context of the island in order to comprehend how this historical reconfiguration served the Ottoman interests finally and most importantly.

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[451] Ziya Paşa, *Engizisyon Tarihi* (Konstantiniyye: Matbaa-i Ebu'z-Ziya, 1305).
[452] "Engizisyon bir lafzdır ki delalet ettiği mana hiç bir millette vukua gelmemiş olduğudur. Bir lisanda müradifi bulunmaz. Ve her ne zaman bu kelime telaffuz olunsa mazmuninin dehşetinden tüyler ürpermemek ve kalbe halecan gelmemek mümkün olmaz." Ibid., 5.
[453] "Frenk tarihinde işbu Bragadino'nun katli keyfiyeti biraz tesirlice yazılmışdır lakin İspanyollar'ın Arapları öldürdükleri kadar dehşetli değildir." Hayrullah Efendi, *Devlet-i Aliyye-i...*, Vol. 12, 40.
[454] Fatma Demirel stresses that it was the Sultan himself who wanted to convey the message that "such things are happening in European countries as well." For example, to counter European criticism against hanging of a certain chief eunuch in Beşiktaş district, Servet-i Fünun brought the lynches against black people to the agenda. Demirel, 147.

CHAPTER 5

THE CYPRUS OF COLONIAL TIMES AND CLAIMS

In this chapter, Ziver's historiographical reconfigurations are going to be reviewed with regard to Ottoman modernity's self-legitimisation to rule in the Middle East at the height of Western colonial interventions. Ziver's history-writing on Cyprus cannot be understood without taking into consideration this colonial context within which the text assumes its fullest meaning. As already mentioned, the text was produced as a reaction to rival claims after the island had come under British rule in 1878, according to a bilateral defensive agreement against a probable Russian expansion in the future. More to the point, Ziver expresses his uneasiness against the British colonial rule quite blatantly. In the last sentence of the book, he includes Article VI[455] verbatim and reminds the readers of the condition that nullifies the aforesaid agreement: "In the case of the Russian state returning to the Supreme State the provinces in Armenia acquired in the last war (Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1877), the island of Cyprus will be evacuated by England and the agreement that was signed on June 4, 1878 will not be in place. God willing!"[456] It is no coincidence that the wish for a return of Ottoman rule on Cyprus serves as the concluding remark of the text. I would rather argue that the text itself is designed to serve to this end. The present discussion is an attempt to analyse how it does so.

[455] *Berlin ve Ayestefanos Muahedeleriyle İngiltere İttifaknamesi* (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1295), 63.
[456] "Rusya Devleti Kars'ı ve yahut Ermanistan'da muharebe-i ahirde zabt ettiği mahalleri Devlet-i Aliye'ye reddetiği halde Kıbrıs ceziresi dahi İngiltere tarafından tahliye olunarak fi 4 Haziran 1878 tarihinde akdolunan mukavelename meriyy'ül-icra olmayacaktır. İnşallah!" Ziver, *Kıbrıs...*, 100.

5.1 British takeover of Cyprus and its legitimisation

Before coming to the question above, a brief glance at the history and character of the colonial interventions and their self-legitimisation, which Ziver reacts to, would be highly informative. It can easily be argued that the Middle East, as it became increasingly integrated into the global economy in the nineteenth century, was increasingly encircled by Western political and economic hegemony. The flag bearer of this hegemony was, of course, the British Empire. Starting with the early nineteenth century, British economic activities had gained an immense momentum thanks to new transportation facilities like the beginning of the steamship service to the Eastern Mediterranean ports in 1835[457]and to the success of British diplomatic manoeuvres in obtaining quite favourable conditions for English merchants through bilateral trade agreements with the Ottomans such as the 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Convention.[458] In particular, the construction of new habours, which were connected to their hinterlands through railways, acted as a catalyst within this economic re-orientation.[459] As a corollary to that, the Ottoman Empire became Britain's second largest export market as the British economic activity in the region further extended in

[457] Joel Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 45.
[458] Çağlar Keyder, "Port-cities in the Belle Epoque," in *Cities of the Mediterranean: From the Ottomans to the Present Day*, eds. Biray Kolluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz. (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 17.
[459] Vilma Hastaoglu-Martinidis, "The Cartography of Harbour Construction in Eastern Mediterranean Cities: Technical and Urban Modernisation in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Cities of the…,* 79.

terms of direct investment, particularly in Lebanon and Egypt, and loans to the Ottoman central government in the following decades.[460]

It must be noted that these developments paralleled the increasing political ambitions of the British Empire which were already present in the Mediterranean since the acquisition of Gibraltar (1704) and Malta (1800). At the other end of the region, a series of exclusive treatises, beginning in 1820 with Bahrain, were signed with the local rulers of the Arabian Peninsula[461] for the protection of the sea and land route to India, which was rightly put forward by Peter Sluglett as "a key principle of British imperial policy."[462] The British presence, however, remained limited in these two edges of the region for most of the nineteenth century as the policy on Ottoman integrity remained in place after its codification[463] at The Treaty of Paris (1856).

What would considerably change this in the last quarter of the century is the Egyptian Khedive Ismail's plan, facilitated by an enduring French assistance against an initial joint British-Ottoman opposition,[464] to open the Suez Canal (1869) which was regarded in all seriousness as an existential matter in the eyes of the British political

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[460] Ibid., 46.
[461] Peter Sluglett, "Colonialism, the Ottomans, the Qajars, and the struggle for independence: the Arab World, Turkey, and Iran," in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Youssef M. Choueiri (Malden: Blackwell Publication, 2005), 249.
[462] Peter Sluglett, "Les Mandats/The Mandates: Some Reflections on the nature of the British presence in Iraq (1914-1932) and the French presence in Syria (1918-1946)," in *The British and French Mandates in comparative perspectives/Les mandats français et anglais dans une perspective comparative*, eds. Peter Sluglett and Nadine Meouchy (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 110.
[463] Article VII of the Treaty of Paris reads as: "Their Majesties engage, each on his part, to respect the Independence and the Territorial Integrity of the Ottoman Empire; Guarentee in common the strict observance of that engagement; and will, in consequence, consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest." Oakes and Mowat, 177.
[464] K. Bell, "British Policy towards the construction of the Suez Canal, 1859-65," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 15 (1965): 121-143. This joint British-Ottoman opposition against the excavations took effect initially and manifested as a result of the ensuing British emphasis on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. In the end, the two states were appeased by assurances from France and Egypt. Durmuş Akalın, "Süveyş Kanalı (Açılışı ve Osmanlı Devleti'ne Etkisi (1854-1882)" (Unpublished master's thesis, Pamukkale Üniversitesi, 2011), 65-66.

mind-set that was determined to keep any other possible intruders (particularly France) away from such a practical passage to the empire's most important overseas domain, India. This change in the British imperial vision was embodied in Conservative Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli who advocated a more penetrating and even direct rule with regard to colonial policies. In his own words: "A country, and especially a maritime country, must get possession of the strong places of the world if it wished to contribute to its power."[465] In his second term of office (1874-1880), Disraeli, or as he was officially ennobled, Lord Beaconsfield, reoriented the British foreign policy accordingly. After he had secured the Egyptian Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Company in 1875, he paved the way for the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India on January 1, 1877 with the aim of binding the particular colony to London more closely than even before.[466]

Even though it can be argued that this new imperial vision was already more interested in acting primarily and directly on its own rather than utilising the Ottoman Empire to secure its interests in the Levant, the dominant literature dates the end of the British support for the Ottoman cause to 1876 when public opinion in England grew increasingly hostile to the Ottomans because of their disproportionate use of violence in cracking down the famous, or rather infamous, April Uprising which would serve as a critical milestone in the making of the Bulgarian nation. It is widely argued, as was recently done by Eugene Rogan is his famous best-seller *The Arabs*, that Disraeli, as if he lacked an appetite for a colonial policy of more aggressive and direct involvement,

[465] Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 65.
[466] Nasim Zia, *Kıbrıs'ın İngiltere'ye Geçişi ve Adada Kurulan İngiliz İdaresi* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1975), 11.

"had found his hands tied by public opinion" and as a result, "was forced to abandon its support of Ottoman territorial integrity."[467]

Nevertheless, public opinion did play a role in this policy change and a brief glance at this issue would be highly illustrative. The leading figure of the growing criticism which amounted to the extent of utmost hatred against the Ottomans was the opposition leader William Gladstone who also published an influential pamphlet entitled, *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East.*[468] Here, Gladstone presents the Ottoman Empire primarily through a racist perspective by referring to the Turkish race as "the one great anti-human specimen of humanity,"[469] and although the integrity of the Ottoman Empire is "still desirous (for him) to see it upheld," "higher objects of policy" among which "humanity, rationally understood, and in due relation to justice, is the first and highest."[470] Moreover, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire is clearly undermined as "immunity for her unbounded savagery, her unbridled and bestial lust."[471] As a corollary, Gladstone further argues that the British government must change its policy and "let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely by carrying off themselves"[472] from the edge of Europe, Bulgaria. This

[467]Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* (London: Penguin, 2011), 148.
[468] William Ewart Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (New-York; Montreal: Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Company, 1876).
[469] Ibid, 10. Here Gladstone's discrimination is based largely upon race and not religion since he also states on the same page that "Let me endeavor very briefly to sketch, in the rudest outline, what the Turkish race was and what it is. It is not a question of Mahometanism simply, but of Mahometanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mahometans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain."
[470] "Now, as regards the territorial integrity of Turkey, I for one am still desirous to see it upheld, though I do not say that desire should be treated as of a thing paramount to still higher objects of policy. For all of the objects of policy, in my conviction, humanity, rationally understood, and in due relation to justice, is the first and highest." Ibid., 32.
[471] "The public of this country, now I trust awakened from sloth to nobleness, may begin to fear lest the integrity of Turkey should mean immunity for her unbounded savagery, her unbridled and bestial lust." Ibid., 33.
[472] Ibid., 38.

can be the sole relief as their actions contradict "the civilisation which has been affronted and shamed" since "there is not a criminal in a European jail, there is not a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not rise and over boil at the recital"[473] of them. The discourse in this text, which acted as a precursor of a more aggressive colonial policy towards Ottoman domains, is in no doubt in great similarity to European narratives over the case of Bragadino if the common civilisational tone and East-West dichotomy are taken into consideration.

Here, we come to grasp yet another level of Ziver's re-configuration of the Ottoman past by omitting the corporal punishment over Bragadino and entering into a 'contest of brutality' against the Westerners who, according to him, prove to be worse because of their legacy of the Inquisition. It can thus be argued that Ziver's reordering of the history of Cyprus must be regarded as a reaction to Western colonial discourse(s) that were accompanying colonial interventions starting from the late 1870's. As Selim Deringil argues, the reign of Abdulhamid II saw an obsession over international public opinion and any mischief regarding the image of the modernising state was highly frowned upon as something that "would not look good towards friend and foe."[474] There is no room to doubt that the excessive brutality of Bragadino's punishment, more importantly its contemporary intellectual reproductions in Europe, could potentially be classified as such mischief in the eyes of the state to debase the rule of the Ottoman Empire as an Oriental anomaly to be dealt with as part of a civilising mission in the hands of a colonialist power.

[473] Ibid., 38.
[474] Deringil, *The Well Protected Domain…,* 42.

If we turn back to the British policy change, the Ottoman Empire proved less worthy of British support to an even further extent by what followed the Bulgarian uprising: a catastrophic defeat of the Ottoman forces at the hands of the Russian armies who advanced until the edge of Istanbul and the Straits, in other words to such an extent that the British Empire was forced to intervene, although only at the last moment and with the purpose of securing its sphere of influence in the Mediterranean. Probably the most explicit expression of the fact that the British protectionism of Ottoman Empire was leaving the agenda, to a large extent, if not totally, was put forward by the new Foreign Secretary Lord Salisbury who instigated an energetic colonial policy[475] after he assumed his post on March 28, 1878. In one of his letters to Austen Henry Layard, British ambassador to Constantinople who was appointed by Disraeli in 1877, Lord Salisbury evaluated the future destiny of the Ottoman Empire, "with its diminished boundaries and weakened force" and concluded that: "The time is passed for talking about 'independence and integrity.'"[476] To nullify Russian gains, a territorial expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean was agreed upon and despite the Cabinet, both Disraeli and Salisbury favoured Cyprus which already held "a romantic and strategic place… in the British imagined imperial space"[477] because of its earlier occupation by Richard I of England (1157-1199). More practically, it can also be assumed that the already extensive influence of the British councils, who were among the most important

[475] Cihat Göktepe, "II. Abdülhamid'in Kıbrıs Siyaseti ve Adanın İngiltere'ye Geçiş Süreci," in *Devr-i Hamid: Sultan II. Abdülhamid* Vol. 1, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 436.
[476] Henry Austen Layard, *The Queen's Ambassador to the Sultan: Memoirs of Sir Henry A. Layard's Constantinople Embassy 1877-1880*, ed. Sinan Kuneralp (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 2009), 394.
[477] Varnava, 45.

officials on the island,[478] facilitated the British claim over Cyprus. It can be noted that the British prospects on Cyprus had already been suspected in the Ottoman domains as early as the 1840's according to informers' reports to the Ottoman state. [479]

In a "most confidential" telegram that was sent in the early hours of May 25, 1878, British Ambassador Layard was authorised to "propose secretly to the Sultan"[480] the exchange of support against a further Russian expansion in return for Cyprus. Plus, Albulhamid II had to be warned that in case of rejection, "the capture of Constantinople and the partition of the Empire would be the immediate result."[481] Layard was even authorised and instructed by Salisbury to employ the threat of force.[482] As we read from Layard's memoirs, the offer was accepted by the Sultan who was still in a great depression following the murky coup d'état attempt known as the Çırağan Incident. As a result, the Convention of Defensive Alliance Between Great Britain and Turkey, as it was called albeit ironically, was signed on June 4, 1878 "with the sincere desire of extending and strengthening the relations of friendship happily existing (in) between."[483] Accordingly, the former promised to support the latter by force of arms in case of Russian aggression, and in return, demanded the introduction of "necessary reforms for

[478] Ali Efdal Özkul, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs Adasındaki İngiltere Konsolosluğu ve Faaliyetleri," in *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı İzleri / Traces of Ottoman Era in Cyprus* (Lefkoşa: Kıbrıs Türk Yazarlar Birliği Yayınları, 2014), 563.
[479] To illustrate: "Mora ahalisi her gün kralları taciz ediyor, yerlerimiz pek dardır idare edemiyoruz bize Devlet-i Aliyye'den Girid ve Kıbrıs'ı ve Rodos'u ve İstanköy'ü ve Sisam ve daha münasib olan adalar ile Rumeli tarafında Golos'dan Sırb hududundan kadar mahalleri alıverin deyu iltimas etmiş. Ve bu husus için Londra'da toplanıp şura ediyorlar… İngiliz ve Fransız ve Rusya Mora'nın matlubu olan mahalleri Devlet-i Aliyye'den alub veririz deyu senedleşub birbirlerine imza verdiler, andan sonra dağıldılar." Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu...*, 335.
Or on page 344: "İngiliz dahi, ben sizinle Mehmed Ali Paşa ile muharebe etdim, siz sonra barışdınız bana masarifimi veyahud Girid ile Kıbrıs'ı verin dermiş."
[480] Layard, 397.
[481] Ibid., 398.
[482] Ibid., 401.
[483] Sir Charles William James Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London, Robert Scott Roxburghe House, 1918), 35.

the protection of Christian and other subjects" and the occupation and administration of Cyprus.[484] An addendum of 4 July, however, reflected a clear emphasis on Ottoman sovereignty over the island as the internal affairs and religious institutions of Muslim community would be preserved just like before. Another condition also guaranteed that an excess of the revenue over the expenditure was to be paid annually to the Porte. Most importantly, though, British rule now became conditional and was deemed to be null "if Russia restores to Turkey, Kars and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the last war."[485]

Ziver interprets the last point on the conditionality of the British presence in a rather optimistic way and stresses, more than once, that the administration of the island was "delegated to the English temporarily."[486] To his disappointment, though, the island would never return to Ottoman rule. From the British perspective, it was obvious right from the beginning that the treaty came into existence "not out of concern for the safety of the Mediterranean and Levantine possessions of the Sultan" as Disraeli himself mentioned in the parliament just "before another eulogy for empire and power."[487] Rather than being a guarantee of Ottoman territorial integrity, it can even be argued that 'The British Alliance,'[488] as the Ottomans called it back then, would serve exactly the other way around. As Eugene Rogan rightly observes, only two years later than the Treaty of Berlin, according to which the Ottoman Balkans had largely vanished into thin air, the British presence over the island served as a step that "extended the partition of

[484] The exact words are present in Article I of The Cyprus Convention. Ibid., 36.
[485] The exact words are present in Annex to The Cyprus Convention, in Article VII. Ibid., 38.
[486] "… idaresi muvakkaten İngilizler'e havale edilmiş…" Ziver, 98. In another page: "Kıbrıs ceziresinin idare-i muvakkatesi İngilizler'e havale edilmekle…' Ziver, 99.
[487] Milos Kovic, *Disraeli and the Eastern Question* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 283.
[488] The name of the Cyprus Convention is called by the Ottomans as 'İngiliz İttifaknamesi.'

Ottoman domains from the Balkans to North Africa."[489] Indeed, Foreign Minister Lord Salisbury suggested to his French colleague as part of an alliance agreement that France should take Tunisia as a compensation for British acquisition of the island.[490] To this end, England legitimised the French invasion of Tunisia in 1881 and then a year later, occupied Egypt in return. Isa Blumi, from a decentering perspetive that takes local actors as "animating forces in their own right, compelling neighbours and global powers alike to reconfigure their policies,"[491] also notes that the arrival of direct British rule in Cyprus and Egypty dramatically affected the world of many people in the Balkans by providing new possibilities for them and their stuggles against the Ottoman rule.[492]

With regard to Britain's legitimation of the acquisition of Cyprus, we see that a rather general and well-known colonial framework based on the 'other's "very inferiority and lack of capacity to self-rule"[493] was called upon regularly by English statesmen. Though its usage was quite general, this paradigm assumed a unique importance and was underlined extraordinarily in the case of Cyprus thanks to its future prospects for the British interests in the Middle East. To illustrate, in a memorandum that was written four days after the Cyprus Convention yet without any knowledge about it, Salisbury's trusted advisor Colonel Robert Home of the war office intelligence[494] was very enthusiastic about the acquisition of an Ottoman territory since an efficient government after "the change from Turkish to British government would be

[489] Rogan, 150.
[490] Dwight Erwin Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (London: Harvard University Press, 1934), 108-109.
[491] Isa Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity: Human Agency and the Imperial State* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 11.
[492] Isa Blumi, Isa Blumi, *Reinstating the Ottomans: Alternative Balkan Modernities, 1800-1912.* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 116.
[493] Sluglett, *Les Mandates/The Mandates*…, 112.
[494] Dwight E. Lee, "A Memorandum Concerning Cyprus, 1878," *The Journal of Modern History* 3, no. 2 (June 1991), 235.

incalculable and would do more to maintain English prestige than half a dozen Campaigns."[495] To this end, he exclusively advised the island of Cyprus to be acquired rather than all the others. A longer citation is needed to understand Home and what one can blatantly summarise as *Cyprus for the show*:

> As an experiment in treating the Eastern question fairly, there could be no better place. What is done in Cyprus will be known all through Syria and Asia Minor. The progress that undoubtedly would follow, were this island a British possession would do more to convince Eastern nations of the value of civilisation, and the benefits of good government than anything else.[496]

This short paragraph on leading the 'Eastern nations' to civilisation and benefits of good government[497] is most probably one of the best articulations for what Edward Said once wrote as "the White Man's mask of amiable leadership."[498] It is also known that the Orient served a special purpose in British imperial imagination to cast the British self as "just ruler and civiliser."[499] More specifically, moral concerns around the acquisition of Cyprus were at the forefront according to Lord Salisbury as well. After all, the two Ottoman commitments that Salisbury requested and put down together in the Cyprus Convention lay emphasis on an association from a British perspective between handing over Cyprus and the introduction of necessary reforms by the Ottomans. Salisbury's "moralising imperialism" seemed most confident, in his own words, since

[495] Ibid., 238.
[496] Ibid., 241.
[497] It can also be mentioned here that such an argumentation proved to be long lasting in the case of Cyprus. Being the most comprehensive and authoritative work on the history of Cyprus, Sir George Hill's four-volume book, namely, *A History of Cyprus,* (1940-1952) reproduces a similar narrative according to which Cyprus was introduced to a prosperity thanks toBritish colonial rule which replaces the 'corrupted' and 'inefficient' Ottoman administration. In the recent Turkish edition, the translator Nazım Can Serbest also associates the work with the goal of legitimizing the British rule in Cyprus in his introductory note, called *Hill ve Kıbrıs Tarihi Üstüne.* George Hill, *Kıbrıs Tarihi: Osmanlı ve İngiliz İdaresi Dönemi 1571-1948,* trans. Nazım Can Serbest (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016).
[498] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), 226.
[499] Varnava, 54.

"not one voice, not one hand, was lifted up to resist the transfer" of power on the island. A rather familiar term and an imperial association strengthen this confidence to a further extent: "It is that we, at all events in the cause of civilisation, have won our spurs before the world."[500]

5.2 Answering back to the colonial mind-set: Ziver's reproduction of the Ottoman civilisation

Ottoman reaction to such a colonial legitimation which involved not only Cyprus, but all the Eastern Mediterranean domains of the Ottoman Empire as well, was summarised by Selim Deringil in an eloquent way: "Abdulhamid would almost certainly have agreed with Edward Said 'that struggle [for empire] is… not only about guns and cannons, but also about ideas, about forms, about images, and imagining.' The Hamidian regime sought to project the image in Europe that 'we are like you.'"[501] As it was already stated in the earlier chapters, the Ottoman state was in a desperate need to assert itself as a legitimate and equal player vis-à-vis 'civilised' European states especially after the empire was promised a place in the Concert of Europe through the Treaty of Paris of 1856. This need, or one can say, survival tactic, amidst rising external military threats, facilitated numerous reforms along the Western models and "the respectability of

[500] Peter, Marsh, "Lord Salisbury and Ottoman Massacres," *Journal of British Studies* 11, no.2 (May 1972): 72.
[501] Deringil, *The Well Protected…,* 15.

change"[502] that placed the Ottomans "on a world stage of civilisation"[503] and temporality from which the Ottoman historiography cannot be dissociated.

The ideas of a universal civilisation and progress, that Ziver embraces as already and recurrently shown in the last two chapters, assumed the role of an ordering principle with the internalisation of new Western-inspired periodisation models. In the eyes of the Ottoman historians, history now became a linear account of humankind's progress towards civilisation.[504] To illustrate, Mehmed Şükrü, who is one of the historians whose texts were known to Ziver,[505] states as the opening sentence of his textbook for the students of *Mekteb-i Bahriye-i Şahane İdadisi* (High school of the Military Naval Academy)[506] that "universal history is a science on all sorts of events and conditions of humans since they formed societies and started to live together following their departure from the state of savagery and nomadism."[507] Yet, bearing in mind that the Ottoman state now joined the same universal and temporal flow of history, how was the Ottoman past related to the causes of civilisation and progress? Did this modern relation give way to a reconfiguration or even a new kind of self-representation in the hands of the Ottoman historians? How was the act of writing the history of Cyprus influenced by this new historiographical and intellectual climate? In this part, I will tackle these issues to finalise this thesis in making sense of Ziver's *History of Cyprus*.

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[502] Ibid., 166.
[503] Makdisi, "Ottoman…", 778.
[504] Karateke, "The Challenge…", 147.
[505] Under the title of "my sources" in the first pages of *History of Rhodes*, Ziver mentions the name of a specific work on Ottoman sea battles. The work was written by Mehmed Şükrü who was a teacher at *Mekatib-i Bahriye-i Şahane* (Naval Military College). Mehmed Şükrü, *Esfar-ı Bahriye-yi Osmaniye* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1306).
[506] A basic information on Mehmed Şükrü and his *Universal History* can be found here: Tahir Nakıp, "Osmanlı Döneminde Geç Dönem Tarih-i Umumiler" (Unpublished master's thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006), 63.
[507] Mehmed Şükrü, *Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul, Mekteb-i Fünun-i Bahriye-yi Şahane Matbaası, 1313), 3.

While introducing the military preparations for the Ottoman conquest of the island, Ziver draws attention to the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa even though he did not play a major role in the process. Sokollu is presented as the spokesman of a certain policy on privileging a good administration of internal affairs over external matters.[508] In parallel to the general understanding of Sokollu's stance over this matter which was explained in the second chapter, Ziver mentions that Sokollu had been constantly warning the Sultan to postpone the Cyprus campaign and maintain good relations with the Venetians.[509] Yet, a subsequent emphasis on the ambition of Sokollu in doing so distinguishes this text from the earlier Ottoman narratives and necessitates a comparative analysis. It is mentioned that Sokollu's warnings against the Cyprus campaign was derived from his ambition to focus on opening the Suez Canal[510] which, as mentioned above, acted as a game changer in the modern history of the Middle East and the partition of the Ottoman lands. More importantly to the present discussion, its opening was universally seen as one of the great marvels of modern civilisation and progress. The Ottomans shared the same perception about the Suez Canal which was referred to "in accordance with the age of education and progress"[511] by no less a person

[508] "Umur-u dahiliyenin hüsn-i temşiyetine ikdam olunmadıkda gavail-i hariciye ihdasından istifade edilmeyeceği Sadr-ı Azam Sokollu Mehmed Paşa tarafından her bar bildirilmekte olduğu gibi…" Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi…*,83-84.
[509] "Venediklilerle daha bir müddet sulhen geçinip Kıbrıs seferinin vakt-i ahara talik edilmesi de Padişah Hazretleri'ne ihtar edilmekte idi." Ibid., 84.
[510] Ibid., 84.
[511] The imperial order (Süveyş Kanalı'nın küşadına dair Hidivviyet-i Mısriyye ile Ferdinand De Lesseps beyninde münakid 22 Şubat 1286 tarihli mukavelename ile mukavelename-i mezkurede mestur senedat ve mukavelatı musaddak ferman-ı ali) that includes the above mentioned reference was transliterated by Tuba Çınar as "Bahr-ı Ahmer ile Bahr-ı Sefid beyninde bir cedvel küşadıyla muamelat-ı ticaret ve seyahatde meyammetde [there is no such word in the original decree] bir kat daha tehsil-i emr-i aziminde bulunduğumuz asr-ı mearif ve terakkide husule gelmesi temenni olur." Tuba Çınar, "Süveyş Kanalı'nın Açılması ve Osmanlı Dış Politikası'ndaki Önemi (1869-1882)," (Unpublished master's thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2008), 220.

than the Ottoman Sultan Abdülaziz who gave his sanction to the Suez Canal Contract on March 19, 1866, resting on the, albeit fictional, Ottoman sovereignty over Egypt.

Indeed, the Ottoman interest in building a canal that would allow the Ottoman fleet to sail directly into the Indian Ocean was authentic and manifested in a number of efforts starting from the first half of the sixteenth century,[512] although they remained ephemeral attempts.[513]An interest to this end also appears in the *mühimme defterleri* (the registers of important imperial affairs)[514] during Sokollu's tenure. According to the document,[515] (dated on January 17, 1568) the governor of Egypt was ordered to conduct a feasibility study and, if possible, to open a canal between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez[516] in an effort to overcome a number of pressing matters:[517]

[512] Casale explains how the leading Ottoman statesmen repeatedly proposed to build a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Casale, *An Age of...,* 48.
[513] "…in reality excavations were called off shortly after they had begun, as mounting costs and technical difficulties made the project look unfeasible." Ibid., 50.
[514] Tijana Kristic, "Conversion" in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts of File Publishing, 2009), 146. A more detailed explanation reads as: "These record books contain the shortened copies of imperial orders sent to governors, financial officials and judges of provinces and sub-provinces, to the heads and leading communities of the vassal states, and to the rulers of foreign countries both Muslim and Christian relating to all sorts of military, economic, religious, social and cultural affairs." Ibid., xxxiv.
[515] The transliteration of this document can be found under the number of 721 in: 7 Numaralı Mühimme defteri (975-976/1567-1569), Vol.I (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1993), 351-52.
[516] "Buyurdum ki: Vusul buldukta, asla tehir u terahi itmeyüp ol yirün tamam ehl-i vukuf mimarların ve mühendislerin cem idüp dahı yarar ademler koşup irsal eyleyesin ki, varup Akdeniz ile Süveys deryasının mabeynlerin tetebbu idüp ol berriyye mahallinden hark olmağa kabil midür ve tuli ne mikdar olur ve yanaşur kaç gemi gitmeğe kabil hark olur, tamam malum idinüp arzeyleyesin ki, ana göre tedarüki görilüp, kesdürilüp İnşa'allahü'l-Aziz tamam oldukta..." Ibid., 352.
[517] "Eyle olsa, Portugal-i lain memalik-i Hindustan'a tegallüb cihetinden müstevli olup ol canibden ziyaret-i Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn'e gelen müslimanlarun yolları münsedd olup andan gayri ehl-i İslam küffar-ı haksar-ı duzeh-makamun taht-ı hükumetinde olmak reva görülmeyüp Hakk Teala'nun ulüvv-i inayetine tevekkül ve Hazret-i Risalet-penah'un aleyhi efdalü's-salevat mücizat-ı kesiretü'l-berekatına tevessül olunup diyar-ı Hindustan'ın küffar-ı haksar elinden istihlasına ve Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn'ün dahı etraf ve eknafında bazı fırka-i dalle olup anlarun dahı ol cevanibden izaleleri lazım olmagın inan-i azimet-i husrevanem ol taraflara munsarif kılınmağa niyyet ü azimet olunmışdır. Eyle olsa, ol husus içün külli Donanma-i Hümayunun izhar olunmak tedaruk olunup Donanma-i Hümayunum denizden Süveys deryasına geçmek içün bir hark kesilmek gayet seza-vardur." Ibid., 351-352.

> It has been reported that the accursed Portuguese have gained mastery over the lands of India, and the routes of the Muslims coming to visit the Holy Cities from those directions have been cut off as a result. It is intolerable that the people of Islam should be forced to live in this way under the rule of the accursed infidel. Thus, trusting in the assistance of God Almighty and taking in hand the miracle of the plentiful blessings of the Prophet (peace be upon him!), it is our intention to set out in the direction of those regions, both in the hopes of liberating the land of India from the accursed infidel, and because in the vicinity of the Holy Places there are certain stray beasts who have separated from the flock and who need to be dealt with [i.e., the Zaydi rebels]. At present, the Imperial fleet is being readied for action in this matter, and in order for it to pass across to the port of Suez, the cutting of a canal would be most convenient.[518]

It is obvious that the canal plan was associated with maintaining and expanding the political sovereignty of the Ottoman state to the whole of the Arabian Peninsula and even to more distant lands in the Indian Ocean. This association was overwhelmingly reflected in an Islamic framework as part of the fight against Zaydi 'heretics' and Christian 'infidels' on the one hand, and on the other for the Islamic leadership (caliphate) by claiming the sacred role of protector of the Holy Cities (Mecca and Medina) and the umma (Islamic community) on a universal level. A decade later, a similar mind-set and terminology were also used in a history book called *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*[519] which promoted another expedition for the same canal project in order to protect the Holy Places and expel the infidels, yet this time together with an economic interest, or, in other words, 'taste' "for the exquisite things of Sind and Hind and the rarities of Ethiopia and the Sudan and the usual items of Hijaz and Yemen and the pearls of Bahrain and Aden…"[520]

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[518] This translation of the document is taken from: Casale, 351.

[519] The work is written by Mehmed Suudi Efendi (d. 1591). For further information on the work, as well as a complete English translation: Thomas D. Goodrich, "Sixteenth Century Ottoman Americana, or, A study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi", (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1968).

[520] The following part was translated by Casale: "So, even only a drop was to be expanded from the sea of power of the Sultan, in the shortest time it would be possible to join the two seas (the Mediterranean and the Red Sea).. thenceforth, from Well-Protected Constantinople, the place of prosperity and the adobe of the throne of the Sultans, ships and their crews would be organised and sent to the Red Sea and would

If we view Ziver's articulation of Sokollu's project of the Suez Canal in light of the official and historiographical discourse of the sixteenth century, there is no room to doubt that a sharp contrast appears: the earlier Islamic framework is supressed and not a single reference is given to the above-mentioned points. So, Ziver no longer considers the proclaimed reasons of this undertaking important enough to employ in his narrative. Instead, the project of the Suez Canal becomes a means in and of itself to reconfigure the Ottoman past according to the causes of modern civilisation and progress: Basically, Sokollu's aim is presented by Ziver through a modern civilisational tone and this is further strengthened by a comment based on a progressive, yet anachronistic, understanding of time: "Grand Sokollu's aim was to dig and open the Suez Canal, which was already sketched in his mind, in order to serve the world civilisation three centuries earlier than the French engineer Monsieur de Lesseps."[521] Ziver's understanding and presentation of the issue are not exceptional in late Ottoman historiography. To illustrate, Mehmed Şükrü introduces the same subject as a "*tasavvur-u medeniyet perverane*" (a civilising idea).[522]

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have the power to protect the shors of the Holy Places. And in a short time, by an excellent plan, they would seize and subjugate most of the seaports of Sind and Hind and would drive away and expel from the region the evil unbelievers, and it would be possible for the exquisite things of Sind and Hindand the rarities of Ethiopia and the Sudan, and the usual items of Hijaz and Yemen and the pearls of Bahrain and Aden to reach the capital with a trifling effort." Casale, 162.

[521] "Koca Sokollu'nun bundan maksadı ise zihninde planı çizilen Süveyş Kanalı'nı hafr ve güşad ile Fransız mühendisi Monsieur De Lesseps'ten üç sene [it appears that the word "sene", meaning year, was corrected by Harid Fedai as "asır" in his edition, meaning century] akdem, alem-i medeniyete hizmet etmek idi." Ibid., 84.

[522] The complete sentence reads as: "Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Süveyş Berzahı'nda açılacak bir kanal ile Akdeniz'i Bahr-ı Ahmere rabt ederek Avrupa'nın Hindistan ile olan murasalarını Ümid Burnu tarikinden Akdeniz'e nakl etmek gibi diğer bir tasavvur-u medeniyet perverane de dahi bulunmuş ise de bu sırada zuhur eden Kıbrıs seferi tasavvur-u mezkurun meydana çıkmasına mani olmuşdur." Mehmed Şükrü, *Umumi…,* 76.

An endnote that follows Ziver's last quoted sentence involves a long citation from Mustafa Nuri Paşa's work, namely *Netayic'ül-vukuat,*[523] and opens up the subject of yet another canal project of Sokollu in the same period: The Don-Volga Canal. Historically speaking, this project was a reaction against the frequent Cossack raids after the 1550's[524] and the following collapses of the Khanate of Kazan in 1552 and the Khanate of Astrakhan is 1556.[525] In his article which was written specifically on this canal project to facilitate Ottoman entry into the Caspian Sea, Halil İnalcık underlines two inter-related military reasons as the most important drives to undertake the canal project in 1569: to counter the Russian expansion in the Black Sea[526] and to support the on-going war efforts in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Iraq.[527] More importantly, Inalcik's contention is derived from contemporary Ottoman chroniclers.[528] Besides, in parallel to the contemporary reasoning of the Suez Canal project, the Ottoman responsibility for keeping the pilgrimage routes open and safe to the Muslims of Central Asia[529] and the interests of traders, "who were at stake in the official documents as much as the pilgrims,"[530] were deemed important.

Ziver's citation[531] from Mustafa Nuri's text also underlines the prospect of an Ottoman expansion. The prime reason of this undertaking is identified with securing

[523] Even tough, the name of this work appears as (Netayic'ül-vakayi) at the end of the end-note, the wording is quite the same in these two texts.
[524] King, The Black…, 128.
[525] Ibid., 142.
[526] Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı-Rus Rekabetinin Menşei ve Don-Volga Kanalı Teşebbüsü (1569)," *Belleten* 46 (1948), 350.
[527] Ibid., 352.
[528] Ibid., 372.
[529] Ibid., 368.
[530] Ibid., 369.
[531] "Azak Denizi'ne mansab olan Ten Nehri ile (Don Nehri olacak) [This comment in parentheses is Ziver's own correction] Hazer Denizi'ne dökülen Volga nehrinin yekdiğerine kurbiyet hasıl eylediği ve dört fersah kadar yer harf olunur ise Karadeniz'den Bahr-ı Hazer'e emrar-ı sefer münkin olarak Türkistan

imrar-i sefin[532] (the passing of ships) and, in general terms, seems a replica of Mustafa Nuri's account except for a single, but critical point: a watchful comparison between the two texts lays bare a manipulation by Ziver who added his own sentence[533] at the beginning of the original citation (which, as mentioned in the last paragraph, comes right after the subject of Suez Canal). Ziver underlines that such "visions of promoting civilisation and development[534] in this century were not made up of only this…"[535] and only then introduces Sokollu's second canal project. Through such a foregoing emphasis, the Don-Volga Canal project takes on a new meaning other than the one in Mustafa Nuri's text, and the representation and perception of the issue now became associated with the causes of civilisation and progress similar to the Suez Canal Project.

5.3 Failing to serve the world civilisation: An Ottoman scapegoating

As a result of this historical reconfiguration, a rather obvious problem arises with regard to the fact that neither of these canal projects materialised by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century. The above-mentioned paradigm shift, needless to say, involves not only the envisioning part but also the outcomes because now a failure in canal projects

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taraflarının taht-ı hükumet-i Osmaniye'ye idhali kabil olacağı…" Ziver, 84. The citation is taken from Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayicü'l-vukuat: Kurumlarıyla Osmanlı Tarihi I-IV* (ed.) Yılmaz Kurt (Ankara: Birleşik, 2008), 124.

[532] In the end note above, the noun phrase, "imrar-ı sefer" (the passing of expedition) is actually a misreading by Harid Fedai of "imrar-ı sefin". Interestingly enough, Ziver himself had also written this phrase differently, and most probably wrongly, from Mustafa Nuri's original one which reads as "imrar-ı sefain" (the passing of the ships).

[533] Of course, in line with the general attitude of the Ottoman historians, Ziver does this without using any punctuation which would reveal such cases.

[534] I prefer to translate "*ümraniye"* as development to be more practical. The Redhouse Lexicon respectively defines "ümran" as "a being or becoming in good or flourishing condition" and "ümraniyyet" as "a state of good or flourishing cultivation."

[535] "Bu asırdaki tasavvurat-ı ümraniye-i medeniyet-perverane bundan ibaret olmayup daha evvel…" Ziver, 84.

would mean a lot more than wasting economic and military resources of the empire. What is at stake here is failing to serve the world civilisation. This is yet to be explained by Ziver who seems quite adamant on the issue since he adopts an anxious reasoning mechanism in both cases.

In the matter of the Suez Canal project, the reasoning revolves around a certain favourite of Sultan Selim II, namely Joseph Nasi, whose influence, according to Ziver, had played a major role together with corsair attacks on Ottoman ships, in provoking the Sultan to focus on the conquest of the island instead of the canal project. After the introduction of Sokollu's project, the next sentence starts as "however, Joseph Nasi gained an excessive ascendancy over the mind of the Sultan."[536] His influence over the Sultan and consequently, on the Ottoman decision to conquer the island is paid attention more than once[537] in the text and presented in a surprisingly detailed manner. Nasi whom Ziver identifies as a Portuguese favourite of the Sultan, "had been exploiting the light intoxication of his Highness" to counsel him on conquering Cyprus which produces good wine." Moreover, it is stated that "the Sultan offered the Kingdom of Cyprus to Nasi and had already appointed him as the Prince of Naxos." [538] Last but not least, Ziver refers to him through a clear cynicism as a person who "exaggerated in his

[536] "Lakin Josef Nassi'nin Padişah Hazretleri'ne ziyade hulul etmiş ve bu aralık Osmanlı tüccar gemilerinin Kıbrıs korsanları tarafından gark ve zabt edilmiş olmasına mebni Hazret-i Padişah igzab edilmekle, bir Akdeniz seferinin icrası naçar taht-ı icraya alındı." Ibid., 84.
[537] "Mufassalca yazılmış tevarihe nazaran Kıbrıs'ın zabt ve teshirine padişahın nüdemasından Josef Nassi namında Portekiz'li bir zat delalet etmiştir." Ibid., 83.
[538] "Güya Sultan Selim Hazretleri'ne, huzur-ı padişahiye çıktıkça neşve-i husrevanelerinden bi'l-istifade güzel şaraplar yetiştiren Kıbrıs'ın fethini tavsiyede bulunurmuş. Mehazımıza göre de Sultan Selim-i Sani Hazretleri Kıbrıs Krallığını Josef'e va'd etmiş ve hatta bu va'dinden akdem Nassi'yi Nakus ceziresi prensliğine bile nail etmiştir." Ibid., 83.

own mind the dream of having a kingdom and engraved the inscription of 'the King of Cyprus Joseph' on his weaponry."[539]

Historically speaking, Joseph Nasi (1524-1576) was born into a trader and banker family from Marrano society which converted en masse from Judaism to Christianity following the Spanish takeover of the Iberian Peninsula.[540] Amidst rising Catholic animosity and persecution which encapsulated large parts of Western Europe in the sixteenth century, Nasi was the most well-known, though not at all the only, Jewish entrepreneur who sought relief and a better career in the Ottoman Empire. After his return to Judaism in 1554, he became a leading figure in Jewish society living in the Ottoman domains, and in line with Ziver's attribution, established a close relationship with the then prince Selim II by funding his war to achieve supremacy over his brother Beyazıd's claim to the throne.[541] Thanks to his espionage network all around Europe and acquaintances with critical figures including the very Charles V, "Nasi was in a unique position to broker information."[542] It is well-known that after the enthronement of Selim II, he managed to utilise his political connections to secure economic advantages such as commercial monopolies and tax-farming of Naxos which, again reminiscent of Ziver's claim, was renowned for its rich wine.[543] Finally, he fell out of

[539] "Josef krallık hayalini zihninde büyülterek eslihası üzerine 'Kıbrıs Kralı Josef' ibaresini hakkettirmiştir." Ibid., 83.
[540] Norman Rosenblatt, *Joseph Nasi, court favourite of Selim II.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennysylvania, 1957).
[541] Ibid., 32.
[542] Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Espionage in the 16th Century Mediterranean: Secret Diplomacy, Mediterranean Go-betweens and the Ottoman Habsburgh Rivalry," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 2012), 377-378. Indeed, Gürkan deals with Nasi's activities and agents under a specific part titled "The Nasi Network". Ibid., 377-384.
[543] Rosenblatt., 59.

favour with Selim II before the conquest of Cyprus and spent his last years without any contact with the Ottoman court[544] unti his death in 1583.

In historiographical terms, Ziver's association of Joseph Nasi to the expedition to Cyprus was all but a novel break in Ottoman history writing since such a link does not exist in earlier historical accounts analysed in the second chapter of this thesis. Ziver's source on this issue is, not surprisingly, European. Taking into consideration of his (re)conversion to Judaism and cooperating with the Ottoman state which was waging great and ensuing battles on both land and sea against the Catholic powers, European accounts reproduced a lot of controversies and rumours resting upon a demonization of Nasi as an enemy of Christendom.[545] This phenomenon must have been born "amidst the war-time anti-Semitic paranoia."[546] To analyse the origin of Ziver's account on Nasi, a brief glance at Louis Lacroix's account is most relevant since, just like in the case of Bragadino, it shares a perspective similar to the ones in general Western accounts, and thus, it is highly representative of them.[547] Plus, Ziver read and engaged with it.

Lacroix introduces Joseph Nasi as a favourite of Selim II and more importantly, associates him with provoking the sultan to conquer the island in just the same way as Ziver does. Needless to say, Cyprus is again referred to through its good wines. Moreover, Selim II's inclination towards drunkenness is mentioned as well as his above-

[544] Ibid., 105.
[545] Rosenblatt perfectly expresses that "Joseph Nasi's reputation lies somewhere in the realm of either of the divine or of the diabolical." Ibid., 1. Accordingly, the Jewish authors attributed messianic meanings to such a strong fellow of theirs while the Christian ones debased him as a collaborator of Islam, capital, Satan…
[546] Gürkan, 378.
[547] For comparison, one can check Hammer's narration of the issue. Hammer, *Histoire…,* Vol. 6, 383-387.

mentioned promise to make Nasi "the King of Cyprus."[548] In one last note on this issue, Lacroix informs the readers that Nasi was fooled by this promise "which was pronounced in the midst of drunkenness" and engraved his weaponry with the inscription of "Joseph the King of Cyprus."[549] Under the light of all these, there is no room for doubt that Ziver's account on Nasi derives directly from the text of Lacroix. What is striking here is of course the highly selective use of European accounts by an Ottoman historian who casts aside the reliability of Lacroix's narrative in the case of Bragadino in contradistinction to all the historical proofs and even the witnessing of the early modern Ottoman historians, and yet on the other hand, the same historian employs and reproduces from the same work a quite dubious claim which is not more than a drunkard's, albeit the Sultan's, words during a feast.

Furthermore, Ziver's borrowing from Lacroix also involves a reconfiguration which stands as yet another illustration of the creative and manipulative abilities of the Ottoman historians over their European colleagues rather than mere black and white distinction of imitation or inversion: Nasi's influence is presented, unlike in European texts, not only as a provocation to conquer Cyprus but as a corollary to that, as the primary reason and obstacle to materialising the Ottoman vision of world civilisation and progress, namely Sokollu's Suez Canal project. Taking into consideration the fact that the Ottoman surveyors, in conformity with Sokollu's order to conduct a feasibility

[548] "Peu scrupuleux sur l'observation des preceptes du Coran, Selim avait un penchant decide pour l'ivrognerie, et ile se laissa facilement persuader par les propos de son favori a preparer la conquete de l'ile qui produisait les vins delicieux qu'il aimat tant... Un jour, dans l'effusion produite par de copieuses libations de vin de Chypre, Selim, se tournant vers le juif, qui etait devenu son favori et le compagnon de ses plaisirs, s'ecria: 'En verite, si mes desirs s'accomplissent, tu deviendras roi de Chypre.'" Lacroix, 74.
[549] "Ces paroles, pronencees au seiu de l'ivresse, remplirent Joseph Nassy d'esperances si ambitieuses, qu'il fit suspendre dans sa maison les armes de Chypre avec cette inscription: 'Joseph roi de Chypre." Ibid., 74.

study in the region, "deemed the canal infeasible even before excavations had begun"[550] and the limited ability of "a perennially divided Ottoman leadership"[551] to commit itself to such an end even if it were feasible, Ziver's association of this failure with Nasi's personal desires is no doubt a scapegoating.

With regard to the failure of the Don-Volga Canal project, Ziver focuses on the role of the Crimean Khan Devlet I Giray.[552] According to him, the khan acted with a "strange idea that if the Ottoman government reached Turkistan, the Emirate[553] of Crimea would not be everlasting" and hindered Ottoman efforts through his secretly[554] organised trickery. In a similar way to the above-mentioned case, a brief rereading of Ziver's conviction by taking into account the Ottoman historical texts from the sixteenth century would be highly explanatory. To put it bluntly from the start, in contrast to Ziver who positively associated the canal project with "a vision of promoting civilisation and development,"[555] the Ottoman chroniclers had interpreted the canal project in a negative way.[556]

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[550] Casale, 136.
[551] Ibid., 177.
[552] "Kırım Hanı Devlet Giray bu maksad hasıl, ve hükümet-i Osmaniye Türkistan'a vasıl olduğu takdirde Kırım imareti payidar olamaz, mütalaa-yı garibesiyle suret-i hafide tertib ettiği mukaddemat-ı mekr-i karib üzerine oradan askerin avdetini icabet ettirmiştir." Ziver, 84.

As it is mentioned above, the Don-Volga Canal Project is given by Ziver in a long end-note which is taken from Mustafa Nuri's *Neyatic'ül-vukuat.* Here it seems that Ziver chose to simplify the wording in Mustafa Nuri's account to make it more easy to read. For a comparison: "Han-ı müşarün ileyh bu maksad hasıl ve hükümet-i Osmaniyye Türkistan'a vasıl olduğu takdirce Kırım Emareti pay-dar olamayub Memalik-i Devlet-i Aliyye'nin eyalat-ı sairesi hükmüne gireceğini der-pîş-i mutalaa ederek suret-i hayr-hahide tertib ettidi mukaddemat-ı mekr-ferib, avdet-i na-be-hengam iktiza etmekle asker-i İslamiyye enva-ı felaket ü meşakkate giriftar ve nısfından ziyadesi telef-zede-i rüzgar-ı gaddar oldu." Mustafa Nuri, 125.
[553] In Fedai's edition, the word "Emaret" was transliterated wrongly as "imaret."
[554] In Fedai's edition, the word "hafiyede" was transliterated wrongly as "hafide."
[555] Ziver, 84.
[556] Halil İnalcık lists Mustafa Ali, Peçevi, Kara Çelebizade, Müneccim Başı. İnalcık, 371.

For example, Mustafa Ali, whose career was sealed by a fondness for Lala Mustafa Paşa and therefore a lack of appreciation for Sokollu, states right from the start that "even though certain intelligent men had tried to stop the Grand Vizier on the grounds that this was an ill-natured ambition that would have immeasurable costs," he listened to the "nonsense of the Governor of Kefe" because of his "excessively stubborn and envious" character.[557] Furthermore, upon the arrival of the news about the failure of the project irrespective of tremendous costs and deathly hardships, Mustafa Ali narrates that Selim II held the Grand Vizier responsible and even decided that all the costs of this expedition be compensated by Sokollu himself.[558] Besides the heavy criticism against the canal project itself, his conviction is that the plan remained inconclusive because of the army's growing anxiety and fear amidst increasingly adverse weather conditions, long distance from supply lines and fear of provisioning problems. These contributed to disagreements and confusion among the soldiers who, by defying the orders of their commander in chief, buried a great amount of equipment and returned back.[559] Yet, Mustafa Ali subsequently mentions an alternative, albeit highly ambiguous, explanation based on rumours which, as illustratively analysed by Murat Dağlı with regard to the early modern Ottoman historiography, had great potential as a textual strategy to

[557] "Egerçi bazı ukala "Bu bir fasid-sevda ve niçesün harc ü hasaret-i bi-intihadır" deyu Vezir-i Azamı men'e salik oldular. Lakin gayetde anud ü gayur ve tevabiinin çekmekde bazili'l-makdur olmagın Kefe Sancagı Beginin akval-ı bi-mealine ragbet itdi." Mustafa Ali, 7.

[558] "Vüzera ve ukalanın kelimat-ı nush-amizini cenab-ı saltanata bildürdi ve ne işitdi. Ahır bunca harc ve hasaret-i bi-ser ü tab ve mihnet-i pür-gur-ı netice-ı feth ü zaferle musaddar olmadıkda merhum Sultan Selim Şah mazhar-ı vüzerada sabıkı'z-zikr Vezir-i Tavile hıtab-ı ıtab-iştibah idüb Ejderhan seferinin mecmu-ı ihracatı görilmek cümlesini sana tazmin itdürülmek lazım olmışdır" deyu buyurmuşlardır." Ibid., 7.

[559] "Lakin askerin diyar-ı İslamdan bud-ı menazille müfarekatı ve şiddet-i şita müstevli olub hevanun günden güne izhar-ı berudeti ve kat edib geldükleri otsuz ve susuz beriyyelerden avdetleri hatırasıyla herkesin havf ü haşyeti ol emr-i hatırın na-tamam kalmasına sebeb olub güruh u müslimine bir derecede ihtilafat ve ihtilal-i pür afat vakı oldu ki birbirlerüne bakmayub göçdiler. Serdarları sözine kulak tutmayub ekser ahmal ü eskalı bıragub çekildiler." Ibid., 8.

mediate between clashing political ambitions and to create scapegoats.[560] Mustafa Ali states that "the soldiers of Islam were perhaps tricked... according to some people, by the Crimean Khan" himself who spread the above-mentioned fear secretly and intentionally[561] to guarantee the status and existence of the Emirate of Crimea. This emphasis on the Khan's interests,[562] needless to say, is parallel to Ziver's conviction.

The argument about a probable resistance by the Crimean Khan to secure its local interests amidst the rising intervention and direct action by the Ottoman capital, seems understandable from a historical point of view and is all shared by Mustafa Ali, Ziver and even the late Halil İnalcık as well.[563] A more historiographical approach towards the articulation of this argument by Mustafa Ali and Ziver though, attests to a differentiation rather than a common ground. What is an ambiguous argument, marred by the words "perhaps" and "according to some people," in Mustafa Ali's and other chroniclers'[564] texts, was reformulated by Ziver with precision. Plus, with all the Ottoman criticism and resistance against the Don-Volga Canal project (which was, as a reminder, Sokollu's plan) left out, this now-precise argument about the Crimean Khan's obstructiveness becomes the single most compelling explanation for the failure.

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[560] Murat Dağlı, ""Bir Haber Şayi Oldu Ki" Rumor and Regicide," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/ The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 35, (2010): 11.

[561] "Keenne-hu asakir-i İslam'a bir sihr ü mekr kılındı. Bi-la müdafi ü muarız her kişi avdetde mecbur olub çekildi. Bazıları kavlince Kırım Hanı her tarafdan hufyeten niçe mekr ü sihr olundıkdan maada zahiren dahi askerin havf ü haşyetine müteallik niçe kelimat olunmak yani ki bir kaç günden sonra şiddet-i şitadan kimse harekete kadir olamamak hususa ki el ayak tutılmak beni adem zad ü zevade yerine bunda bu yerlerde yel yutmak mukarrerdir deyü ahbarı münteşir olması cünud-ı mücahidinin müracaatlarına bais oldı." Ibid., 9.

[562] "Zira ki Han-ı Tatar bu manayı ber-karar bildi ki iki nehrün ma-beyni kesilüb ve bu vadilerde berren ve bahren Al-i Osman leşkeri gelüb agaz-ı harb u neberd itdüklerinde asla kendüye ragbet ü iltifat kalmaz. Belki memaliki bi'l-külliye ahz olunub ümeradan birine virilüb anlara ihtiyaç lazım gelmez. Bu takdirce kable'l-itmam pend ü nasihat yüzinden suret-i inhizan yegdür didiler." Ibid., 9.

[563] İnalcık, 367.

[564] For example, Peçevi has a very similar account with regard to the ambiguity in Mustafa Ali's text. He starts the argument by saying that "Bazı kimesnelerin itikadı..." (The belief of some people is...). Peçevi, 470.

More importantly, since the canal project is now associated with "a vision of promoting civilisation and development"[565] by Ziver, the responsibility of the khan escalates into culpability for halting the Ottomans from contributing to the world civilisation and it goes without saying that the Ottoman polity is thus totally absolved with regard to this. The canal project is further associated with scientific knowledge as the leading figure in the excavations, the Governor of Kefe Kasım Paşa, is transformed from a man of "non-sense" in Mustafa Ali's text to "a master of the mathematical sciences"[566] by Ziver. This sensitivity can be accepted as a general phenomenon among Ottoman historians in the nineteenth century since Hayrullah Efendi, for example, goes to the extent of condemning Mustafa Ali himself as "oblivious of the science of geography"[567] because of his affirmative narration of contemporary Ottoman criticism against the project.

Last but not least, this re-configuration of the canal project and suppression of Mustafa Ali's objection is related to the fact that in the nineteenth century, writing Ottoman history was no longer professed for or against certain figures. Now, individual actions (Sokollu's Suez and Don-Volga Canal Projects or Lala Mustafa Paşa's execution of Marc Antonio Bragadino) came to be seen by Ottoman historians as representatives

[565] Ziver, 84.
[566] "Kefe Beylerbeyisi olup fünun-ı riyaziyede maharet-i kamilesi olan Kasım Paşa tarafından arz olunmağıle..." Ziver, 84.
[567] "Ali tarihinde bu nehirlerin kesb-i ittisal etmesi maddesinin mümkünsüz olduğunu bazı ukala sadrazama beyan etmişler ise de asla faidesi olmadı diyerek fenn-i coğrafyadan bi-haber olduğu halde navek-endaz itiraz olmuştur." Hayrullah Efendi, *Devlet-i Aliyye-i…,*Vol. 12, 40. Here the verb, "itiraz" (to object) is not used together with "etmek" (do) in the normal way but phrased rather awkwardly with "olmuştur" (exist). Nevertheless, in all likelihood, I regard that the verb relates to the subject, Mustafa Ali. Zuhuri Danışman has the same contention and corrected the phrase "itiraz olmuştur" as "itiraz etmiştir." The exact sentence is simplified as: "Ali tarihinde bu nehirlerin birleştirilmesinin imkansız olduğunu bazı akıllı kimseler Sadrazam'a bildirmişlerse de asla faydası olmadı diyerek, coğrafya fenninden habersiz olduğu hale itiraz etmiştir." Hayrullah Efendi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi* Vol. 7, ed. Zuhuri Danışman (İstanbul: Zuhuri Danışman Yayınevi, 1964-1966), 183.

of 'Ottomanness' vis-à-vis Western civilisation. In a sense, this can be formulated as 'nationalisation of the Ottoman past'[568] according to which the early modern historians, (in this case, Mustafa Ali) were suppressed by a nineteenth century generation of historians who were writing history of and for the nation. A humorous comment, once put down by Partha Chatterjee regarding the development of Indian history-writing, proves to be equally applicable to the Ottoman case: "If it was ever suggested to Mitruniai that in the story of the deeds and fortunes of the kings of Delhi might lie the history of a nation, it is doubtful that he would have understood."[569]

5.4 Historical legitimisation of Ottoman rule in Cyprus

Ziver narrates the following centuries of Ottoman rule in Cyprus much shorter than his account on the sixteenth century and focuses on local uprisings. In this respect, his text is akin to that of Lacroix. Though, a comparison between these two texts (both in terms of perspective and content) regarding the relations between the Ottoman centre and the islanders would reveal that Ziver again inverts the latter's narrative that he derives from and in doing so, arrives at a final judgment on the Ottoman legitimacy to rule in Cyprus. As a historical work which was produced to counter the rival claims of Greek nationalism and British colonialism, Ziver's *Kıbrıs Tarihi* is inextricably linked to this

[568] In Ziver's work, the projection of a national identity and perspective back to the Seljukid/Ottoman past, can also be exemplified by his usage of the word, 'Turk'. For example, the enemies of Pierre I de Lusignan and his Armenian allies in Cicilia are presented as "Turks," (Türkler) "Turkish mujahids," (mücahidin-i Türk) "Turkish self-sacrifying combatants" (Türk fedaileri) on pages 68-69. Furthermore, while introducing the Karamanid Dynasty (Karamanoğulları) as the only obstacle against the Ottoman domination in Anatolia, Ziver deliberately mentions that they are nevertheless coming from the same origin as Ottomans. "Yalnız bir anasırdan iken Osmanlıların terakkiyat-i cihangirhanelerine mani olmak isteyen, meydanda Karamanoğulları var idi." Ziver, 74.

[569] Chatterjee, 83.

final judgment that involves and builds on all the already-mentioned historical reconfigurations above. In this part, I will touch upon Ziver's final representation and legitimisation of Ottoman rule in Cyprus.

The last and the most important local event mentioned by Ziver is the wave of disorder that engulfed the island at the beginning of the Greek Revolution (1821-1832) which gave way to the first independent nation-state carved out of the Ottoman Empire and literally, "brought nationalism home."[570] I deem a citation necessary to explicate Ziver's approach on the issue:

> Verily, Küçük Mehmed Paşa summoned for a period Druzes and a group of scum from the Mount of Lebanon and they pillaged all around the island, and obliged many families to immigrate to Marseilles. These cannot be denied, but upon these chastisements and frightening, the Greek Disorder[571]of 1235 [according to the Hegira calendar] did not have any influence on Cyprus and thus, our Christian citizens lived peacefully.[572]

With regard to his terminology on Christian subjects on the island, Ziver is quite representative of Ottoman historiography in the nineteenth century. In that period, the pejorative terms like 'infidel' (kafir or gavur) were not used,at least in the published materials, even by the *madrasa*-trained conservative historians[573] and the notion of

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[570] Hakan Erdem, "'Do not Think of Greeks as Agricultural Laborers': Ottoman Responses to the Greek War of Independence," in *Citizenship and the Nation-state in Greece and Turkey*, eds. Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas (London: Routledge, 2005), 81.

[571] Here, to translate the term "fetret-i Yunaniyye" I appeal to Hakan Erdem's suggestion under the title of "Rum Duraklaması" in his relentlessly critical work, Tarih-lenk. Hakan Erdem, *Tarih-lenk: Kusursuz Yazarlar, Kağıttan Mendiller* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010).

[572] "Vakıa bir aralık Küçük Mehmed Paşa'nın Cebel-i Lübnan'dan celbettiği Dürziler ve üryan takımı cezirenin her tarafını soydu, birçok ailelerin Marsilya'ya hicretlerine mecburiyet verdi. Buraları kabil-i inkar değildir. Lakin bu tedib, bu terhibler üzerine 1235'de Bastilyan-ı [başlayan] fetret-i Yunaniye'nin Kıbrıs'a bir tesiri olmayıp Hristiyan vatandaşlarımız rahatça oturmuş oldular." Ziver, 92 The word in brackets represent my correction of Fedai's translation which repeats the misspelling at the original publication.

[573] Zeki Arıkan, "Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Tarihçilik," in *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1585.

equality[574] before law between Muslim and other confessional communities was prioritised along the Tanzimat mentality well into the reign of Abdulhamid II.[575] Moreover, he decisively adopts a paternalistic attitude toward the Christian, and increasingly Greek, subjects on the island whom he defines as "our Christian citizens" from a modern state perspective.

Apart from these, the debating phrases of "verily" or "these cannot be denied" are yet further manifestations of the dialogical/polemical relation between the Ottoman and European historiographies. Indeed, Ziver's emplotment of local events in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries carries in itself a great potential to shed more light on this relationship since what is employed or not from Lacroix's text by Ziver can easily be spotted. In regard to the Ottoman crackdown on the Christian Orthodox religious and political notables in 1821, the main elements of Ziver's citation above which consisted of the agency of the local Ottoman governor, the pejorative discourse on the irregulars from Lebanon, their pillaging activities and the migration of local (Christian) families to European cities like Marseilles, and the return to a social tranquility are all present in Lacroix's narration as well except the last one.[576] What is an

[574] Ziver even claims that the Ottoman state gently hosted in Istanbul a committee of local representatives and upon their complaints, decided to tax the Muslim and non-Muslim communities on an equal basis: "Freng tarihleri de inkar edemezler ki İkinci Katerina'nın Memalik-i Osmaniye'ye saldırdığı Ehl-i Salib'lerle meşgul olduğu bir sırada Kıbrıs muhafızı Çil Osman Paşa'dan şikayetle Bab-ı Ali'ye gönderilen heyet-i mebuse suret-i mahsusada hüsn-i kabul görüp Müslim ve Gayr-i müslim ehalinin mütesaviyen vergi vermek emrini almış ve beraberinde müsteid memurları bulunduğu halde Kıbrıs'a avdet etmiştir..." Ziver, 92.

[575] Alpugan, "Geç Dönem...," 266.

[576] "In fact, Kuchuk Mehmed, under the pretext of keeping the Greek population subdued, which only wanted to remain quiet, and in reality to snatch back the reins of power, brought over from the mountains of the Anti Libanus bands of Arabs, Bedouins and Ansariya brigands, and scattered them about the island... Kuchuk Mehmed persists in inventing a plot, persuades the Grand Vezir of its reality; he, being perhaps a party to the strategem, allows the Governor to make an example by the severe punishment of the leaders... The Greek houses were given over to pillage, massacres began again in all the districts of the island... Most of them crossed over to Italy or France, and there are few Greek families in whom the names of Marseille or Venice do not still, even now that more than twenty years have passed since their

act of frightening that brought tranquillity to the Christian subjects on the island is in Lacroix's text an act of "universal terror" that "doomed" Cyprus "to remain enslaved"[577] under Ottoman rule. More to the point, Ziver does not provide the details of the Ottoman chastisement which, according to Lacroix, involved a great amount of corporal punishment.[578] Here, Ziver faces yet another case of martyrology after the one of Bragadino. The Archbishop Kyprianos, who was hung on July 9, 1821 outside the palace of the Ottoman governor and as a corollary of that, was added to "the pantheon of national *martyrs* (ethno-martyr)"[579] by Greek historiography. Historically speaking, it is also known that certain high priests were subjected to corporal punishment and beheaded.[580] Ziver suppresses these incidents, and they are not isolated cases, as he also shows a similar attitude to earlier local uprisings.[581]

What needs to be assessed here is the very selective use of Lacroix's narration of Ottoman repression by Ziver who on the one hand, inverts and silences respectively the consequences and the specific punishments of it and yet, favours most of the main

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return to the island, awake tender feelings of gratitude..." "Lacroix", ed. Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus,* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 464.

[577] "...confiscation followed massacre... universal terror... so fell upon Cyprus the terrible counterblow of the revolution which freed the mainland of Greece and the Cyclades, but renewed all the rigours of Musulman rule for the provinces doomed to remain enslaved." Ibid., 464.

[578] "I was told, M. de Latrie, that before killing them the Turks, with a wild refinement of vengeance, saddled the priests as they would their horses, breaking their teeth to to force the bits into their mouths, and making them caper under their spurs." Ibid., 464.

[579] Michalis N. Michael, "Kyprianos, 1810-21: An Orthodox Cleric *'administering politics'* in an Ottoman island," in *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The changing role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their identities and politics,* ed. Andrekos Varnava and Michalis N. Michael (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 41.

[580] Ibid., 61.

[581] As an illustration, Ziver's sentence about the suppression of a local uprising by relating the hanging of its ring-leader to ensuring the tranquility of the islanders seems identical to the one of Lacroix except an important difference, which is reminiscent again of the case of Bragadino: Lacroix's claim that two hundred rebels were decapitated fall on deaf ears. For a comparison: "Halil namında bir haydudun tutulup selb edilmesi istirahat-ı ehalinin emini maksadından ileri gelmiyor muydu?" Ziver, 92 - "Halil fur etrangle; on coupa deux cents tetes, la tranquillite fur retablie, et l'ile de Chypre retomba, plus calme et plus miserable que jamais, sous le gouvernement de ses muhassils." Lacroix, 82.

elements already mentioned above. Most importantly, Ziver reiterates the local agency and the decision (of summoning forces from Lebanon) that unfolded so negatively in terms of pillaging and immigration of local families, is attributed to the local Ottoman governor Küçük Mehmed Paşa. On this point, if we compare the Ottoman reaction against the Greek Revolution in Cyprus and Istanbul, the unfolding of events seems quite parallel both on the local and central levels.

The measures taken by Küçük Mehmed Paşa in terms of public disarmament, numerous confiscations and ultimately the hanging of the local Archbishop Kyprianos on July 9 followed their historical antecedents in Istanbul where, for example, the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregorios V was also executed on April 22 since, according to the contemporary Ottoman *vakanüvis* (court chronicler) Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah (1776-1826), it was part of a patriarch's duty to inspect his community day and night and follow their conditions and actions in order to inform the state.[582] A further similarity is the form of execution, since the patriarch was also hung according to the orders of the sultan.[583] On the other hand, the fact that the patriarch was hung regardless of his rejection of the nationalist propaganda on the grounds of masonry,[584] and cooperation with the state to the extent of excommunicating the members of the revolutionary

[582] "Cümleye malum olduğu vechile her sınıfın ve her milletin zabit ve söz sahibi olanların feriza-i zimmetleri olduğu vechile... gice ve gündüz gözedüp, her bir ahval ve harekatlerini anlamak ve... her neye vakıf olur ise Devlet-i Aliyye'ye haber vermek, vazife-i memuriyyetlerinden olduğu misillü, patrikler dahi..." Şanizade Mehmet Ataullah Efendi, *Şanizade Tarihi: 1223-1237 / 1808-1821,* ed. Ziya Yılmazer (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008), 1122.

[583] "ateş-i gazab-ı hazret-i Padişahi iktizasınca sudur etmiş olan ferman-ı kaza mucebince, merkum andan yine Patrik-hane tarafına isra olunarak, kethudası ile beraber Petro-kapusunda karşu karşuya salb ile icray-ı ceza ve ifay-ı hükm-i kaza kılındı." Şanizade, 1121.

[584] Richard Clogg, "'The Didaskalia Patriki' [The Paternal Teaching] (1798): An Orthodox to French Revolutionary Propaganda," *Middle Eastern Studies* 5 (1969): 85-115.

organisation *Filiki Eteria*[585] and of participating in the disarmament of the Orthodox Christian community[586] does also bear resemblance to the attitude and fate of Kyprianos.[587]

Last but not least, a brief glance at what happened to the patriarch's deceased body and how this was interpreted by the Ottoman historians afterwards would be critical for understanding the present discussion of this thesis. According to Şanizade, the body remained hung on the Saint Peter Gate of the Patriarchate compound for three days and afterwards, the Jewish community, as they were ordered by the sultan to throw it to the sea, embowelled and tied it to stones. In this way, they wanted to ensure that the body would not float on the sea and be taken by his community[588] (who nevertheless, rescued the body which was eventually enshrined similarly to the case of Bragadino).[589] It is important to note that such a narration, together with an affirmative logic, could give way to adverse reactions not only by the European historians as an "outrage on humanity"[590] but also by the following *vakanüvis* Sahaflar Şehyizade Mehmed Esad Efendi (1789-1848) who, while reflecting specifically on Şanizade's account, decisively rejects, "God forbids," any involvement of the sultan. Instead, he argues, albeit less

[585] "Rum patriki tarafından iktiza eden mahallere guya def-i fesad ü ihtilal için mecburen aforoz kağıdları gönderilecek olduğundan,... [bunlara farklı bölgelere götürücek olan Varna Metropoliti'ne] tayin olunan Mübaşir maiyetile,... memurlar tarafından müdahale olunmamak baabında... cezirelere gidecek metropolitlere Kapudan paşa tarafından kağıdlar yazılmak ve mübaşirler tayin olunmak..." Şanizade, 1106.
[586] "Rum ve Ermeni patrikleri taraflarından birer adem ve mahallin zabiti tarafından bir memur ve taraf-ı şerden bir Katib Efendi ile reayanın mahalle be-mahalle evlerüne girip, silah bulunur ise defter ederek ve her mahallede ve her hanede mevcut olan reaya semt ve şöhretleriyle tahrir ve birbirlerine kefalete rabt ve içlerinde kefilsiz serseri mahulesi olanlar temyüz ü tefrik ve Der-saadet'ten tard u def olunmaları...." Ibid., 1100.
[587] Michalis, 54-59.
[588] "Patrik'in mürdesi üç gün maslub durduktan sonra deryaya endahtı, kariha-i Şahane'den Yehud Milleti'ne emr olunarak, anlar dahi: "Tenakkuh ve tefessüh ile rûy-i deryaya çıkıp, Rumlar almasunlar" deyu karnını yarup ve taşlar bağlayup deryaya öylece ilka eylediler." Ibid., 1123.
[589] Finlay, 188. Today, the Patriach's body is found in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Athens and has become a holy shrine.
[590] Finlay, 188.

decisively, that "perhaps these were done according to the strange ways of some light-minded figures."[591]

This refutation of an Ottoman official historian by a following colleague to acquit the Ottoman state is highly evocative of Ziver in attributing the unfolding of negative events in Cyprus exclusively to the local governor Küçük Mehmed Paşa even though his actions were all modelled on similar reactions of the Ottoman centre. Similarly, the executions were directly approved by Mahmud II[592] who, as George Finlay warns us to read with a grain of salt,[593] "is presented by historians of the Greek Revolution as an inhuman monster."[594] Accordingly, his involvement is totally concealed by Ziver in a parallel way to Esad Efendi's narrative. With regard to the pillaging of the island, it is also documented that the transfer of the 'culprit' forces from Sidon (Sayda) and Tripoli (Trablusşam) to Cyprus, whom Ziver presents as summoned by Küçük Mehmed Paşa himself, was organised and decreed by the centre.[595] What is at stake here is an example of "a 'stain' on the honour of a modernising state"[596] as once defined by Ussama Makdisi. From this perspective, Ziver's argumentation reflects a reconfiguration and limitation of 'the Ottoman culpability' to the local level.

[591] "kariha-i Şahane'den (E 95a'nın sağ kenarında Vak'a-nüvis Es'ad Efendi'nin burada yer alan bilgilerle ilgili olarak kendi hattıyla şöyle bir kaydı vardır: "Haşa karihadan değildir, belki bazı süfehadan halet-i garibe-i ilkasındandır.") Ibid., 1123-1124, E.N.: 5.
[592] Michalis Michael, "The loss of an Ottoman intellectual order and the reaction to a changing Ottoman world: A new interpretation of the 1821 events in Cyprus," *International Review of Turkish Studies* 3 (Fall: 2013): 24.
[593] Finlay assesses that "his (Mahmud II) conduct was guided by political principles, which in the year 1821 were considered prudent at Constantinople, and which would not have been considered unmerciful by Louis the Great or our James II, if applied to rebellious heretics. The acts of Sultan Mahmud were not the result of a personal fury…" George Finlay, *A History of Greece, from its conquest by the Romans to the present time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864,* Vol. 6, The Greek Revolution Part 1, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1877), 183-184.
[594] Ibid., 183.
[595] C..DH.. 81/4009, 1236 B 29 or C..DH.. 128/6359, 1236 B 29.
[596] Makdisi, 781.

Furthermore, Ziver largely reproduces the attitude and the relevant naming ("brigands")[597] of Lacroix or other European historians[598] and presents "the Druzes and a group of scum from the Mount of Lebanon" as liable for the crimes against Christian subjects. Here, it must be noted that Ziver's attitude was largely in line with his generation of Ottoman intellectuals in whose eyes the Druzes constituted more often than not "a savage, ignorant and uncivilised people"[599] to be dealt with by the reformed Ottoman state. From another perspective, Ziver's presentation and utilisation of this specific group, as well as that of Joseph Nasi, illustrates how an Ottoman historian was in need of European knowledge in producing 'its own other' to relieve the history of the Ottoman state and civilisation.

Association of the Ottoman Empire with unjust and 'barbaric' rule also contributes to a negative representation of Ottoman governance that could not sustain material growth and population increase according to the general European understanding which takes the population as an index of progress. This must also be seen amidst the above-mentioned colonial claims of introducing non-Western peoples to the benefits of good governance and material progress along a civilizational discourse.

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[597] "In fact, Kuchuk Mehmed... brought over from the mountains of the Anti Libanus bands of Arabs, Bedouins and Ansariya brigands..." Cobham, 464.

[598] "In obediece to firmans of the Sultan, the Pashas of Aleppo and St. John d'Acre assembled 10,000 Syrian troops, the scum of that barbarous country, and shipped them off from Acre and Tripoli, whence their navigation was short and properous, the hostile cruisers having withdrawn, to co-operate in defending the Archipelago. Hardly had those vagabonds... gave themselves up to every species of villainy...tended to spread their ravages more extensively... a theatre of rapine and bloodshed." Thomas Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution* Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Willam Blackwood – London: T. Cadell, 1844), 194.

[599] Respectively, these adjectives are phrased in Ottoman sources as "efkar-ı batile-i tevahhuşkarinelerine", "Cebel-i Lübnan ahalisi cehaleti habesiyle", and "takdir edecek bir hal-i medeniyette bulunmadıklarından." Sebahattin Samur, "Cebel-i Lübnan ve II. Abdülhamid'in Dürzilerle İlgili Politikası," in *Devr-i Hamid*... Vol. 4 Selim Deringil defines a parallel articulation of hal-i vahşet ve bedeviyette yaşarlar (they live in a state of ignorance and nomadism) as "the capsule phrase when it came to nomadic populations." 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* 45, no. 2 (April 2003), 317.

Lacroix elaborates on the demographics and material development on the island through a chronological line. It is stated that the island was first populated by Greeks and Phoenicians, the two most industrious peoples of the ancient world, and thus marked by prosperity.[600] Another round of great development arrived with Richard I of England whose memory, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, was still alive, albeit manipulated, in the British colonial mind-set towards Cyprus. Though the real achievement of the English King's conquest of the island in 1191 is specifically introduced by Lacroix, after all a French historian, as paving the way to Frankish domination of the island which was characterised by three centuries long glory.[601]

On the other hand, with the Ottoman conquest, "Cyprus fell prey to the Turks and was then reduced to to the realm of barbarism."[602] Accordingly, it is mentioned that from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, Cyprus was depopulated in parallel to the general situation in the empire.[603] It must also be noted here that regarding the events of 1821 on the island, Lacroix mentions that "universal terror" forced the Greek population of various backgrounds (peasantry, notables, clergy and merchants alike) to flee the island.[604] He further strengthens his argument with quantifiable data involving variables on economic and demographic conditions of the island and above all, presents a statistical table of the island's population which rests upon an Ottoman survey that was

[600] Lacroix, 88-89.
[601] "...lorsque la conquete de Richard Coeur de Lion, en la faisant passer sous la domination franque, la releva de son abaissement et lui rendit une vie nouvelle. Elles traversa alors avec gloire une periode de trois siecles..." Ibid., 89.
[602] "Elle devint la proie des Turcs, et tomba des lors dans le domaine de la barbarie." Ibid., 89.
[603] "Depuis le fin du seizieme siecle toutes les provinces de l'empire turc ont ete travaillees par une depopulation continue. Cette depopulation s'est fait sentir en Chypre comme ailleurs..." Ibid., 88.
[604] "For six months universal terror reigned among the Greek population. The peasants fled to the woods, or Caramania: the notables, the priests and Greeks of means, who had espaced the Janissaries, took refuge at Larnaca, under the protection of the European Consuls. Most of them crossed over to Italy or France..." Cobham, 464.

undertaken in 1841 by the Ottoman governor Talat Efendi. According to Lacroix, the table illustrates the current state of the island "as a moral and material decay."[605] Last but not least, the author mentions, in comparison to their kin elsewhere, that "The Greeks of Cyprus" were living in a worse condition under the rule of Ottoman Empire which is associated with the Persian Empire[606] in a similar way to the above-mentioned emphasis of another French historian Alexis Rio. For the backwardness of the community, Lacroix also blames "the island's Greek clergy" who lacked the potential of being the powerful instrument of regeneration because of their prejudices, ignorance and fanaticism which isolated them from Europe and gave them up to Islamism, servitude and barbarism.[607]

It is clear that Ziver implicitly reproduces the same understanding of the political reflections of material progress while adversely rejecting Lacroix's claim on the Ottoman rule. First of all, he takes the same format of providing quantifiable data in a separate part under the title of *Bazı Malumat-ı Mütenevvia*[608] (Certain Various Information), in which the main economic fields of the local economy (wine production which is now credited for being on the same level as Europe,[609] olive and carob cultivation, husbandry and mining, etc.) are presented together with a relevant statistical table (fig. 20) taken from Lacroix's work, albeit reproduced with grave numerical

[605] "On voit, par ce tableau de l'etat actuel de l'ile de Chypre dans quelle decadence morale et materialle elle est tombee." Lacroix, 88 The table is found on the same page.
[606] "Les Grecs de Chypre resterent toujours en general au-dessous du niveau commun de leur race, et cela a toutes les epoques de l'historie, au temps des luttes contre les Perses comme pendant l'insurrection contre les Turcs." Ibid., 89.
[607] Ibid., 90.
[608] Ziver, 93-98.
[609] "Beş kadar nevi olan Kıbrıs şaraplarından Muscat şarabıyla Morocanella tabir olunan cinsi, Bordo ve Malaga şarapları mertebesinde muteberdir." Ziver, 93.

errors.[610] Lacroix's attribution of the island's depopulation to the character/quality of Ottoman rule does not go unnoticed by Ziver who touches on the European claims of *istibdad* (absolutism) and *zulüm* (oppression) as the main reasons for the issue. [611] To counter them, Ziver states, like other Ottoman historians,[612] that the island's population is actually on the rise. To this end, he reproduces, again albeit with grave mistakes, Lacroix's statistical table of the local population (fig. 21) to claim the opposite of the latter's original intention and thus to protect the Ottoman legitimacy. [613] This, from a critical perspective, lays bare an occasion, probably among many others, that the so-called scientification of Ottoman historiography was associated more with answering back to European historiography's claims against the Ottoman state, rather than producing a more objective, positivist or reliable account as is usually assumed.

Besides, Ziver again utilises the Ottoman past to refute the European representation of Ottoman rule in Cyprus as an underdeveloped and oppressive barbarism that tyrannised the Christian subjects of the island. Right after his introduction of such claims, he deliberately stresses that "*yerli Rumlar* (local Orthodox Christians) en masse were even more distressed under the Venetian administration that

[610] Ziver, 94. This table was originally found in Lacroix's work, on page 86. A comparison between the two tables can be found in the appendix: Fig. 20.
[611] "Frengler Kıbrıs'ın evailde bir milyona karib nüfusu var iken idare-i Osmaniyye devrinde nüfus-u mahalliyenin ancak kırk bine tenezzül ettiğini ve bu da beglerin, mütesellimlerin istibdad ve zülmunden ehalinin ya telef veya diyar-ı ahare hicret eylediğini rivayet ederler." Ziver, 91.
[612] "Mamuriyeti zamanlarında, yani ezmine-i kadimde Kıbrıs iki milyondan ziyade ahalisi olduğu muhakkak olup, ehl-i salib muhabratı esnasında dahi nüfusu 600.000'den aşağı değildi. Badehu 108.000 mikdarına dek tenzil etmiş ise de, bu son zamanlarda yine tezayüde başlayub, bunu heman iki misline balig olmuştur." Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus'ül-alam* (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1306-1316). Vol. 5, 3595. Şemseddin Sami also states that the island has in total a population of 209291; On the same topic, aAli Tevfik also states that: "Mikdar-ı nüfus dahi 200.000 kişiye balig olur." Ali Tevfik, *Memalik-i Osmaniyye Coğrafyası* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1898), 276.
[613] "Cezirenin nüfusu hakkında beyne'l-müverrihin ihtilaf-ı azim hasıl olmuştur. Bin iki yüz elli beş senesine kadar ekser Freng coğrafyinunu ada üzerinde kırk elli binden ziyade sekene olmadığını iddia etmişlerdir. Tarih-i mezkurde cezirenin mutasarrıfı bulunan Talat Bey müceddeden icra ettirdiği tahrir-i nüfusda Kıbrıs'ın sekene-i umumiyesinin yüz on bine çıktığı görülmüştür." Ziver, 96.

during the war (the Ottoman conquest in 1570-71) they did not act against the Ottomans even in hideous ways."[614] Thereupon, he asserts an argument which involves the earlier historiographical reconfigurations of the text to maintain a trenchant opposition against European historical and colonial claims:

> Doesn't it testify to the benevolence of the hearts of the Ottomans that the local Christians desired the establishment of a foreign administration over the island while the Venetians were still there? The just Ottoman rule of the period was proven by the fact that the earlier duty of the navy before the conquest of Cyprus, was to dig the Suez Canal three centuries ahead of its opening. Reprimanding the Ottoman administration which resolved to dig the aforesaid canal even at that time, is nothing else than a projection of bigotry and ignorance.[615]

Ziver's claim that the establishment of the Ottoman administration was already desired by the local people was indeed documented in the *mühimme defters*[616] (registers of important affairs) before the conquest. But a plain comparison between these two texts presents a stark difference between the articulations regarding the transformation of the self-representation of the Ottoman state. In the sixteenth century, it was stated that *"reayanın ehl-i islamı istediklerini"*[617] (subjects want the people of Islam) which was

[614] "Halbuki, yerli Rumlar ez cümle Venedik idaresinden daha ziyade bi-zar oldukları için esna-yı muharebede Osmanlılar aleyhine hufyeten [hafiyen] muavenette bile bulunmamışlardır." Ibid., 91 (The word in brackets represents my correction.)

[615] "Venedikliler henüz Kıbrıs'ta iken Rumlar'ın Kıbrıs'ta ecnebi bir idarenin takarrürünü arzu etmeleri yine Osmanlılar'ın merhamet-i kalbiyelerine delalet eder asardan değil midir? O devredeki idare-i adile-i Osmaniye şununla müsbettir ki Kıbrıs'ın fethi için gönderilen donanmanın daha akdemki memuriyeti Süveyş kanalını hafr etmek olup üç yüz sene sonra güşadına muvaffak olunan mezkur kanalın hafrına daha o zaman azmeden Osmanlı idaresini lisan-ı muahezeye almak, sevk-i taassub ve cehaletten başka bir şey değildir." Ibid., 91-92.

[616] These record books contain the correspondence between the central administration and provincial authorities. While Giancarlo Casale presents them as "verbatim records" in his aforementioned book under the title of "a note on Sources", Gabor Agoston asserts that they are "shortened copies". Gabor Agoston, Introduction to *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*…, xxxiv.

[617] Orhan Paşazade, *9 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (977-978/1569-1570)* (Unpublished master's thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006), 34. "İçel Begine hüküm ki: Mektub gönderip cezire-i Kıbrıs ahvalin ve reayanın ehl-i İslamı istediklerini bildirmişşin dahi her ne demiş isen malum olundu." Date: 29 Ramazan

phrased in accordance with the dominant discourse of the period. On the other hand, in Ziver's account, the Ottoman state was presented as *a foreign administration.* Furthermore, it was desired by the locals as a manifestation of "the benevolence of the hearts of the Ottomans" which is secured by Ziver's reordering of both Ottoman and European historical accounts through silencing the outcomes of the conquest of Famagusta either on individual (Bragadino) or general level (enslavement of townsfolk) and again through blaming the events of 1821 on the local governor together with "the Druzes and the scum of Lebanon." More to the point, the Ottoman state is credited to a further extent with a cause of civilisation through reproducing an Ottoman vision of serving world civilisation and absolving the centre by attributing the inconsequential outcomes of this vision to certain figures like a Jewish courtier or the Crimean Khan in explicit rejection but yet implicit integration of European historical claims explained above.

At this point, I want to return to the question Vangelis Kechriotis posed while interrogating if the recent historical research under the influence of post-colonial literature carries the potential to benefit our understanding of the relation between the Ottoman state and Christian communities. I would claim that recasting Ottoman rule as foreign yet desired and for the benefit of the local Christian population along with a moral and civilisational discourse indicates a paradoxical phenomenon: an Ottoman historian, essentially a representative of the Ottoman state which itself became the target

977 (March 7, 1570). This sentence is followed by a reiteration of the order to the governor of İçel to inform the people of Cyprus that their means of existence, holdings and families would not be harmed.

of the colonial interventions since the British acquisition of Cyprus in 1878, internalises a parallel argument that carries colonial elements to claim back Cyprus.

Here, I have no intention to present the Ottoman state as a colonial power par excellence or on the same level as the British Empire or France. Such an analogy would bear the risk of projecting a relevant terminology and analysis on the Ottoman context and thus, producing a Euro-centric account despite the main premises of the post-colonial or subaltern literature for liberating the social sciences from European domination. In a similar way, turning colonialism into a dominant historical understanding in Ottoman studies would reflect the Western academia's tendency for "telling its own story."[618]

To illustrate, in his major work on Ottoman rule in Yemen during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, Thomas Kuhn advocates a model called "colonial Ottomanism" with "elements of colonial domination being its most prominent feature."[619] Yet, placing the colonial emphasis at the centre of analysis causes ambiguity since he cannot attach to the Ottoman state *a rule of colonial difference,* which was characterised by Partha Chatterjee as "the preservation of the alienness of the ruling group" in the service of "an agency that was destined never to fulfil the normalising mission of the modern state."[620] Instead, Kuehn favours the term "politics of difference" according to which the difference, or in other words, inferiority of the Yemeni population was institutionalised by leaving them outside modern state practices such as

[618] Edip Gölbaşı, "19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Emperyal Siyaseti ve Osmanlı Tarihyazımında Kolonyal Perspektifler," *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 13 (Fall 2011): 214.
[619] Thomas Kuehn, *Empire, Islam and Politics of Difference: Ottoman Rule in Yemen, 1849-1919* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 2.
[620] Chatterjee, *The Nation…,* 10.

censuses, conscription or the establishment of reformed *nimaziye* courts next to the *sharia* courts, which were all undertaken in other Ottoman domains.[621]

However, their absence in Yemen cannot be regarded as a manifestation that "the local people were clearly outside of what, from the government's perspective, constituted the realm of civilised Ottoman subjects"[622] since these practices were all desired, if not attempted, in this province as well. In this regard, the dismantling of the *nizamiye* courts[623] which is presented by Kuehn to support his argument proves the opposite. This decision should rather be understood as a necessary drawback on the part of Ottoman administrators who were already being called *Nasrani*[624] (Christian) in this staunchly Islamic and traditional province in which Ottoman legitimacy and prowess were growing increasingly insecure. Gölbaşı, in a similar way, relates Kuehn's examples to the limits of Ottoman administrative capability and authority[625] since the Ottoman modernisation is in itself an attempt by and for the centralisation and direct rule of state mechanism "to squeeze manpower resources it had hitherto not tapped"[626] by turning the subject populations into Ottoman citizens regardless of any biological or everlasting differentiation[627] and thus stands contradictory to the colonial model of an

[621] Kuehn, 10-11.
[622] Ibid., 135.
[623] Ibid., 115.
[624] Ibid., 132.
[625] Gölbaşı, 217.
[626] Deringil, 311.
[627] Gölbaşı, 208. Kuehn presents a certain Ottoman intellecual called Abdülgani Seni who, under the influence of the French social scientist Gustave Le Bon, advocates the declaration of Yemen and Libya as formal colonies on the grounds that their populations are 'different.' Kuehn, 225. Though, in the light of the studies until now, such an attitude cannot be generalised.

essential and critical difference between a metropolis and its inferior subjects in colonies.[628]

Ziver's subsequent strategies to highlight Ottoman legitimacy on the island involve more direct and basic forms. Basically, he reminds his readers of the conditions of the agreement in 1878. According to him, Cyprus never stopped being an Ottoman island since the British Empire was granted only the administration of the island in a temporary way, but not *hakk-ı temellükünü* (the right of possession).[629] In this regard, for Ziver, it can never be considered as separate from "the well protected domains of the exalted Sultan."[630] As a result, it is also stated that through a Tanzimat discourse that all islanders, defined as the Sultan's subjects,[631] were assured of their security for life, fortune and honour as well as religious freedom.[632] To the end of serving Ottoman legitimacy on the island, this supra-religious Tanzimat discourse was coupled with an Islamic counterpart which highlights the continuation of the shari regulations by the *millet-i İslamiyye* (Islamic nation) without any intervention by the British Empire.[633] In

[628] Gölbaşı, 219.
[629] "Mukavele-name şeraiti mucibince Devlet-i Aliyye, cezirenin idaresini her ne kadar İngilizler'e havale etmiş ise de hakk-ı temellükünü vermeyip öteden beri hasıl olan varidat, menafi ve mesarif-i mahalliye çıktıkan sonra tamamıyle yine Devlet-i Aliyye'ye ait ve raci olacaktır." Ziver, 98.
[630] "Şu tadad ve irad olunan esaslara göre Kıbrıs cezirесinin idare-i muvakkatesi İngilizler'e havale edilmekle, memalik-i mahruse-i Hazret-i Padişah'dan (100) ifraz ve tefrik edilmiş demek olmayup ecza-yı memalik-i Devlet-i Aliye'den madud kalacak ve oradan bade'l mesarif yine taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliye'ye verilecektir." Ibid., 99.
[631] "Ve orada mütevattın kaffe-i ahali metbu-ı müfehhamları bulunan zat-ı şevket-semat Hazret-i Padişahi'nin taht-ı tabiyetinde bulunacaklarından hutbe ve saire nam-ı meali, ittisam-ı Cenab-ı Hilafet-penahi'ye olarak kıraat olunacaktır." Ibid., 99.
[632] "Hukuk-u tebaaya zerre kadar halel getirilmeyip herkes can ü mal ve ırz u namusundan ve hürriyeti meşruasından kemaliyle emin olacaktır." Ibid., 91.
[633] "Ve İngiltere Devleti Kıbrıs cezirесinde bulunan millet-i İslamiyye haklarında kemal-i serbesti üzre ahkam-ı şeriyeyi icra etmelerine bir vechile müdahale etmeyecektir." Ibid., 99.

the same way, Ziver indicates that Islamic institutions such as mosques or schools and charity facilities would be preserved just as they had been under Ottoman rule.[634]

As a conclusion, for the purpose of legitimising Ottoman rule over Cyprus, Ziver's narrative involves, on the one hand, an argument with colonial elements grown out of an Ottoman opposition to but yet internalisation of Western political mind-set, and on the other, retains a Tanzimat discourse revolving around an egalitarian Ottoman citizenship together with an Islamic framework, which specifically rests upon the Muslim community of the island to secure the prospect of Ottoman suzerainty.

[634] "Mehakim-i şeriye kemakan ibka olnunup umur-ı şeriyeye dair deavi-i hususiye ke'l-evvel ahkam-ı şeriyeye tevfikan ruyet olunacak, ve kaffe-i cevami-i şerife ve İslam mezarlığı ve mektebleri ve sair tesisat-ı diniye ve hayrat ve müberrat [meberrat] mine'l-kadim, ne suretle idare olunagelmekte ise, yine o vechile muhafaza olunup..." Ibid., 99 (The word in brackets represents my correction.)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have tried to analyse the development of Ottoman intellectual and historical production regarding the history of Cyprus from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries from an inter-textual and analytical perspective. By providing a great amount of historical material, written from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, on the conquest of Cyprus to sustain the representability and plurality of the early modern approach(es), I have delineated the general perspective of Ottoman historians of the aforesaid period, which rested upon an Islamic hegemonic discourse, the classical Ottoman interpretation of law which deemed the other side to be inferior, the conceptual pair of *Dar-ül Harb/Dar-ül Islam* (Adobe of War/ Adobe of Islam) in terms of incessant fighting, and finally, the main concept of social justice that governs the state-society relations, namely *daire-i adliyye*. In the second chapter, this perspective, which dominated these texts, is exemplified with regard to their affirmative narratives on the corporal punishment of the Venetian Commander of Famagusta, Marc Antonio Bragadino and enslavement of the townsfolk.

This intellectual legacy was suppressed to a major extent by Ottoman historians in the second half of the nineteenth century through a reconfiguration of the past along the lines of Ottoman modernisation and the relevant transformation of state-society relations and legal system. Basically, what was previously an act of justice, i.e. the corporal punishment of Bragadino, and narrated proudly is no longer bearable in Ziver's

account since it now became an act of injustice within the context of modern standards. Accordingly, it was no longer employed. Focusing mainly on Ziver's *Kıbıs Tarihi*, yet by relating it to the other contemporary Ottoman texts that Ziver had read and utilised, I have tried to establish the intellectual context of which Ziver was part and to demonstrate how and why Ziver appealed to a reordering of these texts on the one hand; and on the other, to achieve a comprehensive generalisation through integrating more authoritative and widely-read texts, as I attempted to do in the second chapter.

Yet, Ziver's account on the death of Bragadino goes beyond the mere choice of not employing it in his narrative. After his initial silence, Ziver engages in a polemic against an 'other' who seemingly has another kind of narrative over the matter. The other is, of course, Europe and in this case, the body of Western historians. All in all, Ziver, who undertook the duty of writing a history of Ottoman Cyprus in comparison to Europe and through European sources, embodies a certain phenomenon that encapsulates the total experience of Ottoman modernisation: Europe is not only a reference to efforts aiming to solve a problem, but also the source of the problem itself. In order to understand Ottoman historiographical transformation in a much deeper and comprehensive extent, I have presented the Western historians and their approaches on the history of Cyprus that drove their Ottoman colleagues to write against.

In the last chapter, Ziver's reconfiguration on Bragadino and a number of other critical issues was reviewed with regard to Ottoman modernity's self-legitimisation to rule in the Middle East at the height of Western colonial interventions. If one-half of this self-legitimisation was saved by a silence and a polemical stance over Bragadino, the rest of it is derived from 'the world civilizational role' which was assigned to the

Ottoman Empire by Ziver through an emphasis on the Ottoman canal projects (Suez Canal and Don-Volga Canal) during the sixteenth century. I have explained how these canal projects were taken from earlier Ottoman narratives by Ziver and turned into civilizational undertakings which would deem Ottoman rule as something to be desired and for the benefit of the Orthodox population of the island. In addition, an Ottoman purity which was saved by Ziver's scapegoating against the local and Jewish notables or "the Druzes and the scum" who were all portrayed as stains on the reforming and civilised centre, was analysed again through an inter-textual comparison between the sixteenth century chroniclers and late Ottoman historians.

APPENDIX A

OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS

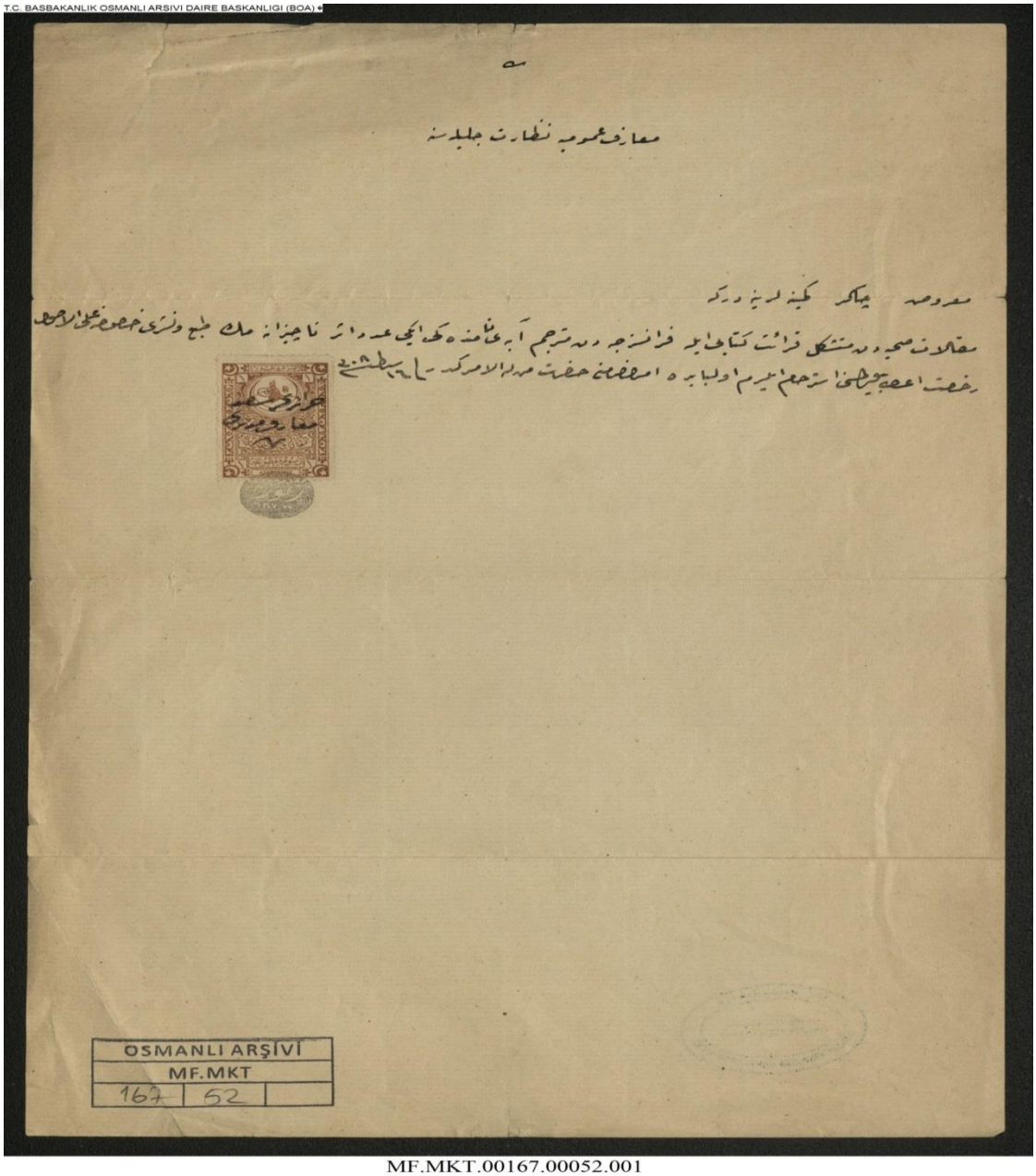
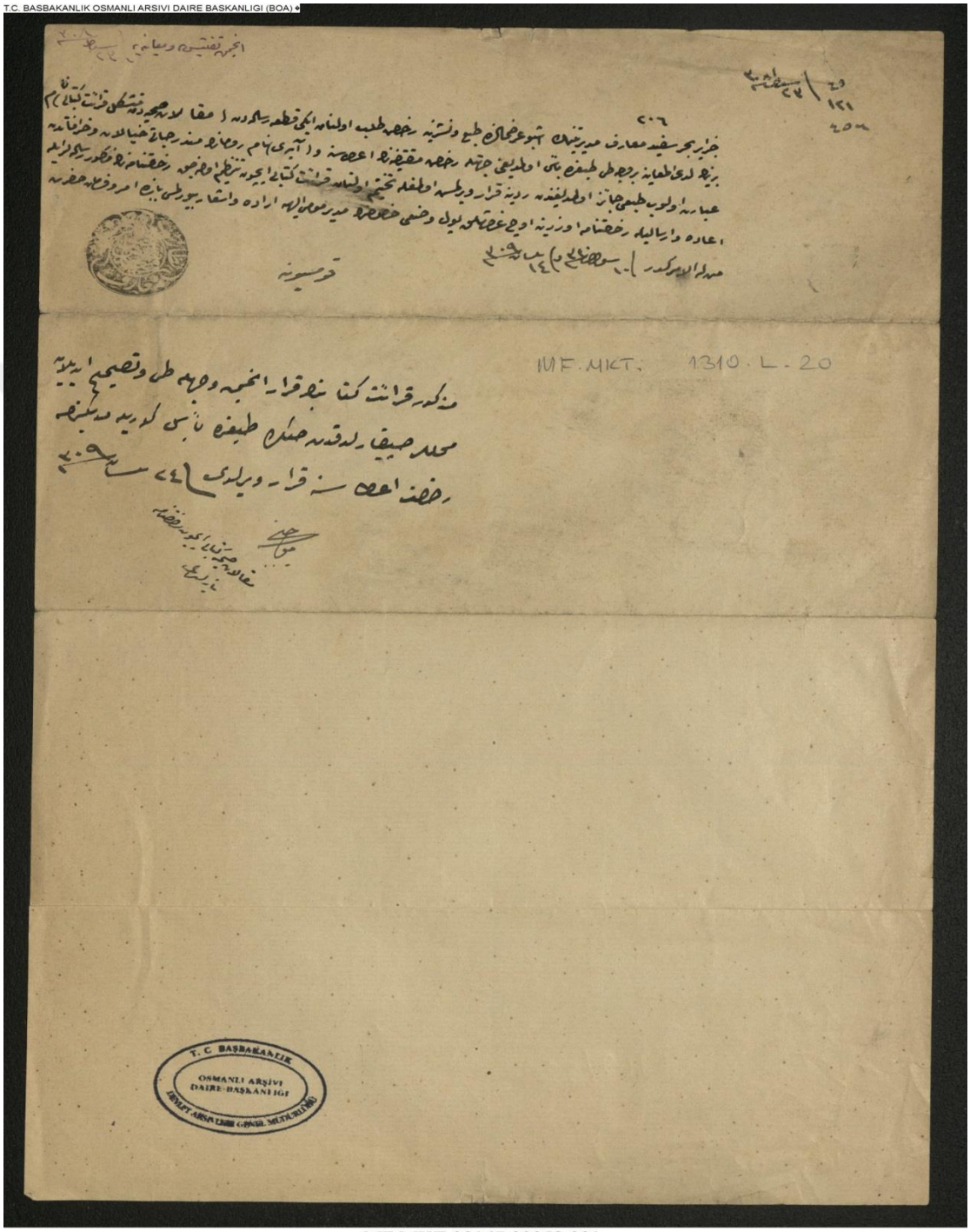


Fig. 1 BOA, MF.MKT 167/52, 1310 L 20


T.C. BAŞBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARŞİVİ DAİRE BAŞKANLIĞI (BOA)
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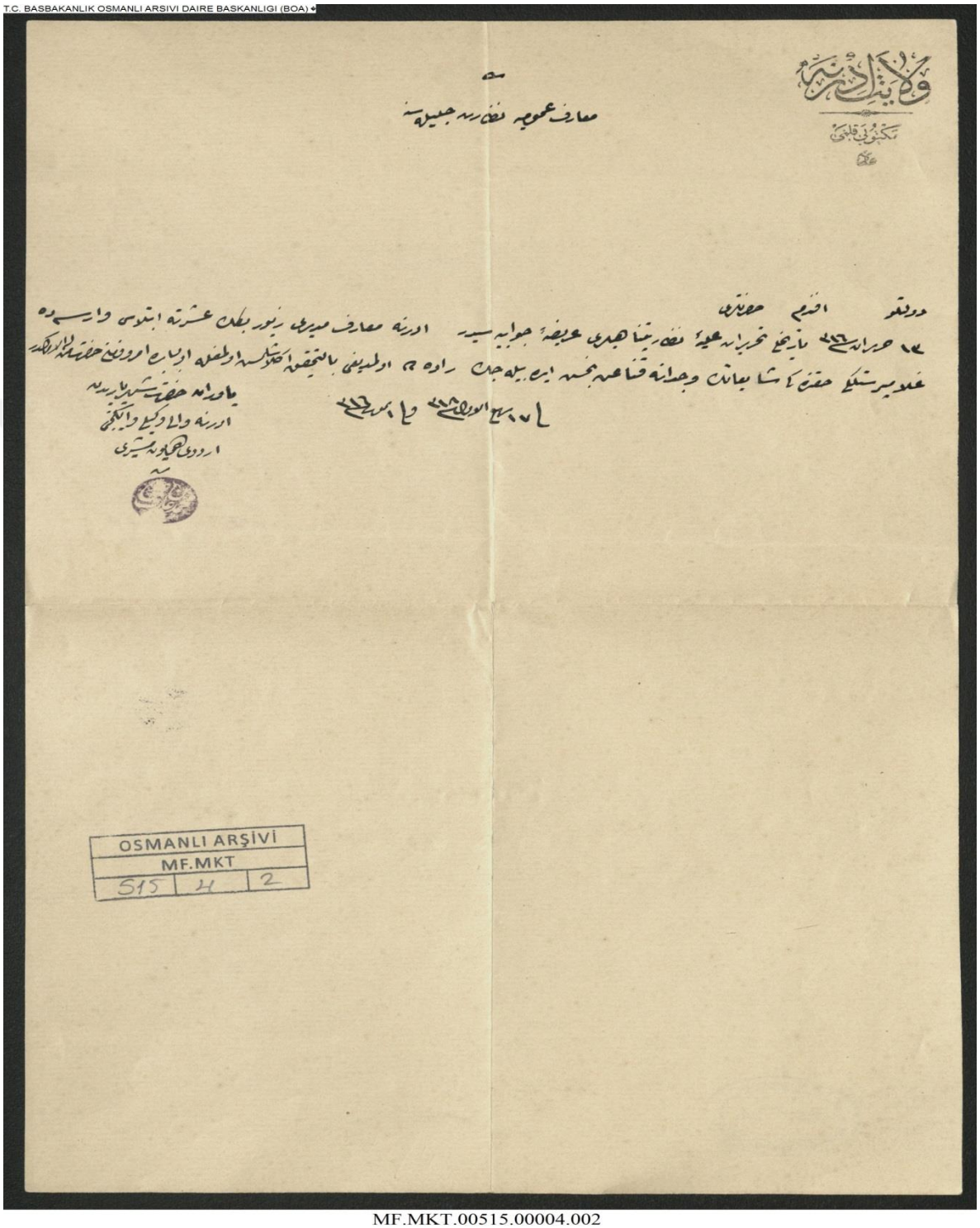
T. C. BAŞBAKANLIK
OSMANLI ARŞİVİ
DAİRE BAŞKANLIĞI

MF.MKT.00167.00052.001

Fig. 2 BOA, MF.MKT 167/52, 1310 L 20

T.C. BASBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARSIVI DAIRE BASKANLIGI (BOA)



OSMANLI ARŞİVİ
MF.MKT
515 | 4 | 2

MF.MKT.00515.00004.002

Fig. 3 BOA, MF.MKT 515/4, 1318 Ra 17

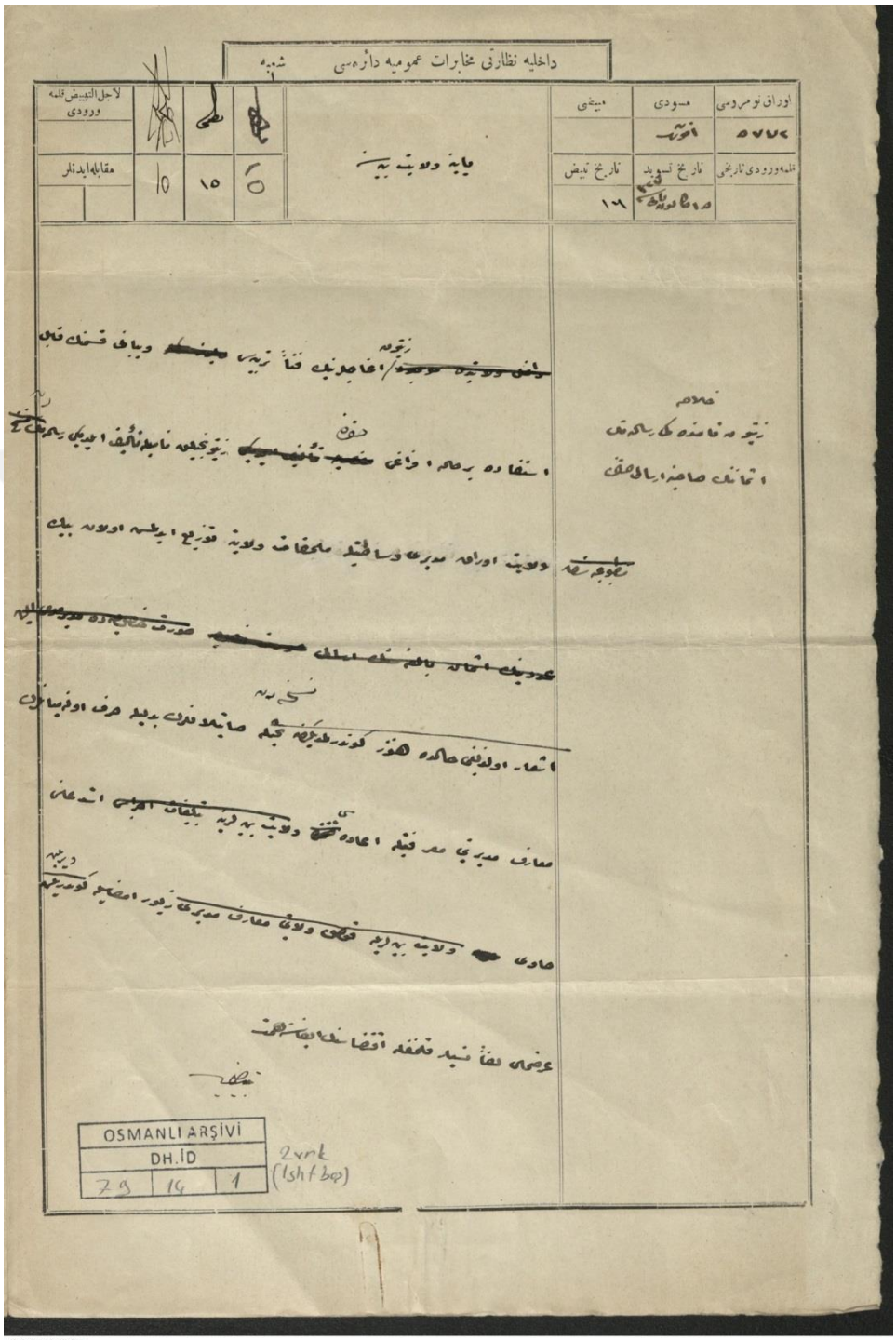


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Fig. 4 BOA, DH.İD.. 79/14, 1330 Ra 13

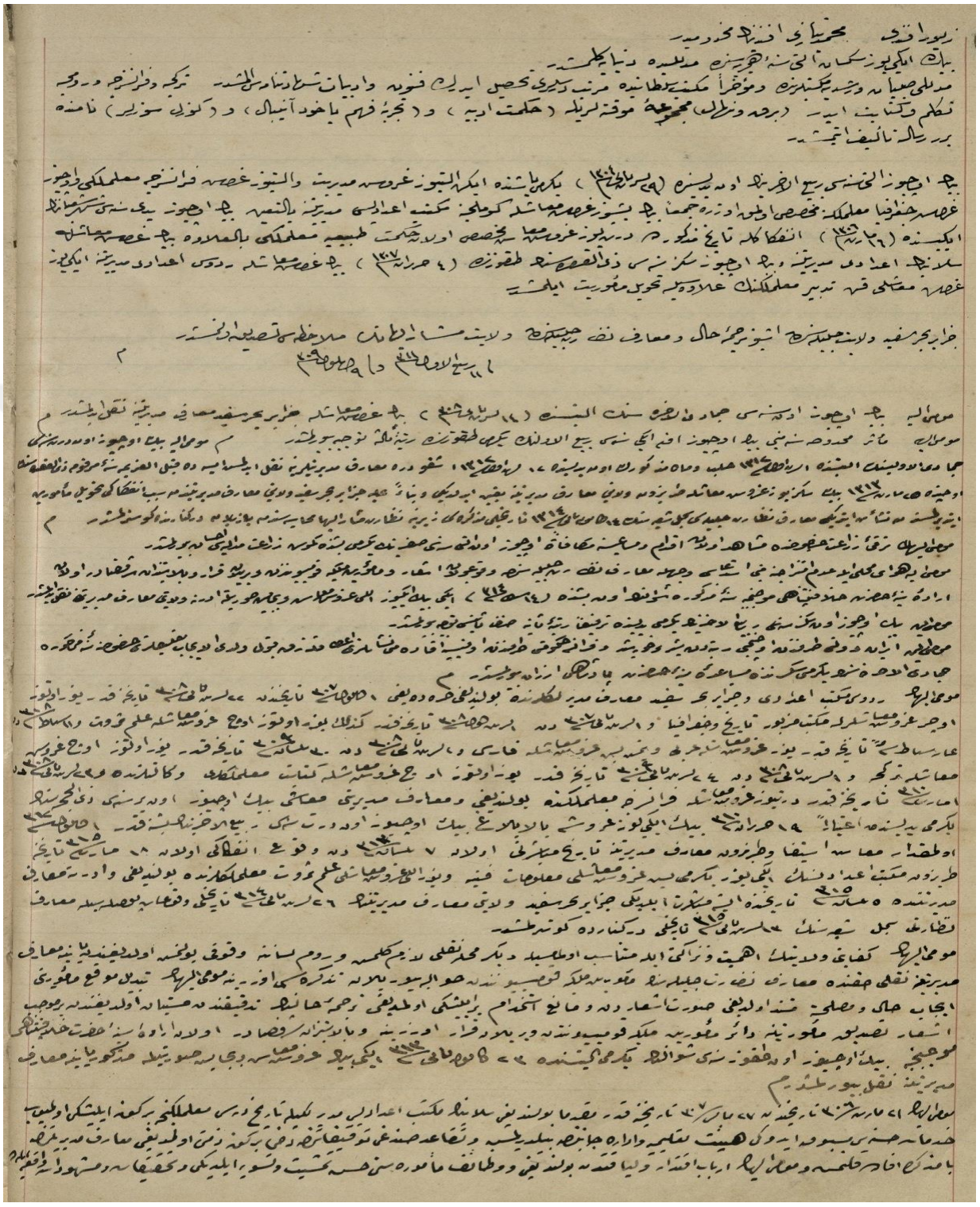
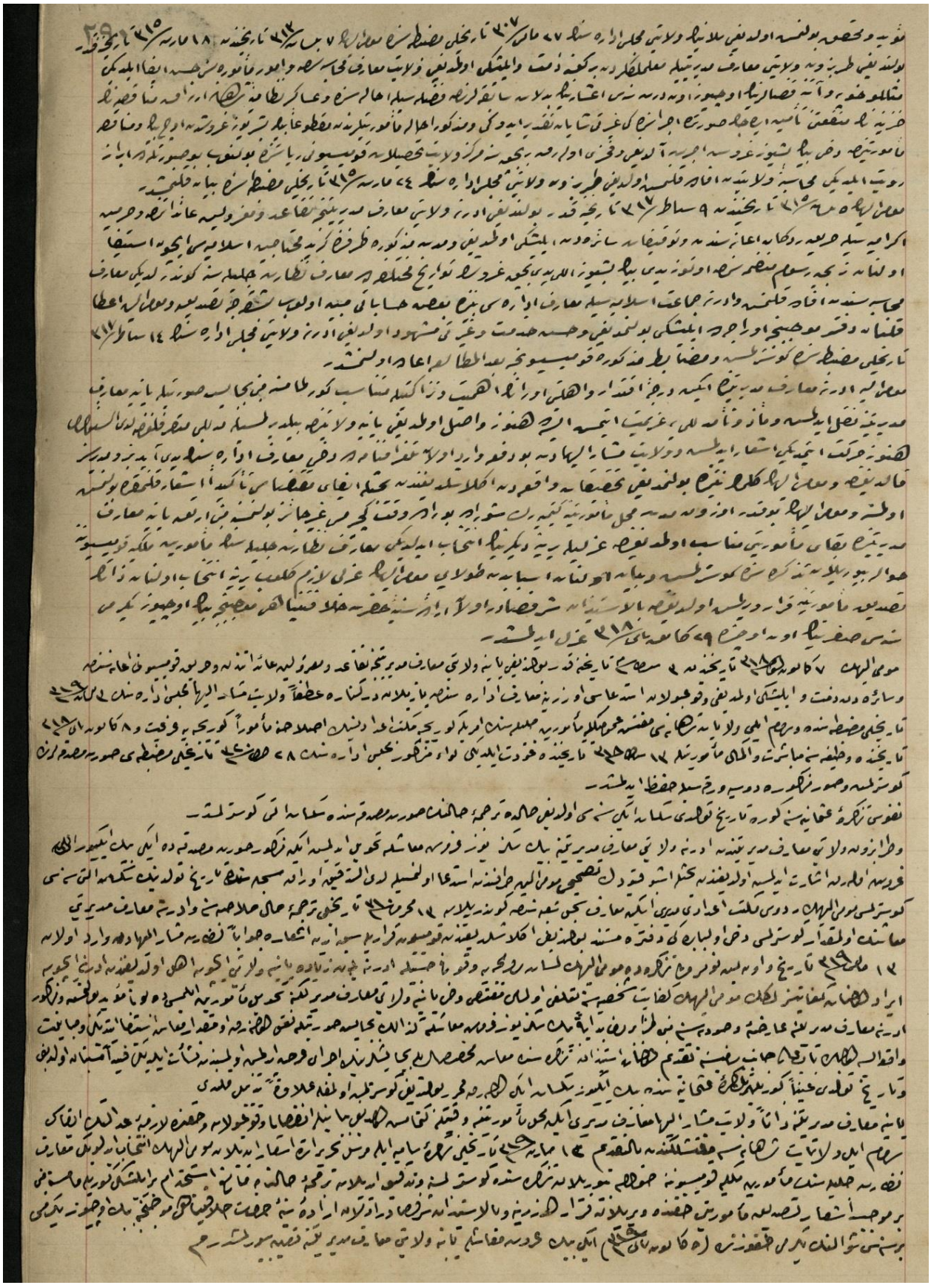


Fig. 5 DH. SAİDd 45/289, 1286 Z 29

مؤید و محصص بولنمسه اولدیغی بلانیله ولایتی مجلس اداره سنك ٢٧ مارس ٣٠٧ تاریخلی مضبطه سنه معالیلها ٧ بیسان ٣١٣ تاریخنده ١٨ مارس ٣١٥ تاریخنده
بولندیغی طربزون ولایتی معارف مدیریتیله معلملکلردن بر کیمسه ذمت و ایلیشکی اولمدیغی ولایت معارف محاسبه سنده و امور مأموره سنجه ایفا ایلدیکی
مثللو خوبه و آتیه فصالرینك اوچیوز اون درت سنه سی اعشارینك بدلات سابقه لرنده فضله سیله احاله سنه و عساکر نظامیه شهریه ارزاق مناقصه نك
خزینه نك منفعتی تأمینه ایچون صورتده اجراسنه کی غیرتی شایان تقدیر ایدوکی و مذکور احاله مأموریتلرندن مقطوعا بیك بشیوز غروشدن اوچ بیك و مناقصه
مأموریتنده دخی بیك بشیوز غروش اجرت آلدیغی و فخری اولارق بر بچوق سنه مرکز ولایت تحصیلات قومیسیونی ریاستنه بولنوب بو صورتله ایراد
رؤیت ایلدیکی محاسبه ولایتدن افاده قلنمسه اولدیغی طربزون ولایتی مجلس اداره سنك ٢٤ مارس ٣١٥ تاریخلی مضبطه سنه بیان قلنمشدر.
معالیلها ٥ بیسان ٣١٥ تاریخنده ٩ سپتامبر ٣١٧ تاریخنده بولندیغی ادرنه ولایتی معارف مدیریتنجه تقاعد و معزولیت عائداتنده و حرمین
اکرامیه سیله حریق ردکان اعانه سندن و توقیفات سائره دن ایلیشکی اولمدیغی و مدن مذکوره ظرفنده کرید محتاجین اسلامیه سی ایچون استیفا
اولنان زیجه رسوم منضمه سنده اوتوز یدی بیك بشیوز اللی یدی بچوق غروشك تواریخ مختلفه ده معارف نظارت جلیله سنه کوندرلدیکی معارف
محاسبه سندن افاده قلنمشدر و ادرنه جماعت اسلامیه سیله معارف اداره سی بنزه بعضه حساباتی مبین اولوب بشقه جه تصدیق و معالیلها اعطا
قلنان دفتر موجبنجه اوراجده ایلیشکی بولنمدیغی و حسن خدمت و غیرتی مشهود اولدیغی ادرنه ولایتی مجلس اداره سنك ١٤ سپتامبر ٣١٧
تاریخلی مضبطه سنه کوسترلمسه و مضابط مذکوره قومیسیونجه بعد المطالعه اعاده اولنمشدر.
معالیلها ادرنه معارف مدیریتنده ایکی درجه اقتدار و اهلیتی اوراده اهمیت و نزاکتیله متناسب کورلمامسنه مبنی بجالیسه صورتیله یانیه معارف
مدیریتنه نقل ایدلمسه و مأذونانه للی عزیمت ایتمسه ایسه هنوز واصل اولمدیغی یانیه ولایتنده بیلدیرلمسیله مدللی متصرفلغنه لدی السؤال
هنوز حرکت ایتمدیکی اشعار ایدلمسه و ولایت مشار الیهادن بو دفعه وارد اولان تلغرافنامه ده دخی معارف اداره سنك یدی آیدنبرو مدیرسز
قالدیغنه و معالیلها کلمه نتیجه بولنمدیغی تحقیقاته واقعه دن اکلاشلدیغندن بحثله ایفای مقتضاسی تأکیدا اشعار قلنمقده بولنمسه
اولمسه و معالیلها بو قدر اوزون مدت محل مأموریتنه کیتمیه رك شوراده بوراده وقت کچرمسی غیر جائز بولنمسنه مبنی ارتعه یانیه معارف
مدیریتنده بقای مأموریتی مناسب اولمدیغنه عزلیله یرینه دیکرینك انتخاب ایدلدیکی معارف نظارت جلیله سنك مأمورین ملکیه قومیسیونه
حواله بیورلان تذکره سنه کوسترلمسه و بیان اولنان اسبابدن طولایی معالیلها عزلی لازم کلوب یرینه انتخاب اولنان ذاتك
تصدیق مأموریتنه قرار ویرلمسه اولدیغنه بالاستیذان شرفصادر اولان اراده سنیه حضرت خلافتپناهی موجبنجه بیك اوچیوز یکرمی
سنه سی صفرینك اون اوچنده ٢٩ کانون ثانی ٣١٨ عزل ایدلمشدر.
مومی الیهك ٧ کانون ثانی ٣١٨ تاریخنده ٢ سپتامبر تاریخنده بولندیغی یانیه ولایتی معارف مدیریتنجه تقاعد و معزولیت عائداتندن و حریق قومیسیونی اعانه سنده
و سائره دن ذمت و ایلیشکی اولمدیغی و قوعبولان استدعاسی اوزرینه معارف اداره سنده یازیلان درکناره عطفا ولایت مشار الیها مجلس اداره سنك ٢ مارس ٣١٩
تاریخلی مضبطه سنده و رسوم ایلی ولایات شاهانه سی مفتشه عمومیه ملکیه مأمورین جلیله سنك امریله کوریجه مکتب اعدادینك اصلاحنه مأمورا کوریجه یه عزیمت و ٨ کانون ثانی ٣١٨
تاریخنده وظیفه سنه مباشرت و اکمال مأموریتله ١٢ سپتامبر ٣١٨ تاریخنده عودت ایلدیکی لواء مذکور مجلس اداره سنك ٢٨ [illegible] تاریخلی مضبطه سی صورت مصدقه لرنك
کوسترلمسه و صور مذکوره دوسیه ورقه سیله حفظ ایدلمشدر.
نفوس تذکره عثمانیه سنه کوره تاریخ تولدی سکسان ایکی سنه سی اولدیغی حالده ترجمه حالنك صورت مصدقه سنده سکسان التی کوسترلمشدر.
و طرابزون ولایتی معارف مدیریتنده ادرنه ولایتی معارف مدیریتنه بیك سکز یوز غروش معاشله تحویل ایدلمسه ایکی مذکور صورت مصدقه ده ایکی بیك ایکیوز اللی
غروش اولارق اشارت ایدلمسه اولدیغندن بحثله اشبو قیودك تصحیحی مومی الیه طرفندن استدعا اولنمسیله لدی التدقیق اوراق مسجله سنده تاریخ تولدینك سکسان التی سنه سی
کوسترلمسی مومی الیهك دوس مکتب اعدادی مدیری ایکن معارف مجلس شعبه سنده کوندریلان ١٢ محرم ٣١٠ تاریخلی ترجمه حال خلاصه سنه و ادرنه معارف مدیریتی
معاشنك اولمقدار کوسترلمسی دخی اولبابده کی دفتره مستند بولندیغی اکلاشلدیغندن قومیسیون قراریله سبق ایدن اشعاره جوابا نظارت مشار الیهادن وارد اولان
١٢ مارس ٣١٩ تاریخ و اون بش نومرولی تذکره ده مومی الیهك لسان مصرحه یه وقوفا حسبیله ادرنه یه نه زیاده یانیه ولایتی ایچون اهل اولدیغندن ادرنه ایچون
ایراد اولنان کفایتسزلکك مومی الیهك کفایت شخصیه سنه تعلقی اولمسی مقتضی دخی یانیه ولایتی معارف مدیریتنه تحویل مأموریت ایلمسی دولایتی مؤید بولنمسه و مذکور
ادرنه معارف مدیریتنه عارضه وجودیه سنه مبنی طرابزون بدایه یك سکز یوز غروش معاشله کذالك بجالیسه صورتیله نقل اولنمقده و مقدار معاش استیفا ایتدیکی و مباینت
واقعه سی اولمدیغی تاریخه جانب سفینه تقدیم اولنان استیذان تذکره سنده معاش مخصصلریله بجالیسنده اجرای فرض ایدلمسه اولمسندن نشأت ایدیکی فیه آمسنان اولدیغی
و تاریخ تولدی عینا کوریلدیکی تذکره عثمانیه سنده بیك ایکیوز سکسان ایکی اولارق محرر بولندیغی کوسترلمسه اولمغله علاوة تذییل قلندی
یانیه معارف مدیریتنه ذاتا ولایت مشار الیها معارف مدیری ایکن محل مأموریتنه وقتیله کتمامسه اولدیغی بیانیله انفصالا و قوعبولان و حقنده لازمه عدالتك ایفاسی
سهام ایلی ولایات شاهانه سی مفتشلکندن بالتقدیم ١٣ مارس ٣١٩ تاریخلی تذکره سامیه ایله مرسل تحریرات اشعار ایدیلان مومی الیهك انتخاب ایدلدیکی معارف
نظارت جلیله سنك مأمورین ملکیه قومیسیونه حواله بیورلان تذکره سنده کوسترلمسنه و تدقیق ایدیلان ترجمه حالنده مانع استخدام بر ایلیشکی کوریلمامسنه مبنی
بر موجب اشعار تصدیق مأموریتی حقنده ویریلان قرار اوزرینه و بالاستیذان شرفصادر اولان اراده سنیه حضرت خلافتپناهی موجبنجه بیك اوچیوز یکرمی
بر سنه سی شوالنك یکرمی طقوزنده (٥ کانون ثانی ٣١٩) ایکی بیك غروش معاشله یانیه ولایتی معارف مدیریتنه تعیین بیورلمشدر.



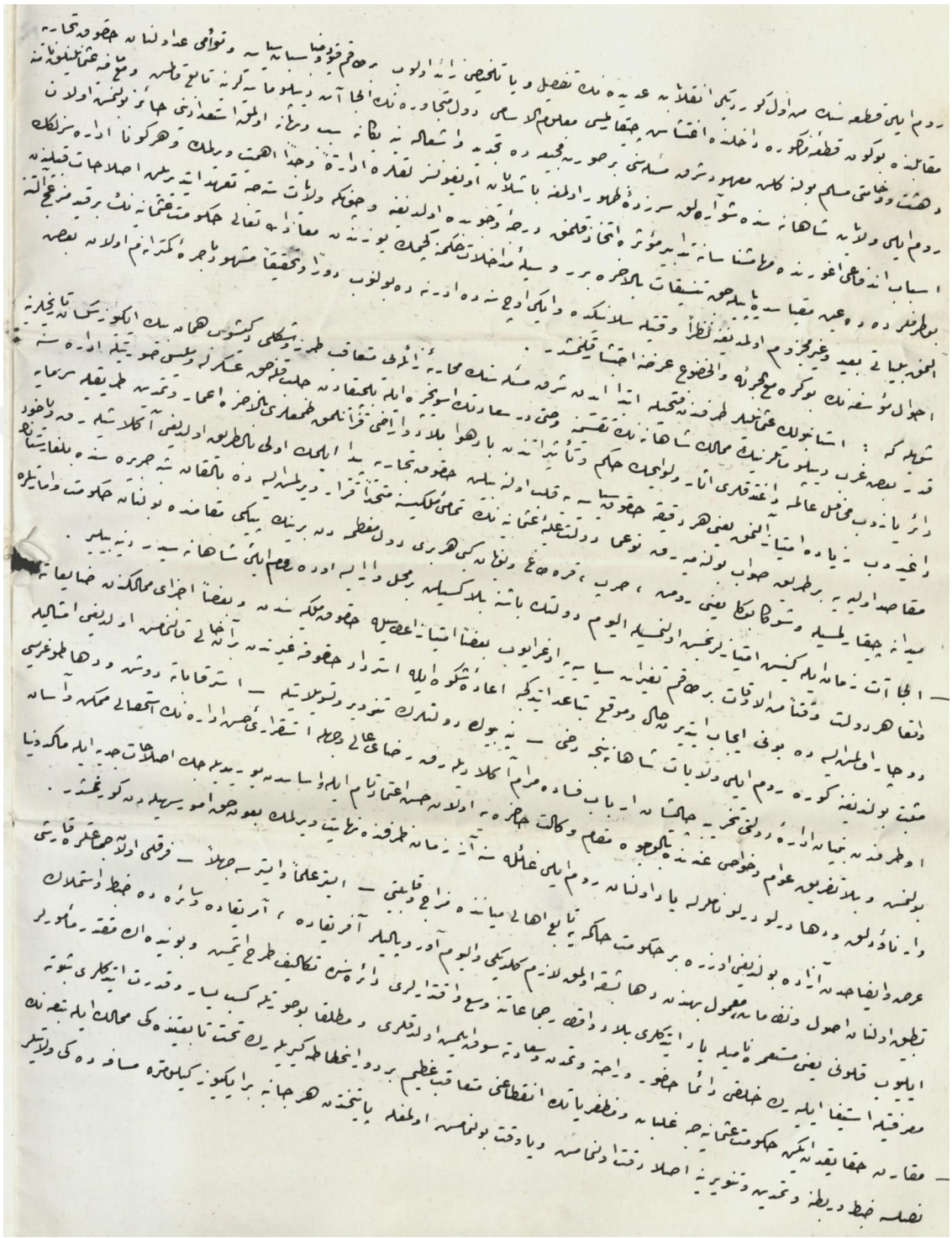
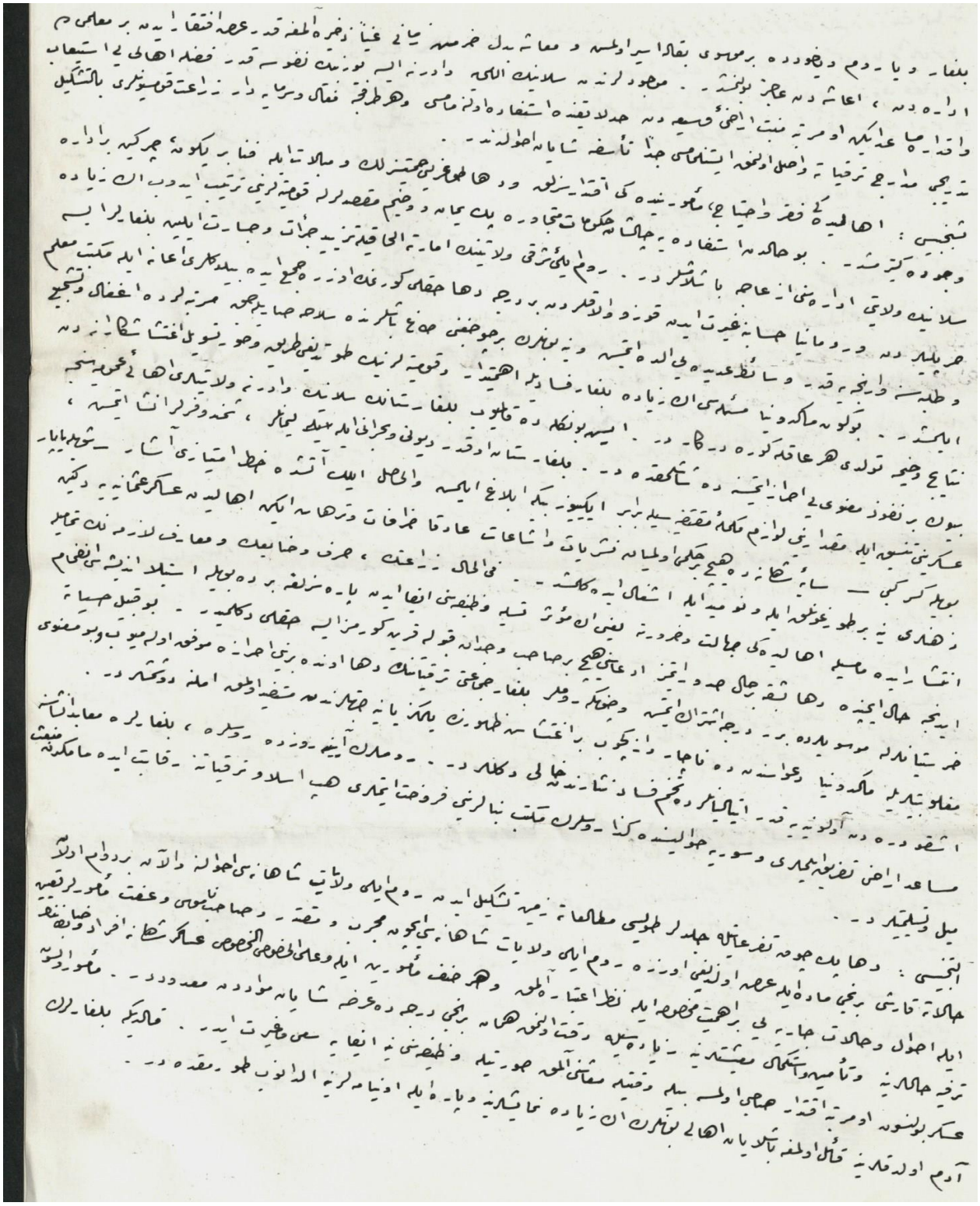
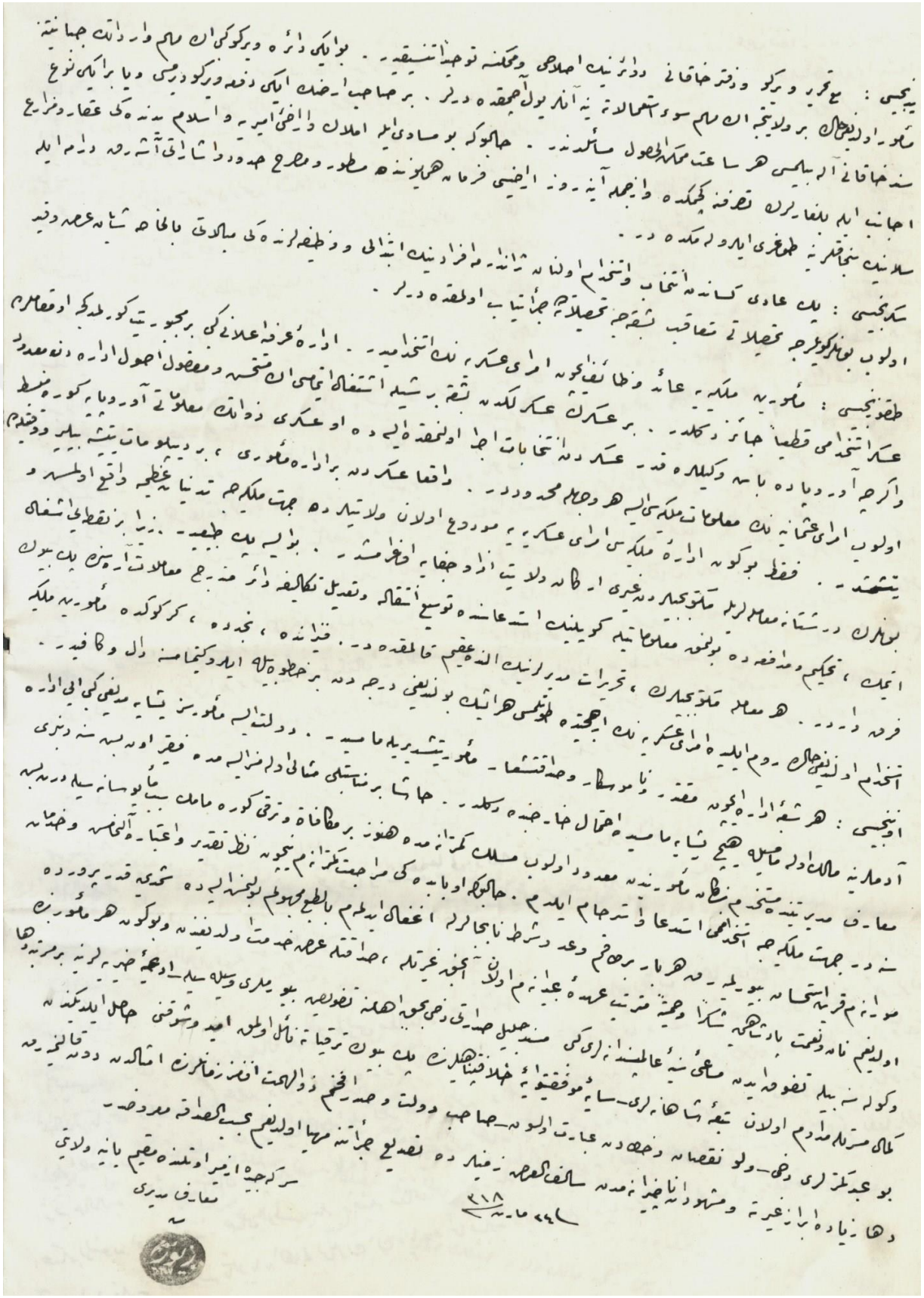


Fig. 6 DH.MKT. 2600/44, 1320 R 17





ینجیسی : مع تحریر ویرکو ودفتر خاقانی دوائرینک اصلاحی وممکنه توحیداتنسیقیدر . بو ایکی دائره ویرکوکی ان مهم وارداتک جبایتنه
مأمور اولدیغی حالده بر ولایتجه ان مهم سوء استعمالاته ینه آنلر یول آچمقده درلر . بر صاحب ارضک ایکی دفعه ویرکو دیرمسی ویا بر ایکی نوع
سند خاقانی آله بیلمسی هر ساعت ممکن الحصول مسائلدندر . حالبوکه بو مساوی ایله املاک واراضی امیریه واسلام بدنده کی عقار ومزارع
اجانب ایله بلغارلرک تصرفنه کچمکده وازجمله آینه روز اراضیسی فرمان همایوننده مسطور ومصرح حدود واشاراتی آشه رق دائما ایله
سلانیک سنجاقلرینه طوغری ایلرولمکده در .
سکزنجیسی : یک عادی کساندن انتخاب واستخدام اولنان ژاندارمه افرادینک ابتذالی ووظیفه لرنده کی مبالاتی بالخاصه شایان عرض وقید
اولوب بونلر کویلرجه تحصیلاتی متعاقب بشقه جه تحصیلاته جرأتیاب اولمقده درلر .
طقوزنجیسی : مأمورین ملکیه یه عائد وظائف ایچون امرای عسکریه نک استخدامیدر . اداره عرفیه اعلانی کبی بر مجبوریت کورلمدکجه اوقاملرده
عسکر استخدامی قطعیا جائز دکلدر . بر عسکرک عسکرلکدن بشقه بر شیله اشتغال ایتمسی ان مستحسن ومعقول اصول اداره دن معدود
واکرچه آوروپاده باش وکیللره قدر عسکردن انتخابات اجرا اولنمقده ایسه ده او عسکری ذواتک معلوماتی آوروپایه کوره منبسط
اولوب امرای عثمانیه نک معلومات ملکیه سی ایسه هر وجهله محدوددر . واقعا عسکردن بر اداره مأموری ، بر دیپلومات یتیشه بیلیر ووقتیله
یتیشمشدر . فقط بوکون اداره ملکیه سی امرای عسکریه یه مودوع اولان ولایتلرده جهت ملکیه جه تدنیات عظیمه واقع اولمش و
بونلرک درشتانه معامله لریله مکتوبجیلردن غیری ارکان ولایت ازاء وجفایه اوغرامشدر . بو ایسه یک طبیعیدر . زیرا بر نقطه یی اشغال
ایتمک ، تحکیم ومدافعه ده بولنمق معلوماتیله کویلینک استدعاسنده توسیع انتقاله وتعدیل تکالیفه دائر مندرج معاملات آره سنده یک بیوک
فرق واردر . هر معامله مکتوبجیلرک ، تحریرات مدیرلرینک الندهعقیم قالمقده در . فیزانده ، نجدده ، کرکوکده مأمورین ملکیه
استخدام اولندیغی حالده روم ایلیده امرای عسکریه نک ایچنده طوتلمسی هر ایشک بولندیغی درجه دن بر خطوه بیله ایلرو کیتمامسنه دال وکافیدر .
اونجیسی : هر شعبه اداره ایچون مقتدر ، ناموسکار وصداقتشعار مأمور یتیشدیریله مامسیدر . دولت ایسه مأمورسز یشایه مدیغی کبی ایی اداره
آدملرینه مالک اوله مامسیله هیچ یشایه مامسیده احتمال خارجنده دکلدر . حاشا بر مناسبتلی مثالی اوله منزلیسه مده فقیر اون بش سنه دنبری
معارف مدیریتنده مستخدم بنکان مأمورینده معدود اولوب مسلک کمترانه مده هنوز بر مکافاة وترقی کوره مامک سبب مأیوسانه سیله درن بش
سنه در . جهت ملکیه جه استخدامی استدعا واسترحام ایلدم . حالبوکه اوبابده کی مراجعت کمترانه م نیچون نظر تقدیر واعتباره آلنمامش وخدمات
موارنه م قرین استحسان بیورلمه رق هر بار بر طاقم وعد وشرط نابجالرله اغفال ایدلمه م بالطبع مجهولم بولنمش ایسه ده شمدی قدر پرورده
اولدیغم نان ونعمت پادشاهی شکرا وحمیة مترتب عهده عبدانه م اولان آنجق غیرتله ، صداقتله عرض خدمت اولندیغندن وبوکون هر مأمورک
وکوله سنه بیله تفوق ایدن مساعی سنیه عالمپسندانه لری کبی مسند جلیل صدارتی دخی بحق اهلنه تفویض بیورملری وسیله سیله ادعیه خیریه لرینه بر مرتبه دها
کمال مسرتله مداوم اولان تبعه شاهانه لری سایه موفقیتوایه خلافتپناهیلرنده یک بیوک ترقیاته نائل اولمق امید وشوقنی حاصل ایلدیکندن
بو عبد کمترلری دخی ولو نقصان وخصدن عبارت اولسون صاحب دولت وصدر افخم ذوالهمت افندی زمانلرنده امثالدن دون قالنمیه رق
دها زیاده ابراز غیرته ومشهودان ناچیزانه مدن سالف العرض زمینلرده تصدیع جرأتنه مهیا اولدیغم بحسب الصداقه معروضدر .

سرکه جیده ازمیر اوتلنده مقیم یانیه ولایتی
معارف مدیری
سن

٢٤ مارت ٢١٨

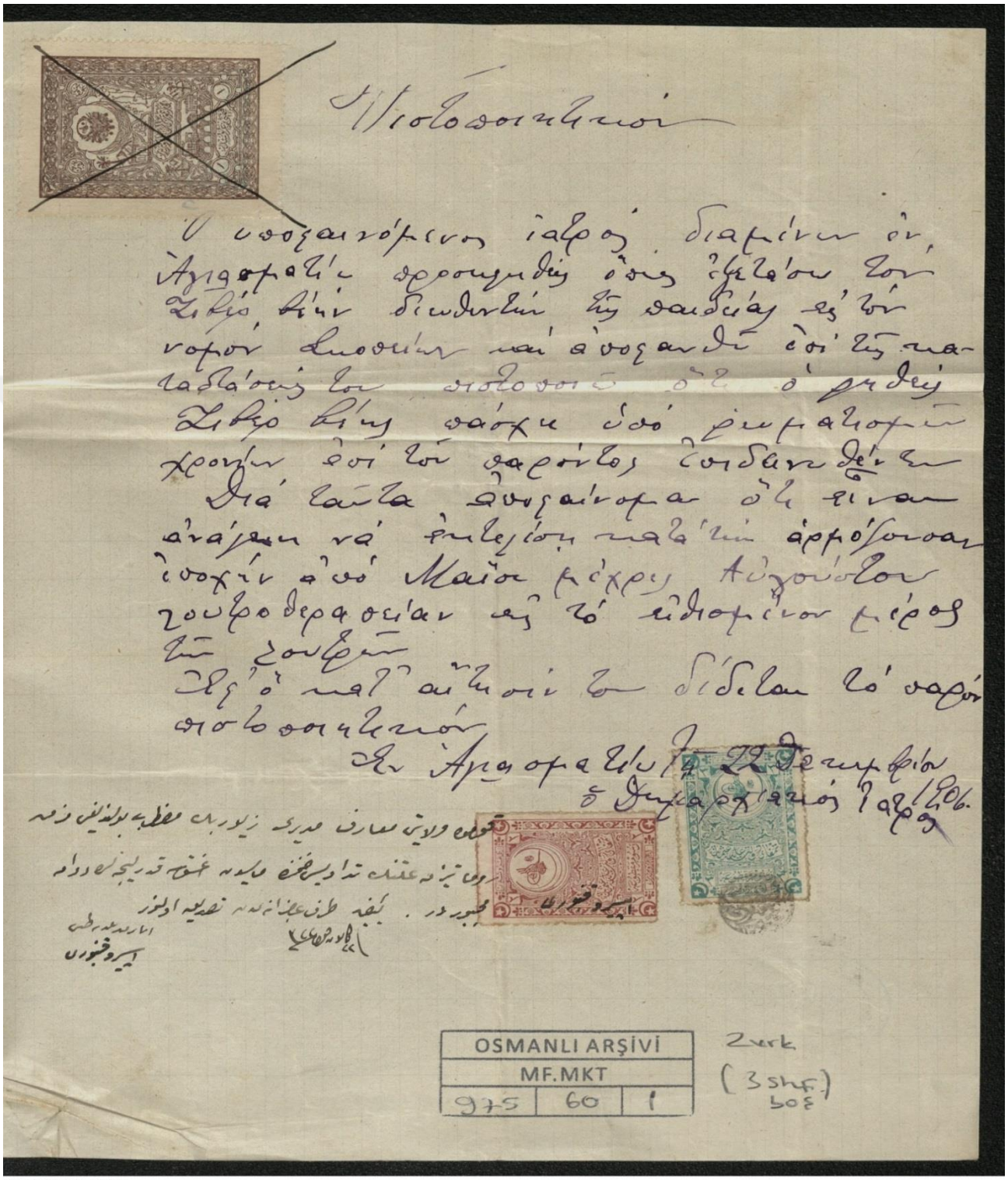


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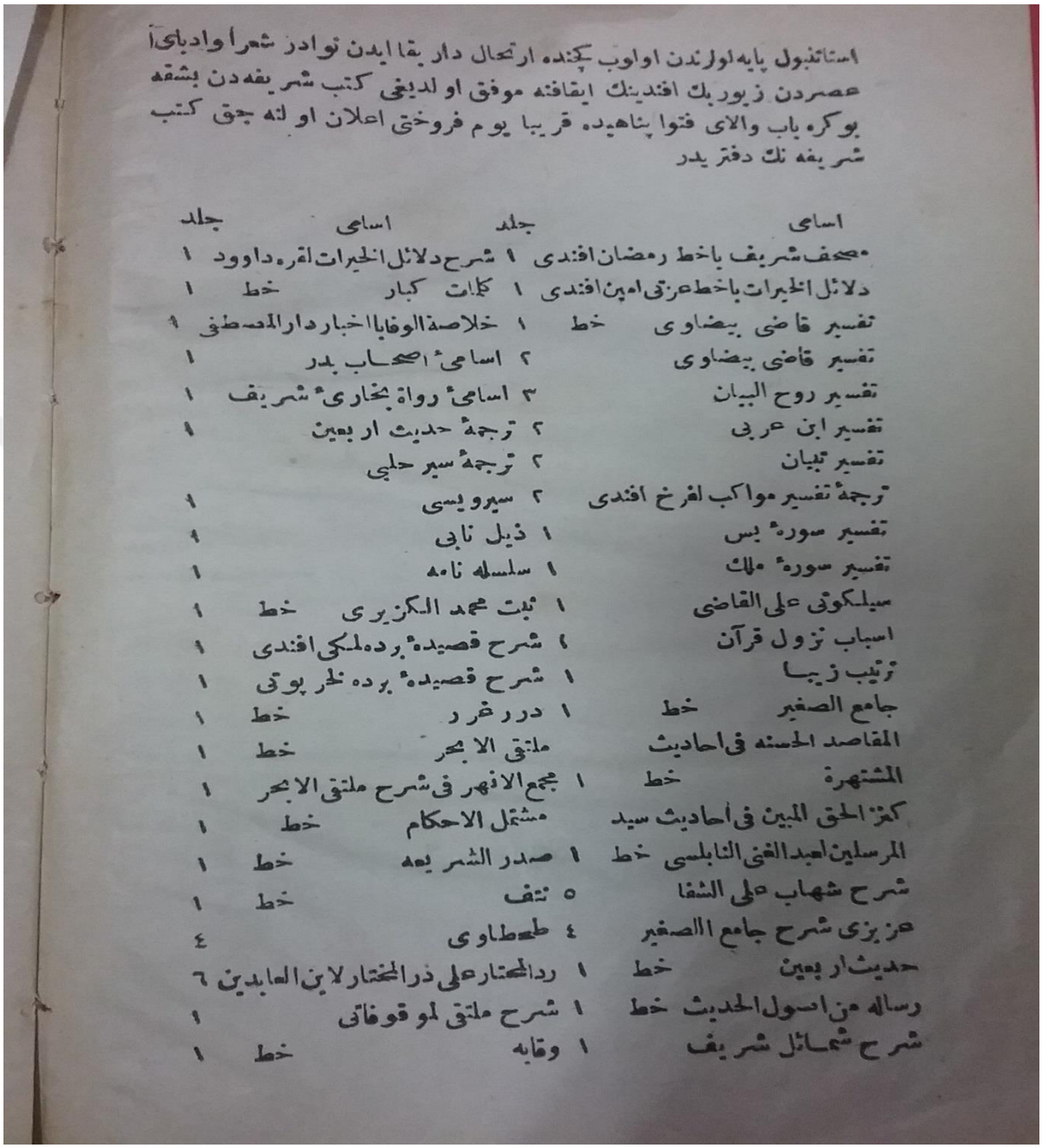
Fig. 7 BOA, MF.MKT 975/60, 1324 Z 20



استانبول پایه‌لرندن اولوب چکنده ارتحال دار بقایدن نوادر شعرا و ادبای
عصردن زیوربك افندینك ایقافنه موفق اولدیغی کتب شریفه‌دن بشقه
بوکره باب والای فتوا پناهیده قریبا یوم فروختی اعلان اولنه حق کتب
شریفه‌نك دفتریدر

اسامی	جلد	اسامی	جلد
مصحف شریف باخط رمضان افندی	۱	شرح دلائل الخیرات لقره داوود	۱
دلائل الخیرات باخط عرتی امین افندی	۱	کلمات کبار خط	۱
تفسیر قاضی بیضاوی خط	۱	خلاصة الوفا باخبار دار المصطفی	۱
تفسیر قاضی بیضاوی	۲	اسامیٔ اصحاب بدر	۱
تفسیر روح البیان	۳	اسامیٔ رواة بخاریٔ شریف	۱
تفسیر ابن عربی	۲	ترجمهٔ حدیث اربعین	۱
تفسیر تبیان	۲	ترجمهٔ سیر حلبی	
ترجمهٔ تفسیر مواکب لفرخ افندی	۲	سیرو یسی	۱
تفسیر سورهٔ یس	۱	ذیل نابی	۱
تفسیر سورهٔ ملك	۱	سلسله نامه	۱
سیلکوتی علی القاضی	۱	ثبت محمد الکزیری خط	۱
اسباب نزول قرآن	۱	شرح قصیدهٔ برده لمکی افندی	۱
ترتیب زیبا	۱	شرح قصیدهٔ برده نحر پوتی	۱
جامع الصغیر خط	۱	درر غرر خط	۱
المقاصد الحسنه فی احادیث		ملتقی الابحر خط	۱
المشتهرة خط	۱	مجمع الانهر فی شرح ملتقی الابحر	۱
کنز الحق المبین فی احادیث سید		مشتمل الاحکام خط	۱
المرسلین لعبد الغنی النابلسی خط	۱	صدر الشریعه خط	۱
شرح شهاب علی الشفا	۵	نتف خط	۱
عزیزی شرح جامع الصغیر	٤	طحطاوی	٤
حدیث اربعین خط	۱	رد المحتار علی در المختار لابن العابدین	٦
رساله من اصول الحدیث خط	۱	شرح ملتقی لموقوفاتی	۱
شرح شمائل شریف	۱	وقایه خط	۱

Fig. 8 The Book-list

“İstanbul payelilerden olub geçende irtihal-i dar-ı beka eden nevadir-i şuara ve üdeba-yı asırdan Ziver Bey Efendi’nin ikafına muvaffak olduğu kitab-ı şerifeden başka bu kere bab-ı vala-yı fetva-penahide kariben yevm-i füruhtu ilan olunacak kitab-ı şerifenin defteridir.” The source is located in National Library, at Ankara.

اسامی		جلد	سامی		جلد
قدوری	خط	۱	ملجأ المفتین	خط	۱
وانی علی الدرر	خط	۱	هدیة القضاة	خط	۱
منتخب تارتار خانیه	خط	۱	ادب الاوصیا	خط	۱
مجموعة من الفقه	خط	۱	در الصکوك		۱
شرح العقائد		۱	صك دباغ زاده		۱
حلبی صغیر	خط	۱	صك شامی زاده	خط	۱
عیون المذاهب	خط	۱	ترجیح البینات	خط	۱
رسالهٔ زورا		۱	میزان المدعیین	خط	۱
زبدة علم الکلام		۱	معروضات ابی السعود افندی	خط	۱
رسالة البجرید فی کلمة التوحید		۱	صالح افندی جریده سی	خط	۱
میزان امام شعرانی		۱	حل الرموز		۱
ترجمهٔ طریقت محمدیه		۱	حل المشکلات	خط	۱
ترجمهٔ سیر کبیر		۱	سراج شرحی سید	خط	۱
ترجمهٔ درر الاحکام		۱	احکام مرعیه		۱
رسالهٔ دخان	خط	۱	دیوان حضرت علی		
فتاوای قاضیخان	خط	۱	کرم الله وجهه		۱
فتاوای هندیه		٦	دیوان شیخ اکبر		۱
فتاوای خیریه		۱	دیوان عبد الغنی نابلسی	خط	۱
فتاوای حامدیه		۱	دیوان ابو الحسن		۱
فتاوای انقرهوی	خط	۱	دیوان متنبی		۱
فتاوای قدری افندی	خط	۱	دیوان جامی		۱
فتاوای علی افندی	خط	۱	دیوان شیخ خالد	خط	۱
فتاوای علی افندی		۲	دیوان خواجه حافظ		۱
بهجة الفتاوای		۱	دیوان صائب	خط	۱
نتیجة الفتاوای		۲	کلیات شیخ سعدی		۱
فتاوای عبد الرحیم افندی		۲	دیوان عرفی	خط	۱
فتاوای فیضیه		۱	دیوان قاسم	خط	۱
دیوان نابی	خط	۱	شهنامهٔ فردوسی		۱
دیگر دیوان نابی		۱	کلستان شیخ سعدی	خط	۱

اسامی		جلد	اسامی		جلد
دیوان سامی		۱	دیکر کلستان شیخ سعدی		۱
دیوان ثابت	خط	۱	شرح کلستان اسودی		۱
دیوان فضولی		۱	پند عطار	خط	۱
دیوان روحی	خط	۱	شرح پند عطار لاسماعیل حقی		۱
دیوان نفعی		۱	شرح بهارستان		۱
دیوان ندیم	خط	۱	شرح تحفهٔ وهبی لحیاتی		۱
دیوان غالب دده		۱	شرح سقط الزند		۱
دیوان نائلی		۱	منتخبات شهنامه		۱
دیوان نظیم		۱	تحفهٔ وهبی		۱
دیوان وهبی		۱	تحفهٔ شاهدی		۱
دیوان حکمت بك		۱	نخبهٔ وهبی		۱
دیوان عزت ملا		۱	رشتهٔ جواهر		۱
دیوانچهٔ عزت ملا		۱	اتحاف الادبا		۱
دیوان سروری		۱	سهام قضاالنفعی		۱
دیوان حقی		۱	کتاب الظرایف واللطایف		۱
دیوان منیف		۱	فاکهة الخلفا	خط	۱
دیوان نشأت		۱	ریحانة الالبا لشهاب الدین		۱
دیوان پرتو		۱	مقامات الحریری	خط	۱
نبذة من دیوان ناصیف یازیجی		۱	دیکر مقامات الحریری		۱
سبحة الابرار لجامی	خط	۱	شرح مقامات الحریری لشرینشی		۲
یوسف زلیخا		۱	حیوة الحیوان	خط	۲
شرح مثنوی شریف لانقروی		۶	دیکر حیوة الحیوان		۲
شرح دیوان حافظ اسودی		۲	ترجمهٔ حیوة الحیوان		۱
انظم الجواهر		۱	کتاب الکامل للمبرد		۱
مستطرف		۲	مغنی الکتاب		۱
ترجمهٔ مستطرف		۲	شرح جزیرهٔ مثنوی ایوسف سینه چاك	خط	۱

اسامی	جلد
محاضرات راغب اصفهانی	۲
امثال میدانی	
کتاب المسامرة لابن العربی	۱
قلائد العقیان	۱
سلوان المطاع	۱
محاسن الحسام	۱
ازهار المثانره	۱
شفاء الغلیل	۲
نوادر احمد شهاب الدین الغلیوبی	۱
بجالة الوفیه	۱
بهجة المنازل	۱
انشاء شیخ حسن العطار	۱
درة الغواص فی اوهام الخواص	۱
زبدة الامثال	خط
خمسهٔ ترکسی	۱
تحفة الحرمین لنابی	خط
منظومهٔ فارسی باخط نفیس	
شاه محمود نشابوری	۱
مناظر الانشاء	۱
منشأت عاصم	۱
منشأت ماهر بك	۱
منشأت عاکف پاشا	۱
نوادر سهیلی	۱
تاریخ خلاصة الاثر فی قرن الحادی عشر	۱
تاریخ مرادی	۱
تاریخ اخبار الدول	۱
سابك الذهب	۲
کتاب الخطط للمقریزی	۲

اسامی	جلد
تذکرة الحکم	۱
معرفتنامه	۱
اخلاق علائی	۱
همایونناامه	۱
ترجمهٔ تلماق	۱
ترجمهٔ تحفهٔ محمود محتشم	۱
مفتاح البلاغه	۱
ابن زیدون	۱
نهج السلوك	۱
عروض نشأت افندی	خط ۱
قصیدهٔ اثناعشر	۱
مقامات ناصیف	۱
مجموعهٔ ادبیه باخط کاتب چلبی	۱
دیکر مجموعهٔ ادبیه	۱
مجموعهٔ اشعار	خط ۱
مجمع الآداب	۱۰
رسالهٔ ادبیه	۱
رسالهٔ ادبیهٔ عربیه	۱
منظومهٔ محتشکشان	۱
سفینهٔ راغب	۱
کلیات ابی البقا	۱
تاریخ انبیا	۱
تاریخ انس الجلیل	۲
تاریخ صبحی	۵
تاریخ راشد	۱
تاریخ صبحی	۱
تاریخ واصف	۱
تاریخ شانی زاده	۱

اسامی	جلد
تاریخ ابی الفدا	۲
وفیات الاعیان لابن خلکان	۲
ترجمهٔ ابن خلکان	۱
حدیقة السعدا	۱
تاریخ عمومی	۱
تاریخ روضة الابرار	۱
تاریخ طبری	۵
منجم باشی تاریخی	۳
تاریخ مصر یین	۱
سلیمان نامه	۱
شقایق نعمانیه	۱
شقایق ترجمه سی	۱
ذیل عطائی	۱
تاریخ عمومی	۲
کاشف خلفا	۱
تاریخ عالی	۱
تاج التواریخ	۲
تاریخ نعیما	۲
تاریخ عزی	۱
مفتاح العبر	۱
ترجمهٔ ملل ونحل	۱
مناقب عبد القادر کیلانی	۱
آثار مجیدیه	۱
ترجمهٔ رحلة الرفاعیه	۱
فریدون بك مجموعه سی	۱
تاریخ یونانستان قدیم	۱
تاریخ قتزینه	۱
تاریخ پناپورط	۱

اسامی	جلد
تاریخ عاصم	۱
تاریخ جودت پاشا	۷
تاریخ اس ظفر	۱
تاریخ عثمانی	۱
تاریخ اندلس	۱
تاریخ پجوی	۱
سلانکلی تاریخی	۱
تاریخ تقویم	۱
تاریخ عصر سلیم خان	۱
مقدمهٔ ابن خلدون	۱
تاریخ اسکندر	۱
تاریخ قدماء فلاسفه	۱
تاریخ تیمور باش	۱
سیاحة الهند	۱
تاریخ اماسیه	۱
امریقا تاریخی	۱
تاریخ تیمور لنك	۱
تاریخ افغان	۱
فتوح مصر	۱
مفتاح المعیه	۱
رسالهٔ خاصکیه لاسمعیل حقی	۱
بهجة الاسرار	۱
رسالهٔ ملا جامی	۱
رشحات	۱
نفحات	۱
کتاب الجلاله	۱
توفیق طریق	۱
ثمرة الفؤاد	۱

اسامی	جلد
تاریخ ایتالیا	١
تاریخ ناپلیون	١
فتوحات مکیه	٤
وان قولی	٢
فصوص	١
روضة الاخبار	١٠
رد الحنین علی منقضی شیخ	١
محی الدین لعبد الغنی نابلسی	١
منهاج الفقرا	١
حدیقة الهندیه ترجمه‌سی	١
رسالة التجرید فی کلمة التوحید	١
رسالهٔ حدیقة الهندیه	١
سؤال کیل	١
اوراد حضرت مولانا	١
رسالهٔ تعوذ	١
مناقب اولیاء	١
عنوان البیان	١
تکملة العبر	١
مقدمهٔ تکملة العبر	١
فتوحات احمدیه	١
متن الاجرومیه	١
شرح الاجرومیه للکفراوی	١
زینی زاده علی الکافیه	١
شمسیین	١
رده جونکی	١
توضیح	١
میزان الادب	١
تعریفات سید	١

اسامی	جلد
قاموس	٢
ترجمهٔ قاموس	٦
اختری	١
فقه اللغة للثعالبی	١
فرهنك شعوری	٢
برهان قاطع	١
لهجة اللغه	١
دقایق الحقایق	١
کشف الظنون	٢
فروق حق	١
غلطات	١
مفتاح اللسان	١
مجالس الوعظ	١
منهج التقا	١
شرح الاجرومیه لشیخ خالد	١
تعریفات سیدی	١
مسائل حکمت	١
کشف الاسرار	١
رسالهٔ قوز مغرافیا	١
کتاب المعادن	١
رسالهٔ مختصرهٔ جغرافیا	١
تعبیر نامه	١
فضائل شام	١
افریقا قطعه‌سی	١
بروج فنون	١
شرح القطر	١
میزان الموازین فی امر الدین لنجف	١
علی التبریزی فی رد النصاری	١

اسامی	جلد
ملزمة الاخلاق	١
رسالهٔ خواص	١
شرح الصدور فی احوال القبور	١
انتساب الملوك	١
احكام المزاحه	١
مناسك الحج	١
ترجمهٔ سياستنامه	١
مأدبة الختان	١
مرشد المواريث	١
كتاب الزيارات	١
فتاری	١
هداية الانام	١
ترجمهٔ دريتم	١

APPENDIX B

VISUAL MATERIALS



Fig. 9 Marcus Antonius Bragadinus, Nobilis Venetus, Famagustae Prefectus (Marc Antonio Bragdino, Venetian Noble, Governor of Famagusta) (Collection Online, British Museum, London)
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1613124611&objectId=3715409&partId=1
(accessed: March 11, 2017)



Fig. 10 The monument of Marc Antonio Bragadino in Church of Saints of John and Paul

https://www.venetoinside.com/hidden-treasures/post/the-skin-of-marcantonio-bragadin/ (accessed: March 11, 2017)



Fig. 11 The Fresco on top of Bragadino's monument

http://medmeanderings.com/travel/the-fresco-of-marcantonio-bragadin-the-venetian-skinned-alive/ (accessed: March 11, 2017)



Fig. 12 The Ottoman army lands on Cyprus

Şehname-i Selim Han, ca. 1571-81, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3595, fol. 102b.



Fig. 13 The siege of Famagusta castle in Cyprus

Şehname-i Selim Han, ca. 1571-81, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3595, fol. 119a.



Fig. 14 Lala Mustafa Paşa's execution of Venetian commanders

Şehname-i Selim Han, ca. 1571-81, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3595, fol. 122a.



Fig. 15 The flaying of the Venetian Commander Bragadino

Şehname-i Selim Han, ca. 1571-81, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3595, fol. 125b.



Fig. 16 The painting of the Colossus of Rhodes

Ziver, *Rodos Tarihi*. (Rodos: Vilayet Matbaası, 1312). It appears at the rear cover of the book.

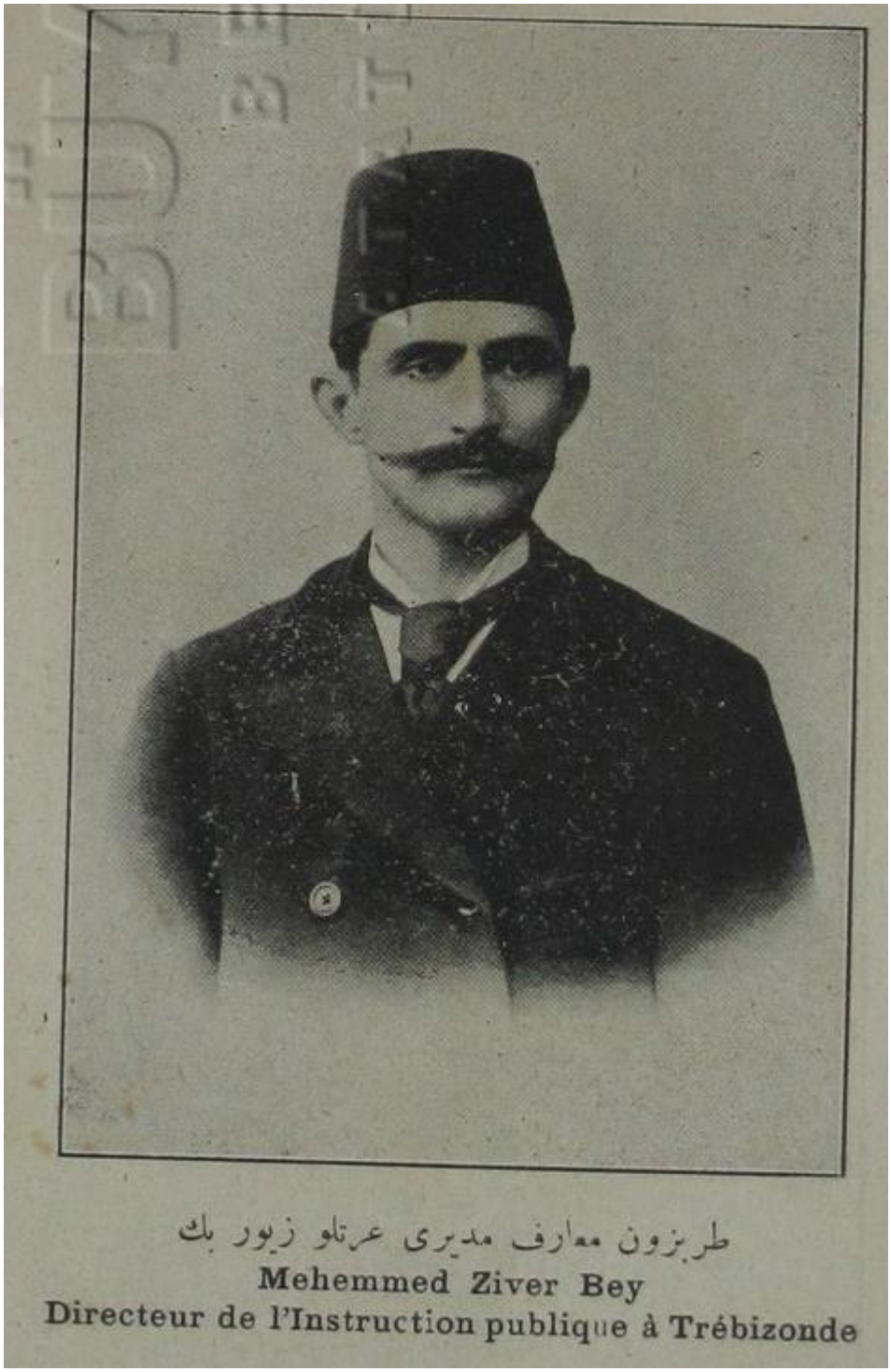
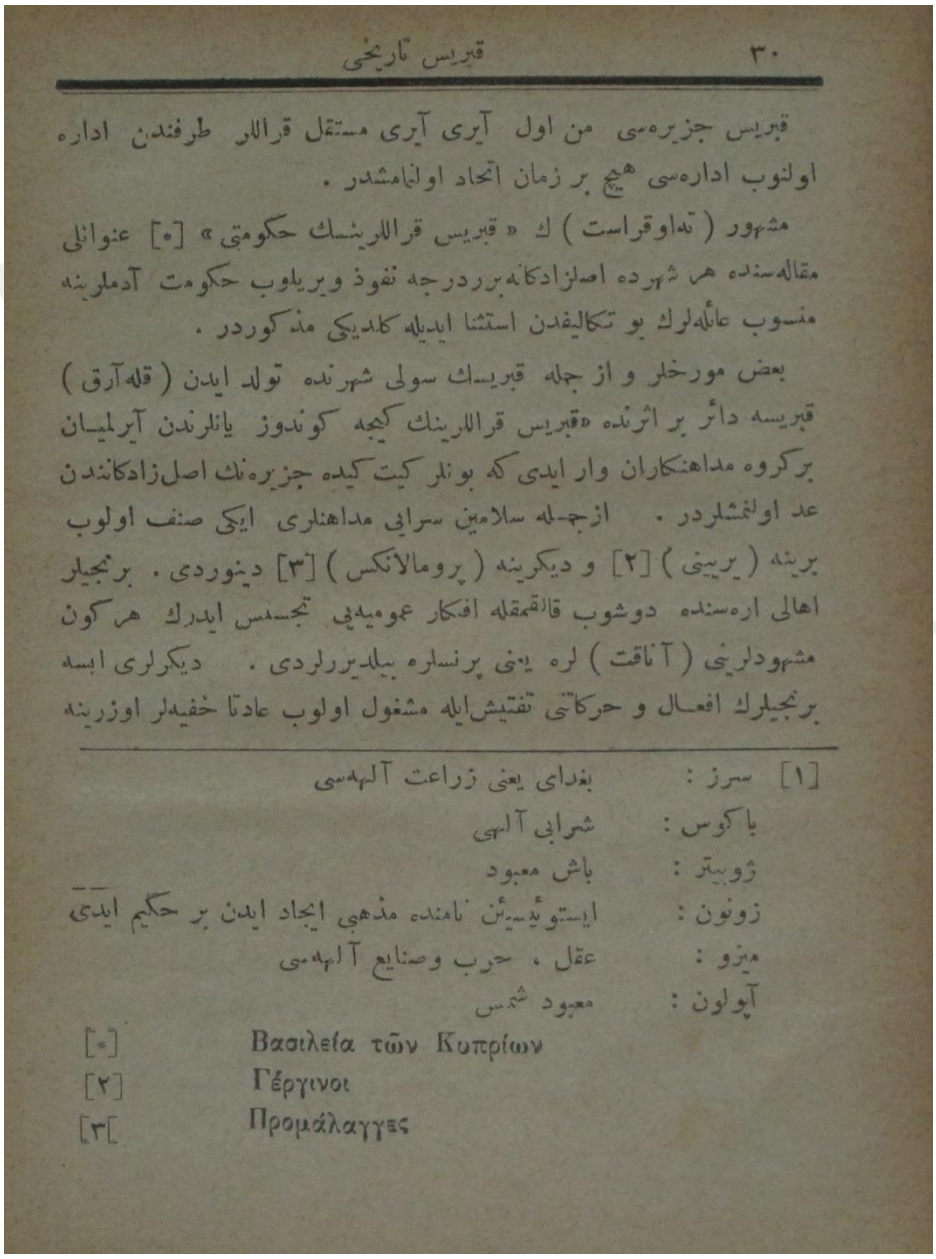


Fig. 17 Ziver's Photograph

Hüseyin Vassaf, *Musavver Nevsal-i Asır 1314*. (İstanbul: Asır Matbaası, 1315), 31

APPENDIX C

EXCERPTS FROM PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES



۳۰ قبریس تاریخی

قبریس جزیره‌سی من اول آیری آیری مستقل قرالار طرفندن اداره اولنوب اداره‌سی هیچ بر زمان اتحاد اولنامشدر .

مشهور (تداوقراست) ك « قبریس قرالارینك حکومتی » [*] عنوانلی مقاله‌سنده هر شهرده اصلزادکانه بردرجه نفوذ ویریلوب حکومت آدملرینه منسوب عائله‌لرك بو تکالیفدن استثنا ایدیلدیکی مذکوردر .

بعض مورخلر و از جمله قبریسك سولی شهرنده تولد ایدن (قله‌آرق) قبریسه دائر بر اثرنده «قبریس قرالارینك کیجه کوندوز یانلرندن آیرلمیان برکروه مداهنکاران وار ایدی که بونلر کیت کیده جزیره‌نك اصل‌زادکانندن عد اولنمشلردر . ازجمله سلامین سرایی مداهنلری ایکی صنف اولوب برینه (پرینی) [۲] و دیکرینه (پرومالانکس) [۳] دینوردی . برنجیلر اهالی اره‌سنده دوشوب قالقمقله افکار عمومیه‌یی تجسس ایدرك هرکون مشهودلرینی (آناقت) لره یعنی پرنسلره بیلدیررلردی . دیکرلری ایسه برنجیلرك افعال و حرکاتی تفتیش‌ایله مشغول اولوب عادتا خفیه‌لر اوزرینه

[۱] سرز : بغدای یعنی زراعت آلهه‌سی
باکوس : شرابی آلهی
ژوپیتر : باش معبود
زونون : ایستوئیسیئن نامنده مذهبی ایجاد ایدن بر حکیم ایدی
میزو : عقل ، حرب وصنایع آلهه‌سی
آپولون : معبود شمس

[*] Βασιλεία τῶν Κυπρίων
[۲] Γέργινοι
[۳] Προμάλαγγες

Fig. 18 The Greek endnotes.

Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi.*(Lefkoşa. Kıbrıs: Zaman Matbaası, 1312), 30-31.

بر نوع خفیه صفتی حائز ایدیلر» مطالعه‌سنی بیان ایدر .

اسکی پافوس شهرنده کی ادارهٔ حکومته احکام مذهبیه قارشدیریلوب سوقیات عسکریه‌دن ماعدا خصوصاتده مذهب اربابی بغایت نفوذ صاحبی ایدی . هر شی راهبلردن صوریلور و اکا کوره قرار ویریلوردی . بو حال بطلومه‌لرك زمانینه دکین دوام ایدوب بعده بونلردن رومالیلره انتقال ایدن اداره هنکامنده اباطل مذهبیه‌یه نهایت ویرلمشدر .

قبریسلیلرك تابع اولدقلری عادات وقوانین پك مضبوط دکلدر . مورخیندن (دیون) ه کوره زناکار بر قادین صاچلرینی کسوب جوارئ مابین میانده بولنمغه مجبور ایدی [۱] بوندن مقصد عفت نسانك محافظه اولنمسی و معبوده (ونوس) ك تقلید ایدلمسی قصد ایدیلیوردی .

ایکنجیسی [۲] انتحار ایدن آیین تدفیندن محروم قلنوردی .

بو عادت آتشده دها بشقه درلو مرعی اولوب هر متحرك ایکی الی کسیله‌رك اموات عومیه‌دن اوزاقجه بر محله دفن ایدیلور . و چهره‌سی دخی غربه طوغری چوریلوردی .

اوچنجیسی [۳] خادم زراعت اولان صغیرك اتلافی ممنوع ایدی . بویله بر فعله اجتسار ایدن هرحالده اعدام اولنوردی . اشبو قانون اقوام قدیمه‌نك جمله‌سنده مرعی الاجرا ایدی . یالکز شو اوچ قانونك حکمی شدتله تعقیب ایدلمش اولدیغنه نظراً قبریسلیلرك اخلاق اولیه‌لری پك مضبوط

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[۱] Τὴν μοιχευθεῖσαν χειρωμένην πορεύεσθαι

[۲] Τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἄταφον ῥίπτεσται

[۳] Μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι βοῦν ἀροτῆρα

مسکوکاتك وجودینه تصادف اولنمشدر .

(اوقات)

« بعض شهرلرك ایامی » عنوانلی بر تقویمده قبریسلیلرجه اون ایکی آیك اسملری ، ابتدا و نهایتلری بر وجه آتی اولدیغی کورلمشدر .

ابتدا نهایت اسامئ شهور			ابتدا نهایت اسامئ شهور		
Αὐτοκρατορικός مارت	٣١	٢٣	Ἀφροδίσιος ایلول	٣١	٢٣
Δημαρχεξούσιος نیسان	٣١	٢٣	Ἀπογονικός تشرین اول	٣٠	٢٤
Πληθύπατος مایس	٣٠	٢٤	Λίνικος تشرین ثانی	٣١	٢٣
Ἀρχιερεύς حزیران	٣١	٢٣	Ἰούλιος کانون اول	٣١	٢٤
Ἑστιεῦς تموز	٣٠	٢٤	Καισάριος کانون ثانی	٢٨	٢٤
Ρωμαίος اغستوس	٣١	٢٣	Σεβαστός شباط	٣٠	٢١

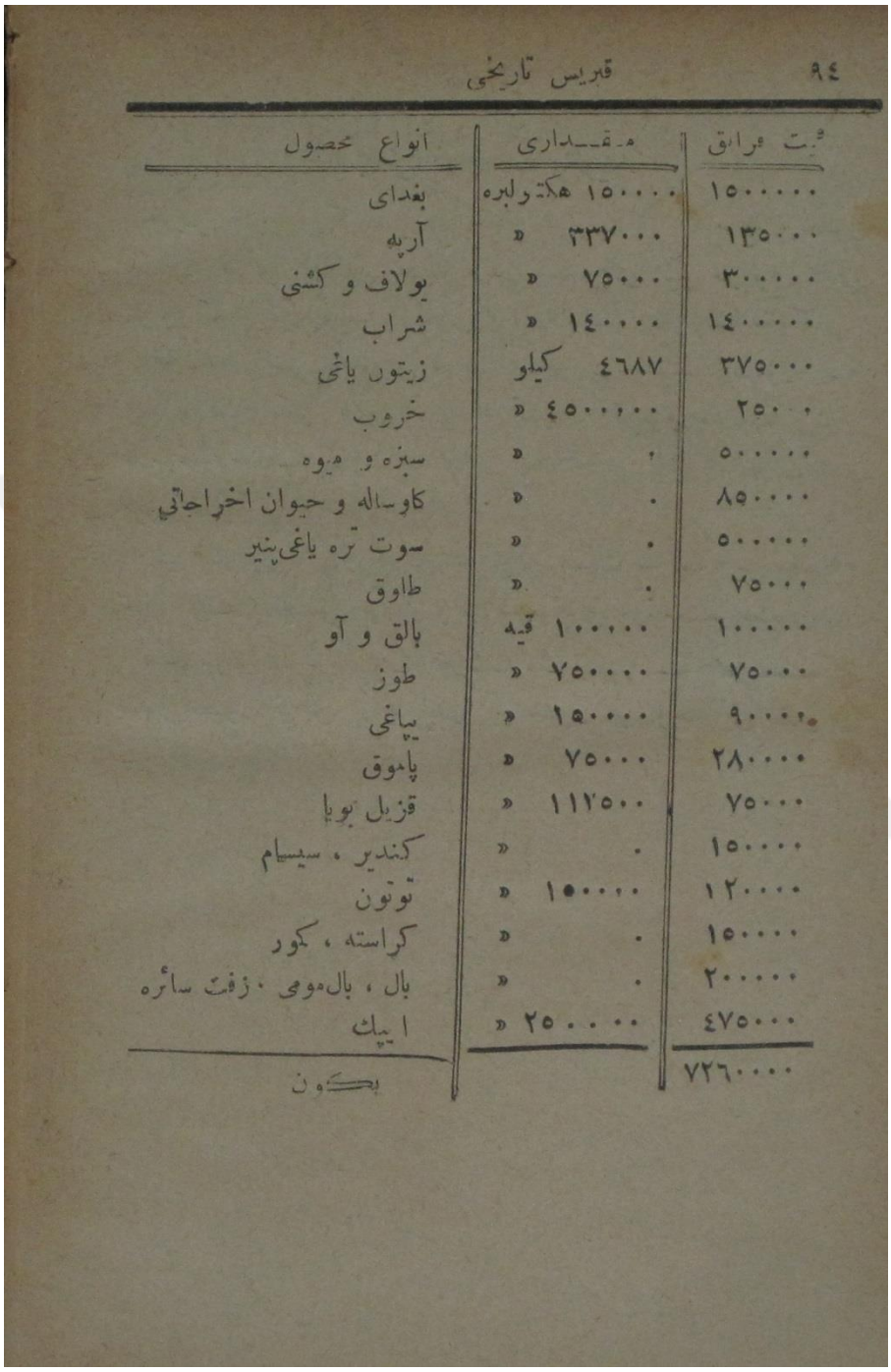
لسان

سوریه و آناطولی ساحللرینه جوار دوشن اطهلرك کافهسی اقوام شرقیه طرفندن اسکان ایدلمش اولدیغندن لسان و عادات دخی شرقه مخصوص اولانلردن عرت ایدی .

فنیکهلیلر بواقوام مختلفه میانده قبریس لسانی اوزرینه الك زیاده تأثیر براقانلردر . یونانیلرك آطهلره یاپلمسی متعاقب لسان یونانی تعمم ایدرك

Fig. 19 The calendar.

Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi.*(Lefkoşa. Kıbrıs: Zaman Matbaası, 1312), 35.



٩٤ قبرس تاریخی

انواع محصول	مقداری	قیمت فرانق
بغدای	١٥٠٠٠٠ هکتولیره	١٥٠٠٠٠٠
آرپه	» ٣٣٧٠٠٠	١٣٥٠٠٠
یولاف و کشنی	» ٧٥٠٠٠	٣٠٠٠٠٠
شراب	» ١٤٠٠٠٠	١٤٠٠٠٠٠
زیتون یاغی	٤٦٨٧ کیلو	٣٧٥٠٠٠
خروب	» ٤٥٠٠٠٠٠	٢٥٠٠٠
سبزه و میوه	» .	٥٠٠٠٠٠
کاوساله و حیوان اخراجاتی	» .	٨٥٠٠٠٠
سوت تره یاغی پنیر	» .	٥٠٠٠٠٠
طاوق	» .	٧٥٠٠٠
بالق و آو	١٠٠٠٠٠ قیه	١٠٠٠٠٠
طوز	» ٧٥٠٠٠٠	٧٥٠٠٠
پیاغی	» ١٥٠٠٠٠	٩٠٠٠٠٠
پاموق	» ٧٥٠٠٠	٢٨٠٠٠٠
قزیل بویا	» ١١٢٥٠٠	٧٥٠٠٠
کندیر ، سیسام	» .	١٥٠٠٠٠
توتون	» ١٠٠٠٠٠	١٢٠٠٠٠
کراسته ، کور	» .	١٥٠٠٠٠
بال ، بال‌مومی ، زفت سائره	» .	٢٠٠٠٠٠
ایپك	» ٢٥٠٠٠٠	٤٧٥٠٠٠
بکون		٧٢٦٠٠٠٠

Fig. 20 The Ottoman reproduction of Lacroix’s statistical table of the economic production in Cyprus

Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi.* (Lefkoşa. Kıbrıs: Zaman Matbaası, 1312), 94.

My transliteration of the table above with relevant corrections based upon the French original:[635]

Enva-ı mahsul	Mikdarı	Kıymet-i Frank
Buğday	150,000 hektolibra	1.500,000
Arpa	33,7000 hektolibra	135,000[636]
Yulaf ve Keşni	75,000 hektolibra	300,000
Şarap	140,000 hektolibra	1,400,000
Zeytin Yağı	4,678 kilo	375,000
Harup	4,500,000 kilo	25,000[637]
Sebze ve Meyve		500,000
Gav-ı sale ve hayvan icracatı		850,000
Süt, tereyağı, peynir		500,000
Tavuk		75,000
Balık ve av	100,000[638] kıyye	100,000
Tuz	750,000[639] kıyye	75,000
Yapağı	150,000 kıyye	90,000
Pamuk	75,000[640] kıyye	280,000
Kızıl boya	112,500 kıyye	75,000
Kendir, susam		150,000
Tütün	150,000 kıyye	120,000
Kereste, kömür		150,000
Bal, bal mumu, zift, ceviz[641] saire		200,000
İpek	250,000[642] kıyye *	475,000
Yekun		7,260,000[643]

[635] The original of this table is found is Lacroix's work, on page 86. It was reproduced in Ziver's work, on page 94. Thereon, Harid Fedai has transliterated it from Ziver's work exactly the same, thus with wrong data.
[636] The original and correct data is 1,350,000.
[637] The original and correct data is 250,000.
[638] The original and correct data is 125,000.
[639] The original and correct data is 7,500,000.
[640] The original and correct data is 350,000.
[641] Ceviz, which is found in the French original as 'noix', is not given in the Ottoman table as well as in the one transliterated by Harid Fedai.
[642] The original and correct data is 25,000.
[643] The original and exact number is 8,815,000 francs. Even though we sum up the wrong numbers in Ottoman table, the total is not 7,260,000.

Fig. 21 The Ottoman reproduction of Lacroix's statistical table of the population in Cyprus

Ziver, *Kıbrıs Tarihi.* (Lefkoşa. Kıbrıs: Zaman Matbaası, 1312), 95.

My transliteration of the table above:[644]

Vüsat-saat-murabba	Mikdar-ı vergi	Kura	Mecmu-i Nüfus	Ecnebi[645]	Gayr-i Müslim	Muslim	Esami-i şuhur ve mülahazat[646]
48		42	13000	500[647]	9500	3000	Larnaka-i Mezkur
35		56	9000	500	6500	2000	Leymosun Maronid'dir
36		39	6300	500	5000	800	Gitani ve Avdimion Katolik'dir
30		79	11500	500	7000	40000[648]	Baf Kuklia (Ktima)[649]
45		55	5500	500	3500	1500	Krisofu Katolik'dir
42		39	7500	500	4600	2400	Lefka
28		44	5700	200	4500	1000	Morfu Maruni'dir
45		43	9000	1000	5000	3000	Lapitu Kerine Maruni'dir
44		51	7100	1000	5400	700[650]	Litorodonda Evrini Tillirga
30		40	8500	100	5500	2000	Kitrea
32		64	11000	1000	8000	2000	Vatili Mesarga
100		51	8200	200	5000	3000	Magusa Karpas Ermeni'dir
100		51	1800	100	370000[651]	80000[652]	Lefkoşa Marunidir
615		654	114100	7500	73200	33400	Yekun

[644] The original of this table is found is Lacroix's work, on page 88. It was reproduced in Ziver's work, on page 95. Thereon, Harid Fedai has transliterated it from Ziver's work exactly the same, thus with wrong data.
[645] The term ecnebi (foreigner) is a wrong translation of the original word "divers". A probable Turkish translation can be "diger."
[646] The information appears under this title is mostly wrong and can be checked with the same table in English that I provide below.
[647] The numbers appear under this title are mostly wrong, can be checked with the same table in English that I provide below.
[648] The original and right data is 4000.
[649] Ktima is missing in Harid Fedai's transliteration.
[650] The original and correct data is 600 or 700.
[651] The original and correct data is 3700.
[652] The original and correct data is 8000.

My translation of the table above with relevant corrections based upon the original:

District	Centre	Muslim	Orthodox	Others	Total	# Villages	Tax revenue	Area
Larnaka	Larnaca	3000	9500	500 Catholics – few Maronites	13000	42		48
Leymosun	Limassol	2000	6500	>>	9000	56	3,084,020	35
Kilani and Avdimiou	Kilani	800	5000	>>	6300	39	turkish	36
Baffo and Kouklia	Ktima	4000	7000	>>	11500	79	piastres *	30
Chrysochou	Chrysochou	1500	3500	>>	5500	55		45
Lefka	Lefka	2400	4600	>>	7500	39		42
Morpho	Morpho	1000	4500	180-200 Maronites	5700	44		28
Lapitho and Kerinia	Kerinia	3000	5000	1000 Maronites	9000	43		45
Orini and Tyllyrgha	Lithrodonda	600-700	5400	>>	7100	51		44
Kythrea	Kythrea	2000	5500	>>	8500	40		30
Messoree or Messarga	Vatili	2000	8000	>>	11000	64		32
Karpas	Famagouste	3000	5000	200 Armenians	8200	51		100
Nicosie	Nicosie	8000	3700	100 Maronites	1800	>>		>>
								515

* The quantity of tax revenue for each district could not be accurately assessed.

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C..DH.. 128/6359, 1236 B 29

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DH. SAİDd 66/487, 1258 Z 29

DH.SAİDd 71/381, 1253 Z 29

DH.İD.. 79/14, 1330 Ra 13

DH.EUM.MH.. 195/66, 1337 Za 18

DH. MKT. 2600/44, 1320 R 17

İrade (Imperial Orders)

İ.DH 95/4771, 1260 Z 21

İ..DUİT 43/16, 1337 Za 04

İ..DUİT 42/17, 1338 Za 18

İ..DUİT 42/19, 1339 Ra 09

İ.MVL 567/25511, 1283 L 28

İTAL 143/8, 1316 S 25

Hatt-ı Hümayun

HAT 518/25300, 1248 Z 29

Meclis-i Vala

MVL 798/62, 1283 B 02

Mektub-i Kalemi

MKT.MHM 567/87, 1283 Za 11

Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi

MF.MKT 167/52, 1310 L 20

MF.MKT 515/4, 1318 Ra 17

MF.MKT 526/67, 1318 Ca 23

MF.MKT 707/37, 1321 S 26

MF.MKT 823/70, 1322 Za 2

MF.MKT 858/29, 1323 Ra 22

MF.MKT 828/59, 1322 Za 22

MF.MKT 975/60, 1324 Z 20

MF.MKT 976/5, 1324 Z 21

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